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 2 of 5 — Volume I, from page 230 till the end

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emphasize the social side of the celebration, the solution was more frequently in common prayer or song in the vernacular, accompanying the low Mass. And finally, in our own century, a form of community Mass, the dialogue Mass, was devised, built up on the missa lecta but recapturing in great part some of the simple beauty of the missa cantata and combining therewith the advantage of the vernacular. 38

To this development another circumstance contributed no little, namely the fact that less and less stress was laid on the demand that the faithful take part on Sunday in a public celebration. The obligation had already been broken down somewhat during the later Middle Ages and was finally set aside entirely. Thus the low Mass, whether with singing in the vernacular or without, could be the Sunday Mass even in parish churches and it could thus easily attain that position of authority at the high altar which it had surely not enjoyed in previous years.

The rubrical convergence of the two forms of celebration to the point where the only distinction lay in the singing or speaking of the text was therefore only the consequence of a legal assimilation. However, this rubrical convergence was not the result only of the fact that the private Mass had surely not enjoyed in previous years.

The problem of the server is today identical for both sung Mass and private Mass. 39 Whereas in the early Middle Ages a cleric was ordered for the former but not for the private Mass, 40 we see that later a cleric was demanded for both and finally in either case a layman was permitted. 41

The practical solution, in fact, follows what was doubtless the tradition of former clerical schools in monasteries and chapters, and chooses young boys whose innocence can, in a measure, substitute for the clerical character. 42 Still that spiritual character cannot be entirely lacking if, in addition to the technical training, there is a spiritual commitment and, under favorable circumstances, even formal enrollment, as is actually being done in many places nowadays under orders of the bishop. 43

The fact that the boundaries between private Mass and public Mass have gradually disappeared is connected also with the fact that in the last few centuries daily celebration by every priest has been taken more and more for granted. 44 On the one hand, this daily celebration by the priest from the sanctuary. Even in the 18th and 19th centuries voices were raised against the use of altar boys; Trapp, 165, note 923; 295 ff. along with note 97.

For our own day see, e.g., A. Mayer-Pfannholz, "Das Laientum im werdenden Kirchenbild" (Theologie u. Glaube (1941)), 91.

13 Although the prime activity of the server is to be present and make the responses—substituting, therefore, for the people—and although this duty can be entrusted to lay people and, in case of need, can even be fulfilled by women (cf. Cod. Iur. Can., c. 813, 2), still, viewing the server's work in its fullness as "serving," it must be considered a clerical function, in the last analysis the function of the deacon with whom, in fact, he even has his title in common (minister = minister, server). Reminiscent of this latter office is the oft-repeated designation of the server's vestments, and found in medieval inventories—clothing of various hues; dalmatica puerorum, they are called, or tunica, alba puerorum; Braun, Die liturgische Gewandung, 60 f. Handes and Saponaro, in the problem they posed for themselves (supra, footnotes 91 and 99), both have only the first activity in view, and therefore come to quite a different conclusion—although this answer was necessary in order to demolish certain objections to the "community" Mass.

15 However, objections continued to pile up against this solution of the problem. In his edition of the works of St. Gregory the Great, P. de Gounasville (d. 1683) called it an abuse which might possibly be excused on the ground of custom (PL, LXXVII, 1336 D). Martene, 1, 3, 9, 10 (1, 344) is equally severe in his declaration, Bremond, Histoire littéraire, VI, 220, relates that Claude Martin, who was prior of Marmontier from 1690 on, wanted to banish children as well as married men for the sake of order.


17 In the early Middle Ages the Synods of Pavia (850), can. 2 (Mansi, XIV, 930)
course the legitimacy of celebration on this title is not at all questionable. In fact, although the votive formularies do not—and rightly—play the same role as of yore, still the Votive Mass, or the sacrifice which is appropriated to a person or a family for their special intention, exhibits that title of private Mass which gives it most obviously the right and power to be, especially since it is anchored in the tradition of the Church since earliest times. But the personal factor which binds the offerer with such a celebration ought to be restrengthened as much as possible. The faithful who request a Mass must be conscious of the fact that they ought to participate as co-celebrants at such a Mass if at any. And besides care must be taken that such a votive celebration does nothing to hinder the development of public worship which must always be our first concern.

6. Forms of Popular Participation

The picture of divine worship in Christian antiquity, with the faithful crowded around the altar, offering up the sacrifice together with the priest and joining in the prayers and singing, turn and turn about—that picture is familiar to everyone nowadays. In fact the present arrangement of the Mass can be understandably explained at many points only by reference to that primitive picture.

From what has been said above, much can be seen of the many vicissitudes that popular participation at Mass underwent—its ebb and flow insofar as it has been impressed on various periods of liturgical history. Numerous particulars will be called to our attention later in our study of the various parts of the Mass-liturgy. Here we will endeavor to put together in a short sketch the most important factors, complement them with evidence of a more general nature, and, out of the see-saw of history, let certain supratemporal viewpoints come to the fore.

Christian antiquity therefore made a choice of the second solution, and even today it is preferred on those occasions—like large assemblies of the clergy—where individual celebration could not take place in worthy fashion. Cf. supra, p. 195 f. It has always been considered fitting and proper that the individual priest should exercise his power of Orders at the altar from time to time, even abstracting from the requirements of others. This viewpoint certainly played a part in producing an increase in private Masses in the early medieval monastic establishments. It must likewise have had a part in the legislation mentioned in the last footnote, legislation preserved in can. 805 of the Code. The rotation of the celebration of the conventional Mass in monasteries and other conventicles is also probably due to this notion. The same viewpoint was without doubt at work in the regulation of Byzantine monasteries where it is ordered that if more than five fathers are living in an establishment, the liturgy is held twice a week, where more than ten, three times, and where more than twenty, daily. K. Lübeck, Die christlichen Kirchen des Orients (Kempten, 1911), 189.
One fundamental condition for the formation of important types of general participation in the Mass celebration was that the assembled faithful should form a community tied together by the same faith and the same love. In the centuries of Christian antiquity that was to a great extent the case. Only at the fore-Mass was an outer circle of guests or candidates to the society admitted, but in the consciousness of the congregation these people were clearly distinguished from the narrower circle of fully authorized members. We thus encounter forms which were composed for their dismissal at the end of the Mass of the Catechumens. Far into the Middle Ages these rites for dismissing the catechumens were used for the children during Lent in the weeks of preparation for Baptism. Even to the very threshold of modern times those who, as public sinners, were no longer worthy to take part in the worship of the community were expelled on Ash Wednesday. The excommunicated, too, were very strictly excluded all through the Middle Ages. But aside from these very unusual cases the Middle Ages had no recognized outsiders. Just as in church building the old-time atrium and the parts in between became simply the open portion of the church, and the doorway was like an invitation to the whole town to come into the holy place, so all forms of banishment and dismissal fell into disuse. All the townspeople were Christians and all Christians were children of the house.

It was precisely the obviousness of the open doors to the Church, standing unlocked to all, that hindered a return to a more ancient severity when, at the start of modern times, circumstances grew so fundamentally different. For decades larger portions of the people wavered between the old Church and New Learning. In the hope of winning them back it was necessary not to turn them away at the door. And the suggestion that was brought up at the Council of Trent, to ban public sinners (prostitutes, concubinaries, usurers et al.) from the Church or at least to order them out after the Gospel, was recognized as impracticable. Thus for our own time a situation has arisen which would have been incomprehensible to Christian antiquity, even aside from the laws of the disciplina arcana—a situation where at our divine service every sharp boundary between Church and world is broken down, so that Jew and heathen can press right up to the steps of the altar and can stand in the very midst of the faithful at the most sacred moment. Such a situation is possible and tolerable so long as the faithful are only onlookers and listeners at a sacred drama, and it will be substantially and actually overcome whenever and insofar as they take up a more active role.

One of the first forms of expression by which a closed society reveals itself is a fixed order of coming and going; everyone gets there on time and no one leaves until the meeting is adjourned. A noteworthy severity with regard to late-comers was displayed in the fifth century Syrian Testamentum Domini. The deacons were directed to keep the doors locked when the sacrifice was being offered. If some of the faithful came late and knocked at the door they were not to be admitted; but for these tardy brethren a special prayer was included, that God might give them greater zeal and love. At the end of the meeting we find in all the liturgies a formal dismissal. It happened of course that some individuals, even communicants, did not wait for this. Little by little a special order became necessary for those who did not communicate, who already, towards the end of the ancient period, formed the greater proportion by far.

As we will see more in detail later, it was the practice in the city of Rome as well as in Gaul to let them depart before the distribution of Communion and this departure of many was not only countenanced but was even taken into account in the setting up of the liturgy; at Rome the announcements for the following week were made at this point, and in Gaul those who were going to leave were given a solemn blessing right after the Pater noster. The faithful were thus implicitly admonished to stay at least until then. For already in the sixth century many were under the impression that they had fulfilled their obligation if they heard the service. Therefore Caesarius of Arles makes clear to his audience that the minimum required to fulfill one's Christian duty is to be present at the consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis, the oratio dominica and the beneficio.

In the Carolingian reform, too, following the lead of tradition, the blessing is considered the conclusion prior to which no one was allowed to leave; but now it is the blessing of the newly introduced Roman liturgy that is meant, which is given in some form or other at the end of Mass. The prev-
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ant rareness of the reception of Holy Communion had perhaps forced such a change of attitude. Therefore, Amalar, taking up a question often asked by the vulgus inductum, at what parts of the Mass must one be definitely present, answers: from the offertory to the sacrificium, Amen. That the people in Christian antiquity actually spoke these words before the sacrifice is being offered. Later moral theology also included the fore-Mass, whose independence was perceived less and less. But Church legislation, whether during the Middle Ages or later, did not make any special declaration regarding these precise limits.

In the liturgical action the participation of the people was manifested especially by the fact that they did not merely listen to the prayers of the priest in silence but ratified them by their acclamations. The custom of using such acclamations was inherited by the Church from the Synagogue; the very style and language in part betrays this: Et cum spiritu tuo, Amen. That the people in Christian antiquity actually spoke these words is obvious from the occasional remarks of the Fathers. Even Justin testified to it. Jerome mentioned one time that the Amen in the Roman basilicas reverberated like a thunder. Augustine in his sermons and writings often made reference to the responses of the people.

The only question is, how long during the Middle Ages did the practice continue. Cæsarius of Arles still takes it for granted. It is also otherwise ascertainment for the Gallican liturgy of the sixth and seventh centuries. Even in the early medieval liturgy of the city of Rome, which had become quite pretentious as the result of the added schola and the presence of a numerous clergy, there was still a constant mention of the responses by the people.

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The Carolingian reform appears to have insisted on this with a certain doggedness. In Charlemagne's Admonitio generalis of 789 there is a decree regarding the people's participation. Amalar advises those who do not understand the Latin Gospel lesson, at least to pronounce the Gloria tibi Domine with the rest. Other Carolingian authors talk about these responses as something taken for granted.

In his penitential lists, Burchard of Worms (d. 1025) mentions the neglect to respond as an example of unbecoming behavior in church. And even later the responses are referred to as at least the ideal requirement. After that, however, the practice falls into such oblivion that in our own century the right of the people to make these responses has had actually to be proved.

Remark for the Deo gratias after the announcements: respondet omnis clerus (Duchesne, Christian Worship, 473). The fact that the Ordo Romanus I makes no mention of the people is hardly to be taken as an absolute contradiction of what is said here; see Nikl, II. 1 f. The manuscript sacramentaries seldom give any indication as to who makes the responses (usually the sign R. is used); an exception is the Gregorianum in Cod. 47 (9th century), which is in substance a 7th century text, and which time and again prefixes the words respondet populus; Möslinger, Früh-Mittelalter, n. 874, 889 f., 893. Similar rubrics occur frequently in later books, but they are probably not to be taken literally, as corresponding to reality.

23 F. 115 6). The same answer is given by Rabanus Maurus, De inst. clerici, c. 33, ad divinum (PL, CVIII, 326).

It is worth noting that moralists nowadays do not consider the Last Gospel sacramentary as constituting an integration misse; all else, from the prayers at the feet of the altar to the priest's blessing, does. H. Noldin-A. Schmitt, Summa theol. mor., II (20th ed.; Innsbruck, 1930), 245; Aertnys-Damen, Theod. Mor., I (14th ed.; Turin, 1944), 422: Ihc consat ex communal gennu et consuetudine totius Ecclesiae. This attitude reflects the circumstances of the 16th century when the Last Gospel was not yet linked fast to the Mass; see infra, Vol. II, Ch. 4. S. Moralisats of the 17th century sometimes even included this in the Mass obligation; see J. de Lugo, De eucharistia, 22, 1 (Disput. schol. et mor., ed. Fournais, IV, 349).


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Besides these short acclamations, the people's share in the Mass since earliest times also included a certain ever-increasing number of hymnic texts. The most venerable of them is the Sanctus along with the Benedictus, which also remained the people's song the longest. Of a similarly venerable age was the refrain in the responsorial chants, namely, in the Roman liturgy, the chants between the readings; but these, with their ever-varying texts, were at an early period turned over to the schola in their entirety. Similar in character to the refrain was the Kyrie eleison in the introductory litany which came substantially later. After that the Agnus Dei was added. The two larger chants, the Gloria and the Credo (which appeared quite early in the northern countries), were perhaps intended principally for the clergy assembled around the altar. The inditii, the introductory litany which came substantially later. After that the celebration was made manifest, we have to add also some activity, some-thing. The "Partaking," simply the xenodochia, which consists in receiving the Sacrament, we see gradually disappearing, its early bloom shrivelled, shrunk into well-defined and all too few occasions. This receptive participation stands in contrast to the contributive, the upsurging motion of the offerory procession which grew increasingly strong near the end of the ancient period and remained a living practice for over a thousand years. As an introduction either to the Mass proper or to the reception of Communion, we have the kiss of peace, already known to the primitive Church and still remaining at the present in a residue of stylized forms. We will also come across traces of a transient handwashing by the people. 

**atque [sacerdos] ne alias ceremonias at precisum arbitrio adiungat**. The articles of Hansens and Saponaro noted above pp. 226 and 227 were written to controvert this opinion. 

**5 In other liturgies responsorial chants were also used particularly at the Communion. In connection with the directions for Communion we read in the Canones Basili, c. 97 (Riedel, 275) the express charge: The congregation should answer lustily after all the psalms.**

**6 Whereas in the transfer of the chants from the people to the choir of clergy scarcely a trace of the chant has remained with the people, in the subsequent transfer from the clerical choir to the church choir the direction was retained that the clerics should recite the chants of the Ordinary in a half-audible voice while they were being sung. This prescription was recalled as late as July 22, 1892, by a decree of the Congregation of Rites, Decreeta auth. S.R.C., n. 3786. Cf. Ceremoniale episc., II, 8, 36; 39; 52. Essentially the same thing is already to be found in Ordo Rom. XIV, n. 61 (PL, LXXVIII, 1175 f.), in the regulations for the cardinal who is assisting at the Mass of his chaplain: he is supposed to recite the chants and the introit (while they are being sung) with his assistants, sine cantu, sine nota.**

**Infra, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 13.**

**That the faithful also raised their arms while praying is manifest from the frequent depiction of the orantes in the catacombs. Literary evidences from the 3rd to the 5th century are assembled in Quasten, Mon., 174, note 4, in the commentary on Ambrose, I Evang., VI, 4, 17. It is precisely this passage from Ambrose that shows that the lifting of the hands (following I Tim. 2:8) was observed by the faithful especially at worship. Cf. also Chrisyostom, In Phil. kom., 3, 4 (PG, LXII, 204). In Switzerland it was still customary in 1500 for the faithful at High Mass to pray with arms outstretched from the Consecration to the Communion.**

**In the Orient, in the Egyptian liturgies, the bodily posture of the worshippers, especially at service, was carefully regulated by continuous directions from the deacon. Right after the Dignum et instum est the deacon ordered them to stretch out their arms Persevera, Brightman, 125; contra Brightman, 601, this seems to be addressed, like the following, to all the faithful, at a later spot to stand up (Or Tachathos dekapters, ibid., 131, 174, 231), and finally, just before the Sanctus, to turn to the east (Eis Theol. Const. Apost., II, 57, 14) and the basic researches in Dölger, Sol salutis, 136 ff. Apparently the East was expected, no matter what the position of the church building. But we may suppose that this orientation at prayer had something to do with the subsequent change in the method of construction, having the apse to the East instead of the front of the building (which was the more ancient fashion), so that when the liturgus prayed the faithful did not have to turn their back to him and the altar.**

**F. Heiler, Das Gebet (4th ed.; Munich, 1921), 100. In ancient Jewish usage the word "to stand" also meant "to pray." With this we might link the conjecture that stato (in the sense of the primitive Christian stational fast) originally meant prayer, place of prayer. Schümmer, Die alchristliche Fastenpraxis, 136 ff.**

**Heiler, 101 f.**

**Dölger, Sol salutis, 1-258. Already in the 2nd century it was customary to indicate the orientation by a cross on the wall in the proper place (cf. Matt. 24:30); the proofs in E. Peterson, "La croce e la pregheria verso oriente," Eph. liturg., XLIX (1945), 52-68; cf. idem., "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der jüdischen Gebetsrichtung," Theol. Zeitschrift, 11 (1947), 1-15.**
in the bearing of the congregation; now it differed from his in accordance with the shouted command, *Humiliate capita vestra Deo* —they stood with heads bowed.

But later in the Middle Ages the bodily posture of the faithful grew more and more unlike that of the priest. The bow of the head, as at the blessing, gradually became a sign of the congregation's humility in the sight of God, and was used during the orations and especially during the canon. On the other hand, kneeling was still generally limited during the first millenary to days without festive character and even here it was limited to the fore-Mass. First, kneeling was proclaimed by the deacon's *Flectamus genua* for the people's meditative prayer which introduced the orations. Then, for the people, kneeling was transferred to the respective orations themselves, and on non-festive days the bowed but standing posture, hitherto in vogue during the canon and other orations, was also soon changed to kneeling. Already by 813 the Synod of Tours represents this attitude as the fundamental characteristic posture of the faithful (always, of course, excepting the days when, in honor of Christ's Resurrection, one prayed standing). On Sundays and feast-days (taking this latter word in its widest sense) the standing position was retained. It was not till the eucharistic movement of the thirteenth century that any inroad was made here, namely, by kneeling at the consecration. The *Ordo missae* of John Burchard which appeared in 1502 still directed the participants at a Mass celebrated with singing to use the standing posture as a general rule; the only variations were kneeling at the *Confiteor* in the prayers at the foot of the altar, and at the consecration; there was no longer any mention of bowing.

This bow at the blessing also in other liturgies; cf. *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3 and 4.1

*Ordo Rom. antiquus* (Hittorp, 66).

Kneeling during the Canon is prescribed for the priests around the altar in the *Ordo of St. Amand*, at the start of the 9th century (Duchesne, Christian Worship, 461); and later for the choir in the *Ordo et Lateralis* (Fischer, 29). As the idea of how long the Canon lasted changed, the duration of the kneeling also changed. Kneeling (or the *prostratio*) was prescribed during the *Pater noster* as early as the 9th century; see *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3.2. By the 13th century ye begin to see a growing tendency to stretch out the kneeling (resp. *prostratio*) as long as the Blessed Sacrament was on the altar; see the *Ordo Rom. XIII* which comes from the time of Gregory X (d.1276), n.19 (PL, LXXVIII, 1116).

An unusual extension of the kneeling is mentioned by Fr. Titelmans (d.1537), in his explanation of High Mass, *Mysteriorum missae expostio* (Lyons, 1558), 18, where he supposes that the faithful fall on their knees as soon as the priest approaches the altar, wherein he sees represented the shepherds adoring the divine Infant.

*Can. 37* (Mansi, XIV, 89).

*Legg. Tracts*. 134. A genuflexion is here prescribed also at the *Et incarnatus est*; *ibid.*, 135.

Similarly the Low German "Laienregel des 15. Jh." (Fifteenth century Rule for Laymen) c. 6 (R. Langenberg, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Mystik [Bonn, 1902], 86-88), which prescribes it also for the collects, the last blessing, but leaves it free during the Canon.

There is a record here and there of sitting on the floor, but it appears not to have been customary; cf. Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 77. It was different, however, in those countries where it is still customary to sit on the floor. In the place-plan outlined in the Syrian Didascalia, II, 57 (Quasten, *Mon.,* 35 f.), there is constant reference to sitting for each of the groups of the faithful till the time for prayer.

*Eccles. of Tours* (V. 1156), 135. In the churches of the Middle Ages, since there was no provision made for sitting, as long as the Blessed Sacrament was on the altar; see the *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 2, 6; for the choir of clerics in capitular and monastic churches for the provision of seats for the faithful; in *Langenberg*, *Laienregel* (3rd ed.; Regensburg, 1911), 9, 9-88; J. O'Connell, *The Celebration of Mass* (Milwaukee, 1940), III, 64-74.


*Supra*, p. 68 f.

*Liber ordinariorum* of Liége (Volk, 102 f.; cf. 108).

In the *Liber ordinariorum* standing remains the primary posture; bowing is prescribed only for the collects, the *Sanctus*, the *Pater noster*, the first *Agnus Dei* and the post-communion, and also, with capeche thrown back, at the blessing. Kneeling is done only at the Consecration (and at *homo factus est in the Credo*). But before the *prostratio* everyone knelt from the *Sanctus* to the *Agnus Dei*, that is, during the time when previously bowing was prescribed.

Similarly detailed choir regulations are contained in the essentially older *Liber usuum O. Cot.* (Milwaukee, 1940), III, 64-74.

The Low German "Rule for Laymen" which was produced in 1473 (Langenberg [above, note 38], 87) expected the people to sit at the Epistle and during the oratory.

*Ordo missae* of John Burchard (*Legg. Tracts*, 134 f.) also has in mind the provision of seats for the faithful; in this case they are to sit at the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* (after the celebrant has finished reciting them and the choir is still singing), at the Epistle and the interposed chants, at the *Concillum* (as before), after the oratory chant till the Preface, and after the Communion till the post-communion.
tion of churches, especially when, as a consequence of the Reformers' agitation, the sermon began to take on greater importance."

The benches or pews used in church also make provision for kneeling. This ties in with the ever-increasing importance of low Mass and the rules set down for it. It would seem that in the later Middle Ages the rules for posture at low Mass and at Masses conducted with less solemnity were basically the rules which held outside of feast-days and festival seasons. That means, as a rule, kneeling at the orations and during the canon, to which must be added kneeling during the Confiteor at the beginning. Standing was expressly required only during the Gospel. To retain these regulations regarding kneeling and standing and at the same time to avoid a frequent and, in last analysis, disturbing change of posture during the short space of a low Mass, some simpler rule had to be devised for low Mass, namely, that aside from the Gospel one would kneel all the way through. This rule, however, was never very strictly insisted on."

"Cf. infra, p. 459 f.

In countries outside Germany, especially those influenced by French, English and Spanish culture, sitting at the oratory is taken as much for granted as sitting at the Gospel. In several places (e.g., the U.S.) people usually stay seated till the start of the Canon or even (as in the diocese of Namur and many parts of Spain) till the Consecration; Krappe, "Messebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (SZ 1927, II). 355 f.

The Carthusians are accustomed to sit in choir even during the singing of the oratory chant; Ordinarium Cart. (1932), c. 31, 6.

Even at the less solemn missa matutinalis different choir rules obtained than at the conventual Mass; thus in the 12th century among the canons of St. Victor in Paris: E. Martine, De ant. Ecc1. ritibus, App. (III, 791 f.).

"The Lay Folks Mass Book (ed. Simmons, 6 ff.), which was compiled with the 13th century Anglo-Norman conditions in view, orders the participants to kneel (and then in each case to stand, since sitting is not provided for) at the Confiteor, at the collects and Epistle, at the secreta, during the Canon, at the Pax and the priest's Communion, and at the post-communion; see the editor's commentary, 191, 307. Anaslogous but less detailed directions are found in the Vernon MS. (c. 1375); ibid., 128 ff., especially 143 ff.

For the bishop who assists at the Mass of a priest, the Pontifical of Durandus has the rule: kneel at the collects, from the secreta to the communion of the chalice, and again at the post-communion (during the prayers at the foot of the altar the bishop stands next to the priest); Andrieu, III, 643-647. Similarly the Ordo Rom. XV, n. 35 (FL, LXXVIII), 1291.

"Cf. the details infra, p. 447 f.

Thus already in the Mass of John Burchard (Legg, Tracts, 134). This regulation has gone into our present Missal, Rubr. gen. XVII, 2.

German preachers in the 15th century usually stressed only the kneeling at the Consecration; Franz, 21 f. At the Council of Trent a Portuguese complained that in his country people usually stay seated till the start of the Canon or even (as in the diocese of Namur and many parts of Spain) till the Consecration; thus in the 12th century among the canons of St. Victor in Paris: E. Martine, De ant. Ecc1. ritibus, App. (III, 791 f.).

"Cf. supra, note 36. Still in Brazil the men (not the women, who occupy the pews) usually remain standing all during the Mass except at the Consecration. Kneeling met with certain difficulties: especially the aristocrats found it hard, because they would get their clothes dirty and because their long turned-up shoes got in the way. In the U.S. kneeling is the characteristic posture not only at Low Mass but also at High (except for standing at the Gospel and sitting at certain other times). But

FORMS OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION

The forms of external participation, however, fulfill their meaning and purpose only when they are props and stay for an interior concurrence on the part of the faithful. The different forms of bodily demeanor are indeed an index to the distinction between prayer and reading, and even in prayer they bring the important thing to the fore. The acclamations help to accentuate this fact. If the faithful of the earlier Middle Ages took part in the oratory procession, sang the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei, received the Sacrament or at least the Pax, it is obvious that the grand lineaments of the sacred ceremony must have to some degree continually entered their consciousness. They could not, it is true, follow the wording of prayers and lessons when the language was different from their own, and this was a disadvantage, but it was by no means an absolute hindrance to devout participation. That the faithful were to pray silently by themselves during the sacrifice was also insisted on from early times."

The natural pattern was, of course, for this inward devotion to adjust itself to the actual course of the liturgical function insofar as this was attainable, and to accompany the priest at least at a distance. This ideal had evidently inspired those who, in the Carolingian reform and even later in the Middle Ages, strove for the observance of the older forms of outward participation. The prayer book of Charles the Bald presents prayers-texts of offering at the oratory, of intercession when the priest asks for prayer for himself, and of preparation for Communion; they are texts which square thoroughly with those of the priest. An English prayer book from the thirteenth century also sets great store on the liturgical collaboration of whoever used it. Joining with the prayers of the priest occurs in many places, often, it may be, quite extrinsically. Just on the threshold it is worthy of note that Father J. O'Connell, at the request of many American bishops, included in his celebratory rules for the laity that differ in little from the ordinary choir rules, and hence insist on a standing posture as basic; J. O'Connell, The Celebration of Mass, I. appendix.

At the same time it cannot be denied that the juncture of the closing Per omnia sacra sunt ecclesie with the start of the new act is hardly conducive to a clear understanding of the structure of holy Mass. The problem will be met later on.

Cyprian, De dom. or. c. 4 (CSEL, 3, 269); Const. Ap. II, 57, 21 (Quasten, Mon., 186).

See the pertinent sections in Vol. II, ch. 1, 4; and Ch. 3; 9.

Simmons, The Lay Folks Mass Book, 1-60.

Regarding the bodily posture, see supra, note 46. Gestures at prayer included a sign of the cross at the Gospel and, in many places, kissing the book at the end of the Gospel, along with another cross. Mention is made of praying with uplifted hands at the elevation (and also, ad libitum, during the secret prayers); the oratory procession was considered optional.

Prayers akin to the priest's prayers and similar considerations are suggested at the Confiteor, Gloria, Gospel, Credo, Sanctus, both mementos, the elevation, Pater noster (answer: Sed libera nos a male— the only response mentioned), Agnus Dei. In several places, however, like the collects and the Epistle, the secreta, the first memento, the Consecration, the only suggestion made is that the participant say the Pater noster, to which in some instances the Creed is added and in one case the Ave.
of modern times Burchard of Strassburg, in a similar vein, makes a rather comprehensive remark regarding the faithful’s participation: Even if people do not understand the priest’s words or the Latin tongue, they should not say any other prayers but should pay attention to what the priest is saying and doing and should in spirit offer up, supplicate and plead along with him except during the time when the Sacredness is adored, and at that place in the canon where he (at the Memento) prays softly by himself; then one could likewise freely pray for oneself and for all those whom one wishes to commend to God. It is this same Burchard who wanted to inaugurate once more the responses by the intercessores.

In the period of humanism such extravagant proposals might possibly have been suggested for educated groups. But for the broad masses of the faithful the simplest premises for such plans were entirely lacking, particularly the ability to learn the priest’s prayers or even the Ordinary of the Mass. Following the prayers of the priest was, and continued to be, beyond the reach of the average Catholic, and so the external forms of participation were also long ago lost. The great stress of popular liturgical leadership has therefore gone in other directions since the ninth century, as we saw. It was enough to point out to the faithful what they could follow with their eyes and to explain the details of these sensible images as representations of Christ’s redemptive Passion, extracting as far as possible every last meaning out of our Lord’s institution. Allegory dominates the scene till well into modern times. A long intellectual preparation was up to this admonition of the priest’s. But the lady retorts: “I can nat se what we shall do at masse, if we pray nat.” Chaplain: “Ye shall thynke to the mystery of the masse and shall hearken the words that the preest say [and those who do not understand] shall behold, and shall here, and thynke, and by that they shall understand.”

The aporia inherent in this problem is aptly illustrated by an example which Simmons presents in his commentary in The Lay Folks Mass Book, 158. In these notes Simmons reprints an anecdote illustrative of manners in the 16th century—a supposed conversation, written down in 1527, between the Lady Mary (afterwards Queen of England) and her almoner or chaplain. The lady remarks on the chaplain's advice that you, the chaplain replies, is applicable especially up to this admonition of the priest’s. But the lady retorts: “I can nat se what we shall do at masse, if we pray nat.” Chaplain: “Ye shall thynke to the mystery of the masse and shall hearken the words that the preest say [and those who do not understand] shall behold, and shall here, and thynke, and by that they shall understand.”

In the Syrian Didascalia, II, 59-61) Funk, 170-176) the faithful are emphatically admonished to appear for Sunday service, for the word of salvation and for the divine nourishment, and not to curtail the body of Christ in its members (II, 59, 2 ff.). Explicit, too, is the so-called Doctrina Apostolorum, which derives from the 3rd-4th century. According to Monachino, “La cura pastorale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma,” 54-57, the people of Milan in St. Ambrose’s time were content with the one episcopal service on Sunday, but by that time spatial limitations restricted attendance to only a portion of the Milanese Christians. A similar opinion for Carthage (ibid., 186-191) rests on even stronger considerations; cf. ZKH, LXX (1948), 377.

1 Acts 20:7; possibly it was the night of the Sabbath, not of the Sunday; see E. Jacquier, Les Actes des Apôtres (2nd ed.; Paris, 1926), 589.

2 Supra, p. 18, note 54.

3 Supra, p. 23.

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7. The Time of the Celebration of Mass

As we turn to inquire about the time arrangements made for the celebration of Mass we must be careful to keep our eyes mainly on its public celebration, especially in the centuries in which there was a clear distinction between private Mass and public Mass.

The day for the community celebration of the Eucharist was Sunday, even in the primitive Church. On a Sunday, Paul was with his congregation at Troas where he at night “broke bread.” Sunday is unequivocally designated in the Didache and in Justin.

What was till then more or less a matter of course, was at the beginning of the fourth century formulated as a sanctioned command at the Council of Elvira: Si quis in civitate positus tres dominicas ad ecclesiam non accesserit, pauco tempore abstineat [ur], ut correpit esse videatur. After that, the precept of Sunday Mass was often repeated, both in the East and in the West.
and in the West." From the decrees of the Synod of Agde (506) it was copied into the general law of the Church. Still in the carrying out of the obligation, especially in country places, there were many difficulties that had to be contended with all through the Middle Ages.10

Besides Sundays, other days began to be reckoned as days of public worship on which one counted on the attendance of the congregation or even demanded it; these were the feast days, including the martyr feasts of the respective church, and also the days after a great festival, especially Easter week, and the days of preparation for such festivals, especially Lent. During Lent daily attendance at divine service was considered of obligation for many centuries from Carolingian times on, and was so enjoined in the penitential books.11 Besides it was the custom since the fourth century in nearly all Christendom on the station days, Wednesday and Friday, to conclude the fast in the afternoon with a prayer-meeting. Except in Egypt and probably also in Rome, this was nearly everywhere joined to the celebration of Mass.12 In Rome the same rule was followed, at any rate during the ember weeks, the Mass formulas for which have been preserved till our own day. And even in Rome it became customary after the outset of the Middle Ages, to celebrate Mass publicly at least on Wednesdays each week, as we are bound to conclude from the Scripture lessons appointed for this purpose.13 Each Ember week ended in the night between Saturday and Sunday with a long vigil, and the Mass of this vigil counted for the Sunday. However, about the seventh century a special Mass was formulated for this Sunday and the vigil Mass was moved back to Saturday morning so that Saturday too, at least in Ember week, received a distinction like that of Wednesday and Friday.

In the Orient, ever since the fourth century, Saturday had gradually been invested with the privilege of public Mass week after week, but for entirely different reasons. As a defensive parry against Manichean doctrine, Saturday, the day when creation had ended, was in time looked upon as "Sunday's brother"14 and was therefore fitted out in like manner with divine service.15

10 Franz, 11.
12 Decretum Gratiani III, 1, 64 (Friedberg, I, 1312).
13 Franz, 11-15.
14 Theodulf, Capitulare, I, c. 39 (PL, CV, 204); Burchard of Worms, Decretum XIX, c. 5 (PL, CXL, 962 C). Likewise in the somewhat later Summa de indiciis omnitium pecatorum; H. J. Schmitz, Die Fastenbücher und das kanonische Berausungsfahren (Düsseldorf, 1898), 492 f. Decretum Gratiani III, 1, 50 (Friedberg, I, 1307).
15 Schimmer, Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis, 117 f.
16 Daily Mass is mentioned in Augustine, Ep., 54, 2, 2; 228, 6; in Joh. tract., 26, 15; De civ. Dei, X, 20, etc. Cf. Roetter, 97 f.; Montiño, "La cura pastorale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma," 191-193.
18 This altered situation also necessitated a change in the arrangement of the church building and the altar, particularly the setting up of a special week-day altar to accommodate the smaller week-day congregation; see Gottesdienst (ed. R. Schwarz; Würzburg, 1937), 72.
19 The "third hour" did not, of course, co-incide precisely with our "nine o'clock," for the older reckoning was based on an apportionment of daylight into twelve parts from sunup to sundown; in winter these portions started later, particularly in the north, where they certainly were lengthened out. For that reason the Synod of Cambria (1586), III, 10 (Hardouin, IX, 2157) stipulated: in winter at 7 o'clock, in summer at 9. See H. Grotefend, Zeitchreibung des deutschen Mittelalters, (Hanover, 1891), I, 183 f.; also G. Billfinger, Die mittelalterlichen Horen und die modernen Stunden (Stuttgart, 1892), 1 ff.

THE TIME OF THE CELEBRATION OF MASS

A daily celebration of Mass with the character of a public service must, however, have remained unknown to the ancient Church until well in the fourth century. More comprehensive expressions are to be understood either of a private celebration11 or even merely of Communion at home. But in the time of St. Augustine a daily Mass to which all the faithful could come must have been very widespread, at least in Africa.12 When it became the prevailing rule to transfer Votive Masses to the public church, the sharp distinction between public and private celebration began to disappear in the churches of the West and there arose some transitional forms. The faithful were now able to attend Mass in church daily.13

Still, public Mass on Sundays and feast days continued to retain its special prerogatives. All through the Middle Ages it had its appointed hour. And since the Church was free and (after renouncing the evening meal) no longer bound to choose an early morning hour, a time was set for common worship that appeared to be fitting for such a momentous task. On Sundays and feast days it was the third hour,14 which was designated at Rome about 530,15 as well as in Gaul,16 and this hour it which consistently recurs in the writings of both the liturgists17 and the canonists.18 Since the Middle Ages it was regularly preceded by Terce, not only

12 Liber pont. (Duchesne, I, 129) : Pope Telephorus, it relates, ordered that no one presume to celebrate ante hora terciae. The statement is, of course, un-authentic, but it indicates the attitude of the early sixth century.
13 The choice of the third hour was already appreciated in Hippolytus, Trad. Ap. (Dix, 63), where this hour is commended to the faithful as the hour the bread of proposition (shewbread) was offered up (to which some of the sources add: "as a type of the body and blood of Christ").
14 Synod of Orleans (538), can. 14 (Mansi, 16): De missarum celebratio in praecipuis duntaxat sollemnitatibus ob observari debet ut hora tercia missarum celebratio in Dei nomine indatur.
15 Among others: Ansart, De eccles. off., III, 42 (PL, CV, 1160); Walfrid Strabo, De ord. et incem., c. 23 (PL, CXIV, 951); Berndol, Micrologus, c. 58 (PL, CLI, 1019).
16 Regius of Prüm, De synod. causz, I, innum. 29 (PL, CXXII, 188); Burchard, Decretum, III, 63 (PL, CXL, 868); Decretum Gratiani, III, 1, 48 (Friedberg, I, 1307).
in monastery and chapter churches but also as far as possible even in parish churches, and Sext usually followed. Therefore, in the still extant directions for ringing the church bells a special peal—run two or even three times—was provided. The arrangement developed for Sundays and feasts was shifted also to week days when daily conventual Mass became common in monastery and chapter churches. But it must also have been adopted at quite an early period as the order of worship in parish churches. This time was an ambivalent time-designation all through the Middle Ages and even after, and it meant the third hour of the day.

Already in Ambrose there is evidence of an evening celebration of Mass, but only on fast days. In the Carolingian era a Mass at the ninth hour on fast days was as much a matter-of-course as the Mass at the third hour on other days. This remained the custom in the centuries to follow, especially for Lent. On other days that were midway between strict fasting days and feasts properly so called, the dies profesti, a middle course was taken from the eleventh century on, with Mass at the sixth hour. It was not till near the end of the Middle Ages that any tendency was shown to push

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these later hours ahead by saying Mass as usual right after Sext or None, but anticipating these hours before noon. Taking a cue from this, John Burchard, in his Ordo missae (1502), expanded the existing tradition and thus developed the more exact regulations that were then taken over into the Rubricae genera! of our Mass book. Its most important stipulation is that the missae Conventualis et solemnis on Sundays and feasts (semi- duplex and upward) ought to take place dicta in choro hora tertia, on simple feasts and feasts days dicta Sexta, and on days of penance post Nonam; that is, the Mass on feast days could, like the meals, continue to be attached to its usual hour of the day: it always takes place at the "third hour."

However, this holding to an appointed time for public worship has quite generally lost its importance since the later Middle Ages. That fact is connected with what we have already seen regarding the gradual breakdown of the distinction between public and private Mass. For a long time no particular hour was stipulated for private Mass; and therefore no connection with a canonical hour. True, the faithful, in accordance with ancient law, were not so free to attend the missae peculiare on Sundays and holy days as to be drawn away from public Mass; in fact, the faithful were obliged to fulfill their Sunday obligations not just in any public church but precisely in their own parish church. But with the

Amalar, De ecclesia, III, 42 (PL, CV, 1160), feels obliged to defend the freer treatment of the hours for private Mass; at that rate there must have been a certain easing of the rules; cf. Eisenhofer, II, 25.

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27 Thus in the middle of the 14th century according to P. Boeri; see E. Marténe, Regulae s. Benedicti commentatae, c. 48 (PL, L.VII, 710 d).

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28 In Burchard's Ordo missae (Legg. Tracts, 126), Prime is no longer demanded absolutely; in our Roman Missal (Ritus serv., I, 1; cf. De defect, X, 1) only Matins and Lauds are enjoined. There is no longer any distinction here between public Mass and private.

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29 Theodulf of Orleans, Capitulare, I, c. 45 (PL, CV, 208); Decretum Gratiani III, 1, 52 (Friedberg, I, 1308).

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30 Numerous decisions of this sort from 9th to 12th century in Browe, Die Pflichtkommunion, 49-51. Later ordinances, in part with threats of excommunication, in Marténe, I, 3, 9, 4f. (I, 337-340).
coming of the Mendicants this law was slowly relaxed even though synod after synod took a firm stand in opposition. In the fifteenth century it had become in many places a right sanctioned by usage that the Sunday duty could be fulfilled in any church of one's choosing and, in consequence, at any Mass of one's choosing and this right soon obtained papal approbation, beginning in 1517 with a decree of Leo X.

Thus on Sundays we continue to have, at the customary hour, a service which we usually style the main service, but besides this, service has long since been conducted also at other hours, particularly in cities. Of these the early hours with their Communion Mass, at which there is a homily, are from the pastoral viewpoint as important as the main service, though this latter is perhaps richer at least musically. Even if the social aspect—the idea of community—is thus somewhat obscured, there is some compensation in the fact that so many of the faithful are offered the opportunity to take part in Sunday Mass, a viewpoint which was not entirely absent even in Christian antiquity. And likewise service on weekdays has not for a long time been conducted along the pattern of a monastic community that is independent and self-contained and can therefore follow the old rhythm of the Office hours, but the determining factor has been rather the people's work day.

The decree of the Council of Nantes (Mansi, XI, 166-167) obliging the parish priest to inquire at the start of Sunday Mass whether anyone was present who belonged to another parish, and asking any such to leave unless they were on a journey or had due permission, is still repeated in the 13th century where it has become part of the Corpus Iuris Canonici: Decretales Greg. III, 92, 2 (Friedberg, II, 554).

Franz, 15-17. Among the synods cited here the first is that of Prague, 1349, the decree of the Council of Arles (1260) had already strictly prohibited religious to receive lay people into their churches and chancels on Sundays; can. 15; Mansi, XXIII, 1010. And the Council of Budapest, 1279, was even more severe, inflicting various penalties; can. 33; Mansi, XXIV, 285-6. See Guiniven, The Precept of Hearing Mass., 30-34.

Thus attests St. Antoninus (d. 1459), Summa theol., II, 9, 10 (Verona [1740]: II, 1001).

Nicholas of Cusa, when Bishop of Brixen, had admonished parish priests to instruct the people quod non sufficit audire peculi­ares missas. Franz, 16, note 4.

The present legislation no longer makes mention of this; Cod. luv. Can., c. 1249.

An even less favorable criticism of the Sunday's service in towns and cities is to be found in Parsch, Volkstliturgie, 188.

Leo the Great, Ep., 9, 2 (PL, LIV, 627): Necesse est autem, ut quadam parte populi sua devotione privetur, si unius tantum missae more servato sacrificio offere non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte consenserit. This decision, which was sent to Alexandria, seems to presuppose a second, Later Mass; however, it is not concerned primarily with the ordinary Sunday Mass, but rather with the unusual case of a gathering at a certain church where, because of a memorial service for a martyr, people from all over town have assembled; cf. Monachino, "La cura past­ torale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma," 354 f.

The Council of Trent advised the bishops to admonish their people ut frequentuer ad suas parochias, saltem diebus dominicae et majoribus festis, accedant; Sess. XXII, De obser. et vs. in celebr. missae. The decree of the Council of Nantes (Mansi, XVIIIa, 166-167), obliging the bishops to admonish their people quod non sufficit audire missas. Franz, 16, note 4.

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These indults were granted to the military ordinaries of Germany as well as the United States, etc. Since then various other indults for public evening Mass have been vouchsafed. See the discussion of the recent Roman grants in G. Ellard, "How Near is Evening Mass?" American Ecclesiastical Review, CXII (1950), 331-340.

This is no unqualified innovation, even apart from the primitive Church, and even when we have only divine service of a festal nature in view. For far into the medieval period the services for Easter and Pentecost and for the Ember Sundays were conducted on the eve or vigil at a late evening hour; even in modern times an analogous custom regarding the Christmas midnight Mass, which had its origin in Venice, became quite widespread.

Besides the public Masses on Sundays and holydays with the corresponding assemblage—at least successively—of all the members of the congregation, attendance at weekday Mass also has been on the increase. In the early Church the only ones who attended weekday Mass were as a rule those for whose benefit the sacrifice was being offered. The celebration of Mass on the stational days must, no doubt, have gathered a larger crowd of the faithful. In North Africa where daily celebration was customary earliest of all, Augustine gives us to understand that this was very necessary for the faithful in days of peril, that they might be able to continue steadfast. However, this is no evidence of a daily Mass attendance by a wider circle.

Cf. in this connection E. Dekkers, "L'Eglise ancienne a-t-elle connu la Messe du Soir?" Miscellanea Mohlberg (1948), I, 231-237; according to this article the evening Mass of the Corinthians was more or less an exception. The author multiplies proofs that in the very earliest Christian age Mass was normally celebrated ante lucem, while in the patriotic period even weekday Mass was said ab vesperam diei. Zimmermann, 146-157, 190-198.

It was this book, published in 1914, that gave the first impetus to this whole question of a post-noon Mass. In it he describes, 201-244, "the modern movement for evening Mass," but his own historical discussion of the question was the first great impulse this movement received. The more extended concession of evening Mass in our times began with indults granted to certain countries pressed by persecution (Mexico, 1927; Russia, 1929) and with the permission to celebrate Mass continually for three days and nights at Lourdes in 1935; see Ellard, The Mass of the Future, 331 ff.

A new problem has been pressing for authoritative discussion: the question, whether it is not more appropriate to fulfill one's Sunday obligation at a Saturday-night Mass instead of a Sunday-night Mass. The Church has already begun the Sunday observance with First Vespers; the method follows the ancient model of the vigil service. And the Sunday evening Mass would involve an impoverishment of divine service, since evening service over and above the Mass could hardly be developed.

Augustine, Ep., 228, 6 (CSEL, LVII, 489) : those of the faithful especially had become recreant quibus cotidianum ministri­rium domini corporis defuit. Cf. supra, p. 213, note 4.

Augustine, in his Confessions, V, 9 (CSEL, XXXIII, 104, 1. 6) remarks of his mother, St. Monica, that on no day had...
It was not till the late Carolingian era, in the writings of Regino of Prüm, that there are any traces of the faithful attending daily Mass. Daily attendance at Mass in the castle chapel was part of the order of the day amongst the Norman nobility of twelfth-century England; elsewhere too, the knights appear to have followed a similar practice. The people were encouraged in sermons to attend Mass daily, even in the days before the widespread desire to see our Lord which went to such excesses during the late Middle Ages. As a matter of fact daily attendance at Mass was a prevalent practice amongst all ranks of the people in the later Middle Ages.

8. Accommodations of Space

One of the wonderful manifestations of the inner strength, power, and extent of Christian worship is the fact that it is so spiritualized that it seems to be almost indifferent to conditions of space and yet it has produced, in every century, masterpieces of architecture and the other structural arts such as no other of man's ideas has been able to produce. We cannot here go into very great detail in showing, as we have done with other questions, how the construction of buildings and other spatial accessories has developed as an outer frame surrounding the celebration of Mass. All we can do is sketch a general outline and lay bare certain underlying trends that are closely connected with the celebration, pointing out especially the genetic line of these tendencies.

She missed the oblatio ad altare.

Regarding pre-Carolingian Gaul there are some interesting remarks in Henry B. H., "A Note on the Frequency of Mass in Sixteenth-Century France," American Ecclesiastical Review, XXI (1949), 480-485; little is said, however, about the attendance of the people.

64 Supra, note 29. It must be remarked that even in the eleventh century the daily conventual Mass in the monasteries was a rule, but not an absolute one; cf. p. 204, note 60.

65 See the proofs in Simmons, The Lay Folks Mass Book, p. 38 f.

66 In the Grail poem of Chrétien de Troyes (v. 6450 ff.). Parzival receives from a hermit the advice to go to church every morning. If Mass is said, he should remain till the priest has said everything and sung everything. Cf. the Grail legend, Perceval le Gallois, ed. Potvin (Mons. 1866), p. 261. Time and again Mass appears as part of the daily order for the knights in Wolfram von Eschenbach, Parzival (ed. Lachmann; 6th ed.), III, 169, 17 f.; IV, 196, 12 ff.; XV, 776, 25.

67 Berthold of Regensburg, Predigten, ed. Pfeiffer, I, 458-460 ("at least once a day," 4581. 7) ; 503; see Franz, 33 f.

A sermon ascribed to St. Ambrose (PL, XIX, 656 B) contains this admonition: Monae eiam, ut qui iusta ecclesiam est et occurrere potest, quotidie audiat missam. It is not clear whether this counsel was meant for the whole year or only for the Lenten season. This sermon must have been written some time about the end of the 8th or the start of the 9th century since in it a regular confession at the beginning of Quadragesima (n. 1) and Communion during Lent at least on Sundays (n. 6) is presupposed; both these had given up use entirely during the 9th century.

68 L. A. Veit, Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirchen im deutschen Mittelalter (Freiburg, 1936), 172.

One of the most revolutionary innovations which Christianity produced was the departure from a cultus of place-worship connected with certain localities—holy mountains, mystic groves, even the sacred Temple in Jerusalem. Worship can take place wherever a holy people are gathered before God, for this people is the true Temple of the Lord (2 Cor. 6:16; 1 Cor. 3:16). Therefore in every place, from the rising of the sun to its going down, the new sacrifice is offered up (Mal. 1:11). The true sanctuary is to be found neither in Garizim nor in Jerusalem, but in every place where true adorers worship God in spirit and in truth (John 4:21 ff.).

If, therefore, in the first centuries of Christianity there is but little mention of the place for divine worship and that little is only incidental, the reason is to be sought in something more than just the circumstances of the persecutions. People assembled for their Sunday celebration wherever some member of the congregation could manage to set up the room for its performance. But the Eucharist was also celebrated in the burial places of the dead and even in the prisons of those held captive. This basic freedom and mobility of divine service has been retained all through the succeeding centuries right down to the present. Today, too, whenever it is necessary, that sacrifice can be offered under the open sky or in any suitable place, and no other barricade against the profane world is exacted excepting the altarstone on which the sacred species can rest; and even this requirement is in our days set aside with the permission to use instead an antimensium like that traditional in the Eastern Church. But two things continue to be indispensable for service: a resting place for the sacred species and a place for the assembling of the people. And thus, as soon as circumstances allowed Christianity to unfold and develop with less restraint, the history of church architecture and church art, already in embryo before Constantine's time, began its marvellous course.

It is significant that in the Romance languages the prevalent word used to designate the church building is the one which signifies an assembly, ecclesia, while in other languages, on the contrary, the word which is primarily intended for the church building, xριστιάνικόν, "church," has been transferred to the assembly. As a matter of fact the building is nothing else than the material surrounding of the living temple of God, a substantial shell which has formed and will continue to form even though human foolishness or the forces of nature may have destroyed it. For that reason it seems in its design to mirror the idea and structure of the living temple.

1 Supra, pp. 208, 217.


8 Permission was granted to chaplains during World War II.
Just as the Church of God is built up of people and clergy, so too the presbytery or choir, in whose vertex stands the cathedra of the bishop, is separated from the nave of the church. Just as the ecclesiastical assembly, following ancient custom, was wont to pray facing East, toward the Orient from on high, so too the ecclesiastical building is turned into a "ship" (nave = navis) voyaging towards the East, and the orientation of the church is in fact carried out in such a way (first in the East and later also in the West) that the apse is to the East, and so the direction which the praying congregation faces coincides with the lie of the building.

Finally, the consecration of the living temple is, in a way, carried over to the material structure; church and altar are consecrated and themselves become holy. There is something to be learnt from the fact that in this consecration ceremony—the old Gallican rite, revitalized with Roman traditions and still retained in today's Pontificale Romanum—church and altar are "baptized" and "confirmed" almost like human beings; they are sprinkled on all sides with holy water and are anointed with holy oil; only after that is the first Eucharist celebrated.

The heart of the church, the focal point at which all lines converge, is the place of the sacrifice, the altar. We nowadays take such a thing for granted, but actually a certain development lies back of this. In the church of Christian antiquity the personal element in the assembled congregation was so much to the fore that it was the seat of the bishop or rather the bishop himself who was the central figure; he is the liturgus who offers up the Eucharist to God. The material side of the gifts is, if anything, hidden rather than emphasized. The table on which they lie is looked upon merely as a technical aid. It is, you might say, not an altar at all, in the sense of pre-Christian religions where the gift is hallowed and dedicated to God only when it touches the altar; our Gift is intrinsically holy, dedicated to God by its very nature and in the last analysis does not really require an altar. All the references we possess from the third and fourth centuries agree in their account of the altar; they regard the altar not as a part of the permanent structure of the church but only as a simple wooden table which is carried into position by the deacons as occasion dictates. But the new appreciation for the material gift by which the sacrifice of the New Testament burgeons out of and beyond this earthly space and hallows it, and the deeper rooting of the Church in this world of time, were the

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4 Cf. supra, p. 301.
9 supra, p. 24 ff.
10 Eisenhofer, I, 344 ff.

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accommodations of space

cause, or at least the occasion, for the altar's assuming a more fixed form. Often in the fourth century—and regularly thereafter—it is made of stone. But it remained a plain simple table. Even today its name in the Orient is still ὑ ἄ για τράπεζα.11 To this table the liturgus came at the beginning of the Mass proper, the sacrificial offering. On which side should he take his place—facing the people or facing away? History indicates that both practices were in use from the very start, at least in the vicinity of Rome. Even today they are both countenanced in the Missale Romanum.12 One way, the priest stands turned towards the altar facing in the same direction as the people; this is the general rule both East and West, and appears to have always been the rule in the East. The other way, he stands on the side opposite, facing the people, and this is the position presupposed in some of the older Roman churches. However, this latter position appears to have been chosen only where there was some special reason for it.13 The rule which grew ever more important, that at prayer all should look to the East—and naturally this included the celebrant first of all—led even in the early Middle Ages to the priest's assuming a place almost without exception14 like the one he assumes today, on the side of the altar nearest the people, for he is the leader of the people in their prayer and at their head offers up to God their prayer and sacrifice.15

11 Salaville, Eastern Liturgies, 133. This term is used even beyond the Greek-speaking areas; Brightman, 500.
12 Ritus serv., V, 3.
13 Braun, I, 412 f., suggests three reasons: (1) If the altar was linked to a martyr's grave (confessus), the side facing the people had to be open to give them access to the grave. (2) If in episcopal churches the cathedra stood in the apse (as it does in all the Roman stations churches), it was most convenient (although not imperative) that the side nearest the apse be chosen for celebrating. (3) Especially if the apse was built on the western side of the church, this method of celebrating had to be adopted, for the law that prayer be said facing East demanded such a solution.
14 For Augustine's time, Roetzer, 89.
15 An exception which literally confirms the rule is to be found in the altar in the west choir of Rhenish churches and others; so that even here the priest might stand properly oriented he had to take the side towards the nave. Braun, I, 415; cf. 387 ff.; G. Malherbe, "L'orientation des autels dans les églises à double chœur," Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales, XXI (1936), 278-280.
16 See the plans by R. Schwarz, Von Bau der Kirche (Würzburg, 1937), esp. 56 ff. Orientation at prayer and the symbolism it entails has lost much of its meaning for us. But the basic principle that at prayer all— including even the celebrant—should take a Godward stance, could easily be at work here too, in establishing the celebrant's position at the altar. If Mass were only a service of instruction or a Communion celebration, the other position, facing the people, would be more natural. But it is different if the Mass is an immersion and homage to God. If today the altar versus populum is frequently chosen, this is the result of other considerations that come into play—considerations which are rated as of paramount importance particularly as a reaction to earlier conditions. It serves to narrow down the distance between priest and congregation and to highlight the instructive items contained in the prayer and the rite. In certain circumstances—like the services for young people—these reasons appear to be well-founded.
The same basic relationship is the reason for the position which the altar occupies in the space of the church. It is a striking fact that in the history of Christian church architecture the axial type appears in various localities, but that even here the altar is hardly ever placed in the center; both in oriental churches (with cupola and shaped like a Greek cross) and in the circular churches of the West (a style frequently used during the Baroque period), the altar stands in a niche or apse which was added to the circular structure, as a rule toward the East.\textsuperscript{16} But during ancient times an effort was always made to set up the altar in such a way that it seemed to belong both to the nave and to the choir, being placed at the intersection of the two or even brought out a little into the nave itself.\textsuperscript{17}

Then in the early Middle Ages a new movement set in, which gradually moved the altar into the background in the rear of the choir.\textsuperscript{18} This is but the architectonic expression of an intellectual movement which stressed more and more the sacredness and aloofness of the mystery and restricted immediate access to it to the clergy.\textsuperscript{19} In the Orient the altar stands free and open in the sanctuary but, by means of the ikonostasis, it is withdrawn from the people's gaze.\textsuperscript{20} In the West, the altar itself was moved closer to the rear wall of the sanctuary and at the same time the sanctuary or choir in Romanesque architecture was vastly increased in size; in monastic and capитель churches it became a formal clerical chapel, specially designed for the clerical services which continually became more richly developed.\textsuperscript{21}

Here too, the railing which marked the limits of the choir often turned into a dividing wall, although intended to separate the clergy, rather than the altar, from the people.\textsuperscript{22} Therefore, a second main altar (often called the "rood altar") was sometimes built in the church in front of this (choir) screen, to serve the people.\textsuperscript{23} But when the chapters began to disappear the screen likewise disappeared, first from the leading churches and then soon everywhere. Baroque architecture restored the unity of place without, however, making any changes regarding the placement of the altar.

\textsuperscript{16} Braun, I, 390-393.
\textsuperscript{17} There are authenticated instances in many places in the ancient Church where the plan of building involved an altar in the center of the nave. For the old churches of Tyre, Zebed and Menas, \textit{Vide} K. Liesenberg, \textit{Der Einfuss der Liturgie auf die friechristliche Basilika} (Diss.; Freiburg i. Br., 1928), 39 f.
\textsuperscript{18} This plan of construction was used quite generally in North Africa; J. Sauer, "Der Kirchenbau Nordafrikas in den Tagen des hl. Augustinus" (\textit{Aurelius Augustinus, ed. Grabmann and Mausbach; Cologne [1930]; 243-300), 286 f.
\textsuperscript{19} The same holds true of ancient Christian architecture in Greece; see the review of a pertinent discussion by G. A. Sotiriou in \textit{JL, XI} (1931), 290.
\textsuperscript{20} In Syria, for example, this development had already been completed by the time of the Islamic invasion; Liesenberg, 64.
\textsuperscript{21} Cf. supra, p. 82 f.
\textsuperscript{22} Supra, p. 40. Cf. also Salaville, \textit{Eastern Liturgies}, 105-111.
\textsuperscript{23} Cf. supra, p. 103 f., 205 f.
\textsuperscript{24} Braun, I, 665 f.
\textsuperscript{25} Braun, I, 401-406.
\textsuperscript{26} Regarding the history of side altars we have already given a brief summary, supra, p. 222 ff.
\textsuperscript{27} Origen, \textit{In Jesu Nave hom.}, 10, 3 (PG, XI, 881).
\textsuperscript{28} Chrysostom, \textit{In Matth. hom.}, 50, 4 (PG, LVIII, 509).
\textsuperscript{29} Eusebius, \textit{Hist. eccl.}, X, 4 (PG, XX, 865 f.).
\textsuperscript{30} Braun, II, 178 ff.

The altar, too, saw a great development from the simple table of olden times to the elaborate forms of recent centuries; but a clear idea of the purpose of the altar was not always kept in view. As the place where the sacred mystery was celebrated, it was fitting that the altar should receive every mark of respect possible. Even in the pre-Constantine era people were conscious of this.\textsuperscript{26} The altar was decked and decorated like a table; precious cloths were spread over it. Chrysostom had to give a warning about an excess of zeal in this matter that left other tasks undone.\textsuperscript{27} The frontal (\textit{antependia}) of our day which now cover usually the front of the altar only, are the last vestiges of this sort of reverence. The next move was to add railings and steps. The altar of the church in Tyre which was dedicated in 314 was surrounded by an artistically wrought railing.\textsuperscript{28} The elevated position of the altar, standing as it did in a sanctuary which was raised somewhat above the level of the church, already lent special significance to the altar, but—in the Western Church—special steps were constructed in front of the altar itself, though this did not become a general rule till the eleventh century and after.\textsuperscript{29} But the most prominent of the marks of distinction given the altar was the special shelter or canopy which surmounted it either by way of a baldachin or testa or by way of a fixed ciborium.\textsuperscript{30} This covering over the altar served to emphasize the special character of the table.

The closer the altar was put to the rear wall, the more necessary it became that this wall itself should be connected with it in significance and importance. The wall of the apse had long been specially ornamented. Preferably they were decorations that expressed those matters which formed the core and kernel of Christian consciousness, very much as the thanksgiving prayer of the Mass did by means of words—the glorified Cross, the Lamb triumphant, the Good Shepherd, or finally Christ enthroned and surrounded by the saints or by the Apostles or by the ancients of the Apocalypse.\textsuperscript{31} Later the representation of the Crucified was more often substituted for these others. Even in places where—as was not seldom the case in the Gothic period—a decorative wall-painting was introduced over the altar, the choice dictated by old tradition fell by preference on a crucifixion group either as the only representation or at least as the principal one.\textsuperscript{32} But about the eleventh century quite other rules were formed as the result of the introduction of a decorative structure ornamented with paintings, built either on the altar-table itself or immediately behind it, the
so-called retable. In the choice of subjects for these pictures the widest variety prevailed; all of Christian iconography was brought into play. Strikingly enough, it is seldom the mystery of Redemption depicted in any shape or form. Where the crucifix did appear it was generally a quite realistic representation, with a host of strange figures around it. Completely forgotten was the essential notion that a picture over the altar is not a pictorial record of the past but primarily an instrument for professing our Catholic faith and acknowledging our Christian hope. Most often the picture was one of the saint in whose honor the church was dedicated and whose relics—according to ancient principle—were buried there. Next to this, figures of other saints were frequently placed. Here is the key to the understanding of the iconographic phenomenon alluded to. It is explained, in the last analysis, by the connection which the altar had during the early Middle Ages with the grave of the martyr to which the devotion of Christian people had turned quite early with great zeal. The tension and strain which was naturally bound to develop between the shrines of the martyrs and the churches destined for congregational worship was thus finally eased when the relics of martyrs (in a broad sense) were brought into the congregational churches and the latter then became martyr-shrines in their own right. By the sixth/seventh century these relics were dismembered and inclosed in the altar itself, just as is prescribed for every altar today.

The high honor paid to the relics led to another step in the ninth century, namely, that something was permitted on the altar which was not required for the performance of the Eucharist—a thing unthinkable previously, and still avoided in the East. For at this time an exception was made in favor of reliquaries or reliquary-shrines. Again, as a result, the altar was built up, just as had happened in the case of the saints' pictures. The way was opened to the development of the massive structures we have come to know, the Gothic polychromy altars and the Baroque architectural masses, in which the mensa or table often seems to sink into the insignificance of a mere appendage. But there was some compensation to be found for the splitting of the idea of the altar which was thus introduced, when in the eleventh century the crucifix was brought to the altar, a prescription of law still maintained in our own day.

Regarding other altar furnishings we will hear more in connection with the pertinent practices. For the rest, cf. the books by Braun already referred to and the more cursory presentation in Eisenhofer, I, 342-376. For present-day legislation regarding church, altar and furnishings, see Msgr. H. E. Collins, The Church Edifice and Its Appointments (2nd ed., reprinted, Westminster, 1946).

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Braun, II, 445 ff.
Braun, II, 456.

This is made plain in a document of the Egyptian Church stemming from the end of Christian antiquity, the Canones Basilii, c. 33 (Riedel, 250): "When uncultured people venture to deny the Catholic Church and its law at the very graves of the martyrs, and no longer desire to remain under its power, the Catholic Church cuts them off as heretics. Just as the sun does not need the lamplight, so the Catholic Church [= the Church as a congregation] does not need the corpses of martyrs . . . The name of Christ is enough for the honor of the Church, because the Church is the Bride of Christ which he bought at the price of his sacred blood." The sermon written down after 431 by the Egyptian monk Schemate appears to regard the same kind of conditions; this is referred to in Braun, I, 652, 654 ff.
Braun, I, 525-661, esp. 656 ff.
Eisenhofer, I, 370.
It was only in width that the measurements of the altar increased, since a distinction was made between Epistle and Gospel side. Cf. supra, p. 109.
THE MASS CEREMONIES IN DETAIL

I. The Opening or Entrance Rite

1. Fore-Mass and Opening as a Unit

The Eucharistic celebration could have started with the preparation of the sacrificial offerings and the prayer of thanksgiving. But at the very outset it had become an inviolable rule to have an introductory section composed of readings. First of all an atmosphere of faith had to be created before the great mystery of faith was performed. This introductory section is called the fore-Mass in contradi…

1 The terms "Mass of the catechumens" and "Mass of the faithful" are also used to designate these parts respectively, but these expressions did not come into use till the 11th century. Florus, De actione missarum, n. 92 (PL, CXIX, 72), in the 9th century, still uses both expressions, missa catechumenorum and missa fidelium, in their original sense of dismissal of catechumens and faithful. After the Gospel, we read, clamante diacono idem catechumeni mittebantur, i.e. dimittabantur foras. Missa ergo catechumenorum fiesbat ante actionem sacramentorum, missa fidelium fit post consecutionem et participationem.

It must be noted in passing that the implications of the phrase "Mass of the catechumens" do not coincide exactly with those of "fore-Mass," for the catechumens were not allowed to stay till the very start of the Mass-sacrifice. The readings were followed by common prayers for the various wants of the Church and its several classes of members. The last part of this was the prayer of the faithful, but before its start the catechumens were told to withdraw if they had not already done so. Compare the vacillation in the limits between pre-anaphora and anaphora in Oriental liturgies, due to the same causes; Hanssens, Institutiones, II (1930), 2 f. Indeed at Rome, from about the sixth century it became the custom to send the catechumens away even before the Gospel, because the Gospel was considered as much a matter of the disciplina arcani as the Our Father and the symbol; Ordo Rom. VII, n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 996 B). Cf. P. Borella, "La missa o dimissio catechumenorum", Eph. liturg. (1939), 67-72.
this was the custom in Jerusalem at the turn of the fourth century, and also in North Africa. There is, for example, an account of the monastery of St. Sabbas (Mar Saba) in the vale of Cedron, where monks of different nationality, Georgians, Syrians and Latins, lived together; they first performed the introductory service of readings and prayers in separate oratories and in their own vernacular, and then assembled for the sacrifice at which Greek was used. Even today the independence of the fore-Mass is intimated in our pontifical service, for here during the fore-Mass the service hinges not around the altar, but around the cathedra of the bishop.

In olden times the fore-Mass began abruptly with the lessons or readings. This was certainly the case in the Orient, and must also have been true in the West until far into the fifth century. St. Augustine gives us an account of the beginning of the Mass on a certain Easter day which was signalized by an unusual event. Before service began, a sick man who had been praying in the cancelli of St. Stephen was suddenly cured. There was a great deal of excitement amongst the people already assembled, loud cries of thanks and joy filled the house of God. Augustine, who was in the sacristy, ready to make his entrance into the church, was informed. But what is of real interest to us is that when the tumult had gradually died down, the bishop greeted the people (salutavi populum) and then without further ado began the reading of the lessons. At that time, therefore—the story comes from the year 426—the fore-Mass began with the readings without any preliminaries. Even in the present-day Roman liturgy there is still one instance of an abbreviated fore-Mass starting with the readings, namely on Good Friday, although it is true no sacrifice-Mass follows, but only the reverencing of the cross and a Communion service; worship on this day begins with a lesson from Osee, after which there are two other readings, followed by the great intercessory prayers.

Further details regarding the course of this more ancient fore-Mass in all liturgies included, as a rule, the following items. The individual readings were generally followed by a song of some sort, usually derived from one of the lyrical passages of Scripture. The last reading was a portion of the Gospels. And finally the series of readings concluded with a prayer. This fore-Mass was therefore nothing else than a Bible lesson, in which the words of Holy Writ were followed by some sort of scriptural echo and in which the last section was always a prayer.

The part preceding the lessons is the result of a less ancient development which ran more or less parallel in the various ecclesiastical provinces, but without following any common ground-plan. However, some sort of common basic idea was everywhere at work. This was the notion that the lessons should have a preliminary, an introduction. But the introduction did not come into full being at a stroke; rather it is here precisely that many different stages can be distinguished in the growing structure. There is one archway after the other, one ante-room after the other, each tacked on as the zeal and reverence of successive centuries dictated. The oriental liturgies have generally evolved a preliminary whose proportions far exceed those of our Roman liturgy. For not only do they interpose at the start, before the readings, some type of entrance ceremonial, but they preface this with a formal hour of canonical office, and in fact the Byzantine Mass even ushers this latter in with the proskomide during which the sacrificial gifts are prepared and pre-hallowed at a special oratory table—the prothesis—with a whirl of ceremonies and prayers that are in turn wonderfully rich and extensive.

The one peculiarity that the oriental fore-Masses have in common is the preparatory prayer hour which is always incorporated in it; in the East Syrian it is a variant of Vespers, in the other liturgies a creation corresponding to our Lauds. This is the prayer ceremony which Aetheria, in Jerusalem about 390, came to recognize as the first morning service on Sundays. After the bishop had entered the Church of the Resurrection, a priest, a deacon, and another cleric, each in turn, intoned a psalm, to each verse of which the people responded with a refrain; the psalm was followed in each case by an oration. This plan of prayer is most plainly evident today in the Byzantine Mass.

This forms the heart of the so-called εναρξαί, or Opening. Here we find, one right after the other, the three antiphonal songs composed mostly from the psalms (the three "antiphons"), to each of which is attached an oration by the priest along with the deacon's ekteine. It is not till after this prayer act that (in the Byzantine Mass) the so-called Little Entrance follows. The clergy participating in the liturgy form a procession, marching from the sanctuary through a side door of the ikonostasis or picture-wall into the

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8 Aetheria Peregrinatio, c. 25 (CSEL, XXXIX, 74 f.), et al.; cf. Hanssens, Institutiones, II, 4 f.
9 Augustine, Serm., 325 (PL XXXVIII, 1449).
10 Typikon of St. Sabbas (Hanssens, II, 6 f.); text compiled in the 12th century (Latinus = φιλαργος), so that even then similar conditions must have prevailed. Two older narratives regarding a similar separation and re-union between Greeks and Armenians: v. Hanssens, Institutiones, II, 5 f.
11 About 600 we hear about other monasteries where the Scripture reading, the very heart of the fore-mass, was generally skipped because the monks were already otherwise occupied with Holy Writ; Hanssens, II, 7 f. There is another reminiscence of the older plan to be found, namely, the fact that Isidore of Seville, De eccl. off., I, 15 (PL LXXXIII, 752) begins his enumeration of the Mass prayers only after the Gospel. And in the Roman liturgy one instance of a Mass without a fore-mass still existed in the 7th-8th century, the exceptional case of Mass on Maundy Thursday; see Brevarium eccl. ord. (Silva-Taronca, 209); cf. Gelasianum, I, 38; 40 (Wilson, 63; 72); Dix, The shape of the liturgy, 439-412.
12 Const. Ap., VIII, 5, 11 (Funk, I, 477). Likewise in the somewhat more recent Canones Basilii, c. 97 (Kledel, 273), but here with the notation, "while they [the faithful] are coming in they should read over the Psalms."
13 Augustine, De civ. Del, 22, 8 (CSEL, XL, 2, p. 510 f.).
the nave of the church, and back again through the center door into the sanctuary. This is the entrance with the Gospel-book, to be distinguished from a later procession, the Great Entrance, with the sacrificial offerings. The introit of the Roman Mass corresponds to this first entrance, for in an earlier stage of development the clergy used to make their entry into the house of God in procession. Even in the liturgical formation of this entrance the analogy to the Roman type cannot be mistaken. For this Little Entrance is accompanied by a special chant (introitus), which is usually followed, depending on the festival, by some other hymns (troparia) and finally by the trisagion, the same that the Roman liturgy also has on Good Friday. Both at the entrance and at the trisagion the priest softly recites a lengthy prayer; the lessons begin after that.

Turning now to the Roman entrance rite, the thing that strikes us about the whole ceremonial, from the prayers at the foot of the altar to the collect, is its lack of coherence; we do not get the impression of something unified. For that reason interpreters of the Mass scarcely ever treat it under one title. Each individual portion, prayers at the foot of the altar, Kyrie, Gloria, collect—each has its own individual explanation without much connection with the others. And precisely for that reason we must try to consider the whole section as a unit, in order to gain the right background for the various component parts.

Usually the collect is the part selected as a hub for the several connecting lines. But hardly anything could show more clearly than this how much in the dark we are regarding the whole subject. Some have suggested that the oration belongs by right to the reading service; originally its place was after the first reading and not till later was it shifted, owing perhaps to the influence of the introit psalm. Others explain that the oration was originally a part of a special assembling ceremony which preceded the Mass. The reference here is to the old Roman custom of gathering at a different church; after all had convened, ready to start the procession to the church where Mass was to be celebrated, an oration was said over the assembled congregation. After this practice was abandoned, the oration was transferred to the church of the Mass, and placed after the processional litany which still survives in the Kyrie.

Such opinions rest on the assumption that otherwise there is no reason for the oration being where it is. Is that really so?

With good cause other commentators maintain that the Kyrie, at least in its original form as a litany, required a priestly oration as its conclusion, just as the oriental ekteme shows today; putting it another way, the 4485 who accompanies the other prayers with the oration, and seemingly to no purpose, seems to put this whole matter of an oration where it is.

As a matter of fact there can hardly be any doubt that the oration and the Kyrie belong together. This becomes all the clearer when we take cognizance of liturgical prayer outside of Mass. For the prayers of the congregation, the litany type, with its petitions intoned by a deacon and with its Kyrie eleison as the response of the people, has been the characteristic form since the fourth century. But the ancient Church was conscious of the fact that the litany demanded a concluding prayer by the priest. This manner of concluding with prayer Ethera, the pilgrim lady, remarked in the congregation of Jerusalem, especially amongst the monks, and for this reason a priest or deacon was always present at their common prayer to recite the oration at the end. In particular, the litany at Vespers was concluded by the bishop with an oration. In our own Office, too, each hour even now closes with the oration.

To be sure the Gloria, which is so often interposed between Kyrie and oration, and seemingly to no purpose, seems to put this whole matter of a connection between the two once more in serious doubt. For a grasp of the basic plan, however, this can really have very little significance, because originally the Gloria was inserted only by way of exception, and even later only on those feasts on which the Kyrie appeared to invite a more joyous supplement. Besides, it is not unheard of that some further popular prayers or even hymns were added to the litany and, in general, to all the alternating prayers of the congregation. In the proeex of the breviary the Kyrie is followed by a long series of prayers and psalm verses and on some days even by a formal hymn (namely, the Sanctus Deus), and only after that this arrangement, but they do not seem overwhelming. The question regarding the structural laws governing the enarxis is wholly independent of that other question, just when did the pertinent complexity of prayers become tightly joined to the fore-Mass?

Battifol, Leçons, 120.

So, too, Schuster, The Sacramentary, I, 88; but the author compromises with the other theories, p. 89.

Cf. the decree of the emperor Justinian, Novellae, 123, c. 32 (Corp. Jur., ed. Schoell, III, 617): quaeler enim est litanius [an imperative procession, but probably involving a litany-prayer] in qua sacerdotes non inveniuntur et sollemnia faciant orationes?

Cf. also Rabanus Maurus, De inst. cleric., I, 33 (PL, CVII, 523 A): Post introitum autem sacerdotes ad alorem litaniam aguntur a clero, ut generalis oratio proveniat speciali s sacerdoto.

Aetheriae Peregrinatio, c. 24, 1 (CSEL, XXXIX, 71).

Cf. ibid., 24, 5 f. (CSEL, XXXIX, 72).

The same tie-in is found in Const. Ap., VIII, 6-11 (Funk, I, 478-494). Cf. also the Synod of Agde (506), can. 30 (Mansi, VIII, 329 f.).

This close connection between the prayer of the congregation and the oration seems to quash the suggestion put forth by Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 452-458, who would trace the introduction of the oration at Rome to an Egyptian model, and the introduction of Kyrie and Gloria to a later Syro-Byzantine one. The connection itself is vainly contested by Dix, p. 479.
is there a conclusion with the oration. Something of the kind can have happened in the case of the Gloria. Moreover, the Gloria does not interfere with the Kyrie’s concluding in an oration, for it too seems to demand such a conclusion. The story is told that when Leo III and Charlemagne met in the year 799, the pope intoned the Gloria which was taken up by the entire clergy, whereupon the pope recited a prayer. We are forced, therefore, to conclude that Kyrie, Gloria, and oration are part of a unified plan which is patterned on an ascending scale, the oration forming the high point. But how does it happen that the Mass is opened with such a schema of prayer? This question leads to still another: What about the prayers that precede, that is, the prayers at the foot of the altar, and the introit?

First the introit. Our introit, as everyone knows, is an entrance song, a procession, and to appreciate its meaning and form we must transport ourselves to one of the larger basilicas of Rome for the splendid and solemn ceremonial of a papal Mass, with its numerous clergy and its specially trained choral group. Here we are confronted for the first time by a picture that we shall meet again in two other places in the Roman Mass: an external event which is sufficiently important to warrant some external expression. The people participating do not say a prayer, but the choral group, who are ready precisely for this occasion, sing a psalm, an entrance psalm, exactly as they afterwards sing the offertory psalm and the communion psalm. This external event is concluded with a prayer, as is proper in an assembly gathered for worship. As the secreta is said after the offertory, and the post communio after the communion, so here the collect (but in this instance with the people’s Kyrie and Gloria intervening). In other words, the act or prayer is introduced by a procession into the basilica. This procession ought not only to be enhanced by the chanting, but it ought also to be distinguished as a movement to prayer, as an approach to God’s majesty, as is done when the assembled congregation shouts out the petitions and the priest takes these up, and brings the proceeding to a conclusion with an oration. As a matter of fact, Amalar in the ninth century actually connected the introit and the oration in this manner. Rupert of Deutz, too, includes all the proceedings up to the collects under one heading as initium quod dicitur Introitus; and we have found the same thing even in Albertus Magnus and other commentators of the period.

What is left to explain now is the group of prayers at the foot of the altar, a thing of much later date. But this is a very secondary structure added to the already completed fabric as a further embellishment. It thus happens that the entire complex of prayers and rites antecedent to the readings, in particular the prayers following the introit, are all governed by the entrance procession. We can therefore rightly speak of an entrance or opening rite.

A confirmation of this reconstruction is to be found in parallel phenomena of the Roman liturgy. Take the Ordo of St. Amand, which reproduces the customs of the Roman church after 800. In it are presented the practices usual at a collecta, that is, at a penitential procession of the Roman community under the leadership of the pope, with which it was customary to introduce the stational services on certain days. These collecta took place in the following manner. The people gathered at a conveniently located church, generally St. Adrian’s at the Forum, and from there marched to the church at which Mass was to be celebrated. The procedure was this: The pope and his attendant deacons, vested in dark planetæ, waited in the sacristy (which was usually near what we call the rear of the church). When it was time to start, the schola intoned the antiphona ad introitum. While the psalm was being sung, the pope and his deacons proceeded through the church up to the altar. As the pope passed the schola he gave a signal to skip to the end of the psalm and sing the Gloria Patri. Arriving at the altar, he bowed low in silent prayer. Then he kissed the altar, the deacons following his example. After the antiphon had been repeated in the usual fashion, the pope spoke the greeting, Dominus vobiscum and, after the Flectamus genua of the deacon, recited an oration. Then everyone left the church and set out in the penitential procession. Here we have the Roman rite of opening a service clearly separate and carried out for its own sake. The only thing missing from the comparable portion of the fore-Mass is the Kyrie before the oration.

But it is significant that the scribe felt called upon to make a special note regarding the missing part: "When the antiphon at the close of the introit has been sung to the end, the schola does not sing the Kyrie." The Kyrie therefore normally belongs to this rite. The reason it is left out here is obvious; it is intoned at the very beginning of the penitential procession. This procession is likewise the reason for the insertion of Flectamus genua. Almost the same procedure is repeated at every church visited on the way, and lastly at the stational church itself.

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Duchesne, Christian Worship, 473-4; cf. 480. This same plan, somewhat abbreviated, also in the appendix to Ordo Rom. I, n. 23 f. (PL LXVIII, 949).
Duchesne, 474, 480.
Duchesne, 474; cf. Ordo Rom. I, n. 23 f. The only difference is that at the churches visited on the way the schola does not sing an introit-psalm but instead finishes the litany which was begun shortly before. In the church of the stational service the litany is again brought to a finish, but thereupon the introit is sung, to be followed, as at the first church, by an oration without any intervening Kyrie.

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Amalar, De off. eccl., III, 5 (PL, CV, 1108): Officium quod vocatur Introitus habet initium a prima antiphona, quae dicitur Introitus, et finitur in oratione quae dicitur a sacerdote ante lectio nem. Cf. also the declaration of Rabanus Maurus quoted in Note 14 above.
Rupert of Deutz, De div. off., I, 31 (PL, CLXX, 28 B).
"Supra, p. 114.
One could therefore, in a way, talk about a *rite of visiting churches*. The present-day *Pontificale Romanum* presumes this arrangement in all essentials when a visiting prelate is to be received ceremoniously in a church. Accompanied by singing he marches into the church and kneels down to the stational service, but only the prelude of a penitential procession which draws a connection between the litany chant accompanying the procession entrance or opening.

Although we have used the procedures of the *collecta* to explain the fore-Mass, we must yet take issue with a certain common misconception of the relationship between the two. Some interpreters have been too prone to draw a connection between the litany chant accompanying the procession on its way and into the stational church, and the *Kyrie* of the Mass, as if the latter was derived from the former. In like manner—something we have already touched on—the oration of the Mass, often called the *collecta*, is often derived from the oration recited at the church where the *collecta* took place. Both notions are untenable. The *collecta* as a gathering of the Roman community was not a stable and constituent part of the stational service, but only the prelude of a penitential procession which took place before the stational service on certain days—in olden times not very frequent—especially in Lent and the ember-tides, but never on Sundays or feasts. The *Kyrie* could not therefore have intruded into the Sunday or feast-day service in this wise. As for calling the first oration *collecta*, we shall see further on that the term had a very different origin, and really means a gathering together, by the priest, of the preceding petitions of the people.

In this sense the term *collecta* is quite appropriate for this first oration of the Mass, for it seems to blend together all that has gone before. The congregational praying and singing and even the entry with its accompanying chant serves only to draw us nearer to God to honor Him in the holy sacrifice. Since the lessons are meant to be introduced before the beginning of the sacrifice, it would appear only proper to indicate the meaning of this common approach by means of a preliminary solemn prayer in much the same way as the Roman congregatio did when it assembled at some

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26 A similar schema was in recent years worked out for pedagogical purposes, to facilitate understanding the beginning of the Mass. The pertinent five-step plan was first devised by Dr. Pius Parsch in 1924 (as he was good enough to tell me), and was then circulated by means of wall charts and leaflets; see P. Parsch, *Kyrie Messekrüzung* (Klosterneuburg, 1930), 33; (2nd ed., 1935), 52. The schema then recurs in its essentials in Schott's *Messebuch der hl. Kirche* (7th ed., 1934), 26, with the first step divided: We come to—We beg. Cf. Parsch-Eckhoff, *The Liturgy of the Mass*, 43; Parmigiani, *Studia sacra* (Collegeville, 1941), 19 ("We offer our prayer"); R. Bandas, *The Mass and the Liturgical Year* (St. Paul, 1936), 19 ("We speak to God").

27 For the entry in extra-Roman churches of Christian antiquity see several references in Bona, II, 2, 1 (553 f.).

28 Thus, e.g., in Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 3 (PL, CV, 1108-1113): *De introitu episcopi ad missam*. Cf. supra, p. 89.

29 John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 35 (PL, CCII, 44 B).

30 Pontificale of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 635).

31 But the case is not often attested; *vide* however, the Missal of Evreux-Jumièges: Martène, I, 4, XXVIII (I, 642 D); here we have a Mass in which a deacon assists (644 E).

32 *Intra*, pp. 280, 284.
Usually, it is true, the vesting in the Mass vestments or—when choir dress and Mass dress were once more distinguished—the putting on of the paramenta was transferred to the sacristy.

But in Romanesque structures the sacristy was not built near the entrance of the church but somewhere close to the choir. In these cases the entry called for in the ancient Mass regulations could be reinaugurated. Sometimes, in fact, it was consciously revived and given a greater development by marching long the way through the nave of the church (as was done in the late Middle Ages on great feast days), or at least a procession down the aisle on Sundays in the course of blessing with holy water, as was customary all through the Middle Ages and still is in some residual form.

The liturgical reform of the sixteenth century permitted only the bishop to vest at the altar and this both as a privilege and as a prescription, perhaps because the various formalities which had developed meanwhile gave it the character of a dramatic introduction to the pontifical service. The natural consequence of all this evolution was a change in the role of the introit; the introit would have to be sung, but not as an accompaniment to vest at the altar and this both as a privilege and as a prescription, perforce (Andrieu, III, 635). It is still to be seen on festive occasions, sometimes starting from outside the church, sometimes starting from the sacristy but proceeding down the aisles and up the center. Such occasions as a First Mass, for instance.

In the parochial services of the 16th century a procession was always included as part of a special solemnity: at the start of the celebration all the assembled clergy marched solemnly through the church and on occasion carried the relics which were displayed on the altar. See Greving, Johann Ecke Pfarrbuch. 85.

Regarding this procession, it is still to be seen (or was a few years ago) in Lithuania and the east German countries. (Stiz [1927], II, 359).

The decline of the entrance ceremony entailed some other transformations at which we ought to look briefly. The lights which had previously been carried in procession and then placed next to the altar were now more frequently set on the altar from the very start. Since Carolingian times there was no longer any hesitancy about putting on the altar things other than those required for the sacramental celebration; so in the new circumstances it was taken for granted that when no procession was held the candles should stand on the altar even before Mass and should stay there. Their previous significance as an honor to the celebrant—in the first instance a bishop—was lost (so long as the other attendants at the more solemn feasts were not, in their turn, accompanied by candles). In place of honoring the celebrant was thus substituted a very becoming honor to the mystery that was consummated on the altar. A similar change took place with regard to the censer. It is not used so much as formerly, on the way to the altar or in the procession to read the Gospel, but at the altar itself which is incensed.

Finally the psalm Iudice, which about the year 1000 was introduced into pontifical services as a part of the entrance procession, was definitely transferred to the foot of the altar, after a very diversified career; sometimes its few short verses had been said on the way to the altar, sometimes during the vesting, sometimes at the altar—and often not at all.

2. Praeparatio ad Missam

That the soul must be prepared for the celebration of the Eucharist is one of those self-explaining requirements which were already insisted upon in the primitive Church. This requirement applies not only to the priest.
but to whole Christian people. Nevertheless, within the liturgy itself special forms for this preparation were in general fashioned only for the priest, just as special service garments were prescribed for him alone. Only in the Sunday services of the congregation was any special rite of preparation created for the people, a rite involving the cleansing of the soul. This is the sprinkling with holy water at the Asperges or Vidi Aquam, two chants, one—with the beginning of Psalm 50—implying contrition and penance, the other—with the beginning of Psalm 117—suggesting the springs of grace gushing forth from the Easter mystery.

Special prayer for the priest, to prepare himself for the holy action even before he puts on the liturgical garments, is outlined also in the oriental churches at quite an early period. But most of the time this prayer is inserted into the rite of the Mass itself as a prayer upon entering the sanctuary. In the West there is no evidence of any preparatory prayer before going to the altar, other than the canonical hours, until in the ninth century these first appeared in the form of apologies, then in the form of psalmody—the kind that has continued in use till now. The latter is the case in the Sacramentary of Amiens, which also offers us the first vesting prayers and the first instance of texts for the priest to say quietly during Mass. The preparation has a core of psalmody, namely Psalm 50, with versicles and three orations. This plan of preparatory prayer was not followed very extensively. In its place there appeared about the year 1000, in the Mass ordo of the Séz group, a well-planned office of preparation which, with numerous changes, continues to reappear all through the Middle Ages and still stands in our own missal, though in a slightly developed form.

In its original shape this preparation consisted of three psalms: Ps. 83 (Quam dilecta) in which the pilgrim expresses his longing for the distant sanctuary; Ps. 84 (Benedictus), the Advent psalm, which praises God's grace and begs His continued protection; and, to round out the number 3 of psalms, a psalm from the Book of Lamentations, Ps. 126.

In the 13th century the psalms in use today, with appropriate orations, are mentioned in Pseudo-Bonaventure, De preparatione ad missam, c. 12 (Bona- venture, opp., ed. Peltier, XII: Paris, 1886), 286; Durandus, IV, 2, 1.

Brinktrine, Epk. liturg. (1937), 199. See also Hoyeck, 367f.; Beck, 260; Yel- verton, 5.

The seven penitential psalms are found in the Missa Illyrica: Martene, I, 4, IV (I, 490 E); cf. Sacramentary of Lyons: Leroquais, I, 126. Likewise even at the close of the Middle Ages in: Missal of Seville (1535): Martene, I, 4, I, 8 (I, 348 C); Missal of Regensburg: Beck, 258.

Brinktrine, op. cit., 199. Apparently also in a Minorite Missal of the 13th century; Ebner, 313.

The transition to the verses with Kyrie and Pater noster is remarked in Bernold, Micrologus, c. 1; 23 (PL, CLI, 979-992): in the Missal of St. Vincent at Voltorno, about 1100 (Fiala, 197; cf. Codex Chigi: Martene, I, 565 E); in a Seckau Missal of 1170 (Koek, 95), in three, another psalm in the psalter, Ps. 85 (Inclina), which merely invokes God's help in a general way. Of the verses that immediately follow, two (which emphasize the motif once more) are taken from Psalm 84 (Deus tu conversus; Ostende nobis), while others beg the forgiveness of sin (Ps. 142:2; Ne intres; Ps. 78:9b; Propitius esto) or beg God's mercy (Ps. 43:26: Exsurge; Ps. 32:22: Fiat misericordia; Ps. 101:2: Domine exaudi). The conclusion consists of the oration Aures tuae pietatis, with its petition for the help of the Holy Spirit to render one's service worthy. It is still used as the first oration after the verses, but the original singular (precibus metis—mercer) has been altered to the plural.

This office of preparation quickly underwent various augmentations. One addition that gained general acceptance was Psalm 115 (Credidit), which mentions taking up the chalice of sacrifice. Other psalms which were subjoined appear only sporadically, as also did the penitential Psalm 129 (De profundis) which, together with Psalm 115, was chosen in Italy about the turn of the twelfth century. It found its way into the Mass ordo of the papal chapel by 1290 and from there was taken over, in conjunction with Psalm 115, into our Roman Missal. Penitential psalms are not seldom found in the frame of this preparation. In the same document of the papal chapel, we find the rest of the details of the prayer-complex belonging to it, just as they are in the missal today: the antiphon again reminding us of penance, Ne reminiscaris, then after the Kyrie and Pater noster the still missing verses of similar penitential spirit. There is also the increase

1) Cf. the Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century), ibid., V (I, 516f).

2) Two intercessory prayers intended as preparation, in the Sacramentary of Ratuldis (10th century): PL, LXXVIII, 239.

3) Supra, p. 77.

4) It recurs again in the Missal of Troyes: Martene, I, 4, VI (I, 528), and greatly expanded (the seven penitential psalms replacing Ps. 50) in the Missa Illyrica: ibid., IV (I, 490-492). In both cases it is followed by the preparatory prayers of the Séz group which we are about to mention. Cf. also the Sacramentary of Lyons (11th century): Leroquais, I, 126.
of the orations to seven, which all take a very positive turn; the first six, like the original one, begging the grace of the Holy Spirit, and the seventh, the old Advent oration Conscientes nostras, in a similar vein asking for a cleansing of the conscience so that it be ready for the coming of the Lord.

This series of prayers shows in outline the general plan followed for a liturgical act according to liturgical laws for common prayer. In fact the first six, like the original one, begging the grace of the Holy Spirit, the Sacramentary of Modena written in the 12th century the patriarchal section: Martene, 1, 4, XXXII (1, 664) ; it was recited while vesting.

Similarly the parallels: XII, 1330; the Missal of Fecamp (d. 1079) starts the prayer already found by the middle of the 12th century in the Sacramentary of St. Denis, where it stands at the beginning of Mass: Martene, 1, 4, V (1, 522 E); see the dating in Leroquais, I, 142. The prayer was soon widely diffused. It is to be found in the Freising Sacramentary of the 11th century: Ebner, 272; in a Mid-Italian sacramentary of the out-going 11th century: ibid, 300; cf. 51; since the 12th century also in Spain: Ferreres, p. LIX, LXXII, CX, 78f.; see also the references in Boni, I, 12, 4 (148f.).

Further references in Lebrun, Explication, I, 32; according to him the litany here included was still sung before High Mass in many places even in 1700.

The Prayers, according to the tradition of the Eastern Church, contains, after the 15 gradua brevis virginis (that is, three times five psalms, with certain supplements) and the seven psalms, an introduction to interior recollection, a prayer de passione Domini and other prayers, and besides this the accessio office described above in note 17.

The Missal of Vich (1496) starts the preparatory prayers of the priest with an excerpt from the writings of St. Gregory the Great (Dialog, IV, 58) beginning: hac singulariter victima (Ferreres, p. CIV).

Whereas originally this much re-written accessio office took the place of the earlier apologies, eventually a very lengthy formula of this latter type was added to the accessio, the prayer designated as oratio s. Ambrosii, Summe sacerdos, sections of which are now distributed through the seven days of the week. It is an apologia in a wide sense, for the grim tones of dismal self-accusation have faded into a confident voice of humble petition. It did not, in fact, originate during the years when the apologies were rampant, but only in the eleventh century. Like the other prayers and considerations which later Mass books, particularly our present Roman Missal, assigned to the priest, it was not considered obligatory. But the foregoing accessory prayers, on the other hand, are always presented in the source books since the eleventh century as part of the liturgy in much the same way as the vesting prayers which are attached to them, and the prayers that follow at the foot of the altar, from which, in point of fact, they are often not very clearly separated. The degree of obligation was more definitely fixed by the law of custom. The Missal of Pius V sets them down as obligatory pro temporis opportunitate. On the other hand, it insists on the general admonition, that the priest before going to the altar devote himself to prayer for some time, orationi aliquantulum vacet.
The Tridantine missal is not thinking here of vocal prayer, that seems clear. This is explained by the fact that the movement for meditative prayer, which had developed in the circles of the devotio moderna, had been gaining ground year by year since the end of the fifteenth century.\footnote{P. Pourrat, Christian Spirituality, III, (trans. W. H. Mitchell; New York, 1927), 4-22.}\footnote{Rit. Serv., I, 1, Cf. supra, p. 248 f.}\footnote{Regarding some special forms of ascetical preparation which were customary in former centuries for the hebdomadarius in certain collegiate churches (complete retirement in the house, fasting, reading of the story of the Passion) see Lebrum, I, 30f. Cf. de Moléon, 173 F.; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 273 f.}

In this instance it was a matter of going to the altar with mind alert and with a consciousness of the grandeur of the mystery. It was a matter of drawing near to the sacrifice of the New Covenant, to worship in spirit and in truth. Here, then, the fact had to be acknowledged that a contemplative tarrying in the world of the supernatural was more important by far than any further multiplication of vocal prayer. It was understood, of course, that the day's Matins and Lauds had been said; this rule continued in force.\footnote{Thus Christians acted even in the days of Clement of Alexandria, Pæd., III, 11 (PG, VIII, 657).} Rightly did morning meditation before Mass become a set part in the order of the day of every priest.\footnote{For a more detailed study of what follows ed. J. Braun, Die liturgische Ge- wöhnung (Freiburg, 1907). Cf. also a series of articles by Dom Raymond James, O.S.B., “The Dress of the Liturgy,” Orate Fratres, X (1935-6), 28 to 12, and XI (1937-8), 545.}

### 3. Putting on the Liturgical Vestments

Besides the inner preparation there is also an outer one. Before going to the altar the priest must vest himself in the liturgical garments. The natural feeling that we ought to put on better clothing for the celebration of divine worship\footnote{For the purposes of the celebration of the solemn Mass of today the vestments are considered as inalienable and are used only for the Mass. They are kept in the vestry of the church as relics of the sacred liturgy. Cf. supra, p. 68.} was something the faithful had learnt long ago. A similar sentiment of reverence had led, even before the end of Christian antiquity, to a special liturgical vesture for the celebrating priest.\footnote{In some instances the washing of the hands is placed ahead of the accessions psalms; so in the Missa Illyrica: Martene, I, 4, IV (1, 492); in Styrian missals: Köck, 95; 100; and also in Italy: Ebner, 321.} At first it was merely more costly, more precious than the ordinary holiday clothing of the day and more suitable. It was not till city fashion ordained a new shorter costume that liturgical dress began to be distinguished from ordinary dress, for our liturgical vesture is nothing else than a stylized form of the holiday attire of the old imperial days of Rome.

In the alb, held together by a cincture, we have a survival of the ancient tunic. To this is joined the amice\footnote{The same garment, styled here a planeta, is already mentioned in the first Roman Ordo; see supra, p. 68.} of Clement of Alexandria, Pæd., III, 11 (PG, VIII, 657).\footnote{For some further additions in the liturgy, see Orate Fratres, X (1935-6), 28 to 12, and XI (1937-8), 545.} This too is accompanied by a short prayer, either by the verse Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas (Ps. 25:6);\footnote{E.g. Martene, I, 4, VI ff. (I, 528 E; 534 E; 537 E).} to which in the earlier sources the verse Asperges me (Ps. 50:9) is sometimes joined, or by the oration Largire, which often recurs after the eleventh century, or, as often happened later, by both verse and prayer.\footnote{First in the Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Lero- quais (Bk. liturg., 1927), 439.} The formula which we at present connect with the handwashing, Da Domine virtutem manibus meis ad abstergendum omnem maculam does not appear in this connection until later. Where it does appear earlier, it usually concludes with Per and as an addition to the oration Largire, it accompanies the drying of the fingers.\footnote{Styrian missals, for example; in some of these Ps. 25 is said from its very start; Kock, 95, 96, 98. Also in Hungary: Radó, 23, 41, et al.} The preparation of the outer man

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\text{PL, LXXVIII, 245.}
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\text{I, 528 E; 534 E; 537 E.}
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\text{Kiick, 99, 100; cf. Martene, I, 4, XII (1, 568 E). Also the Ordo of Gregorien- münster (14-15th century), ibid., XXIII (I, 654 A); Augsburg missal of 1555:}
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\text{Hoeyck, 369; Hungarian missals: Radó, 23, 41 et al.}
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was apparently a very serious concern. In the tenth century and after, there is frequent mention of the comb which the priest uses to arrange his hair, a reference no doubt to the medieval mode of longish hair-cuts.

In medieval sources we find the washing of the hands is preceded, as in present-day pontifical rites, by the ritual putting off of the outer clothing (accompanied by proper prayers) and in the older period also by the putting on of special footwear. At private Mass it was the custom in many medieval churches to prepare the paten and chalice with the offerings right after washing the hands, and to mix the water and wine to the accompaniment of the usual words. After this, followed the vesting.

Vesting did not always occur in the precise order now followed. The amice, for instance, was not put on till after the alb, as would be natural with a scarf or neck-cloth; this usage is still retained in the liturgies of Milan and Lyons. Nor was the manner of putting it on always the same as today’s. One practice, which makes its appearance in northern countries about the turn of the ninth century, was to place the amice over the head like a hood and to leave it thus till the other paramenta had been donned. For an explanation of the origin of this mode of wearing the amice it might be good to note that the first liturgists who speak of it are the same ones who mention the comb, the work of which would be nullified when putting on the alb and chasuble unless some means were employed to prevent disarranging the hair. This manner of wearing the amice was universally followed in the thirteenth century and so the orders that stem from this time, Franciscans, Dominicans, Trinitarians and Servites, have continued it to the present, while for the rest it disappeared about the same time that the style of hair-cut changed. There were some differences about when the amice thus worn should be pushed back off the head; some removed it right after putting on the chasuble; in the French churches it was customary to keep it on the head till the secreta or even till the start of the canon.

It is to be noticed, moreover, that the prayer we say at present while putting on the amice, still designates it as a helmet: Impone, Domine, capit mel galeam salutis.

The maniple, too, was not in olden times put on as we do it now, right after girdling the alb. It was not taken up till all the other vestments had been donned. And it had to be thus as long as it was customary to carry it in the hand—that is, up till the eleventh/twelfth century. As soon as the fashion set in of fastening it to the arm, the practice changed and finally it was placed in the hand—that is, up till the eleventh/twelfth century.

The formula is used since the 11th century also for putting on the maniple; see infra.

Sacramentary of Ratoldus (d. 986; PL, LXXXVIII, 241 a): *ministrare et aqua ad manus et pecetem ad caput.*

Later on, the comb is always mentioned before the washing: Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 199 (PL, CLXXII, 604): *deinde pecetem crines capitis.* Similarly the rhymed German interpretation of the Mass (12th century), ed. Leitzmann (Kleine Texte, 54), 16, 1. 26 f. Two Seckau missals of the 12th and 14th centuries even contain a special prayer *ad pecetem*: May God remove all that is superfluous and send down the seven-fold gift of the Holy Spirit; Köck, 95, 98. Witnesses of the 15th century, *ibid.*, 103, 104; also in the Hungarian Sacramentary of Boldau (c. 1195): Radö, 41. See also the illustrations in Ch. Rohault de Fleurcy, *La messe*, VIII (Paris, 1889), 167-173.

The Liber ordinarius of Liége, in agreement with its Dominican model, says about the sacristy: *Solent etiam ut habet pecetem et forcipes.*

Cf. Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 3, 1-3. According to the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 633; cf. 631) the deacon or the court chaplain handles the comb while the bishop is vesting, and a towel is placed around the latter’s neck in the process.

According to Simon of Venlo it was also customary to wash one’s hands, mouth and face in the sacristy; see the extracts from his interpretation of the Mass in Smits van Waesberghe (*Ons geestelijk Erf*, 1941), 292.

Examples from the 12th to 15th centuries in Köck, 95-104; Radö, 23, 41; Martène, I, 4, XXXI f. (I, 649, 654); Augsburg Missal of 1555: Hoeyneck, 369, et al. Just what was taken off is not usually specified further (vestes). In all the cases referred to the prayer is almost always the same: *Exsice me Domine veterem hominem, cum actibus suis, et indue me novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in tuita et sanctitate rei­tatis.* (The prayer is still used at religious investiture ceremonies.)

At an earlier time the phrase from the Psalm was used: *Consicendi Domine ex caelo, lucem me latinita salutari* (Ps. 29:12); *Missa Hyppica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 492 C).

Thus in Carolingian sources, e.g. Amalar, *De excol. aff.*, II, 25 (PL, CV, 110), where the sandal of bishop, priest, deacon and subdeacon are all distinct; cf. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 390 f.

A prayer *ad calcendum* for priests is seldom mentioned, but it does appear already since the turn of the 11th century: *Fiala, 196; Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 568);* here it is the same as that now commanded for the bishop (*Calce cae*). A different form is in Ebner, 332.

Martène, I, 4, 1 (I, 351, 352); *ibid.*, 1, 4, XXVI, XXXVI (I, 635, 671); Coutances: Legg, *Tracts*, 55.

The original purpose of the amice is still recalled in the rite of ordination to subdeaconship, in the bishop’s phrase about castigatio vocis, i.e. discipline in speech. The phrase stems from Amalar, *De excl. aff.*, I, 17 (PL, CV, 1094). It is really unnecessary to follow O. Casel, *Castigatio vocis*, JL, VII (1927), 139-141, who seeks the explanation in pre-Christian sacrificial usage where at the sacrifice every disturbing noise had to be restrained.

Proofs in Braun, 28. Cf. also the succession according to the *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 6; *ibid.*, 86.

Braun, 29-32.

Braun, 31 f., lists a series of explanations, but acknowledges himself that they are not quite satisfactory.

Martène, I, 4, 1 (I, 351, 352); *ibid.*, 1, 4, XXVI, XXXVI (I, 635, 671); *ibid.*, 16. 1. 26 f. Two Seckau missals of the 12th and 14th centuries even contain a special prayer *ad pecetem*: May God remove all that is superfluous and send down the seven-fold gift of the Holy Spirit; Köck, 95, 98. Witnesses of the 15th century, *ibid.*, 103, 104; also in the Hungarian Sacramentary of Boldau (c. 1195): Radö, 41. See also the illustrations in Ch. Rohault de Fleurcy, *La messe*, VIII (Paris, 1889), 167-173.

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shifted to our present use. Only the bishop continues the older manner but with this variation, which became quite general since the thirteenth century, that he takes the maniple only after the Confectio.

There was a great simplification in the ritual of vesting, at least in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when—as as the practice in various Benedictine monasteries—all the monks on feast days wore albs and maniples during the choir prayer that preceded the Mass. Doubtless the priests in this case regularly wore also a stole since it had been made obligatory by ninth and tenth century legislation to wear the stole at all times, both at home and while traveling.

The prayers which, since Carolingian times, have been said while vesting are extremely diverse. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, as someone actually did, Quot missalet tot sensus. There is even a trend to forego any special texts. The diversity of these vesting prayers is in part connected with their half-private nature, but perhaps the most important reason for it is the symbolic interpretation of the vestments, which was based upon various details and continued to produce numerous new formulas in accordance with the changes of thought.

Actually, of course, there is a certain symbolism inherent in the liturgical vestments. The fact that the priest wears garments that are not only better but really quite special, distinct from the garments of ordinary civil life, enhanced where possible by the preciousness of the material and by decoration—all this can have but one meaning: that the priest in a sense leaves this earth and enters another world, the shimmer of which is mirrored in his vesture. But medieval interpreters were not content with such a general explanation; they had to find in each piece of clothing a particular relation to that other world. In one period they directed their attention principally to the moral and ethical order to which the priest must conform; in a second period they kept in view the person of Christ whose place the priest takes; and in the third, Christ's Passion which is commemorated in the celebration.

The concepts in the prayers for vesting are created for the most part out of the explanations of the first period, since they nearly all arose in that period. In our summary view of all these vesting prayers, we will confine our attention mainly to the typical formulas which attained a certain wide distribution or which led eventually to the texts we use today. We cannot consider the many peculiar and idiosyncratic coinages of individual manuscripts. Anywhere possible we will try to present the original text and the original ascriptions. For the rest, a summary list of available sources will have to suffice.

In its function as a shoulder cloth which is fastened around the waist with bands,26 the amice is simply adjusted to the spiritual world and inspires the eleventh century prayer: Humeros meos Sancti Spiritus gratia tege, Domine, renescere meos vitis omnibus expulsis præcipe ad sacrificandum tibi viventi et regnanti in sæcula sæculorum.

Taking the later way of wearing it, the amice suggests a shadow that falls across the head and so it becomes a pertinent image of faith: Obumba, Domine, caput meum unbraculo sancte fidei et expelle a me nubila Ignorantiae.

26 Supra, 88, 110 ff.
27 Such are to be found in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th c.; PL, LXXVIII, 240 f.): Over each vestment the bishop says Jube domine benedicere and then a blessing composed in hexameters. The vesting formulas of the more ancient Missal of Fécamp (13th-14th century) are quite distinctive, especially in their brevity: Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 635 f.).
28 The basic ideas recur in the older massals, amongst them that of the Boldau Sacramentary (circa 1195) states: Dum humerale imponit dicat: Obumba . . . . Dum involvit humerale dicat: Humeros . . . ; Radó, 41; cf. 24, 60 f., et al.; Javor, 112.
29 In Swedan it is amplified: Caput meum et humeros meos . . . Yelverton, 10.
30 Further sources in Braun, 711, Note 4.
31 The basic ideas recur in the older Mass-Ordo of Gregorienmünster, put up in biblical style: Sub velamento alarum tuarum, Domine, tua me cooperi fiate . . . (cf. Ps. 16: 8) ; Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 595).
32 Sacramentary of Seez: Martène, 1, 4, XIII (I, 575); ibid., XII, XXXI (I,
The martial significance is found expressed already in the ninth century, where the amice wrapped around the head is conceived of as a helmet. *Pone, Domine, galeam salutis in capite meo ad expugnandas diabolicas fraudes.* The formula as we have it today seems to have been touched up by some humanists before it was inserted in the present Roman Missal.

Looking at the material of which it was usually made, white linen, which suggests righteousness and nobility, a document of the ninth century combines the amice with the alb and dedicates to both a prayer which later on was appropriated to the alb alone: *Indue me, Domine vestimento salutis et indumento justitiae circumda me semper.*

The contrast between the white garment and the soiled condition of our sinfulness is emphasized in a prayer that appears quite frequently: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, te suppliciter exoro, ut fraudem omnium iniquitatum Christiana publica tua, ut tua publica mercat tua, ut vbi vera sunt gaudia.* The motif here touched upon, the cleansing blood of the Lamb (Apoc. 7:14) is brought out more clearly in the formula of the Pontifical of Cambrai: *Dealta me, Domine, et a delicto meo munda me, ut cum his, qui stolas suas dealdaverunt, et sanguine Agni, gaudibus perficar colli.* Per.

This formula, rounded out somewhat, is our present-day prayer. But we also encounter the image of the spiritual warrior, accoutered in the armor of faith, in such prayers as: *Circumda me, Domine, fidei armis, ut ab ini quotatam sagittis et armis custodiatur,* or *Indue me vestimento salutis et circumda me loricu fortitudinis.*

658, 649; a different conclusion) in the *Mass-Ordo* of Regensburg: Beck, 262.

The initial words are probably reminiscent of Ps. 139:8 b.

 Cf. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio,* I, 35 (PL, CCXVII, 787): *sacerdos caput suum obnubit.*

*Sacramentary of Moissac* (11th century): Martene, 1, 4, VIII (I, 538).

*Ibid.,* III, XXVII f., XXXIV, XXXVI (I, 480, 639, 642, 661, 671); *ibid.,* 1, 4, 1 (I, 351). The expression *gala saluit* follows *1 Thess.* 5:8 and *Eph.* 6:17: hope for salvation is a protecting helmet.

In the *Sacramentary of St. Garien* (9th-century) the formula has the addition: *et omnium inimicorum necorum persecutione me sancta superandum.*

Martene, 1, 4, VII (1, 355). So also in later texts: *ibid.,* II (1, 477); *ibid.,* 1, 4, 1 (I, 350).

Further alterations: *ibid.,* XXVI (I, 635); *ibid.,* 1, 4, 1 (I, 353); Köck, 95, 99.


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**PUTTING ON THE LITURGICAL VESTMENTS**

For the cincture, the Bible had already furnished a ready symbolism. But this symbolism was brought out more plainly and illustrated from various angles in the prayers that accompany the act of vesting. *Domine, accipice in me custodiam mentis meae, ne ipso mens infletur spiritu elationis,* in which the cincture's holding the garment together calls to mind the image of swollen pride. From another viewpoint the alb which enfolds everything represents the virtue of love which is to be held fast by the cincture: *Prorcinge me, Domine, zona iustitiae et cons trine in me dictionem Dei et proxim.*

Or there is the thought of the loins girt about by the cincture and the prayer comes to one's lips that temptation might be conquered: *Prorcinge, Domine, lumbos mentis meae et circumscede vitia cordis et corporis mei,* or in another formula which sounds Carolingian and whose original wording is probably retained in the Sacramentary of Moissac (eleventh century): *Prorcinge, Domine, cingulo fidei lumbos mei corporis et comprime et extingue in eis humorem libidinis, ut iugiter maneant in eis tenor totius castitatis.* While another setting of this formula—for which there are early sources—has been kept in our missal for the bishop, the one used by the priest has been somewhat simplified.

Remembering that the maniple once served a very practical purpose as a handkerchief, the formula was composed in the eleventh century which was also spoken while drying the hands, but which we now use while washing them: *Da, Domine, virtutem manibus meis ad abster gendam omne maculum immaculatum, ut sine pollutione mentis et corporis...*

Used for the amice: Martene, 1, 4, XXXII (I, 654). Likewise, with the variant *gala* instead of *lorica,* Köck, 101, 102; *cf.* 97.

In some instances just Bible phrases are employed; thus Ps. 17:33 and (with additions) Ps. 44:4, in two formulas of the Liège Missal: Martene, 1, 4, XV (I, 583), the first also *ibid.,* 1, 4, 1 (I, 350), and also 1, 4, 1 (519), but in this latter case used for the maniple; the second psalm phrase is used in a Seckau missal of the 15th century; Köck, 99.

*Sacramentary of Sézé and related sources*: Martene, 1, 4, XIII, XXV, XXXI (I, 575, 568, 583, 650); Fiala, 196. Further passages in Braun, 714, note 6.

In a Seckau missal about 1170: Köck, 95; and frequently in more recent Styrian Mass books: *ibid.,* 97, 100 ff. (also with the start *Circumcinge*: *ibid.,* 102 ff., 105).


With the isolated reading: *constringe in me virtutem caritatis et pudicitiae* is already in the older *Mass-Ordo* of Gregory the Great: Martene, 1, 4, X VI (I, 593).


Hungarian Mass-books since the 12th century: Radó, 24, 41, 71 et al.; Jávor, 112.

Further sources: Braun, 714, note 1.

Martene, 1, 4, VIII (I, 538).

In the remaining texts the words *et virtute castitatis* are regularly inserted after *cingulo fidei:* thus in the *Mass-Ordo of Amiens,* ed. Leroquais (Eph. liturg., 1927), 440.

Martene, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350 f., 352, 353); also II ff., VI ff. (I, 477, 480, 529, 535), etc.; see also Braun, 714, note 5.

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Finally, the formula we use today (somewhat altered) refers to consciousness of later ages to this extent, that monastic groups followed the custom already mentioned, of wearing albs and maniples on feast days while the choir sang psalms. To such a use for choir prayer and psalmody corresponded the text which the priest also used while vesting in maniple: *Da mihi, Domine, sensum rectum et vocem puram, ut implere passim laudem tuam.* As a badge of honor with which one was "invested" and which one wore even at work, this is the concept in the prayer: *Investitione* is *ius mappa* subnise deprecor, Domine, ut sic operer in temporali conversatione, quatenus exemplo prriorum patrum in futuro mearer perenniter gaudere.* Finally, the formula we use today (somewhat altered) refers to the modern name of the vestment and makes a cross-reference to Psalm 125:6: *Merear, precor, Domine, manipulum portare mente fiebili cum patientia, ut cum exsultatione illud deferendo cum justis portionem accessi.*


In several places we have a more recent and more precise wording: *Da, Domine, maniple in manibus meis ad exter­genda corporis et corporis mei sordes, ut sine pollutione tibi Domino ministrame merear*; Martène, 1, 4, III, XXVIII (I, 480 f., 639). Further sources in Braun, 715, Note 2.

Variants in Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 643); Muratori, I, 87.


The connection here is made plainer when we read that at Cluny even in 1700 they had six choir boys who wore albs and maniples at the high Mass on Sundays and feasts; de Molon, 150. At that time, too, the choir boys at Lyons wore the maniple on their left arm when on feast days and feasts; de Molon, 170; further passages in Braun, 715, Note 5.

In some few late medieval Missal books the scriptural phrase, *Ps. 125:6* (which is at the bottom of the prayer) is used by itself: Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 351 D); also 1, 4, XXVI, XXXIX (I, 635, 661).

Braun, 586 f.


*Mass-Ordo* of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (Eph. liturg., 1927), 440. Later sources in Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 351, 353); also 1, 4, II, VI, VIII, XXVII f. (I, 477, 529, 538, 639, 645).


Braun, 715, note 6, names some other MSS.; he did not, however, notice the connection with singing. Somewhat altered: Martène, 1, 4, XVI, XXXVI (I, 485, 672).

Attention should be paid to the musical connotation of the word *sensus*; cf. infra, p. 409, note 36.

The word is handed down in corrupt form: *Investitione* (Illyr.), *In vestione* (Hittorp), and *Investitione* (the remainder).

*Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 493).

In vestione (Hittorp),...
The formulary to which we are making reference is amongst the oldest: Domine, qui dixisti: 'tunc sumus meum ... prasta ut sic illud deportare in perpetuum valeam, qualiter tuam gratiam consegui meream.' The chasuble, like Christian love, covers everything, and encloses everything fast like a fortress, so it leads to the following words: Indue me, Domine, ornamento caritatis et pacis, ut undique munitus possim resistere vitii et hostibus mentis et corporis." A number of other texts begin with the words Indue me, but they are not at all alike, differing in their concept of the garment, some presenting an explanation similar to that already considered, others conceiving it as a lorica (fidei or iustitiae) or as a vestis nuptialis, still others inserting sacerdotalis iustitiae, and the corresponding petition follows."

The sacerdotalis iustitiae forms the basic motif of another vesting formula we have to mention, Fac me, quosso. In later times this was connected with the chasuble but it comes from an earlier era in which the prayers were not said in connection with individual vestments but the whole vesting ceremony was accompanied with a prayer and that of the apologia-


The phrase from Matt. 11: 30 which we saw used for the stole was in some instances also employed for a formula for the amice, as in the Sacramentary of Tours (9-10th century): Martene, I, 4, I (350).

**SACRAMENTARY OF SÉGE, MARTÈNE, I, 4, XIII (I, 575).** Often the word humilitatis or humilitatis et caritatis is set before or after the word caritas, thus stressing, instead of the symbolism of love, the notion of unide munus: ibid., XII, XV, XXXI f. (I, 568, 583, 650, 654); Fiala, 196; Braun, 718, note 2. Also, in a more drastically revised form, Martene, I, 4, XXVI f. (I, 639, 643). The phrase inductus iustitiae et laetitia finds a place also in a formula (beginning Creator totius creaturae) which appears in the Missal of Liège: Martene, I, 4, XV (I, 583) and in Sankt Köck: Köck, 99.

Martene, I, 4, I (350, 351); Muratoryi, I, 87. The expression lorica fidei founded on 1 Thess. 5: 8.

**Martene, I, 4, XXVI, XXXIV (I, 636, 662).**

**Ibid., I, 4, IV f. (I, 493, 519); also I, 4, I (350).**

The formula of the older Mass-Ordo of Gregorienmünster: Martene, I, 4, XVI (I, 595): was rather widespread, taking on, however, a number of variant forms: Indue me, Domine, ornamento caritatis et concede mihi protectionem contra hostem insidiatorem, ut valem puro corde laudare nomen tuum gloriosum in saecula saeculorum. Cf. the Mass-Ordo of Bec: ibid., XXXVI (I, 672 C); Hungarian Mass books: Radó, 24, 41; Jávor, 113. Used for the albs in some German Mass books: Beck, 262; Köck, 97, 100.

A Sacramentary of Fonte Avellanæ (before 1325) offers: . . . sacerdotalis iustitiae, ut induci meream in tabernaculo sempiterno; PL, CL, 884 D.

Hungarian missals of the 13-14th century also have a formula which ties in with the cross or crucifix on the chasuble: fac me . . . concupiscitius crucifugi; Radó, 118, 123, 155.

Cf. even in the late Middle Ages the rite of Sarum, supra, note 28.

**E.g., in the Pontifical of Halimardus: Martène, I, 4, XIV (I, 580 B): Fac me, quosso, omnem Dei, iustitiæ et caritatis indui, ut in sanctum tuorum merce exaltationem latari, quatenus emundatus ab omnibus sordibus peccatorum, consortium adipiscar tibi placentum sacerdoti, quæ nec corci concordia a vitius omnibus exuat, quem requas propriæ conscientia gravat. Per. In the Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century), Martene, V (I, 519 A) it is found with a variant which might well be the original: iustitiae indui armis (the chasuble as armor).

The Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (Eph. liturg.), 1927), 440, contains a formula of this kind which has some of the elements of the apologia: Rego te, with the direction: ad tuam; it usually appears among the apologia; see infra, p. 298, note 5.

* Muratoryi, II, 191. Here the formula serves as the collect of a missa specialis sacerdotalis. This could have been its original function.

* Supra, p. 94, note 11.


Thus, e.g., in the Pontifical of Halimardus, where the formula which the bishop recited cum se ad missam parat represents the only prayer expressly intended as a vesting prayer.

**Note:** This formula itself must be reckoned as belonging to this type. The formula, which is part of the supplement of Alcuin, is designated for the Mass ordo of the Sége group of the eleventh century together with its derivatives. Here it usually forms the conclusion of the accession psalmody. Even if this whole psalmody did not in some way accompany the vesting, still at least the formula we are talking about was so connected from time past. Sometimes it even carries a corresponding title. In the later Middle Ages it sometimes became the prevalent text when assuming the chasuble.

For putting on the biretta, which was not worn till after the twelfth century, and was not used for going to the altar till much later, no text was especially composed.

As we survey this series of vesting prayers as they are now and as they lie before us in the sources of the Middle Ages, it is plain that there was generally no intention of making these prayers tie in with the opening of the Mass nor, in the main, any effort to conceive a well-ordered plan of thought. The earliest unification of thought was achieved by follow-

In later years this vesting, with its accompanying vesting prayers, sometimes precedes the psalmody and the oration Fac me, quosso: so Martene, I, 4, XII (I, 568). At other times it is interposed between the psalmody and the oration Fac me, quosso: so ibid., IV, XV (I, 492 ff., 583); Köck, 95 f., 96 f., 100 f. Sometimes, too, it follows the prayer: thus Martene, I, 4, XVI (I, 594 f.). Köck, 97 f.; Hoeynck, 369.

* Missal of Troyes (c. 1050): Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 530); after the psalms the celebration says this formula, indiuen casulam. The Sacramentary of St. Denis (supra, note 20) Ad casulam.

Later the direction reads: Cum ornatus fuerit; Ebner, 306; cf. Muratoryi, I, 87; Franz, 751.

* Thus in seven of the eight vesting forms from Styrian missals in Köck, 96-106; the Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 262. As an alba for the chasuble also in the Missal of Upsala: Yelverton, 11.

In one case marked Ad albam: Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 654).

Braun, 510-514. Cf. Lebrun, Explication, I, 84. As we have seen, supra, p. 278 f., the amice served as a head covering during the walk to the altar.
ing St. Paul's description, and conceiving the priest putting on the paramenta as one donning the armor of God and readying himself for the spiritual combat. In these prayers, therefore—unlike the prayers at the accession or those at the foot of the altar, with which they share both their derivation and their original obligation—there is not to be found any planned progression in the priest's preparation. The individual garments are not explained on the basis of any conscious essential function which is theirs when worn, but it is rather only some ascetical thought, some handy reference to a scriptural text around which the prayer is composed. Thus the external act is raised, easily and without trouble, to the spiritual sphere. For that reason the individual forms are not spread abroad as a rule in a single unit but they are chosen on their own particular merit as taste dictates. Some Mass books since the eleventh century seek to give the prayers a certain rounding off by concluding not only some but all the prayers where possible with Per Christum Dominum Nostrum.

Putting on the vestments, even after the prayers were enjoined, was not always connected with the other preparations of the priest. Although in some instances it precedes the accession prayers which are then included in the liturgy proper as parts of equal worth, at other times it is trans-

This happened especially in private Masses; cf. supra, p. 228. In the 11th and 12th centuries this means, for monastic churches, only the stole and the chasuble, which had still to be donned; Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724); cf. supra, p. 279. Last this refers to the vestments taken collectively: Liber ordinarium of Liège (Volk, 101). Examples from the end of the Middle Ages in Legg, Tracts, 34 f., 55 f. Burchard of Strassburg (ibid., 130 f.) also takes the vesting at the altar into account.

Ceremoniale episc., I, 10, 2. 
Cf. supra, p. 280; Braun, 546-548. The origin and provenience of the custom has not been explained hitherto. Even the attempt at an explanation in Brinktrin, Die hl. Messe, 59, is untenable; he would have to take into account the prostratio mentioned in John the Arch-chancellor (7th century), where the maniple would certainly prove a hindrance, but the time element must throw this proof aside, since neither the prostratio, nor even kneeling at the Confectior was in use after the early Middle Ages.

According to the Missal of Westminster the priest had first to vest with the stole, then prepare the chalice and say the prayer for the mingling of the water; only after that did he don the chasuble. In French churches it was customary towards the end of the Middle Ages and thereafter, to recite the psalm Iudica and the other prayers that went with it during the vesting, se restesiendo. This arrangement is given more in detail in the Missal of the monastery of Bec (probably thirteenth century); after girding himself with the cincture, the priest says Psalm 42 and the conjoined prayer Aufer, then he puts on the maniple, stole, and chasuble. In other places the maniple and stole were put on before saying the psalm, which was recited while holding the chasuble lying on the altar. Sometimes, too, the Confectior was said without the chasuble. In this way the preparatory and semi-private character of these prayers was more plainly emphasized. In fact, the psalm Iudica, as we shall see, was at that time said as a rule on

The division and gradual mounting which Brinktrin, Die hl. Messe, 50 f., attempts to show in our vesting prayers—the first prayer rather negative, the chasuble prayer even stylistically the climax—is something that has been superimposed. But it is true that, by properly choosing from various traditional formulas, such a design has been achieved.

Exceptions see supra, p. 281, note 30. Even in the group of the Sèce Mass-Ordo (supra, p. 92) the vesting prayers of the Sacraments of Séez, which prove to be the original, are found only in the Missal of St. Vincent, in the Cod. Chigi and (mixed with others) also in great part in the Missal of Liège.

Martène, I, 4, 1 (I, 352); also I, 4, VI, XXXIV (I, 528 f., 661); Köck, 100 (105 f.). Likewise in the Spanish Missale mixtum (PL, LXXXV, 523 f.), where a selection of the formulas we are considering recurs.

The Missal of Evreux-Jumièges (14-15th century) has each formula excepting the last end with in nomine Patriae et Filii et Spiritus Sancti: Martène, I, 4, XXXVIII (I, 642 f.).

the way to the altar. True, in almost all these arrangements the reference is to private Masses. But amongst the Carthusians in the thirteenth century it was the custom for the priest to put on the chasuble at the altar also in conventional Masses except on the very highest feast days. Even at a later time it was the practice in Orleans to say the psalm *Judica* in the sacristy, vested in alb and stole, and this before high Mass. So it is not improbable that the same line of thought suggested that at the pontifical Mass the last of the vestments, the maniple—at that time it was really the last of the decorative garments to be donned—should not be handed to the bishop until after the psalm *Judica*—as the bishop of Minde strikingly testifies with regard to France, the homeland of this special order of vesting—or after the *Confiteor*, as it became customary in Rome later on.

4. The Prayers at the Foot of the Altar as a Unit

When we investigate the beginnings of the prayers at the foot of the altar, we find the seed in the pre-Frankish era not in any definite prayer but rather in the actions which correspond to the two parts of our present-day prayers, the progress towards the altar, all planned in definite forms, and the silent reverence of the celebrant as he bows in front of the altar.

In the churches of the Frankish Kingdom, according to a law of procedure which was then in force, the clergy themselves, or at least the celebrant, would have to say some prayers even in such circumstances. And from the first, *apologia* were considered above all as suited to this spot. Already in the ninth century such prayers had been inserted here, and until the eleventh century the space they thus occupied at the beginning of Mass grew and grew immensely.

But even before the end of the tenth century a new arrangement made its appearance, an arrangement which was retained in the Mass books of the Sézé group and which in the time to come was adhered to more or less. The pertinent rubric reads as follows:

*Postquam Ecclesiæ introitus episcopus [...], osculetur diaconos et presbyteros ductus. Et incipiat per se "Introibo ad altare Dei," cum psalmo "Judica me Deus." Cum reverebatur ad altare dicat has orationes: "Afer a nobis ..."

"Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui me peccatorum ..." Deinde, cum evangelium osculatur, dicit: "Pax Christi quam ..."*

On the way to the altar, therefore, Psalm 42 was spoken in common, and upon arrival at the altar the two orations were added in conclusion, one

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*A prayer upon entering the sanctuary, derived from the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 33), is also found in 11th-century Mass programs: Martènè, 1, 4, IVff. (1, 494f., 519 C, 530 B): *Domine Deus omnipotens, qui es magnus.* In nearly all oriental liturgies *apologia* are found at the beginning of the Mass. The text usually refers them quietly to himself during the external preparations or the introductory incensations.

**Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (Eph. liturg., 1927), 440f.: *Antequam accedat ad altare dicat: *Judica me ... Tunc accedat ad altare dicens: *Ante conspectum ... Deus qui de indignis.*

Similarly in the 10th century the Sacramentary of Ratoldus: PL, LXXVIII, 241f. This corresponds to the rubric of *Ordo Rom., VI, n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 990): *inclinans se Deum pro peccatis suis despecturus.*

The Sacramentary of St. Thierry (10th century): Martènè, 1, 4, X (I, 546), has for the first prayer, dunn accedit, the prayer which now is found at the beginning of the Breviary (with variants): *Apæri, Domine Deus, os meum.*

In some cases even at the end of the Middle Ages there are *apologiae* (besides the *Confiteor*) at the start of Mass; thus in the Missal of Westminster (c. 1380), ed. Legg (H B S, 5), 489; in some Mass-arrangements from Normandy: Martènè I, 4, XXVII, XXXVII (1, 640, 672, 676).

In Spain even printed missals of the 15th and 16th centuries prescribed *apologia* to be said ad introitum altaris or ad introitum missa; Ferreres, 78f.; cf. 67, 72.

*This is the form of the text as handed down in the 10th century Pontifical of Halinardus: Martènè, 1, 4, XIV (1, 581f.). From this text, in which the only secondary insertion (four *apologiae*) is that after *episcopus* (indicated by the brackets), the text of the parallel documents (vide supra, p. 92) must have been derived; of these Sézé and Verdun-Stablo display only small additions, but the others rather considerable ones. Another point that shows this text to be the original one is the fact that in its rubrics the basic data from *Ordo Rom., I*, n. 8 still peers through plainly while in the other texts it has been almost obliterated: *dat pacem uni episcopo de hodiernam diem et archipresbytero (two priests are substituted for them) et diaconibus omnibus ... Et surgens pontifex (after quiet prayer) osculatur evangelia et altare.* The opinion put forth by Brinkley that this *osculatur evangelia et altare* is derived from *Die hl. Messe, 55, and similarly by several others, that this psalm served since the 9th century as a private preparation.
of which is our *Aufer a nobis*. In the witnesses to this particular arrangement of the entry there are found in addition various *apologia*, forerunners of our *Confiteor*, included in a variety of ways and in an assortment of forms. They are either added at the beginning or inserted somewhere in the middle or subjoined at the end. This arrangement quickly took the lead over other plans of a similar kind.

By the middle of the eleventh century another step was taken in Normandy, at a time when this land was in the forefront of liturgical reform. From these *apologia* a formal *Confiteor*, along with the response begging forgiveness, was composed and introduced between the psalm and the oration. This new plan seems to have spread by way of the Cluniac reform into Italy and even into Germany. It prevailed, however, only to this extent that a formal *Confiteor* in some setting or other, along with the corresponding response and the succeeding oration *Aufer a nobis*, became a part of the established design of every Mass *ordo* since the twelfth century.

On the other hand the psalm *Iudica* did not gain an entrance into countless Mass arrangements all through the later Middle Ages and after. It will be enough to refer to the monastic liturgies of the Carthusians, the Calced Carmelites and the Dominicans; from all of these the psalm is assigned the following as preparation: upon coming to the altar, it seems certain that the insertion of the psalm text is confined to a single verse, *Confiteor*, then several psalm verses (85:11; 53:8; 42:1-4, and again several *apologia*.

*Mass-Ordo* of Cod. *Chigi*: Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 569). Since the section under consideration shows, in many other points a certain dependence upon John of Avranches, who was writing about 1063 (see supra, p. 102 f.), and since in the present instance there is only a summary report, which is, however, in agreement with the other (a mutual confession right after coming to the altar), it seems certain that the insertion of the *Confiteor* evidenced in the *Cod. Chigi* must be traced to the cycle of the Norman bishop, despite the Italian origin of the MS. (Bona, I, 12, 4 147f. and App. II, 955).

*Cod. Chigi*, from the monasterium S. Vincentii O.S.B. (see the previous note). The same rubrics, but in shortened form, recur in a later MS. from Naples (Archivio di Stato, Cod. IV): Ebner, 311f.

The same arrangement of the prayers also in two mid-Italian monastic Mass books at the end of the 11th century (Bibl. Riccard., 299 and 300): Ebner, 297, 300.

*Bernold of Constance*, Micrologus, c. 23 (PL, CLX, 992).

*Cod. Chigi*, from the monasterium S. Vincentii O.S.B. (see the previous note). The same rubrics, but in shortened form, recur in a later MS. from Naples (Archivio di Stato, Cod. IV): Ebner, 311f.

The only exception which I could ascertain is to be found in a missal of Toul dated c. 1400: Martène, I, 4, XXXI (I, 650), where the *apologia ante conspectum* precedes the *Aufer a nobis*. Still this Mass-arrangement represents substantially nothing more than a later version of that of the Sèz group, with the interpolation of several more modern elements.

The later MS. from Naples
shouts of joy and jubilation that anticipate the eucharistia, the prayer of thanksgiving.

The rule established in the tenth-century rubric already referred to continued in force throughout the Middle Ages: Psalm 42 was said on the way to the altar in the same way as the canticle Benedictice was recited on the way back to the sacristy (as we still do today). In fact, until the Missal of Pius V, this was expressly stated in the rubrics in many cases. Very seldom was there any clear transfer of the psalm to the altar steps. Often this transfer occurred because the chasuble was put on at the altar. As was the custom especially at private Mass. In other cases the rubric was left indefinite. This diversity of practice corresponded to the variety in spatial arrangements. Often the distance from sacristy to altar was very short. In order not to prevent the psalm's being said with proper care and to lend it greater importance, it was not begun until the steps were reached. This must have been the origin of the arrangement now found in the Missal of Pius V.\footnote{\textsuperscript{11}}

\textsuperscript{11} Thus in Italian Mass books since the 11th century (Ebner, 297, 300, 332): \textit{Dum ingreditur ad altare}, or (ibid., 345): \textit{Dum procedunt de secretario}. Similarly in other cases: Ibid, 296, 313, 340, 354. Still in the Missale Romanum of 1474, ed. Lippe (HBS, 17), 198, but no longer in the editions of 1530 or 1540: Lippe (HBS, 22), 98.

Also in France: Lerouquis, I, 131, 163, 211, etc.

The Regensburg Missal-Ordo (Beck, 262): \textit{Transcendo ad altare}. The Augsburg Missal-Ordo of 1555 (Hoenycz, 370): in the sacristy or \textit{dum situr}, with the added remark that the \textit{ministrantes et qui intestum} should alternate with the priest verse for verse. Similarly a Camaldolese misal from the 13th century (Ebner, 354) notes: \textit{In inceptione processionis dictitur psalmus ... quem ministri cum eo alternando veniant ante altare}. However in regard to the remark in a mid-12th century Italian Mass-Ordo of the 11-12th century (Ebner, 336): \textit{Quando ingreditur ad altare, sub silentio dicat sacerdos,} it must be observed (contra Batiffol, Leyson, 13) that this rubric is immediately followed by a parallel in which the sub silentio directly refers.

\textsuperscript{12} Missal of St. Lambrech (1336; Köck, 107): \textit{inclinatus ante altare dicat: Introibo}. A missal of the Hungarian Hermits of St. Paul (15th century; Sawiecki, 146): \textit{ad gradus altaris}.

There is one isolated instance from this era of grouping and trying in which the psalm is said only after the altar has been kissed: Missal of Troyes (c. 1050), Martène, 1, 4, VI (I, 530 D).

The older Missal of Fécamp (13-14th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 638 A); \textit{Posta inicitant antiphonam: Introibo. The Ordinarium of Cautantes (Legg, Tracts, 50) which is dependent on the older Fécamp Missal. The priest recites Ps. 42 while holding with both hands the chasuble still lying on the altar.}


Bernald, Micrologus, c. 23 (PL, CL. I. 992): \textit{Paratus autem venit ad altare dicens}.

Even Innocent III, De s. alt. mysterio, II, 13 (PL, CXVII, 806), who observes that Ps. 42 precedes the Confectior, does not exclude the possibility that the psalm be said already on the way. The same remark in Durandus, IV, 7, 1.

The Alcuinum sacramentum (after 1495) observes expressly that the priest can say the psalm in front of the altar or even while vesting: Legg, Tracts, 35 f.

\textsuperscript{13} Such versicles were in use even independently of the psalm in question. In the Missal of Pius V, Martène, 1, 4, IV (I. 494), the bishop, on leaving the sacristy, says the first versicle Ps. 85: 11 \textit{(Dedicavit)}; 58: 8 \textit{(Voluntarie sacrificabo)}; when entering the church, Ps. 5: 8 \textit{(Introibo in domum; Domine, deduc me)}; cf. Avet.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14} Cf. French books (11th century): ibid., V f. (I, 519 D, 530 B); further, the Hungarian books of the 12th century: Javor, 113; Radó, 42, 44, 123.

\textsuperscript{15} Volk, 89. Likewise in a 15th century MS. at Tongern; de Coronwarem, 110; cf. 112.

The Klosterneuburg Missal-Ordo of the 15th century (Schwaebes, 61) exhibits the verse similar to that used in the present-day in setting precisely this date as the first for omitting it from the prayers at the foot of the altar. Even in the 16th century the psalm, with the conclusion Requiem aeternam, is presupposed by Paris de Grassi (d. 1528), De ceremonia, II, 39 (see Lebrun, I, 99, note a). In the Directoirem de Gemonianus which appeared in 1539 (Legg, Tracts, 204) the remark is made that the psalm is to conclude with Gloria Patri even at Masses for the Dead.

The versicle form of the verse \textit{Introibo} appears as an introduction to the psalm in the Mass-Ordo of the papal chapel about 1290, ed. Brinktrine (\textit{Bibl. liturg.}, 1937), 200: the prayers at the altar start with \textit{Introibo} and \textit{Adiutorium}; Psalm 42 follows; then this rubric: \textit{Et repetatur antiphona Introibo} (an expression similar to that used in the present-day missal); this rubric is the residue of a more ancient arrangement: the next versicle, \textit{Confectior}, leads into the \textit{Confectior}. Similarly Org. Ron. XIV, n. 1 (PL, LXXVIII, 1185 A).

Probably the same treatment of the verse as a versicle is used in the Secula Missal, about 1170: Köck, 106. In late medieval Mass schemes the appearance of \textit{Introibo} as a versicle before Ps.
means a universal practice. In our present-day Mass the very first words, even before the Introibo, are the words of blessing which accompany the sign of the Cross, words which form a Trinitarian gateway to the whole Mass—In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. As used here the formula, taken from our Lord's command to preach and baptize, can be traced here and there in the fourteenth century but not any earlier. It had been used as a blessing frequently in the early Middle Ages, and even appears in the Mass itself quite a bit earlier as the characteristic blessing formula. That it should appear at the beginning of Mass as a blessing text—just as it has more recently appeared at the beginning of our other prayers—is probably to be explained by the fact that the sign of the Cross already belongs to the Mystical Body of Christ. The Sign of the Cross was, after all, one of the means and signs of Baptism and Eucharist. 42 is quite frequent; see Legg, *Tracts*, 3, 134, 181, 204; Köck, 107 f.; Yelverton, 11. 43 See e.g., the English Mass books of the declining Middle Ages in Maskell, 8 f.; here the verse, undivided, is used as an antiphon.

Further, the Cistercian Missal (apparently since the 14th century); Schneider (*Cist. Chr.*, 1926), 253. The priest says the words immediately after kissing the altar, before he begins the prayers at the foot of the altar.

Admont Missal of the 14-15th century: Köck, 111; here, however, Lk. 1: 28 and the Salve Regina with its oration precede.

Late medieval examples in Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII, XXXVII (I, 658, 676).

In other cases the trinitarian formula is found in some other spot; e.g. in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557) at the beginning of the vesting prayers and after Ps. 42 (which is followed in this instance by the doming of the chasuble); Legg, *Tracts*, 55 f. More often it stands at the start of the Introit, where today we have simply a sign of the Cross; see infra, p. 332.

* Eisenhofer, I. 278.

* At the head of a formula for the blessing of incense in the *Missa Iliyrica*; Martène, 1, 4, IV I, 494 C), and in related Mass-Ordines of the 11th and 12th centuries: Fiala, 197; Muratori, I, 88; cf. Ebner, 333.

Among the earliest witnesses to a linking of the trinitarian phrase with the formulas of Confirmation and absolution is St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, III, 72, 4; 84, 3 and 3.

The sign of the Cross at the start of Mass also in *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 941 C); also in the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 12, 4 (Quaesten, Mon., 212 f.), where the bishop at the beginning of the eucharistic prayer signs the *pax super nos* on his brow.

In the same sense the Regensburg Mass-Ordo notes an opening sign of the Cross in connection with the words *Sancti Spiritus asist nobis gratia*; Beck, 263. The same in Spanish Missal books of the late Middle Ages together with the trinitarian formula or some other; Ferreres, 66, 67, 71, 76; also in the *Missale miscum* (PL, LXXXV, 525 B). The phrase quoted seems to be the beginning of an ancient hymn; cf. the text in Yelverton, 5.

Elsewhere there is substituted here the verse *Adiutorium nostrum* (which also has an introductory function); Pontificial of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 643); cf. Augsburg Mass-Ordo of the 15th century: Franz, 751.

The prayers at foot of altar as a unit.

Late medieval Mass arrangements often made of this petition for God's blessing a special act of prayer during which the priest kneels at the altar. It was frequently the custom to kneel down first for a few moments' prayer. The psalm *Indica* was sometimes given a special conclusion, a prayer being said to reaffirm its meaning. In the Norman-English ambits, where such a conclusion was almost universally in use, the *Kyrie* and *Pater Noster* were said. A further development of the custom involved going up to the altar and even appearing at the beginning of Mass as a blessing text—just as it has more recently appeared at the beginning of our other prayers—is probably to be explained by the fact that the sign of "blessing," the *signum crucis* is connected with it; we begin the holy action in the power that comes from the trinite God through the Cross of Christ. At the same time, in the use of this formula here, we can perceive a bridge between the two great sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist.

As it was added: Legg, *Tracts*, 35: *Ven Creator* with versicle and oration (cf. note 28, the *Ven Creator* during the vesting in the rite of Sarum). A Styrain missal of the 15th century (Köck, 112): *Ven S. Spiritus*, reple with the versicle and oration, and the added sentence, *Sancti Spiritus asist nobis gratia*. Similarly in Hungary: Jóvar, 113; Rádó, 24, 96, 123; here the elements are already found in the Sacramentary of Boldau c. 1195 (Rádó, 42): at the start *Adsi nobis*, before kissing the altar *Ven S. Spiritus*, and oration.

An opening *Ven S. Spiritus* also in the Mass-Ordo of the Cistercians; Schneider (*Cist. Chr.*, 1926), 253; cf. 222.

* Alphabetum sacerdotum* (Legg, *Tracts*, 35): *Ven Creator* with versicle and oration (cf. note 28, the *Ven Creator* during the vesting in the rite of Sarum). A Styrain missal of the 15th century (Köck, 112): *Ven S. Spiritus*, reple with the versicle and oration, and the added sentence, *Sancti Spiritus asist nobis gratia*. Similarly in Hungary: Jóvar, 113; Rádó, 24, 96, 123; here the elements are already found in the Sacramentary of Boldau c. 1195 (Rádó, 42): at the start *Adsi nobis*, before kissing the altar *Ven S. Spiritus*, and oration.

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In Germany many recited the psalm *Indica* kneeling at the altar; Franz, 574. At the Synod of Brixen (1318), c. 4, *tua generacione* ante altar e were appointed for this occasion, to be accompanied by prayer; likewise missa finita; J. Baur, "Die Brixner Synode von 1318" (in the *Pestschrift zur Feier des zweihundert jährigen Bestandes des Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchivs* in Vienna, 1949).

The Spanish Missale miscum (PL, LXXXV, 525 B; cf. 523 A) instructs the priest to say first of all an *Ave Maria*; similarly other Spanish Mass books: Ferreres, 76.

In France the saying of a *Pater* at the start had become such an ingrained practice that St. Vincent de Paul in 1620 still witnessed the practice; Bremond, *Histoire littérale du sentiment religieux*, 111, 248.

* Sacramentary of Brescia (11th century; Ebner, 16): *Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, missericordiam.*

* Legg, *Tracts*, 36, 56, 219; Maskell, 10 ff.; Simmens, 90; Martène, 1, 4, XXV, XXVI ff., XXXV ff. (I, 625, 630, 639, 643, 664, 672, 676). Outside the region mentioned, in which the Sarum Ordinary of the 13th century (Legg, 219) is the earliest witness, I have met the same arrangement in only late sources: in the Regensburg Ordo (Beck, 262) and in two printed missals of Chalon and Tours (Martène, 1, 4, 1 [I, 352]; 1, 4, 2, 4, 1 (I, 351)). An exception to this is apparently to be found in two books of the end of the 11th century, the Pontifical of the Biblioteca Casanatense (Ebner, 327) and (but in this case without *Pater noster*) the Missal of St. Vincent-on-Vol.

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to the steps of the altar at the conclusion of the Pater noster (Et ne nos), and continuing the prayer with Confiteor and Confi teor.

5. Confiteor

The Confiteor, along with its attendant prayers, forms the second portion of the prayers at the foot of the altar. Its beginnings are to be found in the silent worship to which the pope gave himself when, in the course of the stations, he came to the altar. But for this quiet prayer words were soon inserted when the Roman Mass reached Frankish territory. The tendency is manifested, for instance in the change of the seventh-century Roman rubric, *prostrato omni corpore in terra*; the Frankish revision of the eighth century makes the addition: *fundens orationem pro se vel pro peccata [!] populi.* Thus the theme of the apologies is sounded.

The prayer in which lowly man humbles himself before the great God is restricted to the expression particularly of man’s incapacity and man’s unworthiness. Already in the late Carolingian period, prayer of this sort had accompanied the walk to the altar; here at the altar steps it found its proper setting. A formula which highlights the main motifs of the later

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* Leroquais, *loc. cit.*, 440.
* One single instance from the 9th-10th century is represented by the *Confiteor* of the Sacramentary of St. Gaten, Martène, 1, 4, VII (1, 536); in its long list of sins, covering half of a folio column, it still reflects the stylistic form of those *Confiteor* texts which were intended for sacramental confession.
* The definite form which eventually prevailed is to be detected for the first time in *Cod. Chigi* (*See supra*, p. 292). But already about 1030 another attempt of a similar sort is presupposed in the Missa *Illyrica*, Martène, I, 4, IV (1, 495 A), built on the design of the much-altered entry plan of the *Sice* group (supra, p. 291). While still on the way to the altar, in front of the steps leading to the choir, the bishop recites not *apologia* of some sort or another (as in the Pontifical of Halnards), but a confession or acknowledgment in the narrower sense (*proferens confessionem*). True, there is no mention of a response by the clergy (a thing taken for granted at that time), nor of their corresponding confession, but there follows the absolving reply of the bishop, *Indulgentiam (see infra)*.

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* Confi teor, formula, is prescribed in the Sacramentary of Amiens with the rubric:

* Tunc accedat ad altare diœcis: Ante conspectum divinae majestatis tuae, Domine, *saeulis tuus confiteoribus Deo meo et creatori meo, mea culpa, qua peccavi in superbia, in odio et invidiosa, in cupiditate et avaritia, in fornicatione et immunditate, in ebrietate et crapula, in mendacio et perjurio et in omnibus vitius, qua ex his profundi. Quid pluralis Visus, auditui, olfactu, gustu, et tactu et ommino in cogitatione et locutione et actione peccatur sum; quaproprier qui ipsius impia, justifica me et resucutia me de morte ad vitam, Domine Deus meus.*

However, this is still a prayer which an individual recites. In the *Confiteor* the prayer becomes a dialogue spoken by several. The celebrant acknowledges his sinfulness not only before God and heaven but also before his brethren around him and begs their mediation, which is offered him at once in the form of a response to his confession. This distinctive transition to this new form was completed within the Mass in the first century of the eleventh century, and soon it was imitated quite generally. It consisted in making one’s confession of faults in the same manner as was customary since the ninth century at daily Prime and Compline—a mutual confession of daily faults made two-by-two. This method was now introduced at the beginning of Mass, at first (usually) the priest and deacon alone confessing to each other, later (more generally) the priest and a
number of those in attendance.

The surprising thing is that not only the Misericordia (a companion piece to the Confiteor which even the layman was permitted to say as the intercessory response to the confession of faults) but also the Indulgentiam (or, as often, beginning with the second word Absolutionem) was included in this shift from the very start, for the latter was at this time, and continued to be for several centuries, the regular expression of the priests' sacramental absolution. This was, however, nothing else than a feature of the period. It was right around the year 1000 that (as divers witnesses tell us) the custom came into vogue. Shortly before, it had become a general practice to have the absolution follow immediately upon the sacramental confession. The same pattern was therefore followed in the monasteries where it had long been customary to go to confession to one's spiritual father weekly or even oftener; the sacramental absolution was appended to the Misericordia.

The Confiteor had thus undergone some development before it was ushered into the Mass prayers at the foot of the altar. From the ninth century on, a number of versions are extant which were intended for use in sacramentary confession.

The situation we have here outlined helps to explain how it is that the prayer not only makes acknowledgment before God and his priest, but ends with a petition begging the latter to give counsel and judgment and also to pray for the sinner. It is said to the people:

"Confiteor, precor vos, orate pro me."

A thing to notice here is something that holds also for later formulas of the Confiteor: the acknowledgment in the first part is made first of all to God and the Church in heaven, while the intercession in the second part is asked at once of the Church on earth. It is well to remark that even in the eleventh century lengthier formulas had already put in an appearance.

As time went on a general augmentation may be noted. At the General Chapter of the Cistercians in 1184 it was decreed that the Mother of God should be named before all the other saints: Confiteor Deo et beata Maria et omnibus sanctis. The pious devotion of a St. Bernard is patently at work here. The later Middle Ages continued to add further names to the Carthusians: Ordinariustat. (1932), c. 25, 13.

The formulation, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa is evidenced for the first time in Thomas à Becket (d. 1170); A. Wilmart, Recherches de Théol. Ancienne et moderne (1935) VII, 351.

In Cod. Chigi: Martene, 1, 4, XII (1, 569): Confiteor Deo omnipotenti et isis et omnibus sanctis eius et voibus fraternis, qua ego miser peccavi natus in lege Dei, pia tione mentis et corporis, in omnibus malis qui subsit humana fragilias contamnati potest. Proprieor vos or et oratis pro me miser no peccatore. The intercessory formula is correspondingly augmented.

Schneider (Cist.-Chr., 1926), 255.

With this compare the way Christian antiquity drew attention to the heavenly powers, e.g. 1 Tim. 5: 21: "I adjure thee in the sight of God and of Jesus Christ, and the angels he has chosen." Further reference in Jungmann, Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet, 239, note 29.
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not of secret confession but of public. An intensification of the utterance of sorrow is manifested when the subject is described at the beginning:

Ego peccator or Ego miser et infelix or Ego reus sacerdos confiteor, and other similar phrases.

As to the external rite, we find from the very outset that the Confiteor was recited with body bowed profoundly. But kneeling too must have been rather widespread. Striking the breast at the words mea culpa is mentioned quite early. This gesture, copied from the Bible story (Luke 18:13) was so familiar to St. Augustine's audience and so intimately connected with the acknowledgment of sin that the saint had to caution them against beating their breasts every time the word confiteor was called out.

According to an old tradition the Confiteor of the priest was answered by the deacon or by one of the assistants with the prayer Misereatur which corresponded to the final plea of the Confiteor. The formulation of the Misereatur was just as multiform as that of the Confiteor. The ground text which by and large remained in the Mass is to be seen probably in a version which is found in various places in the ninth/tenth century: Misereatur tuum omnipotens Deus et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, liberet te ab omni [opere] malo, conservet te in omni [opere] bono et perducat te [per intercessionem omnium sanctuarum] ad gloriam sempiternam.

Howevers Weisweiler, "Die Busslehre Simons von Tournai" (ZKTh, 1932), 209.

27 Innocent III, De s. alt. mysterio, II, 13 (PL, CCXVII, 806); Sicard of Cremona, Mitrale, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 95 A); Durandus, IV, 7, 2.

28 Even John Beleth, Explicatio, c. 33 (PL, CCII, 43) observed that here it was allowed to confess sins only generatori and not manuscripte excedere.

29 Examples in Ferreres, 66 ff.

30 Ego reus et indigamus: Radó, 42, 61. Ego reus et indigamus sacerdos: Radó, 76; Legg, Tractes, 36, 56.

31 Cf. supra, note 2. The express remark is found in the Ordo, eccl. Lateran. (Fischer, 80, 1, 16), in the Liber ordinarius of Liège (Volk, 89, 1, 22).

32 The rhymed German Mass-explanation of the 12th century says: He kneels before God's table and confesses his sins; Leitzmann (Kleine Texte, 54), 18, 1, 1.


34 In all the cases mentioned the rubric seems to be intended for a Mass without levites.

35 Stephen of Baeude (d. 1136), De sacr. altars, 1, 12 (PL, CLXXII, 1283 B); Innocent III, De s. alt. mysterio, II, 13 (PL, CCXVII, 806); Durandus, IV, 7, 3.


37 Cf. supra, p. 259. See also the example on p. 301 which imply a confession made now to one (frater, pater) now to several (fratres).

38 It is worthy of note that the oldest formulas which in the first part name "all the saints," confine the petition for prayer in the second part to the brethren present (te, vous). See supra, p. 301.

39 Sacramentary of Reims: PL, LXXVIII, 442 A. The bracketed expressions are frequently missing in other texts.

40 Cf. the interpolated rule of Chrodegang: PL, LXXIX, 1067; Ritual of Durham, ed. Lindelöf (Surtees Society, 140), 170.

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ever it is proper to record that the older Mass books mention this
_Misereatur_ of the assistants or of the deacon or of the Mass server as in¬
ferently as they do the _Confiteor_ that follows. The fact that these two
formulas had to follow, was taken as much for granted as the fact that the
texts would be almost identical with the other, almost as he did the Lord’s
priest used for his
phrase was prefixed like
_Spiritus

Sanguinis

list of names, as in the
quite common:

Jesus

32 D) says explicitly:

a?tenzam.

Avranches,

86

rici

725) : The deacon stands opposite the

server:

_in the

101) .

"Cf.

cf.

priest: Martene, 1, 4,

Martene, 1, 4, XII (I,

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Vincent

Ferrer wanted the people

at~r

••

Pater,

A Hungarian missal of the 13th century

for the Mass-server a simple

or he might use a phrase which

changed with the Church year"; or several of these phrases together—an

opportunity for giving the celebrant’s devotion ample play. Even though
these additions to the intercessory prayer were very meaningful and sug¬
genius Maria et omnium Sanctorum suorum;_ "frequently adding a whole
list of names, as in the
_Confiteor_; or a phrase like _Per gratiam Sancti Spiritus Paracleti_; or _Per auxilium et signum sanctae crucis_; or _Per sanctam misericordiam D. N. J. C._ or _Per amaram passionem D. N. J. C._ or _Per sparsiones sanguinis D. N. J. C._; or he might use a phrase which

would probably mean the Latin _Confiteor_; in German countries, the vernacular for¬
mula of the _“Open Confession” (culpa)_ had to be substituted for the faithful.

"Cod. Chigi: Martène, 1, 4, XII (I,

569).

_Ordo Rom. XIV_, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII,

1185).

_Missal of St. Pol de Léon: Martène, 1, 4

XXXIV (I, 662 B); Hungarian

Missal books of the 15th century: Radò,

24, 123; Javor, 113.

_Missal of St. Pol de Léon: Martène,

1, 4, XXXIV (I, 662 B); _Alphabetum

descertionem_. Legg. Tracts, 36.

_Breviarum of Ronen: Martène, 1, 4,

XXXVII (I, 677);_ joined with it are several of the formulas already mentioned,

including ten Saints’ names. Similarly the

_Alphabetum descertionem_. Legg. Tracts, 36.

A Hungarian missal of the 13th century has:

_Pievirtum D. N. J. C. et_. Radò,

61.

_Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 263.

_Missal of Valencia (1417): Ferreres,

71; for the Mass-server a simple _Misereat-

ure_ is mentioned.

_Ordinarium of Coutances (1557): Per

sanctam Incarnationem, etc.; Legg.

Tracts, 56 f. Here again the server is
given just a simple _Misereatur_.

Thus expressly in the _Ordinarium of

Coutances, loc. cit._

Such additions are missing, for in¬
stance, in most of the examples cited from

Styrian Mass books, Kock, 107 ff.

"The formula is an outgrowth of solemn
absolution formulas of the 10th century,

which were usually composed of three
members and presented in the optative,

and which comprised the previous prayers
of reconciliation (which had the form of oaths),

so that they themselves eventually

became the conveyors of the sac-
ramental absolution. See Jungmann, _Die

lateinischen Bussritei_, 212 ff., 251 ff.

The earliest text within the Mass, in the
_Missa Illyrica_, Martène, 1, 4, IV (I,

495), is still quite comprehensive.

The text in the _Cod. Chigi_: Martène,

1, 4, XII (I, 569 D), which is a bit later,
reads as follows: _Indulgentiam et

absolutionem omnium pecatorum nostrorum et spatum vera poenitentia per

intercessionem omnium sanctorum suorum tributat nobis omnipotenti et

misericors Dominus_. It was only in a few individual instances that it
received an augmentation as did its companion piece _Misereatur._

As already hinted, the _Indulgentiam_ had become since the year 1000 a
favorite form for absolution in the sacrament of penance—a deprecative
or, more properly, optative form. In what sense was it now incorporated
into the Mass, in the prayers at the foot of the altar? For the sacrament
certain conditions appear to be missing. Contrition might be present, pro¬
vided the _Confiteor_ was said with proper intention. But if it is substituted
Confiteor and if we see the glance of all heaven directed towards us,
we become sufficiently aware of the heinousness of sin and turn away from
it. That is perhaps the motive for contrition which is closest to us and
therefore also most effectual, even if it is not the highest. But the confes¬
sion was not at all extensive enough since it was essentially very general.
Besides the _Indulgentiam_ was spoken only by the priest over the assist¬
ants, and not in reverse even when these latter were priests, a surprising
thing since it was primarily the celebrant who required the purifying action

Furthermore, the _“Open Confession”_ (culpa) had to be substituted for the
faithful. The earliest text within the Mass, in the _Missa Illyrica_, Martène,
1, 4, IV (I, 495), is still quite comprehensive. The text in the _Cod. Chigi_: Martène,
1, 4, XII (I, 569 D), which is a bit later, reads as follows: _Indulgentiam et
absolutionem omnium pecatorum nostrorum et spatum vera poenitentia per intercessionem omnium sanctorum suorum tributat nobis omnipotenti et misericors Dominus_. In Spain the following wording often appears: _Absolutionem et remissionem omnium pecatorum nostrorum et spatum et fructus dignos poenitentiae et enmodationem tibi et cor positi per gratiam Spiritus Sancti tribuat nobis omnipotenti et misericors Dominus_. Ferreres, 65 ff.

"The earliest text within the Mass, in the _Missa Illyrica_, Martène, 1, 4, IV (I,

495), is still quite comprehensive. The text in the _Cod. Chigi_: Martène,
1, 4, XII (I, 569 D), which is a bit later, reads as follows: _Indulgentiam et
absolutionem omnium pecatorum nostrorum et spatum vera poenitentia per intercessionem omnium sanctorum suorum tributat nobis omnipotenti et misericors Dominus_. Ferreres, 65 ff.

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absolutionem omnium pecatorum nostrorum et spatum vera poenitentia per intercessionem omnium sanctorum suorum tributat nobis omnipotenti et misericors Dominus_. Ferreres, 65 ff.

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495), is still quite comprehensive. The text in the _Cod. Chigi_: Martène,
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absolutionem omnium pecatorum nostrorum et spatum vera poenitentia per intercessionem omnium sanctorum suorum tributat nobis omnipotenti et misericors Dominus_. Ferreres, 65 ff.

"The earliest text within the Mass, in the _Missa Illyrica_, Martène, 1, 4, IV (I,

495), is still quite comprehensive. The text in the _Cod. Chigi_: Martène,
of the sacrament.\footnote{For the priest, especially in monasteries, a sacramental confession before each Mass was customary in the later Middle Ages. Even in the 11th century there is mention of this at Cluny, but with the restrictive clause, si opus habebat; Udalrics Conuent. Clun II, 12 (PL, CXLIX, 796 B); similarly in a Klosterneuburg source of the 13th century: Schabes, 58; in a missal of Auxerre: Martene, 1, 4, 1 (1. 351 B). In the Dominican order this confession before each Mass was enjoined by various General Chapters down to the 16th century; Sölch, Hugo von St. Cher, 52 f. The Alphabetum sacerdotium (after 1495) starts its references to the Mass with a modus confitendi; Legg, Tracts, 33, cf. also the missal printed in Venice in 1493: ibid., 114.} However, we must remember that the development we are considering belongs to a period which had not yet experienced the clarification of its penance theories through Scholasticism. This was the high tide of sacramental general absolutions regarding which, nevertheless, even then the fact was emphasized that the general acknowledgment which was connected with them did not suffice for grave sins.\footnote{Jungmann, Die lateinischen Bussreiten, 277 ff., 285 ff.} But there was a constant effort to depolish the Confiteor formula of its general character by inserting specific references, and doubtless it was not seldom that a personal confession was—by abuse—combined with it. But if the priest does include himself (tribut nobis), he was surely aware that the formula could have, in his regard, only the value of a petition, which did not however rob it in any way of a more extensive power with regard to others.\footnote{Jungmann, Die lateinischen Bussreiten, 231 ff.}

It is certain that efforts were made to emphasize the formula by means of ceremonial. According to the use of Cluny the priest at a private Mass, while answering the lay-brother with the Miserere, put on the stole\footnote{According to the confessional guide of Arezzo of that same 11th century, the remission of sins was granted per stolam. Op. cit., 19. Further passages can be found in the same work cited in the Index sub verbo "stola."} which up to then he had carried in his hand, and then recited the Indulgentiam.\footnote{Bernardi Ordo Clun. I, 72 (Herrgott, 264); William of Hirsau, Conf. I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016).} In other places a special versicle was inserted between Miserere and Indulgentiam, or the Indulgentiam was introduced by the word Oremus.\footnote{But the witnesses to this practice are of a later period: Mass-Ordo of Regensburg (Beck, 264): Christe audii nos, Salvator mundi, adiuv. nos. Hungarian Mass books of the 15th century, (Javor, 113; Radó, 24, 123): Ps. 120: 7.} The sign of the Cross which accompanied the formula here as elsewhere, and which itself developed out of the laying on of hands by means of which penance and reconciliation were once administered, has survived until the present.

Thus the Pontifical of Durandus in regulating the case when a bishop attends the Mass of a priest: At the prayers at the foot of the altar the bishop stands next to the priest. After the confession of the absolution, the priest replies to a few intermediate verses and then says, Indulciun pro peccatis meis. Then the rubric continues: Et pontifex inuinit illi Pater noster vel Ave Maria vel alium, et sollemnitatem vel alium pontific. Andcrien, III, 643.

Quite similar is the arrangement in the monastic Missal of Lyons printed in 1531; here in the same spot the celebrant begins the following dialogue: Poenitentiam pro peccatis meis. Pater noster. Deo gratias. Et vobis Ave Maria. R: Deo gratias. Only after this penance has been said does the priest kiss the altar. Martene, 1, 4, XXXIII (1, 658 D). The same dialogue, with unessential variations, in the Missal of Vich (1496): Fereres, 67, and in the later rite of Lyons: Bona, II, 2, 6 (570). Similarly three missals of the 14th century from Gerona, but here the imposition of the penance is provided only for the celebrant: Ferreres, p. XXXII, XXXV, 68.

The original conception of this absolution as a sacramental formula will serve to explain the fact that a penance was not infrequently imposed just as we will find was done at the "Open Confession" which took place after the sermon.\footnote{Thus the Pontifical of Durandus in regulating the case when a bishop attends the Mass of a priest: At the prayers at the foot of the altar the bishop stands next to the priest. After the confession of the absolution, the priest replies to a few intermediate verses and then says, Indulciun pro peccatis meis. Then the rubric continues: Et pontifex inuinit illi Pater noster vel Ave Maria vel alium, et sollemnitatem vel alium pontific. Andcrien, III, 643.} The faithful, too, were sometimes drawn into this penitential act. In many churches of Normandy the priest turned towards the people while he spoke the Indulgentiam.\footnote{Thus the Pontifical of Durandus in regulating the case when a bishop attends the Mass of a priest: At the prayers at the foot of the altar the bishop stands next to the priest. After the confession of the absolution, the priest replies to a few intermediate verses and then says, Indulciun pro peccatis meis. Then the rubric continues: Et pontifex inuinit illi Pater noster vel Ave Maria vel alium, et sollemnitatem vel alium pontific. Andcrien, III, 643.} The nuns at Fontevraud used to say a Confiteor of their own after the priest said his; the introit was not started until after the Indulgentiam.\footnote{Thus the Pontifical of Durandus in regulating the case when a bishop attends the Mass of a priest: At the prayers at the foot of the altar the bishop stands next to the priest. After the confession of the absolution, the priest replies to a few intermediate verses and then says, Indulciun pro peccatis meis. Then the rubric continues: Et pontifex inuinit illi Pater noster vel Ave Maria vel alium, et sollemnitatem vel alium pontific. Andcrien, III, 643.} According to South-German Mass books of the late Middle Ages, the priest kissed the altar and then turned to the people and pronounced an absolution, using a second formula\footnote{Thus the Pontifical of Durandus in regulating the case when a bishop attends the Mass of a priest: At the prayers at the foot of the altar the bishop stands next to the priest. After the confession of the absolution, the priest replies to a few intermediate verses and then says, Indulciun pro peccatis meis. Then the rubric continues: Et pontifex inuinit illi Pater noster vel Ave Maria vel alium, et sollemnitatem vel alium pontific. Andcrien, III, 643.} of the type which was then otherwise employed when administering sacramental forgiveness.\footnote{Thus the Pontifical of Durandus in regulating the case when a bishop attends the Mass of a priest: At the prayers at the foot of the altar the bishop stands next to the priest. After the confession of the absolution, the priest replies to a few intermediate verses and then says, Indulciun pro peccatis meis. Then the rubric continues: Et pontifex inuinit illi Pater noster vel Ave Maria vel alium, et sollemnitatem vel alium pontific. Andcrien, III, 643.}

Of these various formations which are in essence—if not in actual time—pre-Scholastic, only the absolution formula Indulgentiam has survived. The Church’s penitential practice had followed the lead of Scholastic thes
ory and had begun to limit the use of sacramental powers to very definite conditions. As a result, sacramental absolution was neither considered here nor given, and so the penitential act which began with the *Confiteor*, even in spite of the formula mentioned, continued to have only that meaning which the confession of faults had in the period of monastic lay confession when this formula was not in use. Of course even the confession of faults had long ago assumed a merely formal character; nevertheless it remains an humble acknowledgment of our sinfulness and a worthy expression of our contriteness, and with these the intercession of the Church will continue to be connected as it has been since the beginning.  

Besides what we have already described, and even aside from the oration *Aufer a nobis* which from the start had formed the conclusion and before which the *Confiteor*-rite was consciously inserted—besides this, I say, the liturgical mind of the Middle Ages had added a further framework. A versicle or two was introduced before the oration *Confiteor*, and it made no difference whether the psalm *Judica* preceded or not. From a time, perhaps, when it was still customary to make a concrete confession of faults, comes the use of the verse (Psalm 140:3; *Pone, Domine, custodiam oris mei* ...). Since the thirteenth century there was an almost general use, chiefly outside Italy, of the verse *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus* (Ps. 117:1), the original meaning (an invitation to praise God) being twisted into a summons to make a confession of faults to God because He is merciful. In Italy the verse (Ps. 123:8), *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini* had already been used in this same spot in the eleventh century. In the Roman liturgy this last verse was used to introduce not only all blessings but also other liturgical acts, particularly also the *Confiteor* in the Office. The admission which it implies, that in matters of salvation we are helpless without that help from above which—as the accompanying

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sign of the Cross indicates—is disclosed in the Cross of Christ, here fulfills the function of an epiklesis to introduce the act of penance. It is therefore very understandable that in several localities it became customary—and still is today—to pronounce the same little phrase when leaving the sacristy. A number of versicles was also inserted after the act of penance as a sort of transition to the old oration *Aufer a nobis*. These versicles, which appear quite early, serve a purpose similar to the *preces* before the oration in the Office; the similarity is emphasized by the bowed position the priest assumes while saying them. Even though these are prayers of a semi-private nature, alternate prayer between priest and deacon (or at most the closer assistants)—for the brethren in the choir are busy with singing the introit and the *Kyrie*—still the structural rules for liturgical prayer are carefully observed. The versicles that appear here are seldom newly composed from Holy Writ. Generally they are taken from the verses used

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38 Cf. Callewaert, Sacris erudiri, 38 f.

Elsewhere this verse had been put to a different use, at first sight rather surprising, in connection with this same penitential aspect of the Mass. According to William of Hirsaout, Const., I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016) the priest should put on the stole, "indulgentiam" cum illo versu "adiutorium nostrum, etc." adiungens. As a matter of fact, monastic ordinances of the years immediately following do actually display this single versicle before the oration *Aufer a nobis*; Seckau Missal of 1170 (Köck, 106); *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235); cf. Liège Liber ordinarius (Volk, 89).

The verse is here probably a reflex of the absolution, an acknowledgment of the newly-established and confirmed covenant with God, with whose help the work can be begun and the Holy of Holies entered. Beginning with the 13th century the *Adiutorium nostrum* in this place is usually combined with *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*; thus in the Westminster Missal written between 1362 and 1386, ed. Legg (HBS, V), 490, and in the English and Norman Mass-ordinaries of the following years; it is from this area that the practice must have developed: Maskell, 20; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV ff. (I, 1, 40 B, 643 E, 658 E, 662 D); also 1, 4, 3 (I, 364 A).

Thus already in the 15th century in the pontifical rite of Trier and of Strasbourg; Leroquais, Les pontificaux manuscrits, I, 103; II, 165.

In some churches the servers offer the priest the holy water for a blessing as he pronounces these words.

In some places (e.g. in Tyrol) the servers use the formula for asking a blessing: *Benedicite!* and receive the answer: *Deus* [sc. *benedicta*].

As was the case in the Sacramentary of Modena (Muratori, I, 88) where
earlier at the close of the accessions prayers. Thus we find here in Italian Mass books of the end of the twelfth century a portion of the versicle which two centuries before had belonged to the oldest accession arrangements and had then disappeared. Amongst these are also the versicles we still use: Deus tu conversus and Ostende, with which the basic theme of Psalm 84, and therefore of the accession prayers in toto, is reviewed in a brief but striking way. It is the same theme which is sounded in Psalm 42: We can gain joy and new life from the well-springs of God; He wants to manifest to us His protection and His saving power. The series of verses in the missal used in the papal chapels about 1290 is confined exclusively to the verses mentioned. But in other places this same group is merely the foundation to which other verses are added. Then after the general petition Domine exaudi, which otherwise almost always and even in an earlier period follows the series of verses, and after the greeting Dominus vobiscum, which is not omitted even for this small group of people, the oration Auffer a nobis is said. This is the oldest element in the prayers at the foot of the altar, and even after these prayers had been more fully developed, continued to serve as the closing oration. Its glance is turned

verses were chosen all directed towards penance: Ps. 55: 9 (Deus vult manum) and Ps. 31: 5 f. (Delictum meum, etc.)

81 Supra, p. 272 f.

In the purest state in Cod. S. 1, 19 of the Biblioteca Angelica (Ebner, 332), with Ps. 84: 8, 7 (Deus tu conversus, Ostende), Ps. 142: 2 (Ne intres). Ps. 78: 9 b (Propitius). Cf. Ebner, 354.

In Italian Mass books the versicles appear which today follow the Convivitor at Prime and Compline: Converte nos, Dignare Domine, Misericordia. Ebner, 327, 332, 345.

82 Brinktrine (Eph. liturg., 1937), 200. Likewise Ebner, 313.

83 Thus in the Sarum Ordinary of the 13th century (Lecg. Tracts, 219; cf. ibid., 3 f.; Lecg. The Sarum Missal, 217); here Ps. 84: 7 f. is followed by Ps. 131: 9 (Sacerdotes); 18: 13 f. (Ab oculis); 113 b: 1 (Non nobis), the invocation Sancta Dei Gratia, and finally Ps. 79: 20 (Domine Deus virtutum). Similarly most of the later English Mass books. The versicles Ab oculis and Sacerdotes are also frequent elsewhere.

84 Thus already in the Ordo Rom. antiquus (circa 950): Hittorp, 28, 53.

85 The stamp of conclusiveness is brought out especially in the Mass-Ordo of the papal chapel, ed. Brinktrine, 200, where are added Dominus vobiscum and Exaudi nos omnipotens et misericors Domi­nus just as at the end of the Litany of All Saints.

Just as in the 11th century the Pontifical of Hallanstadt and other Sarum Ordines of the Seez group (supra, p. 291 f.) had added to the Auffer a nobis a second oration which later disappeared, so also many later Mass books supplemented the Auffer with one or more orations. Often these were taken from the accessions prayers (Conscientia, Adasit; both orations, e.g., in Ebner, 341; cf. supra, p. 275). Norman books of the late Middle Ages borrowed from the recession prayers (Ure tue, Actiones; see Martène, 1, 4, XXXVII f.; cf. XXXVII (I, 630 E, 643 D, 676 C1)).

But most frequently the penitential oration Exaudi Domine supplycum precem (from the Gregorianum: Litzmann, n. 201, 3) was thus used. It is found in the Missal of St. Vincent, added to Auffer: Fiatela, 198; cf. Cod. Chigi: Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 570 A). But it is especially constant in the German area (e.g., Köck, 108, 109, 110, 109; Hoeyncck, 371); also in Hungary: Radó, 42, where later a third oration, Præsta is added (this same oration, Præsta, also in Tongern; de Corswaren, 111); Radó, 96, 123; Jávor, 113; Sawièc, 147; cf. Radò 24. In Augsburg it once even took the place of Auffer: Bona, II, 2, 6 (569); likewise in Klosterneuburg: Schabes, 61. In Gregorien­munster the abbot said it kneeling (14th century): Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 655 A).

This formula is obviously meant when Henry of Hesse (d. 1397), in his Secreta sacerdotum mentions with disapproval the saying of the collect pro pecatis after the Concelebr: Frans, 251.

86 The biblical term sancta sanctorum was already employed by Jerome, In Ezech., c. 44 (PL XXV, 436 D) for Christian service.

87 In the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 430) on Maundy Thursday; cf. the formula that precede and follow. In the older Gallicanum: I, 17 (Wilson, 15) at the beginning of Lent. In the Gregorianum of Padua (Mohlgberg-Baumstark, n. 155) on the Thursday of the first week of Lent.

88 Gregorianum (Litzmann, n. 194) : ora­tio quando levantur religia. It was used in a like function in the Pontifical of Daunassching: Meteger, n. 101; and in the Sacramentary of Drogo, Bishop of Metz: Duchesne, Christian Worship, 487.

89 Sarum Ordinary (13th and 14th centuries): Lecg. Tracts, 4, 220; likewise in later Sarum texts. On the continent it was not customary till much later; the custom was probably carried to Rome by Burchard of Strassburg; see ibid., 137; cf. 37, 181.

810 How far the parallel went can be gauged from a custom found in many French churches and in vogue at Rouen even in the 18th century; here the priest turned to his assistants and said Orate pro me, fratres before he ascended to the altar saying Auffer a nobis. Lebrun, 1, 123; de Moléon, 427.

811 Supra, p. 70.

churches all through the Middle Ages. Here it was done later on—very significantly—right after the Confiteor. In the English use of Sarum this was the spot selected for the kiss of greeting for deacon and subdeacon at every high Mass, even at the Mass of a priest. The priest pronounced the phrase which we will meet again elsewhere at the kiss of peace before Communion: Habete osculum pacis...

The kissing of the Gospel book was kept in general practice a longer time, and it still takes place in a pontifical service; when the bishop reaches the altar, he kisses the book which the subdeacon presents to him, opened at the beginning of the day’s Gospel. Usually the Gospel book was on the altar; so the kissing of the altar followed that of the book, seldom the other way round. Sometimes, in fact, the kissing of the count for both. Since the tenth century a more or less regular accompanying prayer was: Pax Christi quam nobis per evangelium suum tradidit, confirmet et conservet corda nostra et corpora in vitam aeternam.

Since the twelfth century a new object of these greetings was added, the crucifix, now generally standing on the altar. It is too given a reverential kiss. But towards the end of the Middle Ages the kiss is gradually transferred from the sculptured crucifix on the altar to the miniature image found in the Missal at the beginning of the canon or elsewhere, so that sometimes the veneration of this image counts also for the veneration of the Gospel book or even of the altar. A typical sample of the Gothic mind is displayed in two fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Mass books of Seckau which stipulate that the same honor (with words of the accompanying prayer) be shown to the images of Mary and John that are connected with the figure of the Cross.

The prayer text selected to accompany the veneration of the Cross evolved many rich forms. Mostly it is derived from the existing treasure of prayers used in the veneration of the Cross, like the text from the Good Friday liturgy, Tuam crucem adoramus, Domine or the verse Adoramus te, Christe. With this a verse is usually connected (Per signum crucis; De sede maiestatis benedictae nos dexterae Dei Patris. Cf. Mass-Ordo of Rouen: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVIII (I, 677 C).

Regarding the pertinent representations in the medieval Mass books, cf. Ebner, 438-441; 444-446 and in the index, “Kreuzaufzug”, “Maiestas.” Not seldom are there traces still to be seen of the celebrant’s kisses; see Ebner, 438-441.

Kock, 109, 110, with the accompanying phrases Ave Maria and Sancte Johannes optime, absolve. ... The reference is probably to sculptural images of Mary and John which were often since the 13th century associated with the altar cross; Braun, Das christliche Altargerät, 485 f.

The development moves a step further in the Missal of Haus (15th century) where the kiss of the crucifix is followed by Salve Regina, versicle and oration; Kock, 113.

Newly-composed prayers are but seldom employed; thus one distich (Ebner, 306) begins: O crux mihi certa salus. Kock, 110, 112. Further see note 12 above.

For honoring the Maiestas Domini (see note 14 above) the wording is sometimes altered: Maiestatem tuam adoramus: Brevioriam of Rouen: Martène, 1, 4, XXXXXII (I, 687 C).

Very frequent; e.g., Kock, 109, 113; Martène, 1, 4, XXVI, XXXIII, XXXXIII, XXXXV (I, 637 A, 643 D, 658 E, 662 D, 673 A).

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GREETINGS. KISSING THE ALTAR

must have been in use in the ecclesiastical liturgy at about the same time. A confirmation of this inference is to be found in the fact that the salutation of the altar at the start of Mass is a custom also in the West Syrian, the Armenian, and the Byzantine liturgies.

The kiss is intended first of all for the altar, the mensa Domini. But subsequently the meaning of the kiss was enlarged by the idea that the altar built of stone represented Christ Himself, the cornerstone, the spiritual rock. Thus the kiss could include Him, too. With the growth of the cult of martyrs, it gradually became a rule from the beginning of the Middle Ages on, that even public churches serving for the assembly of the faithful should have their martyr's grave, and finally that every altar must enclose a “sepulcher” or little reliquary. Thus the kissing of the altar is transformed into the kissing of the martyr and, through him, of the whole Church triumphant. Innocent III therefore explains the bishop's kissing of the altar as representing Christ saluting his spouse.

In the prayer said nowadays while kissing the altar, the memory of the martyrs is combined with a longing for purification from sin reminiscent of the prayers at the foot of the altar: Oramus te, Domine. This formula appears for the first time in the eleventh century, and with the rubric, dum osculatur altare. The formula is a private and personal prayer of the priest (peccata mea) to accompany the kiss; for that reason it is without the conclusion Per Christum D. N., with which the Auer a nobis ends. Other texts also occur, touching on the forgiveness of sin, and in some particular instances a formal oration is found or an apology is connected with present-day practice; but this first kiss has a very special meaning as he does often during the course of the Mass, in accordance with present-day practice; but this first kiss has a very special meaning.

It is, as we have already indicated, the salutation of the place where the holy mystery will be consummated.

The kiss is intended first of all simply for the altar, the mensa Domini. But subsequently the meaning of the kiss was enlarged by the idea that the altar built of stone represented Christ Himself, the cornerstone, the spiritual rock. Thus the kiss could include Him, too. With the growth of the cult of martyrs, it gradually became a rule from the beginning of the Middle Ages on, that even public churches serving for the assembly of the faithful should have their martyr's grave, and finally that every altar must enclose a “sepulcher” or little reliquary. Thus the kissing of the altar is transformed into the kissing of the martyr and, through him, of the whole Church triumphant. Innocent III therefore explains the bishop's kissing of the altar as representing Christ saluting his spouse.

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In the first Roman Ordo the reverential kiss of the altar on arrival at the beginning of Mass is the only such kiss of the altar during the Mass mentioned expressly. The priest today, after mounting the steps, kisses the altar, just as he does often during the course of the Mass, in accordance with present-day practice; but this first kiss has a very special meaning. It is, as we have already indicated, the salutation of the place where the holy mystery will be consummated.

This ceremony is borrowed from ancient culture. In antiquity it was a natural practice to honor the temple by kissing the threshold. But it was also customary to greet the images of the gods by means of a kiss or to throw them a kiss from a distance, as the pagan Cecillus, mentioned by Minucius Felix, did when he noticed the statue of Serapis while passing by. In like manner, the ancient altar was greeted with a kiss. And it seems that the family table, as a place enshrined by a religious dedication, was often similarly honored at the start of the meal. It was therefore to be expected that the custom of greeting holy places with a kiss should be continued in Christendom, with only a change of object. And since the practice taken over into Christianity was at bottom a civic custom, though indeed a civic custom in a religious milieu, there was no conflict with the attitude then prevailing against admitting religious practices derived from heathen worship. As early as the end of the fourth century the saluting of the altar with a kiss makes its appearance as a popular practice. The salutation of the altar was regularly associated with the officiating priest, and in some particular instances a formal oration is found or an apology is connected with present-day practice; but this first kiss has a very special meaning.

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with the kiss. The kiss of salutation also survives at the beginning of other functions but without any accompanying text and, in consequence, its original significance is more easily recognizable; thus it is found before the blessing of candles on Candlemas day, before the blessing of palms on Palm Sunday, and before service on Good Friday. Even at the beginning of Mass it is found without any accompanying words in some sources of the declining Middle Ages. As late as 1240 the altar kiss in the Mass was customary at Rome only on coming in for Mass and on departing, and at one place—not specified—in the canon. A century later, and it had become the prevailing practice to kiss the altar in every instance mentioned in the present-day missal; it was done every time the priest turned around at the altar in salutation, and at the beginning of the canon and at the Supplices.

It is not surprising that modern interpreters of the Mass who went into the matter of the kissing of the altar at so many different parts of the Mass were rather uncertain how to explain it, and even found the constant repetition somewhat ample, perhaps excessive. According to one interpretation, the kiss is referred above all to the saints, with whom the priest must have been something very novel; Ebner, 313 ff.

It is at first only the kissing of the altar before the Orate fratres and before the kiss of peace that is added in the Missal of St. Vincent (c. 1100): Fiala, 206, 213.; likewise in a sacramentary of the 12th century from Camaldoli: Ebner, 296 f.

On the contrary the Ordo Cuniculensis of the monk Bernhard (c. 1068) mentions the kissing of the altar before the Orate fratres, at the start of the Canon and at the Supplices te rogamus (I, 72; Herrgott, 264 f.).

Durandus, IV, 39, 7 mentions also the custom observed by many of tracing a cross on the altar with three fingers, thus hallowing it through cross and Trinity before kissing it. This complication of the rite was also set aside in the Missal of Pius V., in fact distinctly outlawed by an injunction that is still found in the rubrics (Ritus serv., IV, 1): non productur signum crucis ... super id quod sanctius est.


Lebrun, Explication, I, 167.


The restriction just to the missa sollemnis was not an absolute rule even in post-medieval times, as is shown by many decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites issued even in the 18th century, wherein this restriction is first established; see the compilation of P. Martinucci, Manuale decretorum S.R.C., p. 130 (n. 633-637). From an earlier period see, e.g., Ordo Rom. XIV, n. 61 (PL, XXVIII, 1174 f.).

Even today there is still some leeway, since most dioceses have indults from the Holy See permitting the use of incense on greater feasts even at a simple sung Mass; see Ph. Hartmann-J. Kley, Repertorium Rituum (14th ed.; Faderborn, 1940), 459.

Amongst the Capuchins the use of incense at their conventual Mass, which is a low Mass, is an old tradition which the Sacred Congregation of Rites, on Dec. 7, 1888, confirmed for solemn occasions; Decret. auth. SRC, n. 3679, 2.


7. The Incensing of the Altar

At a solemn service the kissing of the altar is followed by the incensing. From the fact that in our present-day rite this action is restricted to the festive form of the Mass, it is plain that incensation is above all a means of heightening the solemnity. Like the flowers and candles, like the beauty of the vestments and the sound of the organ, the clouds of incense rising to the ceiling and filling the whole church with their sweet smell are intended to aid the senses in grasping the greatness of the feast. In ancient times frankincense in its many forms, as the East supplies them, was highly esteemed. In civil life, in better homes, its perfume was in demand. It was used profusely at burials. But above all it played a large part in heathen cult. For Christians, this last circumstance—added to the general objection to any and every materialization of divine service—served rather to exclude incensation from divine worship.

But after the disappearance of paganism it did find its way from profane use into the Christian liturgy. About the year 390 incense was carried kissed, at the beginning and at the end of Mass: Missale inua ritum O.P. (1889), 17, 22. This Kissing, Liturgische Vorlesungen, 239 ff., 272. Similarly Gihr, 370, 410.

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in at the Sunday service in Jerusalem, so that the Church of the Resurrection was completely filled with its perfume. And the baptistry of the Lateran possessed a thymiatemium of pure gold, the gift of the Emperor Constantine. In the procession at the papal services described in the first Roman Ordo seven torch-bearers and a subdeacon with the thymiatemium preceded the pope, a survival from the Roman court ceremonial.

If incense was thus used quite early in religious assembly it was because its special quality lent itself to religious symbolism. The psalmist used the smoke of incense billowing upwards as an image of prayer rising to God (Ps. 140:2), and in the Apocalypse the golden bowls of incense represented the prayers of the saints. Thus incense could easily express the religious sentiments of the Christian community—the lifting of the heart in prayer, the elevation of the soul to God; and just as easily was it capable of itself becoming a sacred object, a bearer of divine blessing, after the benediction of the Church was pronounced over it. This definitely religious significance and a corresponding intensification of the use of incense, as it had already developed quite some time in the Orient, is met with in the Roman liturgy for the first time in the Frankish area. Amalar mentions the change from Roman practice in the use of incense at the offertory.

By the ninth century, incense was definitely used at the start of Mass. After the celebrant had made his confession of faults and saluted those around him, in many churches a cleric came to the altar and offered incense (incensum ponens). The Sacramentary of Amiens presents two prayers for the pertinent benedictio incensum, of which the second at least had its origin in the East—an inkling as to the provenience of the custom. A formal incensation of the altar is mentioned as early as the eleventh century.

The incensation at the beginning of the fore-Mass is even now less richly developed than the incensation at the beginning of the Mass proper; in the Middle Ages, too, it was only in exceptional cases that it was further expanded. The incense was blessed, of course, just as is done elsewhere, and various formulas for this appear, including the one we use nowadays. But, just as at present, no special prayer was connected with the incensation.

The external action is also mostly very similar. Besides the incensation of the altar there is mention in the later Middle Ages also of the incensation at this place of the celebrant by the deacon. The post-Tridentine Missal carried through the more detailed regulation in this matter by putting in an incensation of the altar cross and the relics as the first items.

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[Notes and references have been omitted for brevity.]
We will have occasion later to pay greater attention to the transition to the incensing of persons, since it is really from this that the incensing of objects gets its meaning. In the incensing of the altar, the meaning that stood in the foreground was the purification and protection that the incense implied; this became, in turn, a sign of honor. From here the next step was obvious; it could be carried over generally to all sacred objects—and to the most sacred of all, the Blessed Sacrament, where it does today actually find its favorite use.

Thus the incensation at the start of the Mass is manifestly a true opening rite which is repeated at the beginning of the Mass proper; the locale of the sacred action and the liturgy himself are removed from this sinned world in a special manner and transported into an atmosphere of sanctity. In the last analysis a biblical example could have had some influence.

It became a favorite interest to discover parallels in the Old Testament of the high priest must not begin without incense. It was a law in Old Testament worship (Lev. 16:12) that the service of the high priest must not begin without incense. Since Carolingian times it became a favorite interest to discover parallels in the Old Testament and to put them into actual use; this might have had an effect here too.

8. The Introit Chant

After the priest has venerated the altar by means of a kiss and, in given cases, by incensation, he turns to read from the missal the text of the introit which the choir had intoned for the procession of the clergy. This is the practice nowadays. In our modern churches, where the sacristy is built quite close to the sanctuary it is impossible to have a real procession even on feast days unless in some way a circuitous route is deliberately introduced. There could hardly have been any thought of a formal procession in the rude buildings of primitive Christianity, or even in the modest confines of the average basilica. But when, on the contrary, we view today the colossal ecclesiastical structures which have arisen since the fourth century at prominent points of the Eternal City, and when we notice that the secretarium in which the ministers made ready for divine service was at that time situated mostly near the entrance of the basilica, that is, at the end opposite the apositum; and when we take into consideration the numerous clergy who, according to the oldest ordinaria, took part in papal processions,

8 Infra, p. 451 f.
9 Durandus, IV, 10, 5.
10 Also according to the first of the blessings in the Sacramentary of Amiens mentioned on a previous page (319), the incense was to serve as a munimentum tutelaeque defensionis against the fiend.
11 The Old Testament concept came to the fore with special clarity in such a setting as that mentioned by Durandus, IV, 8, 1, when in imitation of the activity of the legalis sacerdos, the incense was put in and blessed even before the words Deus tu conversus were said, therefore before the ascent to the altar.
12 Beissel, Bilder, 255, 302.

worption, it becomes quite clear that the procession of the clergy from entrance to altar was an act of great importance and significance. Such a procession could hardly have been tolerable if it had been conducted in absolute silence. And since there was no organ and instruments were generally proscribed in the ancient Church, it was left entirely to the singing to give musical color to this entrance procession. We will probably get the best notion of the temper of this chant by thinking of the one genuine introit which is still current in our present-day liturgy, namely the Ecce sacerdos to the sound of which the bishop makes his entrance into the gayly decorated church on important occasions. Even in the Roman liturgy of later antiquity this entrance chant, the introitus—at a later period also called officium—was already arranged as an antiphon by a special group of singers, just like the songs for the collecting of the offerings and for Communion, and like these—and like the orations and readings—the introit varied according to the festivity. The texts for these songs were taken essentially from the psalter. By the time that our processional chants were composed, the older hymn creations—from which we derived the Gloria in excelsis Deo—had lost the prestige they once possessed and were reduced to very sparse remnants. The new hymnody, composed on the principles of meter and strophe, which was introduced about the time of St. Ambrose, was not admitted to the Roman Mass for over five hundred years. At Rome a strict rule was observed in the face of the wild and crafty song-propaganda of Manichean and Gnostic groups: We use only the songs dictated by the Spirit of God Himself.

These chants were performed antiphonally, that is, the psalm was sung by two chores, alternating verse by verse. Already in an early period in ecclesiastical singing, antiphony involved the introduction of a prefatory verse which announced the melody of the following verse, the psalm. This prefatory verse, which we today style an antiphon, appears to have been introduced as the result of a musical exigency; in order to assure a proper intonation it seems to have been the practice in ancient times to play a short prelude on an instrument. But since musical instruments were forbidden in Christian worship as heathenish, the function had to be taken

8 Pontificale Rom., p. III, ord. ad receptandum processionaliter praebendum. 9 Säich, Hugo von St. Cher, 55 f. The title is already found in the 10th century in Pseudo-Alcuin, De dis. off. (PL, Cl. 1244 C). At the end of the Middle Ages it was generally used in Normandy and in England; see Maskell, 28 f. 10 Regarding the origin of the designation, cf. H. Leclercq, “Introit,” DACL VII, 1213; suggests the influence of the Mozarabic liturgy where the Mass formularies were given the heading: Ad missam officium.
11 See infra, pp. 68 ff. 12 J. Kroll, “Hymnen,” in E. Hennecke, Neutestamentl. Apokryphen, 596 f. 13 derweil = counter-melody. Ancient Greek antiphony consisted in singing in octaves, two choirs (men—women or/and children) singing the same melody either alternately or together, thus producing a primitive two-part song. In ecclesiastical antiphony the only essential was interchange, i.e. alternate singing between two choral groups. See A. Gastoué, Les Origines du chant romain (Paris, 1907), 50.
over by the human voice. This would lead to a creation such as we have in the antiphon. The first place in which antiphonal song was employed was Antioch where it rode on the swell of a young Catholic movement. When about 350 the leaders of the Catholic monks, Flavian and Diodoros (later bishops), began to gather the people around them and to argue openly against an overmighty Arianism then at its height, they introduced this method of singing at their prayer-meetings in the shrines of the martyrs. From this start antiphonal singing spread everywhere, being carried abroad by the monks, who possessed not only the means of cultivating chant, but also the necessary knowledge of the psalms. The city cathedrals followed, in which special singing groups were formed, the schola cantorum.

According to a narrative that has often been repeated, antiphony was introduced into Rome by Pope Celestine I (d. 432), and introduced precisely as a song for the introit. Of him the Liber pontificalis recounts:  

\textit{Constituit ut psalms David CL ante sacrificium psalli antephanatim ex omnibus, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum epistula beatissimi Pauli recitatur et sanctum evangelium.} Unfortunately the account cannot be relied on as an historical report. However, it does give us this much information, that at the time this section of the book was written, prior to the middle of the sixth century, the introit chant composed of psalm texts had long been in use. In the first description of the papal Mass, a description going back to the seventh century, we come across the introit as a chant of the schola. When the pope stands in the \textit{secretarium} ready to make his entry, he beckons to the proper cleric, the \textit{quartus schola}, making a sign \textit{ut psallant}; the latter in turn passes the signal on to the director of the \textit{schola}, which stands ready by the passageway to the altar, in two double rows to left and right (corresponding to the two half-choruses), the boys on the inside,

\footnote{1} H. Leclercq, \textit{Antienne}, DACL, I, 2293 f.
\footnote{2} Duchesne, \textit{Liber pont.}, I, 230.
\footnote{3} Batiffol, \textit{Lecons}, 105, note 1, points out that the data is dependent upon the apocryphal letter of Pope Damascus to Jerome.
\footnote{4} A preliminary older form of the introit chant which, like the \textit{Ingressio} of the Milanese and the corresponding chants of other liturgies, did not as yet include the psalm, has been presumed also for Rome by G. Morin, \textit{Les véritables origines du chant grégorien} (Maredsous, 1899), 54. That the non-psalmodic texts which are still preserved today can be adduced for this older plan—as is done by C. Callewaert, \textit{"Introit"} (\textit{Eph. liturg.}, 1938), 487, and by Righetti, III, 165 f.—is neither to be excluded nor on the other hand to be considered as absolute proof. For one must remember that it has always— even in more modern times—been hard to express these festal concepts by means of psalm verses. The reference is to such older antiphons as \textit{Gaudeamus omnes in Domino} and \textit{Salve sancta parens} (the beginning of hymn by the 5th century poet Cedlius Sedulius).

Regarding the mention of the 150 Psalms see the various attempts at explanation in H. Leclercq, \textit{"Introit"}, DACL, VII, 1214 f.
\footnote{5} That all the people originally took part in this is only a later element even in the historical writing of this period; the words \textit{antephanatim ex omnibus} are missing in the older recensions of the text (Duchesne, I, 89).

\footnote{6} Ordo Rom. I, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 941 f.).

The same picture in the \textit{Capitulare ecclesiasticorum} (Silva-Tarouca, in the pope's prayer \textit{usque ad repetitionem versus, usque ad ultimum repetitum versus} that may well be one of the alterations which were made in the Roman chant when it reached Frankish domains, apparently as the result of Gallican traditions.

The oldest manuscripts of the Roman Mass-chant books, the antiphonaries, surviving from about the year 800, contain only the song-text without the neums; these books do not indicate any explicit shortening of the psalm. This reduction seems to have occurred with varying rapidity in different places. In some places as late as 1000 mention is still made of the

\footnote{7} Hesbert's edition shows that merely the beginning of the psalm was marked. And there is no limitation to certain verses, as occurs at the Offertory, for instance, on Easter Sunday. Hesbert, n. 80.
nod or gesture to signal for the closing of the psalmody with Gloria Patri, or the second (or a second) verse of the psalm is expressly indicated. In other places the psalm was curtailed to the first verse apparently as early as the eighth century. In this abbreviation of the text we have the result, no doubt, partly of a development of the musical forms which had gone on apace, musical forms which we find in the tenth century fully written out, the same melodies that have been once more restored to us in the Editio Vaticana of the Roman Graduale. Sung thus in solemn fashion, the antiphon itself and its repetition took up no little time in performance. But a more important factor in producing this reduction of the psalm was the fact that in the more modest circumstances of extra-Roman episcopal and capitol churches there was hardly any room for a lengthy procession like that in the papal liturgy. Moreover a regular formal procession of this sort was not taken into consideration in the planning of new churches and the distance to the altar was shortened to only a fraction of its former length. True, the time at the altar was stretched out by the expansion of the prayers at the foot of the altar and by the introduction of the incensation, so that the shortening of the introit was somewhat counterbalanced. But in any case the introit was no longer the song accompanying a grand procession. Reduced to its essential elements, it became an independent preludial chant, opening up the celebration of Mass. There was even some doubt about the right moment to start it, whether it should be sung in good part before the celebrant and the assistants appeared, or begin only when the clergy have arrived at the foot of the altar, as the later orders usually demanded. The hope that the introit would once more assume its original character as a processional chant seems to have dictated the rubric in the 1907 Editio Vaticana of the songs of the Mass; here the regulation is clear, that the introit is to be intoned accedente sacerdote ad altare.

Of the original antiphonal character of the chant—the sort of thing which grew so important in the psalmody of the Office—only a very slight residue is still to be found in the introit. One survival is the sandwiching of the psalm verse between the antiphon and its repetition. Surviving, too, is a recollection of the double chorus: solos and choir divide the two halves of the psalm verse between them, and the two verses of the doxology. And the liturgical books still employ the sign "V." for the beginning of the psalm verse, not the "V."

Besides this curtailment of the introit, we have to consider also the very remarkable fact that other trends led to more than one enlargement—to an enlargement and an enlivening. For one thing, the Carolingian reform that had sought to have the Gloria Patri sung by the people, in line with the original character of this doxology. A hundred years later the prescription was still enjoined. Soon after the Roman liturgy had found its way to the Frankish area we come upon another extension of the introit through the practice, already touched upon, of repeating the antiphon after each verse of the psalm, as was customary also in the psalmody of the Orient under certain conditions. Alongside this there is the puzzling creation of a versus ad repetendum which is actually found in some of the oldest antiphonaries. In these books not only are the antiphon and psalm noted

Already in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (1, 496-499) the celebrant is furnished with a series of apologies that he should recite while the choir is singing the versus ad Introitum, as well as the Kyrie and the Gloria, in fact after he has kissed the altar (496 B), therefore after he has reached the altar. That the introit is sung by two choirs is still mentioned by Honorius Augustod., Gemma an, I, 6 (PL, CLXXII, 545 C) and by Sicard of Cremona, Mitrile, III, 2 (PL, CXXXIII, 94 A). Graduale Vaticanum (1908), Ritus serv. in cantu missae.

In another way the same rubrics recall the erstwhile invocation of the antiphon by the prior schola (cf. supra, pp. 68, 70, for they direct that the first words (up to the asterisk) be sung by one or several soloists, then taken up by the full choir. Almenomini generalis of Charlemagne (789), n. 70 (MGH, Cap., I, 89).

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down for the introit—and likewise for the communion—but there is an additional verse of the psalm under the superscription *ad repetendum*. Both of these phenomena perhaps belong to the same general plan, as we shall see in more detail in a later chapter.28

About the twelfth century two other ways of enriching the introit received further attention. They are both mentioned by Beleth (d. 1165).29 The first method of amplification, followed on feast days, consisted in repeating the antiphon in whole or in part, even before the *Gloria Patri*, so that it was sung three times altogether. This was customary in many places north of the Alps, though not general.30 The practice was followed from the eleventh century on, and is still in use amongst the Premonstra-

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28 E.g., in the Antiphonary of Compiègne (Hesbert, n. 5), in the Rorate Mass on the Wednesday of the Advent ember week: *After the antiphon, Psalm Cædi enarrant. Ad repetendum. In sole posuit.* Of the five oldest antiphonaries printed in Hes­bert, that of Rheinau and that of Corbie do not have any verse *ad repetendum*, that of Mont-Blandin has them only on a few greater feasts (n. 73, 80, 87 etc.). The other two seldom agree on the choice of the verse. There cannot therefore be any question of a Roman tradition or traditional material. Further MSS. in Wagner, I, 60, note 4.

Regarding the nature of the *versus ad repetendum* not much is very clear right now. A. Dohmes, "Der Psalmengesang des Volkes in der erucharistischen Opfer­feier der christlichen Frühzeit", (Liturg. Leben, 1938), 149-151, following E. T. Moneta Caglio, "'Capitulium' e 'Com­pletorium'", *Ambrosian*, IX (1933), 191-209 (with Milan mainly in view), conjectures that this was originally a substitute granted the people when the constant repetition of the antiphon after each verse (here presumed also) was transferred from people to choir (schola); after the schola had repeated its artistic antiphon, the people would add their simpler verse. This explanation does not, however, take into account the very early (8th-century) appearance of the *versus ad repetendum* as noticed above, nor the probability that it is this type of verse which is meant by the expression *alio verso de ipsa psalmo* in the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (8th century; note 13 above). As a matter of fact, this *Capitulare* itself, in its corresponding and exact presentation of the Communion chant, opens the way to a different explanation. Cf. also the *Breviarii ecc. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 196), which expressly mentions a *versus ad repetendum* in the very last place—a thing hardly synonymous with the expression *repetito versus* which parallels it in the *Capitulare*. The same expression in the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 485) will have to be judged differently.31


32 Sölch, Hugo von St. Cher, 56-60.

33 Martene, 1, 4, XX, XXIV, XXIX, XXXV (1, 607, C, 626 C, 646 B, 665 B); de Moléon, 165, 394, 428.

The practice seems to have been quite general in England at the close of the Middle Ages; Maskell, 28 f. Two examples from Spanish Mass books of the 16th century in Ferreres, p. XXVI, CVII.

In German cathedrals the custom obtained down to the 19th century; see R. Stapper, *Katholische Liturgie*, (5th ed.; Münster, 1931), 124.

34 Udalrici Comenat. *Chur. I.*, 8 (PL, CXLIX, 63): In dominici diebus ad maiorem missam Introitus post versus dimidius solit rectari, post Gloria Patri totus. The repetition here mentioned of only half the antiphon also occurs amongst the Premonstratensians, and is referred to tensians and the Carmelites.* The system was called *triumphare psalms* or *triplicare*. The other method consisted in enlarging the text of the introit by means of tropes.35 In regard to the introit the favorite device was the introduction of a preliminary phrase.

The Missal of Pius V eliminated all these tropes as parasitic. But in our time the tendency has been manifested more than once to restore the introit to a fuller form, at least on festive occasions, by substituting the original full psalm in place of its vestigial single verse. Thus at the coronation Mass of Pope Pius XI in 1922 the entire *Introitus* psalm was sung.36

In an earlier stage of the introit chant the psalm must have been the more important by far. This can be traced quite plainly in the Mass formularies for feast days. A psalm was picked which, taken as a unit (in the sense of the allegorizing psalm-exegesis of the period), could best fit the occasion. The only psalm verse left in our present-day introit—as a rule the first verse, or, if the first verse served as antiphon, the one immediately following—often shows absolutely no connection with the *motif* for the day, whereas the idea is actually conveyed by the continuation of the psalm. Take the Wednesday in the Advent Ember week or the fourth Sunday of Advent; the psalm verse beginning *Cædi enarrant gloriam Dei* conveys no particular impression of Advent. But the psalm from which this verse is derived contains those phrases so often cited in this season with reference to Christ's coming like the orient sun: *Ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo* (Ps. 18:6). In the third Mass of Christmas the introit verse is one that has certainly only a very general meaning: *Cantate Domino canticum novum*; but it is the beginning of Psalm 97 which serves as a Christmas psalm because of the words: *Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum et Viderunt omnes fines terrae salutare Dei nostri* (vv. 2f.). In the introit for Epiphany we find the verse: *Deus, judicium tuum regi da*, from Psalm 71, but a fuller meaning is extracted from what follows, wherein the *reges Tharsis* and the others appear. On the Feast of Holy Bishops we read the introit verse: *Memento, Domine, David* (Ps. 131); it is not till further in the psalm we find the connection with the theme of the day: *Sacerdotes* by Hugh of St. Cher (d. 1263), who designates it as *imperfecte chanting*; Sölch, *Hugo*, 57; 59.

35 Waefelghem, 381.


37 *E.g., on Christmas; Laudamus omnes Dominum, Qui vortigin per uterum For­must in mundum venit, Mundum regem quem fecerat*; *Puer natus...* Blume, p. 26. The corresponding Easter trope: *Quem quaeritis in sepulcro* (Blume, p. 9) became the starting-point for the development of the medieval drama; see Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933).

38 Jl, V (1925), 366. Cf. A. Winninghoff, O.S.B., *Choralmesbuch für die Sonnt­ und Feiertage* (Düsseldorf, 1938), where in several extra verses are regularly included at the introit.

In the same spirit the participants at a Community Mass are expected to recite the whole introit psalm; see, e.g., P. Parsch, *Volksliturgie* (Klosterneuburg, 1940), 35 f., 352.
tui induantur iustitiam (v. 9; cf. v. 16). In other cases this characteristic verse is at least given prominence by being selected as the antiphon, but of this more later.

Besides the initial verse of the psalm, the concluding verse has also been retained, namely the Gloria Patri. This verse, known as the Little Doxology, has accompanied antiphonal psalm chant as the regular ending of every psalm, joining it in its cradle at Antioch and staying with it in its travels over the world, although not everywhere accepted at once. The opposition to Antiochene Arianism had aided in its introduction. The Arians used as their battle-cry and watch-word the unexceptionable but ambiguous formula, Gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto, seeing in it the expression of the belief they maintained, of the Son’s subordination to the Father. In the Catholic camp the leaders, the very ones who introduced and propagated the new antiphonal chant, set up an opposing formula which had long been traditional amongst the Syrians, Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto; a formula derived from the baptismal formula (Matt. 28, 19) which gave unequivocal expression to the essential equality of the three divine Persons. In this way every psalm spoken by the new people of God ended with a shout of praise in honor of the triune God. The succeeding verse is, in its present form, proper to the West, although equivalent phrases are to be found quite early also in the Orient, especially in Egypt. At the Synod of Vaison (529), which is the first to mention it, it is directed against the heretics who denied the eternity of the Son, and therefore likewise against the Arians. The erat in principio was the thing that was to be stressed, especially in relation to the Son (and to the Holy Ghost). According to the wording this additional phrase declares that we ascribe to the triune God that glorification which has been God’s from the beginning and will ever be. Why is the Gloria Patri omitted during Passion tide? As early as Durandus the reason given was: sorrow and grief. That would be the reason why the phrase is similarly omitted at Requiem Masses. But this is not really the reason. Actually we have here the working of the old law of retaining the ancient in seasons of high liturgical worth, in other words, we have the residue of an older system. This means, Rome accepted the antiphonal chant without the Gloria Patri; later the verse was added at other times.

88 Jungmann, Die Stellung Christi, 151-177, esp. 160 f., 172 ff.
89 Ibid., 161, note 41.
90 Can. 5 (Mansi, VIII, 727).
91 Sicut erat sc. gloria. This is especially true if we construe the Gloria Patri in the indicative (a construction that is thoroughly possible): Glory is to the Father, etc.; cf. Jungmann, Die Stellung Christi, 165 f. But the second clause can still be understood in this way even if the first is taken as subjunctive: Glory be to the Father... as it (glory) was...: cf. Eisenhofer, I, 171. A question however arises whether this should be read: As it was... is now and shall be... or so may it be now and forever.
92 Durandus, VI, 60, 4.
93 Durandus, IV, 5, 5. This irregularity is increased whenever the verse “is not taken from the psalms, as happens on the Feast of Our Lady of Sorrows.
94 In some other instances the pertinent Epistle subsequently went out of use, so that the correspondence is no longer perceptible; see the references in C. Callewaert, “Introitus” (Eph. liturg., 1938), 489.
96 Cf. also Wagner Einführung, I, 68, note 2; P. Pietschmann, JL, XII (1934), 108.
97 Further comments on the choice of Introit antiphons in Card. Schuster, The Sacramentary, 1, 80-81.
of the Blessed Virgin begins with the happy greeting of the poet Sedulius: *Salve, sancta parsens.*

Thus, by means as simple as they are masterly, the antiphon of the introit set the tone that should dominate the liturgical assembly. In some examples it is hard to mistake the fact that the text selected had in view both the procession itself and the image of a higher reality from the day's celebration which the procession typified. Thus on Epiphany we read: *Ecce adventit dominator dominus,* and on the Wednesday of Pentecost week: *Deus dum egredieris.* And in Easter week, the crowd of newly baptized who have entered the Church are greeted on Saturday with: *Eduxit populum suum in exultatione,* et *electos suos in laetitia,* and on Monday: *Introducti vos Dominus in terram fluentem lac et mel,* and on Wednesday: *Venite benedicti Patris mei.*

But on the other hand there are days—like the Sundays after Pentecost—for which there is no special theme to which the introit antiphon might lead. Then the chant master takes up his psalter and chooses one of the psalms that in some way expresses the relationship of the Christian community to God: trust, praise, petition. It is to be noted that the psalter is gone through straight, starting with Psalm 12 on the first Sunday after Pentecost and moving on, Sunday for Sunday, till Psalm 118 is reached on the seventeenth Sunday. Let us remark here at once that the same rule was observed in part with reference to the pre-Advent *cursus*; cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie,* 281; Hesbert, *Antiphonale*, p. LXXV.

Although in its origin at least, the introit is essentially a part of the solemn high Mass, it soon found its way also into every Mass, even the private low Mass. This last transition can be seen in full detail in a document of the seventh/eighth century. The *Capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis,* already mentioned, an eighth-century Anglo-Frankish document based on the writing of the Roman archcantor John, is in general quite jejune and sober. But in the very midst of its exposition it seems to consider it quite important that the introit should be made a general practice. Twice the author pauses to stress the rule: Every priest at every Mass in the monastery, in the country, even on weekdays, and even when he celebrates alone, must say the introit with the psalm (-verse) and alleluia-verse, and likewise for the antiphonal chants, offertory and communion, and for the alleluia-verse, but not for the gradual. But it is noteworthy that the choice for the various formularies does not generally fall on the same psalms for any two chants of the day. The following outline shows us all this in greater detail.

The arrangement, as far as the succession of the psalms is concerned, is the same today as it was a thousand years ago. This table makes one thing clear. The succession of the psalms in each row and the divergence between the rows shows that there was no concerted attempt to hold in each case to one specified theme for all four of the chants. Instead, the *Book of Psalms* was conned from cover to cover, a bit chosen here, a bit chosen there, whatever appeared to suit the fancy of the praying congregation.

*"E. Flicoteaux, "L'introit de la Messe, II": *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 38 ff.
*"The introit antiphons that follow show an entirely different plan of arrangement, being taken from other sources and disposed in part with reference to the pre-Advent *cursus*; cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie,* 281; Hesbert, *Antiphonale*, p. LXXV.
*"Only on the 1st, 7th, 8th and 23rd Sundays do two chants coincide on psalms 5, 16, 47 and 129 respectively.
*"Cf. the survey regarding MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries in Hesbert, loc. cit. Still here the Communion of the 3rd Sunday after Pentecost is taken from Ps. 16 (instead of Luke), thus fitting into the series.
*"This rule was already proposed (for the priest and his staff) in the Dominican Mass schema of 1256 (Guerini, 235); likewise in a Minorite missal of the Middle Ages.

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Holy Saturday, as we noted, has nevertheless remained without an introit, and also without an offertory or communion. The procession of the clergy from the baptistery is accompanied on this occasion by the singing of the litany. Several of the ancient manuscript antiphonaries have a rubric for this day and also for the vigil of Pentecost: *Ad introitum letania.* There are also other instances of the *Kyrie-*litany substituting for the introit. In the Roman *Ordo* of St. Amand, when a church is visited on the way during the procession of the *litania maior,* the church is entered to the accompanying of the singing of the litany, which had been started while approaching the church, and at the end the pope says an oration.

The introit is the first text amongst the variable parts of the Mass, and the first text in general touching the congregation. The first words of the introit therefore often serve as a designation of the formulary or even of the respective day. We speak of *Lactare* Sunday, or of the *Rotare* Mass and the *Requiem.* The introductory character of the introit is emphasized in our present-day rubrics by the fact that the priest, when he starts to read the introit from the missal, blesses himself with the sign of the Cross, just as he does at the beginning of the prayers at the foot of the altar. But, in contrast to the latter, there is no accompanying formula. This is the present Roman practice although it was often different in the Mass ordinarines of the late Middle Ages. Sometimes *In nomine Patris ...* was used, sometimes the pair of versicles *Adiutorium nostrum* and *Sit nomen Domini,* sometimes both together, or finally some other words were employed. Another indication of the merely private character of all that precedes the introit is given in some later medieval ordinaries where the preparation of the chalice was inserted before the introit as a final preparation for Mass.

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**9. Kyrie Eleison**

We have already seen in the *Kyrie eleison* a prayer of the people to which the priest’s oration is related. Thus considered, there is in this cry for mercy little that is fundamentally puzzling. But looked at more closely the tiny phrase gives grounds for a whole series of questions: Why this repeated cry, and why precisely a ninefold repetition? What is the derivation of this simple cry, so indeterminate in contents? Why in Greek? And who was originally the petitioner?

The Greek form takes us back to the earliest years of the Church. Not that the *Kyrie* is a vestige of that period in the Roman liturgy when the members of the Church in Rome themselves used Greek for the most part, and the language of worship was Greek, as it was till about the middle of the third century. No, the *Kyrie* was not taken into Rome from the Greek liturgy till much later. In the Orient, too, the non-Greek liturgies—the Coptic, the Ethiopian, and the West Syrian—have either borrowed or retained the *Kyrie eleison* untranslated. The *Kyrie* did not get to Rome earlier than the fifth century. And when it was taken over, it was as part of the litany which is traceable in the Orient since the fourth century and...
which has continued in use even today in the liturgies of the Orient as the so-called ektenes.

However, the beginnings of the Kyrie eleison reach much farther back than that. The petition eleionon taken by itself, with or without vocative, must surely have been very familiar to the early Christians, even from pre-Christian traditions. As late as the fifth century a preacher in Alexandria felt compelled to denounce the habit many Christians had kept of bowing to the rising sun and crying out ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Even the formal χωρίς ἐλέησον, directed to the divinity, is traced to heathen times, and the repetition of the cry a given number of times was also not unknown to antiquity. But no need to appeal to pagan custom; Holy Scripture offered to Jesus, especially in the book that served as the Church's liturgy, the people should say, as we say, Lord, have mercy (misericere Domine); their cry is without limit. Corresponding to the mode of pronunciation already then in vogue, Athelia gives us the transcription eleionon instead of the eleisonon we might have expected. At the other hours the bishop himself prays these petitions; this appears to have been the more ancient practice.

From Antioch about the same time there comes to us the very word of petition, the people should say, as we say, ἐλέησον, especially the children.}

The list of petitions varies from case to case. As a rule there are prayers for the whole Church, for the clergy, for the people and the ruler, for those on a journey and for the sick, for the benefactors of the Church and for the poor, and for peace. This type of prayer, which was called a litania, was soon transplanted to the West, perhaps by pilgrims to Jerusalem, and soon came into use everywhere, either in translation or in some free revision. The petition χωρίς ἐλέησον is sometimes retained without alteration, sometimes translated, sometimes expanded or otherwise changed to forms like those which still survive in the older part of our Litany of the Saints: Libera nos, Domine: Te rogamus, audi nos.

The place where this litany was inserted was sometimes the same one it generally had in the East, namely, at the prayer that followed the lessons. But in the Milanese liturgy—although now restricted to the Sundays of Lent—it is still to be found at the beginning of Mass between the Ingresso (introit) and the oration, and therefore exactly where our Roman Kyrie is. In the Milanese version the response is made in Latin: Domine miserere, but at the end Kyrie eleison is repeated three times in succession. Such a litany in a similar part of the Mass must have been proper sal of the other groups and during the Prayer of the Faithful (VIII, 6-10) and likewise at the close of Vespers (VIII, 35, 2); cf. the reconstruction from Chrysostom in Brightman, 471 f., 477 f. The translation is also found among the convert Germanic tribes. Thus there is evidence of the Vandals of North Africa: God is praised also in the language of the barbarians and his mercy sought; even Romans prayed the “Froja arms”: Domine miserere. This is found in the Collatio Pseudo-Augustini cum Passchert Ariano (PL, XXXIII, 1162); cf. H. V. Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter (Tübingen, 1921), 24.

Notice that in this as in all other transliterated Greek words (Paracletus, Agios, Dues), the spelling supposes the pronunciation of the time when the words were borrowed.

As an answer of the people the Kyrie eleison is still used in Spain; Férotin, Le livret ordinum, 114 f. See also in the examples in Duchesne, Christian Worship, 198-201.

Duchesne, 165 f., and following him P. Alfonso, Oratio fideltum (Finalpia, 1928), 36-38, express the opinion that a litany formed with words such as these as responses must have been indigenous to Rome, independently of any oriental pattern. For the possibility of such a thing reference is made to litany-type prayers in pre-Christian Rome, especially to the prayer which Licinius ordered his soldiers to say on the day of his battle with Maximinus; see Langüiae, De mort pere., 46, 6 (CSEL, XXVII, 226): Summe deus, ut rogamus, sancte deus, rogamus ... ; summe, sancte deus, precem nostras exaudia, brachis nostrae ad te tendimus, exaudi, sancte, summe deus!

Many of the acclamations that are preserved in the Acta synodorum habituarum Rome are also in the same tradition. At a Roman synod of the year 499 the following ejaculations among others were put down in writing (MGH, Auct. ant., XIII, 403): Ut fiat, rogamus, (dictum dectis): ut scandalum amplentur, rogamus (dictum novitatis); ut ambitus extinguatur, rogamus (dictum duodecim). Cf. also Baumstark, Liturgie comparée, 85 f.

On the other hand, the view that at Rome the Kyrie was almost never used as a response to the acclamations can hardly be reconciled with what we learn from Gregory the Great, especially with the way he speaks about the Greek practices (see infra, note 30).

Missale Ambrosianum (1902), 77-81; likewise in the older sources of the
also to the Roman liturgy in the fifth century and after. That some form of Kyrie-prayer was customary in Rome by the start of the sixth century is unmistakably clear from Canon 3 of the Synod of Vaison (529), which purposed to incorporate this practice in Matins, Mass and Vespers, and appealed to the usage of the Apostolic See where the Kyrie eleison was often repeated. But from the remarks of St. Gregory the Great it is clear that even in his time there were two ways of performing the prayer; one a simple repetition of the cry Kyrie, the other, combining a further text with the Kyrie. This second way must be the litany, in which the Kyrie forms the response. However, in the sacramentaries which otherwise permit us to gather a picture of the Mass as it was in the sixth century, no text is presented. The Gregorianum does remark innocently, that the Mass begins with the introit, deinde Kyrie eleison. But we need not be amazed, for the celebrant did not intone the litany, and the sacramentary was intended only for his use. There are good reasons for suspecting that the old Roman Kyrie-litany survives in the so-called Deprecatio Gelasii. For there are various signs to suggest that this prayer had its origin in Rome and that the Pope Gelasius (492-496) named in the title was the redactor. Of this pope the Liber Pontificalis recounts that he composed sacramentorum praefationes et orationes cauto sermone. It might seem improbable that the Roman liturgy should have had the Kyrie-litany at a time when the General Prayer for the Church, which is so akin to the litany in content and form, was still said after the readings. But it is quite likely that the introduction of this Kyrie-litany coincided with the correction or revision of the General Prayer for the Church and with the amplification of the intercessory prayers of the canon, which occurred about this time, so that it would have been only one part of a thoroughgoing reform of the Mass-liturgy undertaken by Pope Gelasius. Following is the text of this Deprecatio Gelasii:

**Deprecatio Quam Papa Gelasius pro Universali Eclesiae Constituit Canendum Esse.**

Dicamus omnes: Domine exaudi et misere ünk.

Patrem Unigeniti et Dei Filium Genitoris et Deum Spiritum Sancti animis invocamus — Kyrie eleison.

Milan liturgy: A. Ratti-M. Magistretti, Missale Ambrosianum, duplex (1913), 121 f.; Döbler, 90 f.

Can. 3 (Mansi, VIII, 725).

Infra, p. 338 f.

Lietzmann, n. 1.


Duchesne, Liber pont., I, 255.

* Cf. infra, p. 483 f.


In place of this word we ought probably to follow one of the MSS. by inserting Kyrie eleison, that is, the deacon thereby gives the congregation its cue.

Critical text after Capelle, “Le Kyrie . . .” 135-138. There is also a printed text in Migne, PL, CI, 560 f.

S. Benedetti Regula, c. 9; cf. c. 12 f. 17.

This litany or one like it, with the Kyrie attached, must have become quite popular in Rome and its environs. Inserting it into the Mass was only one of its uses. In the Rule of St. Benedict the litania or the suppliatio litiae id est Kyrie eleison was part of the ending of every hour.
introducing the *Pater noster* (here used as an oration). In Lauds and Vespers, where there is a more detailed mention of *litania*, the reference is apparently to a fuller text, like that in the *Deprecatio*, while in the other hours only the repeated *Kyrie eleison* seems to have been considered. In the older Gelasianum the litany is mentioned in the rite of the major ordinations; after the candidates have been summoned and the invitation to make objection has been issued, the rubric follows: *Et post medicum interval lum max incipient omnes Kyrie eleison cum litania.* From Gregory of Tours (d. 594) we get an account of a penitential procession which Pope Gregory the Great had ordered shortly after his election in the year 590, while pestilence raged in Rome. Seven processions were to assemble at seven Roman basilicas and, with a group of priests in each, were to start for St. Mary Major’s in order to beg God’s mercy by a *litania septiformis*. The one who told the story to our Frankish historian was himself an eyewitness of the event, and testified how the crowds marched praying through the city: *veniebant utrique chori psallentium ad ecclesiam claman tes perseploras urbis Kyrie eleison.* It is plain that this *Kyrie eleison* was not the entire text, that it was the answer of the throng of people to the invocations spoken by the groups of priests. This manner of saying the litany was retained later and (within limits) even today for the Rogation procession which itself obtained the name of *litania*.

The litany at the beginning of Mass had at any rate undergone a change at the time of Gregory the Great, perhaps partly through his work. In a letter to Bishop John of Syracuse, Gregory took pains to deny that he had been introducing Greek practices into Rome. In this connection he refers also to the *Kyrie.* Gregory stresses the differences from the Greek manner,

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*Liturgy of the Hours*
ally the Kyrie eleison, freed from any ties with other prayer-forms and repeated over and over again, is found in the liturgical prayer of the Orient as an ancient traditional usage. And time-honored numbers play a part here: a twofold Kyrie eleison at the opening of every hour in the Byzantine liturgy, a fortyfold Kyrie at the close of every little hour. The fervent ekteme (ἐκτενῆ; ἐκτίσια) after the Gospel in a Byzantine Mass has a threefold Kyrie eleison after each invocation." The threefold Kyrie also appears elsewhere, especially near the end of the ekteme,9 and also independent of such a litany. Aurelian of Arles (d. 550) had his monks begin and end the psalmody at every hour of the Office with a Kyrie said three times.10 The Lauds of the Milanese liturgy still contains a threefold such a litany. Aurelian of Arles,11 likely, till the number

Aroued an litanies still have a threefold Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison at the beginning and at the end.12 A parallel to this independence and iteration of a response is to be seen in the history of the alleluia, which served first of all as a refrain which the people sang as they joined in at each verse of the responsorial psalm-chants. It soon turned into a cry of jubilee which could be repeated as long and as loud as you please.13

The Roman Breviary also has a threefold alleluia on occasion after occasion, and before Pius X it had a ninefold alleluia on the Dominica in albis. We come upon this independent Kyrie in the first Roman Ordo, even though the service described is a festive one. According to this arrangement, the petition—a song now—is repeated three times—that is, most likely, till the number three has been reached. (Custom had thus consecrated the number three.) Then the pope gave a signal for the Christe eleison, which was repeated

three times in like manner; then another signal for the triple repetition of the Kyrie, and so the end of the chant.14

This arrangement based on threes corresponds to a primitive sacral usage, found even in pre-Christian worship, frequent, too, in ancient Rome.15 As was to be expected, the number received a new significance once it reached Gallic territory where the struggle against Arianism still rumbled and boomed occasionally. Here it took a trinitarian turn. We meet it in Amalar,16 and the same meaning is impressed on us in all our prayer books and Mass interpretations and Mass devotions, right up to the present: God the Father is invoked three times, God the Son three times, and God the Holy Ghost three times.17 There is the appearance of truth in the fact that the second group uses the word Christus. But in reality the Kyrie groups, too, are directed to Christ. That is the Pauline and primitive Christian usage, where χαίρος is generally applied to Christ. And it corresponds to the whole tradition in which the Kyrie eleison itself arose. True, in some instances in the early period the connection with the Godhead is clear. At other times the meaning of χαίρος is undetermined, and it might well be, considering its use as a simple invocation. But in most cases, especially within the Eastern diaconal litanies, where the χαίρος ἑλέσθων is indigenous, the whole construction of the various invocations of the deacon makes it more or less clear that the χαίρος has reference to Christ.18 The same is true in the Western litanies; in the oldest versions all the invocations from beginning to Agnus Dei, are addressed exclusively to Christ; the invocations of the saints are later insertions.19

9 See the list in Dölger, 62, note 3.

10 Brightman, 373 f.

11 So in the Greek liturgy of St. James: Brightman, 38; 48.

12 Aurelian of Arles, Regula ad monachos (PL, LXVIII, 393 B).

13 S. Bäumer, Geschicht des Breviers (Freiburg, 1895), 619. The Milanese Mass, too, has a threefold Kyrie not only after the Gloria but after the Gospel and at the close.

14 The norm is even plainer in medieval texts of the litany; see the beginning of the litany with a triple Kyrie eleison in Cod. Ottobon. 313: H. A. Wilson, The Gelasian Sacramentary (HBS, XLIX), pp. XXXI-XXXIV, and even much later, e.g., the 13th century Ordinarium of Lyons, with a triple Kyrie and a triple Christe at the start: E. Martène, Tractus de antiqua ecclesia disciplina (Lyons, 1706), 520, 524.

15 F. Cabrol, DACL, I, 1229-1246, especially 1234.


17 Ordo of St. Amand (Duchesne, Christian Worship, 258): annuat pontifex ut dicit Kyrie eleison. Et dicit schola et repetunt regionarii. Dum repetierunt tertio, iterum annuat pontifex ut dicitur Christe eleison. . . . Et dunt compleverunt novem vicibus, annuat ut finiatur. Somewhat different in the Capitulare eccl. ord., which speaks of two choirs, standing opposite the altar and bowed towards the East, each singing the Kyrie nine times very slowly: . . . et sic incurrit contra altare ad orientem adorant dicentes Kyrie eleison prolonge unamquaeque chorus per novem vicibus. (Silva-Tarouca, 205; cf. 196 f.).

18 Dölger, Sol Salutis, 95-103.

19 There is hardly any need to follow Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, 461 f., in tracing the development of the ninefold Kyrie to Milanese practice, especially since this practice at the time is quite obscured. Rather we might recall the south-Gallic parallels remarked in note 39 above.

20 Amalar, De off. eccl., III, 6 (PL, CV, 1113 f.).

21 It is rather surprising that the Expositio of Amalar (of Trier), which has been traced back to the sea-voyage of 813-814, distinguishes only between Kyrie eleison and Christe eleison, the former directed to the forma Dei, the latter to the forma serere; Gerbert, Monumenta, II, 150. Cf. the Expositio Missa pro multis, ed. Hansens (Eph. liturg., 1930), 33.

22 In some few of the Kyrie-tropes which developed since the 9th century (see infra), the entire piece is still often addressed to Christ; Blume-Bannister, Tropen des Missale, I (Geschichte hymnica, 47), p. 45 f., 101, 102, 103 f., etc.

23 Jungmann, Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet, 191 f.

24 The invocation of the three divine Persons and of the Holy Trinity after the Christe audi nos at the start of the Litany does not appear in the oldest texts that have survived. In an English MS. of the
This ninefold invocation of Christos, the Kyrios, serves even at present as a kind of prelude leading very suitably to the priest’s oration—an oration which gathers up the prayer of the Church and brings it, through Christ, to the throne of God. Although we find that in Gregory the Great the arrangement for the Kyrie is still: a clericis dictur et a populo respondetur, in the first Roman Ordo, the schola appears as the only performer. It is the job of the schola to sing the Kyrie—or perhaps more correctly, to intone it and sing the first part. There is no express statement that no one else participates in the singing, but the directions are all given to the schola; it is the prior schola who has to watch out for the pope’s signal to conclude the singing.

8th century the litany begins Christe audi nos, then follow invocations of the saints and lastly Agnus Dei, A. B. Kuypers, The Book of Cerne (Cambridge, 1902), 211 f. In the Sacramentary of Gellone written circa 780 the litany on Holy Saturday took the following form: On the way to the baptismal font, Kyrie eleison; upon arrival, Christe audi nos; several times: then the invocations of the saints, plus Propitius esto, etc., Agnus Dei, Christe audi nos—the same series as today; close with a triple Kyrie. Martine, I. I. 18, VI (1, 184).

The Ordo of St. Amand the litany that is intoned before the stational church is given as follows: Kyrie eleison (3 times), Christe audi nos, invocations of the saints, then Propitius esto, etc., including the invocation that plainly addresses Christ, Per crucem tuam, at the end 3 times Agnus Dei, Christe audi nos and again a triple Kyrie. Duchesne, Christian Worship, 475. The litany in the Stowe Missal (9th century), which reverts to a Graeco-Roman model at the end of the 7th century (Bishop, Liturgica historica, 142 f.), begins: Christe audi nos (3 times), Kyrie eleison, and the saints’ invocations follow; Warner, The Stowe Missal (HBS, XXXII), 3.

Further examples of a similar sort from the 9th-10th century: H. A. Wilson, The Gregorian Sacramentary (HBS, 49), pp. XXXI-XXIV; Gerbert, Monumenta tot. lit. Alam., II, 7 f.; H. Ménard in the notes to the Gregorianum (PL, LXXXVII, 386 ff., 485, 530 ff.); J. Mabillon, Analecta (PL, CXXXVIII, 885).

Beck, Kirchliche Studien, 383-387.

It was during the high tide of the Middle Ages that the textural pattern expressing the Trinity, Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison, was formed as we now have it at the beginning of the litany as well as at the Preces in the office (or as a substitute for these); at this period, too, are inserted the explicit invocations of the three Persons and the Trinity: Pater de coelia, etc. It is curious that this insertion is still wanting in today’s litany for the dying, Rituals Rom., V, 7, 3.

Suarez, De oratione, I, 9, 12 f. (Opp., ed. Berton, 14, 34), faces the objection that this separate invocation of the three divine Persons compromises the unity of the divine nature; he justifies it only in the sense that thus is acknowledged a belief in the difference of the Persons and in their true godhead. Similarly J. MalDeterminat, De carminibus, II, 12 (in F. A. Zaccaria, Bibliotheca rit., II, 2 [Rome, 1781], 79), stresses the view that these invocations are not properly addressed to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, sed ad Deum per enumeratas personas.

It. supra, p. 264 f.

The peculiar meaning of this invocation of Christ who gathers us and heals us, who desires to teach us and even feed us, is handled excellently in an article by J. Guldin, “Kyrie eleison”: Parochia (ed. by K. Börgmann, Colmar o. J. 1943), 155 f.

Ordo Rom. I, 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942): Schola vero finita antiphona imponit Kyrie eleison. Prior vero schola custodit ad ponitficum, ut ei annuat, si

The Roman Ordo of St. Amand confirms this description and adds the detail, that the repetition of the song intoned by the schola is the duty of the regionarii, that is, of the subdeacons who were organized in Rome according to regions. The people no longer participate, at least in these grander pontifical services. Of course the possibility is not excluded that, in simpler surroundings and under other conditions, the Kyrie still remained the people’s song. This was surely true in the lands of the North, where Kyroleis was used as a refrain in folk-songs for many centuries, and the “Leise” (Fr. lais) represented a special class of spiritual folk-songs.

But at the beginning of Mass, the clergy forming the choir took over the singing of the Kyrie, at least in the larger churches where the clergy were numerous—and it is about such churches that most of the accounts are written. We need not necessarily think that the intonation and first-singing was done by a schola cantorum; in fact, as a part of the clergy, it was not very carefully distinguished from the rest. Instead the singers, it seems, were divided into two semi-choruses, and thus the tradition that the Kyrie was an antiphonal chant was retained. At first the nine invocations of one chorus were, as we have seen, repeated by the other; later the two choirs divided the nine invocations between them. It was but a step to have the first of each of the three sung by one choir and then repeated twice by the other choir, a mode of rendition many propose at the present.

But even in the twelfth century it was customary for the choirs simply to alternate, exactly as the priest and the Mass-server alternate while saying the prayer.
The plain litany-quality of the old Kyrie chants is still recognizable in the Gregorian melody assigned to it in the Requiem Mass where the same simple tune recurs eight times and only in the ninth is there any embellishment. But the process of enhancing the musical form of the Kyrie made quick progress, right from the time its performance was given over to the schola, as we have seen indicated in the first Roman Ordo. When Gregorian chant flourished anew, in the tenth and succeeding centuries, many of the elaborate Kyrie melodies of the Roman Kyriale were composed. The titles which they bear give us a hint of another remarkable and colorful development in the evolution of the simple Kyrie text, the so-called trope. Amalar already suggests a forerunner of this type of troping, for he has the singers chant a fuller text (he is, indeed, merely paraphrasing the contents of their song): 

Kylie eleison, Domine Pater, miserere; Christe eleison, miserere qui nos redemisti sanguine tuo; Kylie eleison, Domine, Spiritus Sancte, miserere. But from this time on, from the ninth to the sixteenth century, a full literature of Kyrie tropes is developed. Every church possessed a dozen or so, some purely local, others spread far and wide. The collection in the Analecta hymnica covers 158 complete numbers. Every one of the nine invocations was amplified into a full verse line in such a way that the notes of the melismas were distributed over the complete text. In rendering this chant one choir would often take up the trope while the other sang the original Kyrie with its melismas, till both came together on the word eleison. It is from the first lines of these tropes that we derive the labels which many of the melodies of the Kyriale bear: Lux et origo; Kyrie Deus semperterne; Cunctipotes genitores Deus; Cum jubilo; Alme pater; Orbis factor; Pater cuncta. As an example let us look at the trope of the first Gregorian Mass; its rhythm follows the melody simply, although several others employ definite verse forms like the hemimeter.

Roman Graduale prescribes something like this, too.

According to Durandus, IV, 12, 4, the ninth Kyrie in some churches had the form: Kyrie eleison unius (Christe eleison). Cf. Ursprung, Die Kath. Kirchenmusik, 57.

It is clear that such artistic productions could be performed only by a skilled choir. For some of the tropes even many-voiced melodies appear in the thirteenth century. The tropes themselves were not included in the Missal of Pius V, thanks to the stricter tastes of his century. The monumental Kyrie was thus freed of overgrowth. But at the same time polyphonic music set to work to give this nineleaf ple of mankind to the Kyrios a full musical expression.

Originally the celebrating priest took no part in the Kyrie. For that reason it is not mentioned in most Mass Ordinaries, not even in those that contain all the texts of the prayers at the foot of the altar, or of the offertory. This held true for all Masses celebrated with singing, right down to the late Middle Ages. It was not till the thirteenth century, when the general principle was formulated that the priest had to read the variable texts from the missal, that a like prescription was made in regard to the Kyrie; the celebrant says the Kyrie together with his assistant (or assistants).

But this novelty did not take everywhere at once. The 1290 Mass Ordo of the papal chapels, although it stipulates that the priest should read the introit cum ministris suis, says nothing of the sort for the Kyrie; but a few centuries later the papal chapels also followed the general custom.

For private Mass, on the other hand, even the eighth-century Archcantor's writings included the Kyrie eleison, along with the introit, in the prayers for the priest; he is to say it nine times, bowing low all the while. There is no explicit mention here—nor for some time later—of any par-

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**KYRIE ELEISON**

1. 

a. Lux et origo 

b. In cuina nutu 

c. Qui solus potes

2. 

b. Per crucem redemptis a morte perenni, apez nostra, Christe, eleison; Christe eleison.

c. Qui es verbum Patris, verbum caro factum, lux vera, Christe, eleison; Christe eleison.

3. 

a. Adonei, Domine, Deus, inaee index, eleison; Kyrie eleison.

b. Qui machinam gubernas rerum, alme Pater, eleison; Kyrie eleison.

c. Quem solum laus et honor decet, nunc et semper eleison; Kyrie eleison.

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Blume, 69 f. In a second text, emphatically stressing the Trinitarian outlook, ibid., 70 f.

Blume-Bannister, p. 92 (on n. 28); 160 (on n. 99).

Ordinarium O. P. of 1256 (Guerini, 235); Liber ordinarius of Liége (Volk, 89, L30).

The same direction in other Mass-Ordines of the late Middle Ages: Martine, 1, 4, XIX, XXXI, XXXII (I, 665 B, 616 B, 626 E, 681 B).

Brinktrine (Eph. Liturg., 1937), 201.

Ordo Rom. XIV, n. 21 (PL, LXXVIII, 1186 A): cf. ibid., 68 (1175 B, 1183 B).

Capitulare eccl. ord. (Silva-Tarouca, 205, 1. 11): Si autem singulos fuerit sacerdos, nobis tamen vicibus inclinatus adorando dicit Kyrie eleison, et postea erigit se. Cf. ibid., 207.

The rhymed commentary of the 12th century remarks only this about the priest: "Ein Kiriel'er danne singet": then...
ticipation by the server. Even at solemn service, where the assistants are mentioned as taking part, it seems that the nine invocations were said by all together, since there is no indication of any apportionment. If later on the alternation of the nine between priest and those around him became common, the cause is to be traced to the example of the sung Kyrie with its double choir. There is record, however, of another manner of distributing the invocations, the priest taking the first three

The priest used often to say the Kyrie, as he does the introit, on the Epistle side of the altar. This is still the practice of the Carthusians, the Carmelites and the Dominicans, and we also do the same at a solemn high Mass. It has been suggested that the change to the center was influenced by the wish to stress the prayer-quality of the Kyrie; the priest therefore stands facing the image of his crucified Lord, to whom he directs his appeal.

10. Gloria in excelsis

The Gloria, like the Kyrie, was not created originally for the liturgy of the Mass. It is an heirloom from the treasure of ancient Church hymns, a precious remnant of a literature now almost buried but once certainly very rich, a literature of songs for divine service written in the early Church in imitation of the biblical lyrics, especially the psalms. These lyrics were called psalmi idiotici, psalms by private persons in contrast to those of Holy Scripture. They are, for the most part, rude creations, and like the biblical psalms and canticles are not constructed on rhythmic and metrical principles. In their literary expression, too, they hold pretty close to their biblical models, and yet in them the religious inspiration of those centuries live on perceptibly. The line begun in the New Testament with the Magnificat and Zachary’s song of praise and the canticle of aged Simeon, is continued in these works. Few, however, have remained in use to the present, among them the Φως ἁλαθ, already mentioned by Basil, which is still used in the Byzantine liturgy, the Te deum laus, which is in use in the monastic liturgy, and the Te Deum and the Gloria which survive in our Roman liturgy. This last, often called the Greater Doxology, was already so highly esteemed even in the ancient Church that it outlived the fate that overtook so many songs which perished as the result of an adverse attitude towards church hymns created merely humano studio.

In the textual tradition of the Gloria three principal versions can be distinguished: (1) The Syrian version from the Nestorian liturgy; (2) the Greek version from the Apostolic Constitutions; and (3) the Greek version from the Byzantine liturgy, which is found already in the Codex Alexandrinus of the New Testament and which coincides in all essentials with our Western version. Since we can presume that we are acquainted with the last of these, we shall start by comparing the two forms mentioned first.

Syrian Version

Apost. Const. VII, 47

Gloria to God in the highest
and on earth peace
and a good hope to men.
We worship thee,
we glorify thee,
we exalt thee,
Being who art from eternity,
hidden and incomprehensible Nature,
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
King of kings, and Lord of lords,
who dwellest in the excellent light,
Whom no son of man hath seen, nor can see.

To distinguish it from the little doxology, the Gloria Patri.

The expression psalmi idiotici is used by the Council of Laodicea (4th century) in contrast to the biblical chants; can. 59 (Mansi, II, 574). See Batiffol, History of the Roman Breviary, London, 1912), 6-8. Cf. also A. Fortescue, Gloria in Excelsis Deo, CE, VI: 583-585.

Cf. supra, p. 333.

A. J. B. de Herdt, sacra liturgiae praxis (2nd ed., Louvain, 1852), II, 84. Cf. also infra, p. 370, note 53, regarding the handling of the conclusion of the oration.

J. Kroll, Die christliche Hymnologie bis zu Clemens von Alexandrien (Braunberger Vorlesungsverzeichnis, 1921 and 1921-2); idem, “Hymn” in E. Hennecke, Nestitamen Mai Apokryphen, 286-601.


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Cf. supra, p. 333.
348 THE MASS CEREMONIES IN DETAIL

who alone art holy,
(and) alone mighty, (and) alone immortal.

We confess thee through the Mediator of our blessings,

Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world and the Son of the Highest.

O Lamb of the living God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us.

Thou who sittest at the right hand of thy Father, receive our request.

For thou art God, and thou art our Saviour, and thou art the forgiver of our sins.

Thy Father, and thou art our Lord, and thou art our King, and thou art the Saviour of our souls.

The eyes of all men hang on thee, for thou art our God, receive our request.

Aside, perhaps, from the great wealth of attributes predicated of God and Christ, the feature that strikes us in these two versions as different from the form familiar to us, is that the praise is directed to God through Christ, the great high-priest. This is typical of the prayer language of the first centuries. True, the version contained in the Apostolic Constitutions can hardly be original in its entirety. Throughout the hymn the prayer is addressed through Christ to the Father, and near the end the line of thought seems somewhat strained. All this is rather the work of the redactor, who appears to have obstructed the notion of mediatorship almost to excess. But the appearance of the formula also in the East Syrian liturgy, where the mediation-formula is no longer found in the orations, proves that even this turn of expression is ancient tradition. The Syrian version probably gives us the basic form of the hymn, not indeed, in its amplifications, but at least in its general structure.

But let us confine our discussion to the western version of our venerable hymn. The oldest witness for the Latin text is the manuscript Antiphonarium mozarabicum of Bangor, which originated about 690. It forms a connecting link with the Greek tradition, as we can see by comparing it with the nearly duplicate text of the Codex Alexandrinus.

Cod. Alexandrinus

"Thou who sittest in glory and in the highest, O Jesus Christ, the only Son of the Father, who alone art holy, who art the Lamb of the living God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us. The eyes of all men hang on thee, for thou art our God, receive our request. Thus according to Cod. Vat. 2089; see Funk, 456, apparatus. Cf. C. H. Turner, Journal of theol. studies, XVI (1915), 56.

The eyes of all men hang on thee, for thou art our God, receive our request. Thus according to Cod. Vat. 2089; see Funk, 456, apparatus. Cf. C. H. Turner, Journal of theol. studies, XVI (1915), 56.

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS

1. Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.
2. Laudamus te; benedicimus te; adoramus te; glorificamus te; magnificamus te; 4. Domine, Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe, sancte Spiritus Dei. Et omnes dicimus Amen.
5. Domine, Fili Dei Patris, agnus Dei, qui tollis peccatum mundi, miserere nobis.
6. Suscipe orationem nostram; qui sedes in gloria Dei Patris.

In the structure of the Gloria three sections are plainly discernible: (1) the song of the angels on the night of the Nativity; (2) the praise of God; and (3) the invoking of Christ.

First there is the song of the angels as recorded by St. Luke (2:14). The use of a biblical phrase as the theme at the start of a poem is also found elsewhere in ancient Christian hymns. For instance, the evening hymn which compares with the Gloria, a morning hymn, opens with an analogous

F. E. Warren, The antiphonary of Bangor (HGS, IV; facsimile and transcription; HBS, X: Text and commentary; London, 1892-1893), fol. 33, p. 31; and commentary, pp. 75-80, and that of the Antiphonarium mozarabicum of Leon; see G. Prado, "Una nueva recension del himno 'Gloria in excelsis'," Eph. liturg. XLVI (1932), 481-486.
word of praise utilizing the first verse of Psalm 112: *Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Dominii.* The same verse is used as the opening of the *Te Deum* in the version found in the Antiphonary of Bangor. And in particular this song of the angels was used as an introduction to prayer.

In all the versions the second section is a praise of God. This consists in a simple accumulation of phrases expressing our activity, and of names for the godhead. In the oldest witnesses of the version we are concerned with, this portion has obtained a certain exclusiveness and independence by making the address to all three divine Persons. The same thing is noticed even earlier in the Syrian version. In the effort to call God by all His grand names it was but a step to rise to the mystery of the Trinity, which had been made known by revelation. There is an exact parallel to Filium, Sanctum quoque Paraclitum Spiritum.

And just as in the *Te Deum*, the next section in our present text, clearly distinct from what precedes, is a christological portion: *Domine, Fili unigenite.* God and Christ—that is not an arbitrary addition nor an unfinished enumeration of the three divine Persons (as some commentators seem to imagine when they make excuses for the fact that the Holy Ghost is mentioned only at the very end, and then only in passing). No, God and Christ are the pillars of the Christian order of the universe: God, the beginning and the end of all things, towards whom all religious seeking is bent and all prayer eventually is turned; but in the Christian order also Christ, the way, the road on which all our God-seeking must be directed. Therefore in St. Paul's letters we find this duality of God and Christ not only in the introductory salutation, but time and time again throughout the writing. And if at times St. Paul rounds out the duality and completes it in the *Trinity: Patrem immensi maiestatis, venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium, Sanctum quoque Paracclitum Spiritum.*

And if this was true of the song when the angels sang in high heaven, and peace on earth to men of good will—

**Peace—we turn to Him in whom the peace of heaven was brought to earth, begging Him to fulfill His work in us.**

And now let us get down to details.

The oriental liturgies employ the song of the angels as a triple phrase: Ως εν θεω και επι γης εις γην, εις ανθρωπον ευθοξια. This is the form adopted by Luther and the King James Bible: *den Menschen ein Wohlgaffen*—on earth peace, good will towards men. But from the viewpoint of textual criticism the form ευθοξια in Luke (2:14) is considered untenable; the reading must be ευεξια. This betokens a double phrase in the original text, just as our version has it. But there is another thing to notice. Our ordinary rendering, "Peace on earth to men of good will," does not quite give us the original sense. Ευεξια is not the good will of men but the good will of God, God's pleasure, God's favor and grace. The Δυνατοι ευεξια are therefore men of God's grace and selection, men to whom the news of God's kingdom has been proclaimed. According to the wording of the text, therefore, there is a limitation in this message of peace: *hominibus bona voluntatis*—to those whom God has chosen. But since all men are invited into the kingdom, the only thing clearly enunciated here is that "the children of His kingdom" partake of this peace not because of a turn of fortune's wheel, but because of God's free, merciful decree (cf. Eph. 1:5). The entrance of the Redeemer among the race of men spelt out two things, the glory of God and "peace" for men. Christ's coming to earth really meant the start of Redemption. In this sense it is possible that the angels' song contained not a wish but the expression of a fact, not an optative but a declarative: Glory is given to God and peace to men! It is the same thing that our Lord spoke of at the Last Supper in His great sacerdotal prayer, the only difference being the degree of development: "I have exalted thy glory on earth, by achieving the task which thou gavest me to do." But precisely because the glorification of God and the salvation of mankind was not "achieved" in its fullness till the sacrifice of Christ's Passion, and even then its fruits had still to ripen, and to continue to ripen till the end of time, it is correct to view the angelic song as proclaiming not the work that had already been completed, but the plan and purpose that was yet to be done, step by step: May God be given glory in the highest and may men in His grace find peace! *Gloria in excelsis Deo.* And if this was true of the song when the angels sang it, it is truer still when we on earth repeat it. Every day that the Church lives, every time the Church gathers her children in prayer, and particularly when she assembles them for the Eucharist, a new light flashes across the world.
THE MASS CEREMONIES IN DETAIL

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heaven, God, Father, Almighty. The designation, *Deus, Pater omnipotens*, which is also found in the Apostles' Creed, shows again the venerable age of the hymn.

Immediately after this list of God's titles there comes an address to Christ, written in much the same style. It introduces the christological section. The transition is so imperceptible that it goes almost unheeded and we are scarcely aware that something new has started. This can be explained, from the viewpoint of the history of the text, by comparing it with the older versions where an address to the Trinity closed this first section, just as it does in the *Te Deum*; the mention of God the Father was therefore followed by that of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and at once a new turn of thought set in with an apostrophe to Christ. There is really no doubt about where this section starts. On the other hand, there is no reason for considering this as the beginning of a new theme. Our grateful glance toward God's glory moves naturally on toward Christ, in whom that glory was revealed to us. In this christological section we can distinguish the following framework: (1) the laudatory salutation; (2) the litany-like invocations; (3) the triple predication, *Tu Solus*; and (4) the trinitarian conclusion.

First of all there is a list of names, all of them ancient. They are the same as those found in the oriental creed, in the profession of belief in Christ: Lord, only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ. At the top of the list is the word "Lord," with the connotation of the Pauline *χριστός*, which is made clear near the end of the hymn in *Tu solus Dominus*. The term "only-begotten Son" also had been highly esteemed in the ancient Church as a special name for Christ. In the *Euchologion* of Serapion the word *ὁ μονόγενος* was often used all by itself as a usual title for Christ. There is a second group of three names, and once again the Kyrios-term *Dominus* comes first, in our present-day text amplified to *Domine Deus*, to indicate, no doubt, the essential equality of Father and Son. In the earlier versions this was followed by *Filium Patris*, now transferred to third place obviously because of its special importance. It is a name which appears to say nothing and yet says everything, and it definitely acknowledges our human inability to comprehend the mystery, for Christ is taught else than the radiance of His Father's splendor (Heb. 1:3). Then follows the term *Agnus Dei*, the sacrificial Lamb come from God, a title which refers to Christ's redemptive work. It is no accident that the title "Lamb of God," which recalls our Lord's great mercy, was connected from time immemorial with

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the cry for mercy in our litanies. Here, too, the term "Lamb of God" is followed by a short litany, likewise composed of three members. But in this case there is a mixture of hymnic predication and pleading. Taking up the words of the Baptist, we remind our Lord of that voluntary abasement to which He, as Lamb of God, subjected Himself; we remind Him of that atoning Passion by which He "took away" the sins of the world; remind Him also of His triumph as He sits, exalted, "at the right hand of the Father," and there, as Lamb of God, hears the bridal songs of the elect. Thus it is that the same cry breaks forth which was heard in the Kyrie: "Have mercy on us, receive our prayer." In order to avoid misunderstanding as much as possible, the Church hesitates to call upon the Savior—through whom she offers her prayer, and of whom it is said that He lives always to make intercession for us—to intercede for us, although there is no theological difficulty to doing so. It seems to suit our reverence and our joy in acknowledging His greatness merely to beg His mercy, for we do not want it to appear even for a moment that He cannot help us through His own power. Still the phrase suscipe deprecationem nostram does in some way imply Christ's mediatorship, that office of His which was accented so in older forms of the Glória: Let us lay our pleadings in Thy hands, and carry them up before Thy Father's throne!

By means of a spanning Quoniam, the litany once more turns into a word of praise: "For Thou alone art the Holy One, Thou alone art the Lord, thou alone the Most High." In the period when our hymn originated, such expressions very vividly outlined the sharp antithesis between our Catholic worship and heathen worship with its many loosely-given attributes of divinity, its many χρήσιμον, and its emperor-worship. Above and beyond all these creations of human fancy stands Jesus Christ, radiant and grand, the sole and only Lord. Our own day has great appreciation of this sublime contrast. Taking this as a background there is no need to reflect that the epithets mentioned can also attach to any of the three divine Persons. The image of the God-man remains—of Him to whom we gave the name of Christ—of Him who, even when we think of the saints of the Church, for their holiness is only a participation in God's.

This "thou alone art holy" is justified even when we think of the saints of the Church, for their holiness is only a participation in God's. Brightman, 341.

This formula, still used at present in the Byzantine Mass, is already certified in Didymus the Blind (d. 398), De Trin., II, 7, 8 (PG, XXXIX, 589 B); likewise in the mystagogic Catecheses of Cyril, V, 19 (Quasten, Mon., 107). See further passages in U. Holzmeyer, ZKTh, XXXVIII (1914), 128; Peterson, op. cit., 132; 137. Peterson seeks to prove that the εσθλος, εσθμος is a shout that greets the appearance of Christ somewhat as the secular acclamations accompanied the appearance of an emperor or an official or the like (140). The present formula he would translate "only holy, only Lord is Jesus Christ" (134), in other words, the εσθλος would be taken as in pre-Christian acclamations wherein any god was designated as εσθμος in an "elative sense," not in a "conceptual" sense (cf. 151), so that the god in question was honored for the nonce as "only" or alone, with no thought given to the fact that besides him there were not a few other gods. But as Peterson himself proves, in Christian texts a transitio to a profession formula underlain in a "conceptual sense," so here the thought must be interpreted in this fashion: Only one is holy, Jesus Christ (and we are all unworthy; 151, 302 f.). Then the acclamation is extended to include the parallel statement of one Kyrios in 1 Cor. 8: 6, and tied in with the cry of worship in Phil. 2: 11: "... Jesus Christ as the Lord, dwelling in the glory of God the Father." Cf. U. Holzmeyer, ZKTh, XXXVIII (1914), 128.

The Arians wanted to proclaim only the Father as altissimus; see Contra Varian. Madam., I, 53 (FL, LXII, 387).
In the Latin Church the *Gloria* was not at first intended for the Mass. Its position must have been somewhat similar to that now occupied by the *Te Deum*. It was a song of thanksgiving, a festival song. And in this role it was sometimes included in the Mass at Rome on occasions especially festive. The account written in the Liber Pontificalis in §30 reports how Pope Telesphorus (d. 136) as ordering for the nighttime Christmas Mass *ut ... in ingresso sacrificio missae hymnus dicereetur angelicus*; this shows that by the beginning of the sixth century the *Gloria* had long had a place in the Mass at Rome. Another account from the same source (more trustworthy, because closer in time to the matter reported) relates that Pope Symmachus (d. 514) had permitted the *Gloria* to be used on Sundays and the feasts of martyrs, but only at the Masses of bishops. The rubric in the Sacramentarium Gregorianum matches this; after the *Kyrie* it decrees: *Item dicitur Gloria in excelsis Deo, si episcope fuerit, tantummodo die domino sive diebus festis, a presbyteris autem minime dicitur, nisi solo in Pascha.* According to the *Ordo* of St. Amand, the priest was allowed to intone it during Easter night, and also on the day of his ordination if he was installed in his titular church and there celebrated his first Mass. Even as late as the eleventh century the carping question was asked, why cannot a priest use the *Gloria* at least on Christmas night, when it certainly is in place? But by the end of the same century the distinction between bishop and priest seems to have fallen out, and the present-day rule became universal: *The Gloria* is said in all Masses of a festive character.

Unlike the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria* was from the very outset a song, but it was the song of the congregation, not of a special choir. But it was soon transferred to the clergy gathered in the sanctuary. In contrast to the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria* had the unique distinction of being intoned by the pope himself. He stood at his *cathedra*, facing east; after the *Kyrie* was finished, he turned to the people and intoned the first words, *just as is done nowadays.* The priest, when he intoned the *Gloria*, stayed originally in the place he took after kissing the altar, namely at the Epistle side, as the Carthusians still do. It was not till the twelfth century that the intonation was transferred to the center of the altar, and then finally the *Gloria* was said through to the end at the same spot. Two things perhaps brought this about, first, symbolism, and second, the desire to underline the importance of the hymn. On feasts of our Lord in the later Middle Ages the

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*Udaltzī Consecr. Clun. I, 8 (PL, CCLXIX, 653); Bernold of Constance, Micrologus, c. 2 (PL, CCLXIX, 979).*

See the careful regulation contained about 1100 in the Missal of St. Vincent of Vohurno (FIALA, 200), somewhat expanded in the Pontifical of Durandus: Martene, 1, 4, XXIII (I, 621 f.); Andrieu, III, 649-651.

To this category belong the entire Pentecost after Easter and also votive Masses of our Blessed Lady on Saturday. The votive Masses of the angels also got the *Gloria*, because it is the song of the angels. Regarding the suppression of the *Gloria* during Advent cf. Jungmann, Gotterdame Liturgie, 273 f.

*Ordo Rom. I, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942): dirigatur se pontifice contra populum incipit Gloria in excelsis Deo. Ordo of John the Arch-chantor (Silva-Tarouca, 197), Ordo of St. Amand (Duchesne, Christian Worship, 458).*

That the celebrant should himself pray the continuation of the hymn or rather sing it along with those around him was not expressly prescribed, but it was understood and taken for granted.

Around the year 1000, when the apologies were most popular, it was customary for the celebrant to recite one of these during the *Gloria*, since the latter had already become so elaborate that there was no longer any thought of his taking a part in singing it. Martiné, I, 4, 1V; VI, XIII, I (499, 530, 570).

*Ordo ordinarius of Laon (13-14th century):* Martene, I, 4, XX (I, 607 D).

Castier, De ecc. off., III, 8 (PL, CV, 615).

*Speculum de myst. Eccl., c. 7 (PL, CLXXVIII, 358).*

But then the *Gloria* was still said to the very end at the Epistle side of the altar. *Ordinarium O.F.:* of 1256 (Guerrini, 220); *Liber ordinarius of Liége* (Volk, 90); Missal of Sarum: Martene, I, 4, XXXV (I, 666 B, E); the older Rite of Lyons (Buenner, 244).

The *Ordinarium O.F.* also prescribes that the priest, while intoning, to lift his hands which had been resting on the altar and to bring them together at the word *Deo*. The *Liber ordinarius of Liége* (Volk, 90) is even more detailed: *eleveando et pars extraendo.*

Apparently only since the late Middle Ages. Sölch, 62 f.

Hugh of St. Cher presents as the reason for intoning the *Gloria* in the *ordinarium* the fact that the angel who appeared at Bethlehem stood in *medio ororum*. Sölch, 60 f.
Gloria was given extra significance also by a special ceremonial in which one of the singers invited the celebrant to intone the hymn.\(^a\) Just as he does at the Dominus vobiscum or Pax vobis, is an indication that originally the entire congregation was called upon to sing this hymn.\(^a\) The musical setting corresponded to this disposition of the hymn. As Wagner emphasizes, the oldest melodies that are noted down have “the character of a syllabic recitation; it was more like a declamation performed with voice uplifted than a song.”\(^b\) Obviously because the hymn was to be sung not by a group of trained singers but by the congregation. Even Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403) still refers to the simplicity of the Gloria (and of the Sanctus) when he writes: “in Graduali beati Gregorii Romanæ paucæ sunt notæ.”\(^c\) However, the oldest sources are absolutely silent about any real participation of the faithful. This is understandable, considering the limited use of the Gloria only at pontifical services where only an ever-changing segment of the people could gather and where there was always a preference for a more festive and a more artistic accompaniment, so that the singing of the people was hardly favored. But when use of the Gloria spread beyond the limits of pontifical Mass, we do learn—through Sicard of Cremona—of the actual singing by the people.\(^d\) In smaller surroundings and especially in the Romance countries, this did most likely become the custom. But the accounts that survive, deal for the most part with the cathedral and monastery churches and here the performers of the Gloria are almost without exception the chorus, that is, the clerics assemblèd at the service.\(^e\) They either sang the Gloria straight through, or alternately in two semi-choruses, as in the Kyrie.\(^f\) At Rome in 1140 the Gloria is expressly mentioned as the special concern of the schola cantorum,\(^g\) but that is an understandable exception in this, the oldest place where Church music was fostered. But at this time and even quite a bit earlier there are traces of a greater musical development of the Gloria. The melodies increase in number.\(^h\) And since the ninth century there appear the farced Gloria or Gloria-tropes which we have come to recognize as the bases for a melodic amplification of these tropes. Clement Blume edited 51 independent texts, not counting those not written in metrical or rhythmical forms.\(^i\) The reform under Pius V banned the tropes, but gave free rein to the musical composition which the Gloria seems to invite.

11. The Collect. The Inclusion of the Congregation Assembled

Keeping in mind the original plan of the Roman Mass, we perceive that the oration is the first—and, until the so-called secretæ, the only place—in which the celebrating priest himself steps before the assembly to speak. All the other things are singing and reading which—aside from the intonation of the Gloria—are carried on by others, or they are prayers inserted later on in which the priest says quietly to himself. Here is a clue to the fact that we have reached the first climax in the course of the Mass. The ceremony of entry reaches a peak in the oration of the priest, in the

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\(^a\) Liber ordinarius of Liège (Volk, 43, 1, 13).

\(^b\) Martínez, I, 4, XX-XXII (1, 607, 609, 610). An especially solemn form is found in Blume-Bannister, Tropen des Missale, 220: Two chanters approach the bishop with the words: Sacerdos Dei excelsi, veni ante sanctum et sacrum altare et in laude regis regum vocem tuam emitte, supplícies te rogamus; eia, die domne... (Hinfleisch). The elaboration of the melodies he attributes to secular singers (ibid.).

\(^c\) Sicard de Cremona (d. 1215), Miritale, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 97 B): The priest intones the hymn, quam populus concinndus da recepta. But cf. also Amalar’s Expositio of 813-814 (Gerbert, Monumenta, II, 150), where, commenting on the fact that on the first Christmas first one angel and then the entire heavenly host appeared, he makes this observation regarding the Gloria: Sicque modo unius episcopius inchoat et omnis ecclesia resonat laudem Deo.\(^d\) Amalar, De eccl. off., III, 8 (PL, CV, 1115 B) seems to oppose this turning towards the people. At any rate, it is no longer found in later sources.

\(^e\) Leitner, Der göttedienstliche Volksgebet, 192.

\(^f\) Wagner, Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, I, 87.

\(^g\) The connection can be seen in the fact that the oldest Gloria melody (in Mass XV of the Vatican Kyriale) is the Pater noster melody of the Mozarabic liturgy (Missa cum sanctum et sacrum altare et in laude regis regum vocem tuam emitte, supplícies te rogamus; eia, die domne... (Hinfleisch). The elaboration of the melodies he attributes to secular singers (ibid.).

\(^h\) Similarly the later commentators; cf. Durandus, IV, 13, 1.

\(^i\) This latter arrangement apparently in the Ordo eccl. Lateran. (Fischer, 80): Conventus... per distinctiones exulantur decantant.\(^j\) Ordo Rom. XI, 18 (PL, LXXVIII, 1053 A).

\(^j\) The elaboration affected even the priest’s intonation. The Missal of St. Vincent (1030) contains 13 Gloria intonations; Fiala, 188.

\(^k\) See also Expositio ‘Missa pro multis’, ed. Hanssens (Eph. Hymn., 1930), 33.

\(^l\) Simultaneously the later commentators; cf. Fiala, 188.

\(^m\) The elaboration affected even the priest’s intonation. The Missal of St. Vincent (1030) contains 13 Gloria intonations; Fiala, 188.

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\(^n\) Blume-Bannister, Tropen des Missale, pp. 217-299. In these tropes the Gloria is divided into a variety of small sections (as high as 20), with the tropings inserted between the sections. These were written mostly in a given verse form, often hexameters or distichs, in such a way that in each opening a (double-) verse appeared. Frequently there is but little connection with the basic text. This is especially the case when the trope is fitted to a special festival. A favorite was the trope used on our Lady’s feasts, popular all over the West:... Filius Patris, primogenitus Mariae virginis... Sancta deprecationem nostram, ad Maria gloriam... Quoniam tu solus sanctus, Mariam sanctificans, Tu solus Dominus, Marium gubernans, Tu solus alius sanctus, Marian coronans... Legg. Tract., 139; Eisenhofer, II, 95. The special popularity of this farcing for our Lady’s feasts accounts for the rubric in the Missal of 1570 expressly banning this trope: Sic dicitur Gloria in excelsis, etiam in missa deae Maria, quando dicendum est. (This rubric was still found in the Ordinary of the Mass in the Missal of Leo XIII, but has apparently been dropped since. At The Council of Trent there was mention of this trope among the abusus missae: Concilium Tridentinum, ed. Görrès, VIII, 917.)
same way that the presentation of the offerings and the reception of Communion come to a fitting conclusion with an oration. Consequently in the oration the very essence of liturgical prayer is expressed with especial clarity. "Oration" is the name by which the priestly prayer is most often called in the Roman liturgy, even in the oldest Roman Ordines. It is a prayer which has, to a certain extent, the character of a public discourse (Oratio); it is as spokesman for the people, that the priest speaks it, and for that reason the people themselves are first summoned to pray. In the same sense the term collecta is used at present as a designation for the prayer, particularly (as we shall use it in the following discussion) for the first of the three orations of the Mass which here concerns us, the oration which at Rome was distinguished from the oratio super orationem and the oratio ad complendum by being called the oratio prima. The term collecta or collectio was native to the Gallican liturgy. When the interpreters of the Romano-Frankish liturgy employ the word in the meaning of oration, this linguistic usage derives manifestly from Gallican tradition. Despite some vacillation in the use of the words in the Roman sources at hand, the knowledge of the only meaning of the word which is here in question was kept intact, especially in Walfrid Strabo who says: Collectas dicimus, quia necessarias earum petitiones compendiosa brevitate colligimus i.e. conclusimus. The oration is, as a matter of fact, the prayer in which the priest "collects" the preceding prayers of the people and presents them to God. This fact explains certain peculiarities in its make-up and in the way it is introduced. Before the priest begins the oration, he summons the congregation to prayer: Oremus, Let us pray. And before he gives this summons, he turns around to them with a Dominus vobiscum. Older commentators usually cling to a consideration only of the content of this greeting, stressing the fitness of the wish that the Lord might be near and God's favor accompany their praying, as he, the priest, offers up to God the prayer of all. But the form of the salutation, this direct address to the people, is not explored. For why does the priest just here turn to greet the people? It will not be easy to answer this if we examine only our present concept of divine worship. Such a consideration will not explain why the one saying the prayer should first of all greet the congregation, much less why he should repeat the greeting several times in the course of the prayer-meeting. Yet he does just that. The Dominus vobiscum recurs every time the congregation receives an invitation or a special announcement: the summons to join in prayer at the oratio and the gratiarum actio, or the announcement of the close of the liturgy. It is omitted only when there is question of continuing an activity already started. Obviously the formula which introduces the reading of the Gospel,
The Collect. Inclusion of congregation

This religious setting of reciprocal salutation, the feeling of God's nearness is intensified.

Both the greeting and the reply are ancient, their origins hid in pre-Christian times. In the Book of Ruth (2:4) Booz greets his reapers with Dominus vobiscum. The salutation was thus a part of everyday life. It is met with several times in Holy Scripture. The reply of the reapers to Booz's greeting was: Benedicti sit Dominus. We employ in its place a phrase which means almost the same thing: Et cum spiritu tuo, a formula which betrays its Hebrew origin and has many parallels in St. Paul. We render its full meaning by saying simply, "And with you too."

Since the greeting is Old Testament, the Dominus originally meant merely God: God be with you. But there is no difficulty about referring the indeterminate Dominus to Christ, and this is more consonant with Christian worship. Take it in the sense of Christ's own promise (the wording is reminiscent anyway): "Ecce ego vobiscum sum" (Matt. 28:20), or that other assurance whose conditions are certainly fulfilled in the liturgical gathering: "Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there in the midst of them" (Matt. 18:20). Actually this is the sense in which the Dominus vobiscum is usually interpreted in modern times. But it

before the Oremus that precedes the Pater noster. On the other hand, it was not omitted just because the Oremus of the first oration of the Mass was followed by a Flectamus genua—the rule that is followed at present (e.g. on Ember Wednesday and Ember Saturday). Ordo Rom. I, n. 24 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 949) ; Hierzegger, op. cit., 544.

In the Greek liturgy of St. James the corresponding formula, which is likewise introduced with an Εἴρητα πάνω, has also the form of an invitation Ορέμων ἄγαλματι, τοῦ ἀγίου εὐαγγέλου (Brightman, 38, 18) ; in the liturgy of St. Mark the sequence of greeting and invitation is reversed (Brightman, 115, 116).

Regarding this kissing of the altar see supra, p. 316 f.; cf. also Dölger, Antike und christentum, (1930, II, 216), who wonders a possible original connection between Dominus vobiscum and this altar-kiss, but then rejects it. Because of the late origin of the altar-kiss this connection is actually out of the question.

In the ritual of the late Middle Ages the greeting was sometimes joined with a sign of the Cross over oneself. Ordinarium of Constances (Legg. Tracts, 58 f.): vertens se ad populum et signans se ipsum. Similarly in the later Rite of Sarum: Marteine, I, 4, XXXV (I, 666 C, 671 A, B).
would be practically the same thing to say, more exactly, that the liturgy leaves the word Dominus indefinite; in the greeting the wish is made that the "Lord" may be with the congregation, but we know implicitly that the Lord God does come to us in Christ who is our Emmanuel.

This christological sense is more plainly expressed in the salutation Pax vobis, the greeting of the Risen Lord to his Apostles, used by the bishop in the presence of the Aeræx. In the Orient, outside Egypt, this formula has taken the place of Dominus vobiscum since the fourth century. There is early testimony regarding its use in North Africa. In Spain in the sixth century testimony regarding its use in the West, but under certain conditions; it became firmly established in the West, and only on days when the Gloria had been sung, a rule which is still binding. After the song of peace sung by the angels, the salute of peace is tendered to the people by those who, as successors of the Apostles, are in a special way entrusted with this greeting.

The greeting is spoken by the bishop in the same way as the priest; at the center of the altar he turns toward the people and stretches out his hands. This gesture, which is in its basic form implies great vivacity and a natural pleasure in bodily expression, deepens once more the utterance of a desire to be united with the congregation and to draw them together into the prayer which is about to begin. This can be recognized even in the form we have today.

In the response the congregation for its part also confirms this community of desire, this will to be united. Do we have here only an acclamation in a wider sense? We will surely have to picture these responses in ancient times as acclamations somewhat stormy and unregulated. And it is certain, too, that for centuries the entire people considered this shout, this call as their very own. We can best understand the Et cum spiritu tue as a popular consensus in the work of the priest, not that the congregation here gives the priest authority or power to act in its stead, but that the congregation once more acknowledges him as the speaker under whose leadership the united group will approach almighty God. Thus in the greeting and its response we have the same double note that reappears at the end of the oration; the Dominus vobiscum seems to anticipate the per Christum of the close of the oration, and the Et cum spiritu tuo is a forerunner of the people's agreement expressed in the Amen. How sadly we must admit that, just when we try to recall this simple salutation to its original vitality, we realize how difficult it is for us moderns to make this formality our own in all its former import, even in such surroundings as tuated a certain artistry, and again by the rubrics of worship, which dictated a certain modesty and reserve. Still the rubrical mechanics as found in the Missal of Pius V (Rit. serv., V, 1) were not settled till the later Middle Ages; see the Mass-Ordo of Burchard: Legg. Tract. 141; cf. ibid., 100. A preliminary step is formed by the Ordinarium O.P. of 1256 (Guerrini, 256).

Regarding the kiss of the altar that precedes, cf. supra, 316 f., 361 f.

Acclamations in the strict sense were, in later ancient times, the shouts of a crowd which disclosed the will of the people: veneration when a ruler or his heir appeared, assent to propositions and resolutions, congratulation, demand and desire. One such still is retained in the consecration of a bishop: Ad multos annos, E. Cadrol, "Acclamations," DACL, I, 240-265. These shouts often acquired legal significance; cf. E. Peterson, Et, 645, (Göttingen, 1926), 141 ff.

Even in the spacious churches of the fourth century, Cf. Chrysostom, in s. Pentic, hom., I, 4 (PG, L, 458), who here remarks that his listeners had shouted out in common, when their bishop Flavian had ascended his cathedra and greeted them, crying "And with thy spirit." Cf. In Matth. hom., 32 (al. 33), 6 (PG, LVII, 384; Brightman, 477, note 6).

For the Gallican liturgy there is the evidence of the Expositio (ed. Quasten, 11): the priest gives the salutation, ut . . . ab omnibus benedicatur dicentibus: Et cum spiritu tuo. That the salutation of the priest should be answered not only by the cleric et Deo dicit but by all was also enjoined by several Gallic synods: Orelsans (511; Mansi, VIII, 361 f.); Braga (563), c. 3 (Mansi, IX, 777). Even Bernard de Mansi, Micrologus, c. 2 (PL, CLI, 929), still recalls the canon of Orleans when referring to the first greeting, and Durandus, IV, 14, 4 f., also indicates, that the answer is given by "choir and people." However in these instances we have probably an indication of the ideal rather than of reality. The most recent remarks of all, those of Sicard of Cremona, Mitrale, III, 4, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 107 D, 114 B), might possibly go back to a living practice. Cf. also supra, p. 236 f.
the "dialogue" Mass presents, when the outer form is present fully and beyond qwibble."

In its chief function as an address, the greeting, as we said, introduces the summons to prayer. This summons in the Roman Mass consists in one single word, Oremus. In the oriental liturgies the formula, spoken here mostly by the deacon, is much less concise. Thus in the Byzantine Mass you have: "Let us ask the Lord" (τοῦ κυρίου ἐπηρθομεν), "Let us ask the Lord again and again in peace" (Εἴτε Χάι Εἴπερ εἰς εἰρήνη τοῦ κυρίου ἐπηρθομεν), and then the deacon begins the litany. In Egypt the cry in detailed formulas, particularly at the prayer of the faithful after the Gospel, and in the intercessory prayers which are inserted in the canon. In the West this invitation to prayer was especially amplified in the Gallican liturgy. The formula, called a praefatio, precedes various prayers and series of prayers, both within the Mass and without; its form is sometimes reminiscent of a little homily. A remarkable thing in regard to the invitation to prayer in the oriental liturgies is this, that the summonses already quoted are usually followed by the prayer of the people put in words. In the Alexandrine liturgy the people respond to the simple summons with a triple κύριε ἐλεησον, or at least with a single one, and even the more detailed summonses of the deacon are thus answered, and meanwhile the priest begins the oration. In the Byzantine Mass a fully developed litany is invariably joined to the deacon's invitation to prayer. The deacon says the invocations and in the meantime, according to present practice, the priest softly speaks the oration (mostly a very extensive one), and only the closing doxology is said out loud. The answer of the people in this instance too is mostly κύριε ἐλεησον. But sometimes another reply

"Lord, have mercy on us"; ibid. 226 ff. 227. This arrangement is probably due to the insistence that the people receive the salutation standing.

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is substituted; thus after the offertory procession the final invocations of the litany are answered with Πάτερ nostōs. There is something very appealing when, in the greater litanies, these petitions resound in the humble but solemn promise: "Mindful of the all-holy . . . Mother of God and virgin, Mary . . . we will to put ourselves and each other and our whole life in the keeping of Christ our God," and the people cry out in answer Σοι κύριε, certainly a worthy chorus for the prayer of the Church of God.

The Roman liturgy has always been more restrained than the liturgies of the Orient in all that concerns the participation of the people. And yet even here we do find in certain instances an extra effort to enlist the cooperation of the people. At the orationes sollemnes of Good Friday, amongst the oldest in the liturgy—the Oremus is expanded into a longer phrase, like: Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, pro Ecclesia sancta Dei. And at the conferring of major orders the Leonianum contains invitations to the people to pray which are similarly amplified: Oremus, dilectissimi, Deus Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos jamulas suos, quos ad presbyterium munus elegit, cœlestia dona multiplicet, quibus quod eius dignatione suscipiant eis exsequantur auxilia. Per . . . "The later sacramentaries match this." At the orationes sollemnes of Good Friday the invitation is followed by the deacon's imperative, Flectamus genua, that is, with the order to knock down for silent prayer till the deacon himself—later, the subdeacon—gives the further signal, Levate, stand up again. The same command is heard on Ember days and on some other occasions, preceded by a simple Oremus.

Here we are not to face with a custom which possessed a much greater importance in the ancient Church, both West and East, than it does in our own time. It occurs in the Coptic Mass, where the deacon, using the original Greek form, joins his command to the priest's invitation: Κληματεν τε γνάτας—ἀνάστωμεν; this is done, for instance, all through Lent after
Oot 'ltta-rol x:AlvwiJ.ev -y6vu,
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here in the ordinary Mass
plainly shows that the command meant, Kneel down for
arrangement for Easter and Sundays very quickly spread to the feasts
ordered that kneeling be omitted during Eastertide and on

to certain extraordinary occasions. The most important source for this
restriction is mentioned in Canon 
Walafrid ••
Alexandrian ambit. In the
merest remnant, with the loss of the entire Lenten season and all days
the readings, addressed respectively to the catechumens, the energumens,
are said without kneeling

from Chrysostom in Brightman, 471
also in
Testamentum Domini, I, 35
(Quasten, Mon., 240). Cf. also the data
from Chrysostom in Brightman, 471 ff.

Mansi, II, 677.
The canon is repeated in Decretum
Gratiani III, 3, 10 (Friedberg, I, 1325).
Walafrid Strabo, De ordine et incensum
(c. 25 (PL, CXIV, 953 A); the prayers
are said without kneeling in dominica et festis majoribus et Quinquagesima.
Ordin. of St. Amand (Duchesne, Chris-
tian Worship, 472).
Various older ordinés still insist that
the oration of the day, even when it is
the only one, should be introduced during Lent with Flectamus genua: Ordo Rom.
I, n. 24 f. 9th century supplement; (PL,
LXXVIII, 949); Bernold, Micrologus,
c. 50 (PL, CLI, 1014 B): Ad omnes
horas quadragesimales genua flectimus.
item ad misam, etiam salutatio pra,a-
cedat orationem. Cf. Durandus, VI, 28,
8 ff.; Martène, 4, 17 (III, 162 A B);
Martène, De ant. monach. rit., 3, 9,
d (IV, 316); Missal of Tortosa (1524):
Ferreres, 249; cf. ibid., p. LXXXVII.
The same procedure still in the Dominican
liturgy: Missale iuxta ritum O. (1889),
50.
The course sketched by Bernold above
shows that the Dominus vobiscum
which appeared to be demanded for the oration
of the day was not generally considered
compatible with the Flectamus genua, and
that even then there was a trend to
omit the genuflection after the greeting.
Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), De can-
obercunias, prop. 23 (Mohberg, II, 136
f.), still holds for it but observes that
the Franciscans omit these genuflexiones,
quia in capella Pape non sunt. As a matter of fact, they were no longer found
in the 12th century at the Lateran: 
Ordo eccles. Lateran. (Fischer, 28 f.).
Cf. Ordo Rom. XI, n. 63 (PL,
LXXVIII, 1050): On the Ember Satur-
day after Pentecost: Visito hymno trium
pontificum missam: Gloria
in excelsis Deo.
Thus this corresponds to the
arrangement in the Mass on Holy Satur-
day (and analogously on Maundy Thursday)
at the present time: organ and bells
once more resound with the beginning of the
Gloria.
This method of reckoning was naturally
somewhat arbitrary. In the eastern litur-
gies the rule for kneeling during prayer
was regulated by a different system,
namely, the start of the sacrifice itself.
Moses bar Kephla (d. 903) expressly

excludes this kneeling down during the sac-
price (the kurobhos) because, he explains,
kneeling recalls the fall while the kurobhos
appertains to the resurrection; R. H. Con-
olly-H. W. Codrington, Two Commen-
taries on the Jacobite Liturgy (London,
1913), 43. In the East Syrian Mass, ac-
cording to the homilies of Narsai (d.
after 503), there was an analogous basis
for the rule that genuflection might be
permitted up to the epiclesis but not there-
after; Connolly, The Liturgical Homilies
of Narsai, 23, 127. Thus the East Syrian
rule about kneeling is almost directly op-
oposite that which developed in the Roman
Mass as the result of eucharistic cult.
Mizzale Rom., Rubr. gen., XVII, 5.
Hittorp, De offic. ecc., 66; cf. 49 b.
This Levate just before the Per eumdem
also in the Liber ordinarius of the Pre-
monstratensians (12th century; Waefel-
ghem, 220, with note 2; where however
the first sentence says too much); the
practice has here been retained down to
the present (Lentze; cf. p. 100 supra,
ote 44).
Whereas here the rule dictates standing
up during the concluding formula, the
very opposite is outlined in a directive
of Berthold of Regensburg, who tells
the people to fall on their knees when
they bear the name of Jesus in the Per
Dom. n. I.C.; Franz, 652.
The bowing of the head at the name of
Jesus was ordered by the II Council
of Lyons (1274), c. 25 (Mansi, XXIV,
98).
It is self-evident that the Nicene rule for Easter and Sundays was intended to eliminate not the prayer before the priest’s oration, but only kneeling during that prayer. This is evident in the oriental liturgies, in which the liturgies of the deacon are still customary, unchanged, even on Easter and on Sundays. We must therefore come to the conclusion that the elimination of the \textit{Flectamus genua} after our \textit{Oremus} did not purport to eliminate the pause for prayer which this command ordinarily signalized, but that at least a moment’s quiet meditation was still retained.

But just as the pause after the \textit{Flectamus genua} disappeared, leaving only a simple hurried genuflection, so the same fate was bound to overtake the pause after our \textit{Oremus} before the collect and the post-communion at the middle of the altar and only then went to the right side of the altar to finish the oration." The pause will be seen in full strength and remarkable extent at the \textit{succedaneum}. The effort to draw the congregation into the prayer of the priest also found another mode of expression. Carolingian sources of the tenth century contain the prescription that at the \textit{Oremus} of the priest the people were to bow and were to remain in this position (\textit{acclinis}) until the end of the oration. In the Gallican liturgy the practice had already been-several centuries old." And in the choir rules of many monastic groups the custom was retained for some time, and is, in fact, still retained but with this modification, that the bow is stipulated only for the first oration, not for the commemorations that follow. But elsewhere this rather uncomfortable posture was soon changed either to the usual upright stance—this mostly for festival worship—or to an out-and-out kneeling—this on days of penance. In other words, the old regulation of the \textit{Flectamus genua} before the oration has been replaced more and more—at least since the twelfth century—by kneeling during the oration." While the priest says the oration, he stands with hands upraised. Until far into the Middle Ages weight was attached to the rule that he stand facing east, and originally the faithful, too, stood facing east and with arms lifted up. Although this orientation lost much of its importance, and the posture of the faithful underwent many changes, the priest still remains standing and his hands are still upraised. For after all, this standing posture has a double purpose so far as the priest is concerned, since he is the one who leads the congregation in prayer, since he is the \textit{liturgus}.\\\\\textbf{THE COLLECT. INCLUSION OF CONGREGATION}\\\\60|62 The same thing is shown in the parallels in our Office: even on Sundays the oration is preceded by the \textit{proce.} Only on feasts of higher rank (considerably on the increase in recent times) are these \textit{proces} left out.

Durandus, IV, 14, 5; IV, 57, 2. The closing formula \textit{Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum} was also said at the center; \textit{ibid.}, IV, 57, 2. This latter arrangement is still found in the Ordo Rom. \textit{XIV.} n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1169 B), in Gabriel Biel, \textit{Camos expositor}, lect. 89, and in the \textit{Ordinarius of Costances} (1557): Legg, 58. Thus it would seem that the aim was to have the priest’s oration recited at the center of the altar as much as possible, the only difficulty being the technical mode of reading from the Mass book. Cf. the matching treatment of the Kyrie, p. 344 above. On the contrary the rule of the later Middle Ages, stipulating that everything up to the readings and everything after the Communion takes place at the Epistle side was probably founded on the notion that thus the sacrificial part of the Mass might be differentiated and made prominent. Cf. supra, p. 345, note 62.

Remigius of Auxerre, \textit{Expositio} (PL, CV, 1249 C): \textit{Deinde dicit: Oremus, invitant secum populum, ut simul orient. Quaepropter acclinis debet esse populus usquequo sacerdos incipiat dicere: Per omnia s. s.}

This posture held also for that part of the year in which kneeling was inadmissible. Regino of Prüm, \textit{De synod. causis}, I, 380 (PL, 132, 265): \textit{Ut proceri plebesibus amnestem, quod in Quadragesima et in sexto quattuor temporum tantummodo ad Missarum sollemnia anuntiant Diacono genua flectere debent. In dominica et contra dictus vel ceteris festis a Vestepere usque in Vesperam non spectat, nisi usquequo curvatur orient.}

The same prescription also in Burchard of Worms, \textit{Decretum XIIII, 3} (PL, CXI, 885).

This bowed bearing during the priestly oration is urged, for example, by Cæsarius of Arles, \textit{Serm.} 76 f. (Morin, 303, 385; PL, XXXIV, 2264 A); the same demand especially for the Canon: \textit{Serm.} 73 (Morin, 294; PL, XXXIX, 2277). The bow during the oration which Cæsarius presumes is still united here with the genuflection before the oration in those cases in which the deacons bid it. This arrangement is found also in other Christian sources. In the first instance this bow during prayer was perhaps customary when the orations were really blessings spoken over someone—hence the terms \textit{benedictiones or missae} by which they were often called; cf. Jungmann, \textit{Die lateinischen Missalien}, 27-31, especially 30, note 101; idem, \textit{Gotterdam Liturgie}, 48 f. However the begging character of the orations (\textit{supplices te rogamus}) might also have led to the assumption of this posture.

Cf. supra, p. 241, note 42.

The raising of the arms heavenward is a fitting accompaniment to the prayer that rises to Him who dwells in heaven.

But even this raising of the hands could undergo some alteration, corresponding to the expression of the prayer; sensitive men of antiquity saw how this pose could imply reverential appeal or even passionate demand. Hence even at an early date we hear the admonition, to lift both hands and glance only moderately and modestly. At the same time the apologists perceive in this posture an image of the Crucified in whose name the Christian appears before God, a thought which recurs again in the commentators of the Middle Ages, who make much of it particularly as regards the posture during the canon of the Mass. In the Roman Mass both during the orations and during the canon this moderate and somewhat stylized raising and stretching out of the hands has become a prescription of law for the priest. However, the priest assumes this posture only in those prayers which have been his since olden times and which he says as speaker for the Church. For these latter prayers the attitude is one derived from Germanic tradition: praying with hands folded. Thus in the posture of the priest the various strata of prayers, the distinctions between the ancient deposits and the later ones, are made visible to the eye even today.

12. The Collect: Form and Content

The nucleus of that collection of Roman orations which we meet for the first time in the sacramentaries must have been formed in the period from the third to the sixth centuries, that is to say, from the time that the fathers sometimes said Mass on his knees; see JL, VII (1927), 380, following L. Fries, Die Geschichte Japans (Leipzig, 1926).

Since Leo XIII, kneeling has come into use for the prayers at the end of Mass. On the other hand, the genuflection at the Veni Sancte Spiritus and at Et incarnatus est at the high Mass on certain feasts, as is now customary—what is now customary—the prescription is already to be seen in the Liber ordinarius of Liège, ed. Volk, 105, 1. 1) -is rather to be regarded as a dramatic element suggested by the festive performance of the hymn and the solemnity of the profession.

The formula in force at present is first found in its essentials in the Ordinarium O.P. of 1256 (Guerini, 236): omneum elevatio serit etebet ut altitudo humorum sacerdos non excedat, extensio vero tanta sit ut retro statim manus apparent evidentur. Cf. Ord Rom. XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1160 C).

The Collects of the Mass of the Dead (St. Ambrose, c. 397) may be taken as the expression of a fragmentary Old Latin prayer used by the ancients for the canonization of the dead. The Collect of the Mass of the Dead, as it is now in the Missal, dates from the sixth century. The Collect of the Missal of the Dead (Clemens II, 370) is the oldest of the Collects of the Missal of the Dead.

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in substance even when there is an additional clause (ut . . .) to describe the object petitioned. But there is a second type, the amplified type, in which the address to God is enlarged by a phrase praising Him, the so-called relative predication: Deus, qui . . . This is a definitely literary device, the work of rhetorical art, the sort of oratorical craft one would expect on the occasion of a solemn assembly of the faithful.

The striking thing is that this second type generally does not appear in the secret or post-communion but only in the collect. In the secret and the post-communion, the type commonly used is the simple type, since the object of the petition is already made abundantly clear in the presentation of the offerings and in the reception of Communion. The appearance of this amplified type in the collect is not governed by any strict rule, but we can say that this relative predication is generally found only on days of special solemnity, namely, days of commemoration. It is especially frequent on feast days; in fact, for modern saints’ feasts it is a fixed part of the collects, as already indicated in the schema of the Commune Sanctorum: Deus, qui nos beati N. Confessoris tui solemnitate laetificasti, concede . . . Relative predication is not the only method of incorporating the thought suggested by the feast into the petition, but it is certainly the handiest.

This relative clause, which emphasizes the concepts of praise and thanksgiving, thus plays within the priest’s oration a part comparable to that which the Gloria plays in the preceding prayer of the people. Putting it another way, the Gloria, which on festive occasions follows the Kyrie, resounds again in this relative clause.

In these and similar ways the festal thoughts have been able to slip into the narrow space of the orations. But by so doing it was almost impossible to avoid burdening, and even overburdening, the traditional schemas. It is, for instance, only right, and indicative of a feeling for the hierarchy of the Christian economy of salvation that the saint of the day be inserted by asking God’s help intercedente beato N. But it is more than the schema can bear when chunks of the saint’s biography are introduced into that pliant form, or lengthy theological reflections are projected into it. Still we must never lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with litur-
gical, communal prayer which always has a tendency to pass from the simple prayer of inspired feeling to the more rational manner of a profession of faith and the utterance of many thoughts. The classical form of the oration, with its beautiful balance between praying and thinking—this we will always be able to admire in the collects of the Sundays after Pentecost.

Before we turn to the study of the theology and contents of these collects, we must take one further glance at their literary design. The striking feature of the old Roman orations has always been their majestic flow, their rhythm. It is evident that there is here a survival of the rhetorical art of dying antiquity; undoubtedly the earliest writers of these collects had studied in the schools of classical rhetoric. What is the secret of this rhythm? The attempt has been made to show that the ancient orations are still guided primarily by the quantitative meters of the classical era. The orations are composed, as a rule, of several members, all more or less of the same length, and these metrical elements are so repeated (not indeed with the regularity of a verse but with a certain freedom) that the opening phrase and the close are brought close together.13

It could well be that these metrical laws of classical poetry did have an influence, unsought perhaps, on the elevated prose of the period of the Empire’s decline, but in our case the proof is not easy. But the chief factor in achieving this agreeable harmony in the Roman orations was the cursus, the rules for which were followed in Latin artistic prose from the fourth/fifth century on.14 By cursus is meant the rhythm of the cadences produced by arranging the accents in the last syllables of a literary period or clause according to certain fixed rules. In the sermons of St. Peter Chrysologus and in the sermons and letters of Pope Leo the Great the rules of the cursus are observed with meticulous care, with such care in fact, that the absence of the cursus has been used as a clue to the spuriousness of some of the pieces ascribed to the latter.15 We have already discovered on other grounds that the orations of these earliest levels of our liturgy are compositions of the era of Pope Leo the Great and may even be the work of his hands.

There are three chief forms of cadences in the Roman cursus:

- cursus planus: / — / — / (esse consortes)
- cursus velox: / — (meritis adiuvernem)

The same is true, moreover, of the sacerdotal prayer of nearly all liturgies. One exception to be found is that in the Gallican liturgy; in the first of the so-called Mone Masses which are traced back to the poet bishop Venantius Fortunatus (d. c. 600), several of the prayers are written in hexameters (PL, CXXXVIII, 876-879). For the Orient see the references to prayers in metrical form in the Syrian liturgies, in Baumstark, Liturgie comparée, 70.

Speech-song or accentus is the method of performance most suited to liturgical prayer said aloud. It avoids two extremes; on the one hand that passionate speech whose modulation, directed entirely by emotion and mood, seems alien to a prayer which was not formulated by the speaker, and which at any rate gives the personal and individual element too much play; on the other hand the monotony of the severe tonus rectus, unbroken

by any cadence whatever, which does not suit at least the more festive prayer assemblies. But speech-song does not ever rise to the proper art-forms of Gregorian Chant. Hence it happened that even after the chant melodies had long been written down (first in neums and later in full notation), no such means was used for the melodies of the priest's prayers. For these it was sufficient to use the simpler notation of the so-called *punctura* or *pausationes*, which indicated for public readers the type of cadence and from which our modern system of sentence punctuation derives. The orations and readings in the Roman Missal still contain vestiges of the signs, and they still serve their original function of directing the eyes to the cadence. Thus the drop of a minor third at the end of the first member of the oration (the relative clause) is indicated by a colon (*metrum*), the drop of a half-tone before the last *ut*-clause by a semicolon (*flexa*), e.g.:  

`Deus, qui . . . latificas: concede propitius; ut . . .`  

Since the collect is a prayer which is supposed to represent within the limits of the introduction to divine service our approach to God, and since, save for an occasional solemnity, no special theme is proposed for it, its content is necessarily very general. It is, in fact, even more general than the nature of a priestly *collectio* demands, even though this *collectio* as such could incorporate only what is general and transsubjective. The Church approaches God in all that indigence and need that must be part of her in this earthly pilgrimage. Many formulas do not mention any specified object, but merely ask to be heard—for all the desires in the hearts of the assembled petitioners. Or perhaps one or the other constant and ever-recurring desire is mentioned: Help of divine power, overthrow of error and overcoming of danger, inclination to good, forgiveness of sin, attainment of salvation. At the same time, however, these prayers often mirror  

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**The Collect. Form and Content**  

The powers that stand opposed to each other in the spiritual combat, especially in the form of pairs of contrasting ideas, a literary device which matched the notorious fondness for antithetical phrasing: Corporal and spiritual, thinking and doing, burden of one's own effort and the heavenly intercession of the saints, abstaining from nourishment and fasting from sin, freedom from oppression and devotion to good works, profession and imitation, faith and reality, earthly life and eternal blessedness. Very often we meet that profound and comprehensive antithesis of external action, temporal service, faithful devotion on the one hand, and internal achievement, eternal welfare, and lasting reality on the other, somewhat as it is expressed for example in the collect of the twenty-second Sunday after Pentecost: ut quod fideliter petimus—efficaciter consequamur: what we ask with faith, we may some day obtain in reality.  

Above all, however, the collect makes visible to us the grand outlines of that spiritual universe in which our prayer lives and moves and is; it arises in the communion of holy Church and ascends through Christ to God on high. The oration turns to God in an address which, by its very brevity, appears to disclaim all ability to make comprehensible the nature of the unfathomable: *Deus, Domine, Omnipotens Deus*, or at most, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*. Even on saints' feasts, and where some special patronage might put us in mind of a particular helper, the oration is still directed to God Himself, begging Him, through the intercession of this saint—presupposing therefore, that he is invoked in the personal prayers of the faithful—to grant us protection and aid. Even the direct address to Christ within the Mass was not permitted in the ancient Church. At the Council of Hippo (393), an explicit decree was written precisely on this point, apparently directed against certain new trends: *Ut nemo in precibus vel Palre pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet. Et cum alteri assistiat, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.* In the Roman liturgy, which never wavered in its profession of the divinity of Christ, this law, that within the Mass the prayers were to be addressed to God the Father, was kept with  

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*See in this connection O. Casel, “Beiträge zur römischen Oration,” *J. R.* (1931), 35-45. Especially the term *effectus* is, according to Casel, to be rendered not by effect (result) but by efficacy (realization).  


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*For like reasons speech-song (declamation) is also suggested for the leader in the German community Mass; see F. Messerschmid, *Liturgy und Gemeinde* (Würzburg, 1939), 90-93; thus (be says) the sacred word is withdrawn from the whim and fancy of the speaker (91). See also Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 131.  

*See the authentic methods in the Kyriale, typical edition, Rome, 1905; also in the Graduale Romanum, Rome, 1908 ( Toni communis missae); cf. D. Johner, *Cantus ecclesiastici iuxta edit. Vaticanum ad usum clericorum* (Regensburg, 1927) or John C. Selner, *Chant at the Altar*.  

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*The system which was gradually established in the course of the Middle Ages comprised four signs: the *punctus circumflexus*, also called *flexa*, for a simple drop of the voice (a half tone) at a breath-pause; the *punctus elevatus* also called *metrum*, for a longer pause, but where there was a continuation; the *punctus versus* (or), for the close of the sentence; and in the lessons the *punctus interrogativus* (?) for the question. Wagner, *Einführung*, II, 87 f., 94.  

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*See also Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 150; 198.  

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*In the Roman orations, indeed, no direct address to the Father as such is to be found, but only to God in the sense of a basic relationship of man to his creator; in other words, a trinitarian reflection is wanting. But the *Filia tuum* of the concluding formula opens up the question of the Trinity also for the address, and the only answer must be that "God" refers to the Father. Cf. the theological discussion in Bellarmine, *Disputat. de controversiis*, III, 3, 6 (De sacrific. missae, II), c. 16 (ed. Rome, 1838: III, 785 f.). Regarding the biblical data see*
out exception right down to the year 1000. Till that time not even one collect—or, for that matter, one secret or one post-communion—can be found to have infringed this rule. It was not till about the end of the millenary, when the native Roman liturgy gave way before the Gallicized form which returned from the north, that any forms of address to Christ Himself appear, as they had previously appeared in the Orient and as they had developed in the Gallic liturgy. In private prayer, in the prayer of the


38 Dom Gaspar Lévébroe, O.S.B., Catholic Liberalseminal Principles (St. Louis, 1937), 30, says: "In the Roman Missal are found only twenty-seven prayers addressed to the Son, and these are almost all later than the thirteenth century."

Pursuing the trinitarian concept even further, especially in view of the prayers addressed to Christ, even medieval interpreters take up the question, why no oration, except to the Holy Ghost. Hugh of St. Cher, Tract. de missa (Söch, 15) replies: Quia Spiritus Sanctus est donum et a dono non petitur donum, sed a largitore doni. This is repeated by Durandus, IV, 15, 11. Although speculatively directed to the Holy Ghost, this change within the Roman liturgy did not go unchallenged; e.g. in the 9th-century collection of Canons ed. by Benedict the Leve, III, 418 (PL, XC VII, 850 f.; cf. also the Capitulare often connected with St. Boniface, in Mansi, XII, App. I, 109), the Canon of Hippo re-appears; likewise, about the turn of the 11th century in Bernold, Micrologus, c. 5 (PL, CLI, 980).

Our Missale Romanum, amongst the formularies of Sundays and ferias which otherwise spring from ancient tradition, today exhibits seven collects and two post-communion formulas in which the Per ending certified in the oldest MSS. is replaced by the Qui vivis which presupposes an address to Christ. The fillip inducing the change was probably the mention in these collects of a "coming" of God: in concrete fashion this would have been understood of the Christians coming of Christ. The same is true of two older orations of the Mass of the Dead; they were provided with the ending because the expressions redemptor, redemptio tua were thought to refer only to Christ.

For new Mass formularies orations were composed which are directed to Christ. But it is significant that they adhere to the tradition of an indifferent address, Deus qui (e.g. on Corpus Christi), or, in modern times, the text of St. Gabriel Possenti), instead of Domine Jesu Christe. Cf. Jungmann, Die Stellung Christi, 103 ff.

In the case of the oration pro rege the Congregation of Rites, by the decree of

people, in hymns, and in fact wherever prayer could be more free and not cramped by the need to keep the divine order of the world in full view, prayer to Christ had always been customary; it is attested even in the days of the Apostles. But in the oration, which is the official prayer of the priest, it has always been exceptional.

And still it is evident that Christ also must be mentioned in the official prayer of the Christian community. As a matter of fact His name does appear, and has appeared for ages, in the closing formula. And it appears there in such a way that a much deeper insight is granted into the whole structure of the Christian economy than would be vouchsafed by a prayer addressed simply to Christ even though this latter seems at first glance to be eminently suitable to a Christian assembly. The Roman oration suggests pointedly: We offer up our prayer through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son. This method of prayer or variations of it, already seen in the writings of the New Testament, prevails in the whole Christian service till the fourth century. The expression "through Christ" appears especially as a member of the doxology which usually concludes the prayer: we offer our praise to God through Jesus Christ, or (as sources in the second/third century put it) through our high-priest Jesus Christ. The Roman manner, however, which avoids the doxology except at the end of the canon, builds up the thought of Christ's mediations in a different way, which it has retained to the present. Note especially that the per Christum does not mean a mere adiutario as some older authors thought, as though we begged a hearing "by Christ," for His sake, in virtue of His merits. Nor

March 3, 1761, restored the ancient ending "per D. n. J. C., appealing, as it did so, to the authority of antiquissima S. Gregorii Magni sacramentaria. Martinucci, Manuale decretorum SNC, n. 423.


In the latter sense the criticism by Baumstark, Vom geschichtlichen Werden, 90-93.


Cf. in the latter sense the criticism by Baumstark, Vom geschichtlichen Werden, 90-93.

Thus, e.g. Suarez, De oratione, 1, 10, 10-18 (Opp., ed. Berton, 14, 39-41). That the mediatorship of Christ per modum advocati should be taken into account in prayer he considers admissible, even in the form of begging for His intercession, but he considers it less suitable for public prayer because we should avoid even the appearance of seeming to pray to Christ tamquam ad parum hominem. For this reason he prefers to take per Christum to refer to the mediatorship per modum meritis. But it is clear that this latter is not the original conception of the formula; numerous texts of the first centuries show this (see the preceding remarks); and besides most of the liturgies left the per Christum drop precisely when the Arians obstinately misinterpreted the subordination of the God-man Jesus Christ (which the formula patently attests) as the subordination of the Logos.
does it signify that the gifts we ask be handed us through Christ. It must be understood rather as a progressive movement, a mounting upwards. For we declare that we offer up our petitions to God through the mediation of Christ, who (as St. Paul says) "lives on still to make intercession on our behalf" (Heb. 7:25). This kind of prayer is familiar to the Roman Mass, and therefore the concluding formula of the oration must actually be taken in this sense, so that the completed form would read something like: hoc rogamus per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Corroboration is seen clearly in the phrase in the canon: Te igiur . . . per Dominum Christum . . . supplices rogamus ac petimus, and from allied phrases in other con­secratory prayers. We bring our prayer before God "through our eternal high-priest," as the expression is sometimes expanded in medieval Latin texts.

This approach to someone "through" the intervention of someone else was familiar to men in olden times not only in the relationship of attorney or proctor, who represented his client at a legal suit or in a petition for a favor, but perhaps even more in the current version of the greeting in a letter, which at that time could reach its destination only by messenger: "through the bearer I greet you." Just as there a friend is kept in view, so in our case it is God, but in both instances the direct approach is to him who stands in his presence and who speaks to him in our name. It is important to notice that two attributes are attached to the name of Jesus in our formula, two attributes which bring out this connection to the other parties: Dominus noster and Filius tuus. He is our Master; we belong to Him since He has bought us with His blood. And He is God's Son, related by the closest ties and one with Him in the unity of the divine essence.

Such words would, of course, be quite strange and alien to vital prayer unless in our consciousness there was actually the immovable background that made such prayer a matter of course, perhaps not under all circumstances but at least during the solemn prayer of the Church. But such was really the case in the world in which a conclusion to prayer such as this was used for the first time. When this type of conclusion was incorporated into the daily prayer of the Church, this background must have been thoroughly established in the soul of the faithful community—I mean the thought that the earthly Church had its Head in heaven, Jesus Christ, the

Lord, who in His glorified body returned to the Father as the first-born of many brethren, as King of His holy people, which is bound to Him in the Holy Ghost. It was out of this consciousness that the Roman mediator-formula got its further amplification—a second phrase which is this time an irremovable relative clause referring to Christ: who with Thee liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end.

Here the glory of the Church triumphant shines forth resplendent, to balance the Church terrestrial assembled and made visible in the community at prayer. And this is the third notion with which the spiritual world of liturgical prayer is rounded out in the oration. It is the Church that prays: Ecclesia tua, populus tuus, familia tua, famuli tui, fideles tui—these are the terms by which the oration designates the petitioners and the recipients of God's gifts. In every instance the prayer is worded in the plural, "we": quassumus, rogamus, desperamus. However, the Church is included here not only conceptually, but actually. In liturgical prayer there is—

The expression Per omnia sæcula sæculorum, εἰς τὸς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων, is a heritage from the service of the primitive Church (cf. Apoc. 1: 6; 5: 13; 7: 12; etc.; Irenaeus, Adversus Haereses, I, 1, 5 [cf. Jungmann, Theol. Worterbuch, 207]). However, the Church is included here not only conceptually, but actually. In vernacular translation, see the next note.

Inversely this formula, once more given a vital interpretation, can and should make us more aware of this whole series of concepts. Regarding the religious bearing and import of such praying, cf. the chapter "The Names of God" in J. K. Adam, Christ our Brother. See also Jungmann, Liturgical Worship, 137 ff.

In uniate Spiritus Sancti = at one with the Holy Ghost, in the unity which the Spirit founds; cf. Eph. 4: 3. The unity is to be considered in the concrete as the Communion of Saints, particularly (in the present instance) the triumphant Church in whose midst the glorified Christ lives and reigns; cf. Jungmann, Gewordene Liturgie, 199 ff.

Outside the Roman Mass there is to be found an expression of Christ's reigning (cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, but this is, of course, an entirely different conception. The word Deus was not originally part of the Roman closing formula; cf. the formula Conversi in St. Augustine, Serm. 100 (PL, XXXVIII, 605 note 2); 362 (PL, XXXIX, 1634). The spot where it was inserted was not plainly fixed till late in the Middle Ages. The confession of Christ's divinity which the word Deus expresses is already contained in the words Filium tuum. Regarding its superficialness, especially in

33 This point is sharply highlighted by P. Bonhomme, O.P., "Par Jésus-Christ Notre Seigneur," Cours et Conférences, VI (Louvain, 1928), 119-137.
34 Jungmann, Die Stellung Christi, 184 ff.; per sacerdotem eternum Filiun tuum. Cf. ibid., 90: per Dominum Christum Filiun tuum Dominum nostrum, verum pontificem et solum sine peccati macula sacerdotem.
35 Thus at least in the Greek ambit, where indeed the διὰ Χριστοῦ appears for the first time; cf., e.g., in a letter of introduction from Oxyrhynchus: Receive our brother Heracles well, διὰ εὗρος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἁγίων ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσευχόμενων. H. Leclercq, "Lettres chrétiennes," DACL, VIII, 2779 (n. 13); cf. ibid., 2781 (n. 3), 2782 (n. 22).
there must be—in fullest reality a communion in which all those participate who join with the priest as he performs the service, all those who are represented expressly by the greeting and its answer and by the comprehensive Oremus. Even in a small group of faithful, with the priest standing at the altar at their head, not only is there present a number of Christians, but the Church itself is there in its hierarchic structure—God’s people of the New Covenant in the order and arrangement given them by Christ.

Short and summary though the Roman orations might be, in every one of them the new creation is marked out with monumental lines, and it seems to encompass us most forcefully when the priest, at the head of his congregation, looking up to Christ, approaches God with his pleading prayer.

In the Amen the people are once again called upon to confirm the prayer of their speaker. The word remains untranslated in all the liturgies. Justin renders it by ἀμην; so be it, and that is obviously the meaning it has so far, for it expresses the assent of the people to the priest’s praying and pleading. For this purpose it is not the only expression used, but it is by far the most prevalent.\(^4\)

\(^4\) Regarding their actually saying Amen see supra, p. 236.

The Amen actually spoken by the people after their prayers is evidenced in Augustine, De catech. rud., c. 9, 13 (sura, p. 373); Ep., 217, 26 (CSEL, LVII, 422); De dono persever., 23, 63 (PL, XLV, 1031). That it was particularly expected at this place even in the 8th century is shown in MSS. of the Arch-chanter (Silva-Tarouca, 197, 1. 8, with note 6; 198, 1. 28). Later data, see supra, p. 237, note 22 ff.

\(^1\) Justin, Apol., I, 65; likewise already in the Septuagint. To this correspond the customary translations in Italian (canti biaziata) and in French (canti soi-dis). In its original use the Hebrew amen means “certainly, truly”; it is the acknowledgment of a statement that is certain and sure; cf. H. Schiller in Kittel, Theol. Wörterbuch, I (1939), 339-342; cf. I, 233. Even in the synagogue the Amen was used as an acclamation by the people after the doxology; thus the people procured their assent to the praise of God spoken by the leader (Schiller, loc. cit.). It was similarly employed in the primitive Church: 1 Cor. 14: 16; Apoc. 5: 14. This primitive use is still to be found in the Egyptian liturgy when the people continuously interrupt the account of the institution with an Amen after each phrase; Brightman, 132 f., 176 f., 232.


In Egyptian liturgies we find the Amen of the people at the close of prayer or even in the course of it, either amplified with a Kyrie eleison: thus in the opening litany of the Ethiopian fore-Mass where the response of the people at each point is: Amen, Kyrie eleison, Lord, have mercy on us. (Brightman, 206; cf. 233, 1. 34: Amen, grant us); or it is replaced by a simple Kyrie (B., 223, 1. 34) or by a triple Kyrie (B., 117, 1. 33) or by a translation (B., 179, 1. 7). The last form is found originally in the anamnesis of the West-Syrian Mass (B., 58, 1. 17; 88, 1. 7) and (along with a Kyrie) in the intercessory prayer of the same liturgy: Jacob, Introductio, 90. In the Occident two similar instances are noted by A. Dold, “Die Worte miserere nobis als Orationschluss.” JL, IX (1929), 138; Irish and Glagolitic texts are cited.

\(^2\) Regarding the liturgical use of the Amen see supra, p. 236.

The peculiarity that is found in the older Gelosianum and partly also in the Leoninum, namely, two orations regularly before the secret, will be discussed later (infra, p. 484). This is hardly evidence for a practice of having two orations regularly following each other at Mass, certainly not at Rome.

\(^3\) Supra, p. 221.

\(^4\) Amalar, De eccl. offic., Pref. altera (PL, CV, 987 f.).

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\(^5\) Supra, p. 221.

\(^6\) Thus in 1198 by Bishop Odo of Paris; Pinski (see note following), 101; Franz, 84 ff.

\(^7\) J. Pinski, “Die Missa sicca,” JL, IV (1923), 90-118. The term missa sicca was derived originally from a rite which was customary at the Communion of the sick; even here in the sick-room the Mass formulary was read, skipping however from the fore-Mass (this might even reach to the Sanctus) to the Pater noster, and then giving Communion in the usual way, but only under the form of bread (hence the sicca); Pinski, 98 ff.
existence, being used on various occasions particularly as an extra-eucharistic service till, after the Council of Trent, it was replaced by the Benedictine service."

However, besides such a commemoration which comprised all the proper texts, the other type already discovered (and disapproved) by Amalar continued in use. Here for the commemoration of the extra Office or of some other special exigency only the respective orations (collect, secret, and post-communion) were appended. Traces of a tendency to use this expedient are found in the Frankish area quite early. Still the effort was made to work out a scheme whereby both themes would be incorporated in one formula. A hundred years before Amalar, the older Gelasianum contains a formulary in which the orations (and the Hanc igitur formula) express a double purpose, the remembrance of a holy martyr and a service for the dead. But the Gregorianum of Hadrian, in the second Christmas Mass, displays the other expedient, a second oration added for the second theme (St. Anastasia). By the ninth century the second oration appears as an independent formula in many other liturgical texts. Still, as late as the turn of the eleventh century we hear a voice raised to re-establish the old rule that at each Mass, just as there is one introit and one Gospel, there are found in the Frankish area quite early.

Adding extra orations, but seldom overstep the number of seven. They serve a double purpose, the remembrance of a holy martyr and a service for the dead: '...Hanc igitur deae et animam ---.' The first oration reads: Beati martyris tuui (iliuia), Domine, quaesumus, intercessionem nostrae pro tege et animam famuli tuui (iliuia) sacerdolii sanctorum tuorum usque consortiit. Amalar, too, had this case of precedence in view (loc. cit., 989 C).

For extra-eucharistic functions like the conferring of orders or the introduction of Penance and of penitential reconciliation even the older Gelasianum had two or more orations following each other (1, 20; 99; 1, 15; 38) and this, at least in part, from genuine Roman tradition; cf. also the formulations for the interpretations in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 422-425) and in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 2-4).

Thus the Mass for penitents in the Pontifical of Poitiers (last third of the 9th century) in J. Morinus, Commentarius historicus de disciplina in omn. sacr. poenitentia (Antwerp, 1662), App., p. 59 f.

Bernold, Micrologus, c. 4 (PL, CLI, 980). At Cluny in the 11th century the rule held that not more than ten orations were to be spoken at the missa maior; Udalrici Consuet. Clem. I, 7 (PL, CXLIX, 652); cf. ibid., I, 6; 9 (651, 653). The progressive multiplication of orations can be gauged, e.g., by what happened in the penitential liturgy. Thus in the order of reconciliation on Maundy Thursday the three orations of older sources (8th century) have grown to sixteen in the Roman-German pontifical of the 10th century (Hittorp, 53-55); cf. Jungmann, Die lateinischen Bußriten, 76, 781, 96, 187 f.

Especially the Irish monks, it seems, were accustomed to such multiplications. At the Council of Măcon (627) we find a trace of an earnest opposition to the practice aimed especially at this group: A monk Agrestinus of Armagh made the charge, "Anno Domini . . . sancta missa maior . . . orationes seculares et ordinationes annotatet . . ." (ibid., 52). This rule held that not more than ten orations (pro defunctis) were to be spoken or as late as the 10th century (Hittorp, 53-55); cf. Jungmann, Die lateinischen Bußriten, 76, 781, 96, 187 f.

As time went on the stress was entirely on this rule, that the number seven should not be exceeded, and that the last should not be an oration pro defunctis. Besides there was a new regulation, emphasizing that the number of orations should be uneven—seven or five or three or one. This rule regarding the odd number of orations is still maintained in the present Missal for days of lesser rite; manifold are the prescriptions for filling out the orations to the number three. And still the rule is often broken, e.g., by the addition of the oratio imperata of the bishop. The numbers five and seven also play a role, but only to this extent that on lesser days these numbers may be taken into account—an example of the rubrical continuance of a rule whose basis has long ago disappeared.

Moreover we will have to point out another development in this growth of orations. The collect (and with it, the secret and the post-communion) has acquired a second function along with the original one. Since the dis-
appearance of the Prayer of the Faithful and the curtailment of the Kyrie-liturgy, these orations have become the most obvious place to put into words the special wants of the Church and the needs of the time. To be sure, this was almost entirely the part of the priest and not of the people, so that in very modern times a new substitute was devised, namely the prayers said with the people after Mass. The liturgical practice of older religious orders still gives some indication of the effort to make the oration of the day more prominent and to let the other added orations recede into the shadows; the demeanor in choir manifests the distinction, for it is only during the first oration that the clergy are bowed, showing that this is the priestly prayer they make their own. A similar point is made by a regulation we occasionally meet with, according to which the celebrant reads it, and he does so at once, without changing his position. As a result, the separation of the Mass in Scholastic times takes cognizance of this.

Today the Epistle follows right after the orations. At a high Mass this is read by the subdeacon; at a less solemn Mass it is the priest himself who reads it, and he does so at once, without changing his position. As a result, especially in the latter case, we do not get the impression that something new is starting, and that here we have a clear line of separation cutting off the introductory or opening rite from the readings. In the Middle Ages the consciousness of this transition was still alive. This consciousness betrayed itself, for instance, in an abuse which the Roman Council of 743 had to denounce, namely, that many bishops and priests conducted only the procession and said the oration and left the rest of the Mass to another. Many divisions of the Mass in Scholastic times take cognizance of this separation. In greater pontifical functions, too, this spot was singled out in most German cathedrals: Bona, II, 5, 8 (636). For Rome cf. Ordo Rom. XI, n. 47 (PL, LXXVIII, 1044); Ordo Rom. XII, n. 2 (1064 f.).

The acclamations are usually subjoined to the collects, but an exception is found in the Pontifical of Durandus, where the Laudes follow right after the Kyrie: Andrieu, 1, 4, 648 f. The same thing is attested by Bonizo of Sutri (d. c. 1095), De vita christiana, II, 51 (ed. Perels, Berlin, 1939, 59).


"Vienne: militès; Lyons: equites; see Martène, loc. cit. (369 C). These are the noble representatives of the people. At the coronation of the emperor scilicet, notarii appear in this capacity; Eichmann, 96 f."

"Scionis, Reims; Martène, loc. cit. (370 C, 371 B).


"Bishop Ermengaud of Urgel (d. 1035), in founding a daily Mass for his soul's rest, expressly ordered that in it the oration Deus qui inter apostolos should be spoken, like the other prayers of the Mass, excelsa voce; Acta SS., Nov. II, 1, p. 86 B.

"This prescription is found already in William of Hirsauc (d. 1091), Const., I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016 D). Later in the Missal of Sarum: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (1, 666 C). But in other medieval Mass arrangements we occasionally find that all the orations are concluded under a single closing formula; thus, e.g., Martène, I, 4, XXXII (1, 665 C).


"Cf. Ordo Rom. XIV, n. 16; 31; 45 (PL, LXXVIII, 1136 E, 1142 F).


"In the 9th century the practice also existed in most German cathedrals: Bona, II, 5, 8 (636). For Rome cf. Ordo Rom. XI, n. 47 (PL, LXXVIII, 1044); Ordo Rom. XII, n. 2 (1064 f.).

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"Vienne: militès; Lyons: equites; see Martène, loc. cit. (369 C). These are the noble representatives of the people. At the coronation of the emperor scilicet, notarii appear in this capacity; Eichmann, 96 f."

"Scionis, Reims; Martène, loc. cit. (370 C, 371 B).

"Cf. supra, p. 371.
It is quite obvious that here in the pontifical liturgy a special finale has been added to the introductory rite, and this with apparent good reason. But this pledge of allegiance to the bishop who has just entered his cathedral could not fittingly take place until after the bishop himself, by means of the oration, had made his own homage and pledge of loyalty to almighty God. This custom is a continuation of a custom stemming from ancient times, of acclaiming the ruler when he ascended his throne or also when he was solemnly received. In the form of prayers now prevalent we have the Christian adaptation of the ancient acclaim.

But we also find the Laudes (as suits their character) at the end of Mass, just before the Ite missa est; thus, in a specially ancient form, at Vienne: de Moleon, 18. Probably also the Laudes known as the "Litanie de Beauvais" (c. 1005) are to be placed in the same spot, for they conclude: Multos annos. Amen. Ite missa est. Deo gratias. St. Baluzius, Miscellanea (Paris, 1679), II, 145.

Kindred acclamations ("Long years!") are to be found in the pontifical Mass of the Byzantine liturgy of the Ukrainians, both at the beginning of Mass, namely after the Little Entrance before the start of the readings, and at the departure; M. Hornykevitsch, Die göttliche Liturgie (2nd ed.; Klosterneuburg, 1935), 47, note 98. On the other hand the Byzantine liturgy of Constantinople offers the bishop the acclamation Εὔχομαι Εὐχόμαι Εὐχόμαι at three different places in the Fore-Mass; Hanssens, Institutiones, III, 536 f.; but see P. de Meester, DACL, VI, 1636; 1639; 1640.

The service of readings forms the second section of the mass-liturgy. The reading of Holy Scripture represents the proper content of the fore-Mass in much the same way as the Sacrament forms the heart of the Mass proper; they are both precious treasures which the Church safeguards for mankind. Just as our Lord himself first taught, and only after this foundation was laid did He erect His kingdom, so now too the word of God should first fill our soul before the mystery of the New Covenant is realized amongst us anew. Since the service of readings was at one time an independent entity, it was able to exist even without the continuation in the Mass proper. But since, like every Bible lesson, it demanded some sort of conclusion, we must inquire whether even in the present liturgy its plan stretches out beyond the readings, or at least helps to mould some of the forms now found in the Mass proper. At least the second alternative is plainly verified. And in the oriental liturgies the first is quite apparent; the readings are followed by prayer as is the custom otherwise and the last of the prayers is the Prayer of the Faithful. The same picture is presented in the most important sources of ancient Christian liturgy.

So it is an a priori probability (and the detailed facts will bring this out) that in the Roman Mass too the Oremus which follows the readings and the oration which really belongs to it (the so-called secret), if viewed formally, are still part of the reading rite, even if the material shape of the oration and the interval between it and the Oremus are concerned with the preparation of the offerings and thus belongs to the opening of the Mass proper. So it is with all the greater right that we speak of a service of readings or of lessons.

The beginnings of this service go back, as we have already seen, to the practice in the synagogue, with whose arrangement the Apostles and the Christians of the primitive Church had been acquainted as they grew up. We must, therefore, next turn our attention to the synagogue service.

The very nature of the religion of the Old Testament, as a religion of revelation, implied a heavy leaning on the reading of the sacred Books. This reading took place not in the Temple at Jerusalem but in the many
synagogues which were built everywhere after the Exile. Here, on appointed
days, above all on the Sabbath, the community was assembled. The reading
was disposed in such a way that two passages were read at each meeting,
one passage from the “Law” and the other from the “Prophets.” * The lec-
tion from the “Law” (Torah) was first. It was continued from one meeting
to the next as a lectio continua, so that the whole was finished during a stipu-
lated period and the series started all over again. A fixed cycle, with a
certain number of definitely outlined passages (parashoth) arranged for
each Sabbath, is not traced until the time of the Talmud. The reading of
the Law in the Palestinian synagogues was also signaled by the fact that
it was not done by one reader but was distributed amongst several, usually
at least seven, each of whom read a number of verses. Of the remaining
Books, the “Prophets” (Nebiim), a passage was usually chosen at will.
This formed the conclusion of the service and was therefore called kap-
torah, “conclusion.” Added to the readings was a homily. According to
the New Testament accounts this followed the prophetic reading, but the cus-
tomary arrangement appears to have been to insert the homily after the
first reading, which was the more important one.

The assembly was opened with the shema, a kind of profession of faith
made up of passages from Holy Writ. Every assembly also had a congre-
gational prayer, spoken by one of the members of the group appointed by
the ruler of the synagogue; it was introduced with the words “Praise the
Lord.” However, just how it was done in the time of the Apostles and
just where it was inserted, is not clear, since exact and detailed accounts
are wanting. Still the groundwork for the Shemoneh Esreh,* which was
developed after the destruction of Jerusalem, can be traced back prior to
this. The assembly was concluded with the blessing of a priest, if there
was one present, or else with some corresponding prayer.

Leipzig, 1907), II, 497-544; Strack-Billerbeck,
IV, 153-188 Hansens, II, 422 f.

1. E. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwick-
lung* (2nd ed.; Frankfurt, 1924), 159-162; Strack-
Billerbeck, IV, 154-156. The Palestinians
availed themselves of a three-year cycle with
154 sections (or even more, up to
175), the Babylonian tradition on the con-
trary had a one-year cycle with 54 para-
shoth. There is also question of a three-
and-a-half year cycle with 175 parashoth.

9 Deut. 6: 4-9; 11: 13-21; Num. 15:
37-41.

THE CHOICE OF READINGS

The elements of this arrangement can be found quite unmistakably in
the service of the Christian congregations at an early date. According
to Justin the readings on Sundays were followed by a homily (spoken by
the one presiding) and by the common prayer of the congregation—two
elements which continue to be constituent parts of the fore-Mass. The chants
or songs which are generally connected with the readings in the Christian
liturgies must also go back to some common primitive Christian source.
The psalmodic form of the songs carries us back to the synagogue.

The Apostolic Constitutions of the fourth century makes mention of a singer's
psalming the hymns of David after the first of the two readings, and of
the people's responding to it. But even two hundred years or so before this,
Tertullian makes a cursory reference to the psalmody which follows the
readings. Writing as a Montanist, he gives an account of a prophetess who
inter dominica solemnia regularly fell into ecstasy, prout scripture legen-
tur aut psalmi canuntur aut allocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones dele-
gantur; the allusion to allocutiones makes it more or less plain that the
narrative deals with an occurrence during a public assembly for reading
—obviously the fore-Mass.

The arrangement here to be seen, therefore, is the same as that which,
in the oldest sources both East and West, prevailed also in the extra-


2. The Choice of Readings

Regarding the number and the selection of the readings a great variety
has prevailed and still prevails amongst the Christian liturgies. The only
agreement is the rule that there should be at least two lessons, of which
the last in all cases is to be taken from the Gospels. And the lessons have all
been biblical; aside from the primitive era when the various community
letters were read, the lessons were gradually restricted to readings from the
Scriptures, although there was some variation here and there. That besides

Lines of relationship are pointed out

Regarding the reading of Scripture in
the primitive Church see the general dis-
cussion in Nielsen, *The Earliest Christian
Liturgy*, 241-250.


Tertullian, *De an.*, c. 9 (CSEL, XX, 310).

In broad outline also in Hippolytus,
*Trad. Ap.*; first the catchemuses re-
ceive instruction, then prayer follows
(Dix, 29). The same arrangement in
the assembly of the faithful (60 f.).


The fluctuation concerned in the main
the inclusion of the acts of the martyrs.
Reading of the story of the sufferings of
the martyrs at the divine service is
attested at the earliest in the Acts of
the Old Testament lessons there should be readings from the New Testament—and these even by preference—was to be taken for granted, and was, in fact, explicitly urged in the regulations of St. Paul. For the rest, the various arrangements can be best understood if we contemplate them in their first beginnings, already indicated in the previous chapter, the arrangement of lessons in the synagogue. But we will be amazed to see how strongly Christian principles of choice gradually took over.

The connection with the service of the synagogue is especially recognizable in the order of the lessons in the Syrian liturgies. In the Antiochene Church of the fourth century one lesson was taken from the Law and one from the Prophets, as once they were in the synagogue, and then followed readings from the letters of the Apostles (or, on occasion, from the Acts of the Apostles) and from the Gospels. Even today as a rule two Old Testament readings introduce the reading service of the East Syrian Mass; readings from St. Paul's Epistles and from the Gospels follow. In the West Syrian Jacobite liturgy there are vestiges of the ancient arrangement. The fore-Mass in most cases contains six readings altogether, three from the Old Testament. Of these, the first two are from the Law and the Prophets (in the narrower sense), as usual, and a reading from the Sapiential books is added. Other liturgies have retained at least one Old Testament lection, the Catholic Epistles, from the letters of St. Paul and from the Gospels.

Besides the two from the New. Thus the Armenian liturgy, which in this continues the older usage of Byzantium. And in the West the ancient Gallican liturgy, along with its sister-forms, the Mozarabic and the older Milanese, which follow this order outside the Easter time. During the Easter time the Acts of the Apostles replace the Old Testament, a rule which we find similarly in the East Syrian liturgy.

It is not surprising that during this festive season of the Church year, when the mystery of our Redemption stands out so plainly, there should be a tendency to restrict the readings from the Old Testament in favor of those from the New. The connection with the eucharistic celebration must have tended in the same direction insofar as there was any consciousness of the Easter character of that celebration. Thus in the Egyptian liturgies we find a fourfold lesson, probably in the beginning an attempt to compromise with readings from both Testaments, but now (in both the Coptic and the Ethiopic liturgies) actually taken from the New Testament only: the Epistle of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles, the Acts and the Gospels.

The Byzantine liturgy, too, since about the seventh century, has only two lessons at Mass, both from the New Testament, the "Apostle" and the Gospel.

The Roman liturgy underwent the same evolution to a degree at least. Here, too, the Mass must once have had three lessons regularly, as it still
has on certain of the older liturgical days, and the usual arrangement must have included—in part at least—one reading from the Old Testament and two from the New. But later the Old Testament reading disappeared from the permanent plan of the Mass-liturgy. For on all Sundays the first of the two lessons is always taken from one of the Letters of the Apostles—an “Epistle,” therefore, in the strict sense—and all through Paschal tide it is either from the Letters or from the Acts of the Apostles. Outside this season the pre-Gospel reading at the ferial Masses is, as a rule, from the Old Testament, but for feast days, especially for the feasts of saints, no definite rule can be set down.

But it is plain that wherever the Old Testament appears in the readings of the Mass, it is not for its own sake, nor simply to have some spiritual text for reading but it is chosen for its prophetic worth and its value as an illustration of the New Testament. This is unmistakable in the prophecies of Holy Saturday; here, with gaze fixed on Baptism, the Old Testament illustrations proclaim the new creation, the new people of God, the triumph over death, the new life and the renovating power of God’s spirit. It is equally apparent in the Old Testament readings which here and there appear on feast days, as when on Epiphany the Prophet Isaias views the peoples streaming into the new Kingdom of God, or on feasts of the Blessed Virgin the Son of Sirach praises the divine Wisdom which has built itself a house on earth. Nor is it much different in regard to the Old Testament readings in the ferial formularies for Lent. They illustrate certain relationships in the New Testament economy of salvation or in the ecclesiastical discipline of the Lenten season: forty days of prayer and penance, the call to repentance, Baptism and its effects, the Law of God; or they present little sidelights to the story of the Gospel or to the life of the stational saint; or they suggest some other association with the peculiarities of the stational church.

But we would misunderstand the position of even the New Testament texts and accounts in their liturgical associations if we were to take them solely as primitive accounts of the time of their origin, as mere witnesses of things past, from which we gain no other edification than we might gain from the rest of the testimonials of Christian living. For the words of the Apostles and the accounts of the Evangelists are given a new meaning by being proclaimed anew by the Church to this assembly of Christian men. They must be regarded entirely in the perspective of the present, for they are themselves bearers of the grace-laden message which God gives

Beuron, 1934). Of the 20 formularies partially preserved, nine indisputably have the order of lessons: Old Testament, St. Paul, Gospel. Two formularies have only Old Testament and Gospel; for the rest no verdict is possible (Dold, p. xxx). Regarding the Comes of Murbach, see infra, note 18. Regarding the probability that the Gradual originally had its setting after the first lesson of three see infra.

Batiffol, Leçons, 129, maintained that the ancient Roman liturgy, too, had three lessons only by way of exception. But a different view is held by Kunze, Die gottheitsmische Schriftlesung, 141, who places the omission of the third lesson in the 6th century.

On Tuesday, Wednesday of the 4th week of Lent, Wednesday and Friday of Holy Week. The longer series of readings on the Saturdays of Ember-week, on the other hand, is the remains of an ancient vigil service. The ancient tradition had on these days 12 lessons, like those still customary on Holy Saturday. The formularies on these days are therefore regularly given the following headings in the liturgical books of the earlier Middle Ages: Sábbato in duodecim lectionibus.

The best illustration of the Old Testament lesson in this connection is offered by the grand treasure of homilies delivered by the Fathers on almost all the books of the Old Testament. It is only in virtue of a basic New Testament viewpoint that Origen, for example, could explain in homily not only the prophets but also all five books of the Pentateuch as well as extensive portions of Josue and Judges. He was helped in this, as were most of the other homilists of the ancient Church, by the use of allegorism as a means of explanation and interpretation. In our liturgical reading of the Old Testament, where the explanation is wanting, formal allegorism plays a part only to the extent that common material from the Fathers is involved, as in the reference of the four beings in Ezechiel (1: 10-14) to the four Evangelists, or the more obvious parallels in the one divine economy.

The choice of pericopes in general, partly re-}
to men through His Church. The word of God in Holy Writ sounds with renewed vigor, waking in the congregation the consciousness of the foundation on which it is built, the spiritual world in which it lives and the home to which its path is directed. It has a message for this very hour, to arouse the congregation to find a Christian solution for the problems which face each of us today.\(^5\)

It is well known that in the service of the ancient Church the various books of Holy Scripture were read straight through, in the manner of a \textit{lectio continua}. The most manifest voucher for this is found in the voluminous commentaries to whole books of both New and Old Testament which various Fathers have left us—commentaries which are nothing else than the homilies which they delivered at the end of the reading at worship. In fact the relationship to this reading is quite often very obvious.\(^6\)

This continuous reading of the Scriptures was broken into, as might have been expected, first of all by the greatest feast days.\(^7\) For such days a pertinent pericope was selected. For the feasts of martyrs, too, this was done, as Augustine already testifies.\(^8\) It was but natural that the passages in question should be used again each year. Still this practice could not have been very extensive even by the end of the fourth century. For the Aquitanian pilgrim lady seemed never to weary of pointing out, as a peculiarity of divine service at Jerusalem, that the lessons and the psalms and antiphons here used on Epiphany or on the days of Holy Week and Easter were always \textit{aptes diei}.\(^9\) But to the Gallic Church of the fifth century belonged the first unmistakable evidences of a system of pericopes.\(^10\) On the other hand the festal seasons, even at an early period were already given special consideration by selecting certain more relevant books of the Bible for the reading. Thus at Antioch in the fourth century the Mosaic books were read during the weeks before Easter, and the Old Testament in general was given in the order of the accepted canon. Because of the many saints' days which have replaced the weekdays, and which have either special readings or readings taken from the \textit{Commune Sanctorum}, we fail today to recognize such a plan. Actually there are documentary evidences to enable us to trace this plan back to the height of the Middle Ages where it is found to have an even more remarkable extent. The so-called Würzburg \textit{Comes}, the oldest of the documents in question, offers (in addition to the Epistle for specified occasions during the Church year and those for votive Masses) forty-two further readings not stipulated for any precise liturgical function. These forty-two pericopes are taken from the Letters of St. Paul, starting with Romans 5:6-11 and continuing in the order of the accepted canon of our Roman Breviary.


\(^6\) For Augustine see Roetzer, 109.

\(^7\) St. Beissel, \textit{Entstehung der Perikopen des römischen Messbuches} (Freiburg, 1907), 41 ff.; G. Godu, "Epître," DACL, V, 247 f.

\(^8\) For Augustine, see Roetzer, 103-108, for Leo the Great, see Baumsen, \textit{Missa­ sale Romanum}, 26 f.

\(^9\) Roetzer, 102 f.

\(^10\) \textit{Aetheria Pereregrinatio}, c. 29; 31; etc.


\(^12\) Beissel, \textit{Entstehung der Perikopen}, 7.


\(^16\) Callewaert, \textit{Sacri erudiri}, 375 f.

\(^17\) The reading of the Gospel according to St. John during the Easter-to-Pentecost season is an ancient tradition also in the Orient; cf. Baumsen, \textit{Liturgy com­ pared}, 133. In the Byzantine liturgy even today the Johannean prologue is read with great solemnity on Easterday, then the selections continue from St. John; Beissel, 15-15.

down to Hebrews 13:17-21. The collected Sunday Epistles of that period, insofar as they follow the canonical arrangement, are contained in this group. Of the rest of the pericopes in this Würzburg index, some are found in various reading lists, either as Sunday Epistles, or partly as Epistles appointed for Wednesdays. By a comprehensive investigation of the pertinent lists of lessons, Father Alban Dold, O.S.B., was able to reconstruct the arrangement of the Epistles for the time after Pentecost, as it probably appeared in the start of the fifth century.¹⁰

SUNDAY EPISODE  WEDNESDAY EPISODE

| 1. | Apoc. 4:1-10 |
| 2. | I John 4:8-21 |
| 3. | I John 3:13-18 |
| 4. | I Pet. 3:6-11 |
| 5. | I Pet. 3:8-15 |
| 6. | Rom. 5:6(8)-11 |
| 7. | Rom. 5:18-21 |
| 8. | Rom. 6:3-11 |
| 9. | Rom. 6:19-23 |
| 10. | Rom. 8:12-17 |
| 11. | I Cor. 12:2-11 |
| 12. | II Cor. 3:4-9 |
| 13. | II Cor. 5:1-11 |
| 15. | Gal. 5:16-24 |
| 16. | Gal. 5:25-6:10 |
| 17. | Eph. 3:13-21 |
| 18. | Eph. 4:1-6 |
| 19. | Eph. 4:23-28 |
| 20. | Eph. 5:15-21 |
| 21. | Eph. 6:10-17 |
| 22. | Phil. 1:6-11 |
| 23. | Phil. 3:17-21 |
| 24. | Col. 1:9-14 |

That the reading begins with the Catholic Epistles is in accordance with an older arrangement of the canon, in which the Catholic Epistles were placed first immediately after the Acts of the Apostles.¹⁰

The obvious system of having the weekday readings continue the Sunday ones is followed on only five Wednesdays. The other Wednesdays form an independent series using the material left over from the Sunday series.¹¹ It is to be noted that the readings from Romans which, in the table above, break off at Romans 8:17, are actually continued in our present-day Roman arrangement on the second to the fourth Sundays after Epiphany.¹² In the course of the Middle Ages other systems for the Epistles were constructed, incorporating Wednesdays and sometimes even Fridays; but these lists never had other than local importance.¹³

We also possess a clear idea of the early medieval Roman arrangement for the Gospel.¹⁴ This, too, agrees fairly well with the arrangement followed today insofar as the same liturgical days come into question. Here, too, weekdays were taken into account, in this case not only Wednesday but Friday, and, as often as not, Saturday also. This involves us in the religious life of the ancient Church, in which the "stational days" as well as the Sundays were taken into account. To the fasting which was an old tradition on these days, was added a prayer-meeting with readings, and gradually—first on Wednesdays, as many evidences indicate—also a eucharistic service.¹⁵ The system of readings which was developed for these services continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages in various places, particularly (it seems) in monastic churches.¹⁶ Some of the references are as late as the sixteenth century.¹⁷ What is not a little surprising is that this


¹¹ Loc. cit., 37.

¹² Th. Zahn, Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons, II (Erlangen, 1890), 381 f. "Neither have they [the Catholic Epistles] the same place in the series of the NT books as given in the ancient MSS. versions and catalogues. In most they come between the Acts and the Pauline Epistles. This is the case with the Canon of the Council of Laodicea, Codices B and A, in the lists of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Leontius, the ‘Sixty Books,’ Cassiodorus, John of Damasc., etc." Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible (Edinburgh-N.Y., 1904), I, 360.

¹³ That exactly 24 Sundays after Pentecost are fitted out with lessons cannot be taken to mean that the time when this plan was outlined there were just 24 Sundays after Pentecost, for there was as yet no Advent.

¹⁴ A. Wilmart, "Le Lesionnaire d’Alcuin" (Eph. liturg., 1937), 137, note 5.


¹⁶ Duchesne, Christian Worship, 233. The preferential treatment accorded Wednesdays appears to have emerged from Innocent I, Ep. 25, 4 (PL, XX, 555 f.); cf. also Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," 520, 533 f.

We can therefore conclude that the assignment of only a Gospel reading to Fridays indicates that on this day there was simply a service of reading.

¹⁷ In the Rule of St. Benedict, c. 41, the observance of the stational days named as fast-days is accentuated.

¹⁸ Dold, "Das Donaueschinger Comesfragment," 21 f., 40; cf. Beissel, 166. With the Premonstratensians this arrangement was not supplanted till the
system of pericopes, although extended to two or three days a week, nowhere gives any signs of any continued series of lessons, not to mention a lectio continua. The pericope is chosen very freely, with no regard for previous or succeeding passages. For feast days, those of our Lord and of the saints, the thought of the feast naturally dictated the choice of both Epistle and Gospel. The same thing was true to a rather wide extent also for previous or succeeding passages. For feast days, those of our Lord and Epistle and Gospel. The same thing was true to a rather wide extent also for festive seasons. We have already cited the Suridays after Epiphany for the choice for Advent was plainly decided by the catch word: the coming of our Lord, the approach of his Kingdom. The Gospels for Sundays after Pentecost. The pericope is chosen very freely, with no regard to Easter the theme for both Epistle and Gospel is founded on the prospect of the great festival and on concern for a proper preparation of the congregation and—to a certain extent—of the candidates for Baptism and the penitents. Above all, however, it is the Roman station churches with their martyr graves and local reminiscences that offer the key in many cases to an understanding of the choice of a pericope. Least satisfactorily is the search for a motive in the choice of the Gospels for the Sundays after Pentecost. In some instances the proximity of the feast of a great saint honored in the Roman Church appears to have influenced the choice. The other passages, we must conclude, are in substance a group of synoptic passages which were not considered in the lists previously made up, but which seemed to have special value for religious instruction.

When the stational days lost their importance and saints' days (with their own readings) began to appear in ever-increasing numbers, the weekday pericopes in the old Roman lesson-system lost their significance. So by the dawn of modern times they were almost entirely forgotten. But about this very time the Council of Trent heard the plea for an expansion of the system of readings, and the suggestion was made that for each week three unused Pauline and Gospel passages be selected for ferial Masses, to be inserted in the formulary of the preceding Sunday. The plan, however, never came up for consideration and so nothing was done.

3. The Liturgical Setting of the Lessons

The reverence which the Church pays to the written word of God in no way blinds the Church to her task of breaking the bread of God's word to the people. Her consciousness of this duty is revealed in the very fact that some passages are chosen rather than others, and that given passages are used to illustrate certain Church days and feasts. There are even instances in which a passage is put together by omitting some intervening portions of the text, a practice which was widespread in the ancient Gal-
lcan liturgy and led to the custom of centonization and to the harmonization of the Gospel accounts.

From the Church the various pericopes have received their setting. First of all, a title telling the origin of the passage: \textit{Lectio libri...}, \textit{Lectio epistola...}, or announcing whether the passage is the beginning, \textit{Initium}, or a continuation, \textit{Sequentia}, of a certain passage. Then there is an introductory word, either the word of address, \textit{Fratres} (in St. Paul's congregational letters), \textit{Carissime} (in his pastoral letters), \textit{Carissimi} (in the Catholic Epistles), or a phrase suggesting the prophetic character of the reading: \textit{Hae dicunt Dominus}, or a reference to the time of the story, \textit{In diebus illis, In illo tempore}, (\textit{dixit Jesus...}). Sometimes there is a closing formula corresponding to this introduction, but in the Mass this has not become the rule as it did, for example, in our Matins. Only at the closing of the reading of the prophecies is there always a regular concluding formula, \textit{dicit Dominus omnipotens}. In some of the readings from St. Paul there is also a track-ed on phrase, the words reminiscent of the very theme of all Pauline concepts: \textit{in Christo Jesu Domino nostro}.

The setting of the holy texts in the oriental liturgies is much the same; it has been especially developed in the Coptic.

Besides this immediate setting, the readings also generally have an introduction designed to arouse the attention of the audience. The people are addressed, just as they are before the priestly oration, with the salutation \textit{Dominus vobiscum}, to which the people respond. In the Roman Mass this salutation is in use only before the Gospel, whose higher worth is also emphasized by the extra richness of the liturgical framework. In the Milanese liturgy the same greeting precedes the Epistle also, and in the

\footnote{Cento = "patchwork," a text made up of pieces of various provenience. Centonization was extensively used in the Lectionary of Luxeuil (ed. Salmon [Rome, 1944]; dated circa 700): On the feast of the Cathedra Petri, for example, John 21: 15-19 is added to Matt. 16: 13-19 (Salmon, 67 f.); on the \textit{Natalie episcoporum} the Epistle from 1 Pet. 1: 3-20 concludes with 5: 1-4 (Salmon, 202 f.). Still greater use is made of it in the old lectionary ed. by A. Dold, \textit{Das älteste Liturgiebuch der Lateinischen Kirche. Ein altlatinesches Lektiorium des 5. u. 6. Jh.} (Texte und Arbeiten, 26-28; Beuron, 1936). Here for the feast of the dedication of a church an account of the purifying of the Temple is pieced together from 13 passages in the indicative "angels," "an original mosaic that is effectively unified". Cf. also in the Bobbio Missal the lesson that is cited as from Colossians: \textit{Muratori, II, 914; it is labeled by the editor as \textit{farrago ex Scriptura verbis contexta}.}

A kindred instance is also found in the Roman liturgy: the Epistle \textit{Ecce sucerdos magnus} in the \textit{Commune Confessorum Pontificum} is devised from at least ten texts freely tied together but drawn from the one section of Eccles. 44:16-45:20. Cf. also the troping of biblical lessons in the Middle Ages; see regarding this Wagner, \textit{Einführung}, I, 286.

A harmonized text from all four evangelists for the lesson on Maundy Thursday and for the Passion on Good Friday is presented in the "oldest" lectionary mentioned above (Dold, pp. LXIII f., CV, 45, 47 ff.). As is known, St. Augustine attempted for his church a harmonized lesson of the Passion like that found in the Gallic liturgies, but the project ran aground (\textit{Sermo} 232, 1; PL, XXXVIII, 1108).

In this connection note that the Canticle of Canticles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom are all uniformly introduced as \textit{lectio libri Sapientiae}.

\textit{Sequentia} = continuation. In the Mozarabic liturgy the Epistle lections are also announced as \textit{Sequentia} (in the Papal lectionary ed. by A. Dold, 6) but only the Gospel is really \textit{continuation} as they are before the priestly oration, with the salutation \textit{Tu autem Domine misere nobis; cf. Eisenhofer, II, 513.}

\textit{Carissimis} = continuation. In the Mozarabic liturgy the Epistle lections are also announced as \textit{Sequentia} (in the Papal lectionary ed. by A. Dold, 6) but only the Gospel is really \textit{continuation} as they are before the priestly oration, with the salutation \textit{Tu autem Domine misere nobis; cf. Eisenhofer, II, 513.}

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406 THE MASS CEREMONIES IN DETAIL

Mozarabic Mass it is found before each of the three readings and the people answer Amen at the close of each. Similarly in the Orient the corresponding salutation, Εἴρηται πάντες, whenever it is used before the readings, precedes (in part) the pre-Gospel lesson. In some instances the adoration of the deacon, warning the congregation to pay attention, is also placed here before the first reading, although it is far more generally placed just ahead of the Gospel, and then in a more extended phrase. Moreover, in the Byzantine orbit a song (conceived, it seems, as a preamble) is premised to each of the readings, in accordance with a general rule that had penetrated through the whole Byzantine liturgy where even in the Office the προφυλάσσων precedes the readings in the same way that, in other liturgies (according to ancient tradition), a responsory follows them. In the non-Greek liturgies in Syrian and Egyptian areas a preparatory prayer (begging for a fruitful attendance to the word of God) serves a similar purpose before each of the lessons. These prayers are later crea-

the Old Testament reading Prophetica licet sit nobis salutis erudito.
20 Misale mixtum (PL, LXXV, 109 ff.). After the greeting preceding the second lesson another song is inserted (psallendo), whereupon the deacon calls for quiet: Silenti facite.
21 Ibid.
22 Thus in the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 35), with repetition before the Gospel (38); likewise in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark (Br., 118 f.).
23 Greek liturgy of St. Mark (Brightman, 118): Προστάσεως. Notice the parallel to the Oremus which in the Roman Mass is likewise preceded by the greeting. In the Byzantine liturgy the Προστάσεως precedes the Pauline lection without the greeting (Brightman, 370 f.).
24 In the interpretation of the Syrian liturgy written by Pseudo-George of Arbela (9th century), Explicatio offic. eccl., IV, 4 ff., the deacon, before the first lesson, cries out: "Sit down and be quiet!", before each of the other lessons, "Be quiet!" Hanssens, III, 173, 181, 221. A similar command before the Epistle in the rite of the (Catholic) Chaldeans; Hanssens, III, 179.
25 There is also evidence here and there in the West of an admonition to be quiet: G. Godu, "Epistres," DACL, V, 255. The warning command was also customary at Rome before each of the four Gospels when these were solemnly introduced to the catechumens at the scrutinies: State cum silento audientes intente\nGelasianum I, 34 (Wilson, 51).
26 At the Discours in Milan the custom is still preserved of having a deacon and two custodi call out to the people at the start of the Gospel at high Mass: Parcite fabulis, silentium habete, habete silentium! G. Luzatti, "s. M. Messa Ambrosiana," Ambrosia, VIII (1932), 294; cf. JI, XII (1932), 247 f. See also Archdale A. King, Notes on the Catholic Liturgies (London, 1930), 233.
27 This is in agreement with the custom witnessed to by the Ordo of Beroldus (12th century; ed. Magistretti, Milan, 1894, 51).
28 In the Byzantine Mass the προφυλάσσων before the Pauline reading (Brightman, 371); in the Armenian Mass a chant before each of the two pre-Gospel readings (Brightman, 425 f.). Hanssens, III, 169 ff., 174 ff.
29 The προφυλάσσων before the reading of the Apostle is first mentioned at Byzantium in the interpretation of the liturgy by the Patriarch Germanus (PG, XCVIII, 412 A). Cf. however the ancient Armenian lectionary in F. C. Conybeare, Rituale Armenorum (Oxford, 1905), 517 ff. For the whole question see O. Heining, JI, XI (1931), 298 f.
30 East Syrian liturgy (Brightman, 225 ff.), West Syrian (78 f.), Ethiopian (212 ff.); only in part and with displacement in the Coptic (152 f.).
32 The Byzantine Mass also contains a corresponding prayer before the Gospel (Brightman, 371 f.), and it reappears in the Greek liturgy of St. James.
33 In the East Syrian Mass the priest pronounces a blessing over the reader of the first two lessons and over the deacon who is to read the Apostle (Brightman, 255, 1. 30; 257, 1. 4) the Gospel he reads himself. On the contrary a similar blessing is not given except before the Gospel in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark (ibid., 118 f.); cf. the West Syrian liturgy of St. James (ibid., 79). Other liturgies do not have any formal blessing of the reader.
34 With these words the pope saluted the deacon after the Gospel, according to Ordo Romanus I, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943 A); cf. Ordo of Johannes Archi­
35 There is also evidence here and there in the West of an admonition to be quiet: G. Godu, "Epistres," DACL, V, 255. The warning command was also customary at Rome before each of the four Gospels when these were solemnly introduced to the catechumens at the scrutinies: State cum silento audientes intente! Gelasianum I, 34 (Wilson, 51).
36 The blessing of the reader, which in the Roman Mass appears only before the Gospel, in some cases stands at the very start of all the lections. Note, too, that sometimes, after the reader has completed his task, he is greeted with the complimentary words, Pax tibi.

In the summons to the people to be attentive, there is revealed a wish that the faithful might really understand the readings. But the big obstacle to this is the fact that the liturgical language retained from ancient times has become incomprehensible to the people. Sometimes, however, we find that in such cases an actual shift was made to the current vernacular; thus amongst the Maronites and other groups of Syrians a switch was made from the Syrian, which the people no longer understood, to Arabic. Even in the Roman liturgy (which at a papal Mass has at least a symbolic bilingualism in the readings), a similar change was made, but only in the territory where the Syrian language is spoken. In these places use is made of the "Schiatetto," a collection of Sunday and feast-day Epistles and Gospels translated into "Slavic," that is, modern Croatian. From this book the lessons are produced, whether the Mass is sung in Old Slavic or in Latin. Amongst the Copts every lesson is read first in Coptic and then in Arabic. This has its parallel in our own Roman Mass, when, after the
reading of the Latin Gospel, there follows a reading (of Epistle and Gospel) in the vernacular, but with this difference, that the reading in the vernacular is viewed by the general law of the Church only as an introduction to (or a substitution for) the sermon and is left devoid of any liturgical framing.85

Examples of a bilingual reading of the Scriptures are known also from more ancient times. But in these instances the basis is usually to be found in the bilingual character of the congregation. Thus we learn from our Aquitanian pilgrim lady that the readings in Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century were in Greek, but that they were also presented in Syrian.86 Similar arrangements are likewise mentioned in other historical sources.87 It would, indeed, seem that these methods go back to traditions from Apostolic times, to surroundings in which, for the texts in question, no authentic translations into the vernaculars were as yet available for use.88 We have already made reference to the solution of the problem of a congregation of mixed language, where the service of readings was conducted in groups separated according to language.89

It is here in the matter of the lessons that we can see most plainly the great rift that exists—a rift growing wider with the centuries—between the holy text in its traditional sacred language and the natural objective of being understood by the audience. From time to time some sort of decision was inevitable. Sometimes the solution is made in favor of understanding the text; this is done especially where the reading at divine services (by means of a planned catechesis or a sermon) is the only form of religious instruction, as in many oriental countries.90 In other places, where there were other opportunities for religious teaching, reverence for tradition was too strong to permit such a change. The liturgical lesson then became merely a symbolic presentation of God's word. But even then, whenever a new tide of liturgical thought set in, the reading felt the brunt of the forces that sought a more intelligible form of divine service and desired the use in the lesson of a language which the congregation could understand.

Still the liturgical reading cannot long remain on the level of a prosaic presentation that looks only to the congregation's practical understanding of the text. The performance must be stylized, much in the same way as we have found in the case of the priestly oration.91 The reader must never inject his own sentiments into the sacred text, but must always present it with strict objectivity, with holy reverence, as on a platter of gold. He must recite the text. This can be done by avoiding every change of pitch—the tonus rectus. As a matter of fact the Roman tonus ferialis has no modulation whatsoever, outside the questions. But in addition there have been, since time immemorial, many forms of elevated performance with certain cadences, little melodic figures which are indicated by punctuation marks.92 They serve especially to signalize the Gospel above the other readings. Augustine makes mention of a sollemnis legerer for the reading of the Passion on Good Friday.93 The Epistles, too, were fitted out more richly than the prophetic lessons.94 In the ninth century we hear of a festive tone for the lessons which was used at Rome for the reading of St. Paul's Epistles on Sundays.95 However, the readings in the fore-Mass were consciously kept free of melodic overgrowth. Compared with the Office lessons on feast days, the readings at Mass even now display a great severity, which is, however, well suited to the dignity of the sacrifice.

Early in the Church's history a special reader was appointed for the performance of the readings—always someone other than the leader of the divine service, as we see already in Justin.96 There is a certain amount of drama in this; the word which comes from God is spoken by a different

85 Custom, however, and perhaps diocesan regulation do dictate certain procedures regarding the introduction and the conclusion (e.g. the sign of the Cross at the start of the Gospel and the closing words "Thus far the words of today's holy Gospel") of some of these practices are very old. Gerbert, Vitae Liturgiae Alemanicae, I, 125 f., offers a number of instances and mentions a collection of Epistles and Gospels in German made in 1210, patent for public use. Formulas like those used at present were used in the 13th century; cf. A. Linsenmayer, Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland (Munich, 1886), 138.

86 Aetherica Peregrinatio, c. 47 (CSEL, XXXIX, 99).

87 Here belongs the account from Eusebius, De mort. Palæst., I, I (a longer recension ed. by B. Violet, TU, XIV, 4, p. 4; 110; cf. A. Bigelmair, Bibliothek der Kirchenmäler, 9, p. 275 and in the introduction); the martyr Procopius (d. 303) had done the Church a service in several ways: a lector (reader) and by his translation from the Greek into Aramaic.

88 Cf. P. Gähler, "Die Dolmetscher der Apostel," ZKTh, LX (1936), 161-187. According to Gächter it seems probable that the remark of Papias about the aramaic Gospel of St. Matthew (in Eusebius, Hist. eccl., III, 39, 15), that at first each one rendered it as best he could, is to be understood of just such a translation at the public reading as a public reading (186). Thus the ancient practice of the synagogue regarding the Hebrew Bible was continued in the Christian community (171 ff.).

89 Supra, p. 262.

90 Note in this connection that in the most extended context, that of the Byzantine rite, the whole liturgy is, in the main, understood by the people at least to some extent.

91 Supra, p. 377.

92 Cf. supra, p. 378.

93 Augustine, Sermon, 218, 1 (PL, LXXVIII, 1084).


95 Ordo Rom. IX, n. 8; 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 1008 AB): in sensu lectionis sicut epistolae Pauli diebus Dominicalibus. Cf. Jungmann, "Der Begriff 'sensus' in frühmittelalterlichen Rubriken," Eph. liturg., LXXXV (1931), 124-127. For sensus with the same meaning see also Duchesne, Liber pont., I, 415, 1 (cf. ZKTh, 1942, 8, note 90) and a sacramentary of the 12th century in Etoner, 194.

96 Supra, p. 23.
person than the word which rises from the Church to God. Even if Justin does not actually present the office of lector, that office does certainly appear in the second century as a special position; the lector is the oldest of the lesser degrees of ordination. It is clear that the lector has to have, or to receive, a certain amount of education. But this was not the only thing kept in view in choosing him. It is a remarkable fact that since the fourth century in the West—especially in Rome—boys appear preponderantly as lectors. In many places these youthful lectors live under ecclesiastical tutelage in special communities, which thus become the foremost seed-beds for promotion to the higher degrees of spiritual office. Childish innocence was considered best suited to lift the word of God from the sacred Book and to offer it, unadulterated, to the congregation. But at the same time an effort was made to lay greater stress on the Gospel reading by turning it over to someone in higher orders. While in the Orient the position of the lector was not disturbed by this shift, in the West the reading of the Epistle in the Roman stationary services of the seventh/eighth century had become the work of the subdeacon, and so it has remained at high Mass even now. On the other hand, the service of a lector or of some other cleric to read the Epistle continued to be put to use for hundreds of years at the celebration of the pastor in his parish. Even in private Mass the reading of the Epistle by a Mass-server is mentioned a number of times as late as the thirteenth century. And even now in the Roman Mass the desirable thing at a *missa cantata* is to have the Epistle sung not by the celebrant but by *alia lector superpellicio induit.*

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*See infra, p. 443.

*Besides the *ἀναγινώσκω* the *ἀναγινώσκον* is the only degree in the Greek Church corresponding to the minor orders. Reading has continued to be his duty. If no *ἀναγινώσκον* is present in a congregation, the reading of the Epistle becomes the honorary office of a layman.

*Ordo Rom. I, n. 10. Further evidence in Godu, "Épitres," 251 f. Still Amalar, *De eccl. off.,* II, 11 (PL, CV, 1086) is puzzled over this matter, since in the ordination the subdeacon was given no particular charge. Handing the book to the subdeacon at his ordination was not a general custom till the 13th century; cf. de Punction, *Das römische Pontifikale,* I, 174.

*Cf. supra, p. 208. In Spain as late as 1068, in can. 6 of the Synod of Gerona (Mansi, XIX, 1071) there is question of lectors who belong to the clergy but are yet permitted to wed.

*Supra, p. 227, note 106.

*Missale Rom., Rit. serv.,* VI, 8.

According to a decree of the Congregation of Rites dated April 23, 1875, the priest himself should simply read the Epistle, not sing it, in the absence of a lector; *Decretum auct. SRC,* n. 3350. But in Germany custom appears to sanction the practice of chanting it; so Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe,* 91. A lector is also mentioned for the first reading on Good Friday and for the prophecies on the vigils of Easter and Whitsunday. In the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 82, 1. 25) the lessons on Ember Saturday were also assigned to a lector.

Further, it is permitted at present for a cleric in minor orders to substitute for the subdeacon at a high Mass when the latter is not available; he may be vested—*paratus alisque manipulo; decree dated July 5, 1698; Decretum auct. SRC,* n. 2002. The question of such a substitution was likewise raised in the Middle Ages, but answered in the negative because reading the Epistle was the exercise of a power which a cleric in minor orders did not possess. The priest himself, in this case, should read the Epistle. Bernold, *Micrologus,* c. 8 (PL, CLI, 982); Beleth, *Expositio,* c. 38 (PL, CCCL, 46 A):

*Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung,* 165-169; Callwaert, *Sacris erudiendi,* 233-239.

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*Braun, 166.

*Cf. Ordo Rom.,* V, n. 3 (PL, LXVIII, 985); Amalar, *De eccl. off.,* III, 15 (PL, CV, 1122 f.); *Ordo Rom.,* I, n. 51 (PL, LXVIII, 960).

*Missale Rom., Rubr. gen.,* XIX, 6; cf. Braun, 149 f.

The "broad stole" (*stola latior*) is really a stylized folded chasuble—a limp chasuble that was folded over the shoulder and pinned there; eventually the folds were sewed in and the cloth cut down to its present nondescript shape.

*Nehem. 8: 4.

*Pontificale Rom., De ordin. lectoris,* *Dum legisit,* in alto loco ecclesia stetis, ubi ab omnibus audiamini et vidiamini.

an ambo or pulpit, a podium fitted out with a balustrade and lectern, set up at some convenient spot between sanctuary and nave, and either standing free or else built into the choir railing or into the side-railings of the enclosure, which, in many basilicas, surrounded the space for the schola cantorum. The ambo also served—as we will see later in greater detail—for the singer in the responsorial chant. Frequently the preaching was done from here. In the Orient the deacon ascended—and still ascends—the ambo to lead the prayer of the people in the ektene, but it was especially intended for the reader who presented the Sacred Scriptures. This is indicated, inter alia, by the names it has: lectrum, lectionarium; analogium. Frequently it was very richly adorned with mosaics, sculpture and the like.

But now the Roman Mass contains hardly a trace of an arrangement which seemed so well suited to making the reading as understandable as possible. As far as the people are concerned, the readings have, during the past thousand years, become a mere symbol. The subdeacon who reads the Epistle stands at his accustomed place, facing the altar and therefore with his back to the people. The deacon who sings the Gospel, should indeed turn contra altare versus populum, but the latter direction, versus populum, seems to be countermanded by the first, contra altare. So, for a practical suggestion as to the position to be taken by deacon, the rubric from the pontifical Mass is usually given, since it is plainer: the deacon turns in that direction which corresponds to the north side of an oriented church.

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Gavanti is right when he declares: verba rubrica ... videntur pagane invicem. He therefore settles for a direction half-way between the Levites and people; Gavanti-Merati, II, 6, 5 (I, 242). As a matter of fact the same expression, contra altare, is used shortly before in the rubrics of the Mass book, as we noticed already (VI, 4), and here it is used to describe the stance of the subdeacon at the Epistle, with face directed towards the altar. The expression is unequivocally in this sense by Paris de Grassis (d. 1528) when he gives the rule: In a non-oriented church the deacon should stand at the Gospel non collateraliter to the altar, but facie ad faciem altaris, id est contra ipsum altare (PL, LXXVIII, 934).

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W. Lurz, Ritus und Rubriken der hl. Messe (2nd ed.; Würzburg, 1941), 454, note 58: The exact stance—whether diagonally towards the altar or towards the people, or parallel to the altar steps—is determined by the custom of the particular church. According to M. Gatterer, Praxis celebrandi, 281, note 0, the deacon should stand sicut sacerdos in missa privata, therefore diagonal to the altar; on the other hand Ph. Hartmann-J. Kley, Repertorium rituum (14th ed.; Faderborn, 1940), 502, direct the deacon to stand turned somewhat towards the people. And J. O'Connell, The Celebration of Mass (Milwaukee, 1940), III, 100-101, takes the third position, insisting that the deacon takes his place facing directly "north," that is, towards the left-hand side of the church.

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On the contrary there are no differences of opinion regarding the further rule, that the Epistle is read on the south side of the sanctuary, the Gospel on the north—a rule which the priest himself must observe at the altar even at the simplest private Mass. In addition, a more detailed regulation regarding the Gospel is this, that he does not face straight ahead but towards the corner of the altar, that is, in an oriented church he turns just a bit to the north. This is almost the same rule as that for the deacon at solemn Mass. From the standpoint of the ordinary participant, this means that the Epistle is said at the right side, the Gospel at the left. Further it means that at every Mass the book has to be carried over from one side to the other. The difference in the locale of the readings and the accompanying conduct of the Mass-server are some of the peculiarities of the external Mass rite which make the strongest impression. "Epistle side" and "Gospel side" are phrases that even poorly instructed Catholics are acquainted with. It is therefore very much in place to go into greater detail regarding this regulation.

The north side as the place for the Gospel is specifically mentioned for the first time in the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908); on the other hand, the third position, insisting that the deacon takes his place facing directly "north," that is, towards the left-hand side of the church.

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Missale Rom., Ritus serv., VI. 4: contra altare. According to the Mass-Ordo 'Indutus planeta' (Legg, Tracts, 184) which appeared in Mass books after 1807, the subdeacon reads the Epistle in front of the steps contra medium altaris. This latter expression is already in the Liber usus O. Cist. (12th century), c. 53 (PL, CLXVI, 1423 B), and after that in the Liber Ordinarium of Liège (Volk, 90). But the Missal of St. Vincent-on-Volturno (circa 1100) directs: versus contra altare (Fišla, 200). Cf. also Durandus, IV, 16, 5.

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"Missale Rom., Ritus serv., VI. 5."

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The word is derived from the verb deauleav, to mount or climb up. It first appears at the Council of Laodicea, c. 15 (Massa, II, 567).

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The word "lectern."
use and no longer understood, a practice which did not concern north and south at all, but had an entirely different viewpoint. An inkling of this is to be found in the author of the Micrologus, a work almost contemporaneous with Ivo. The author writes that it is almost a general custom that the deacon reading the Gospel turn toward the north. But he takes exception to this, not only because the north side is the side for the women, and it is therefore unbecoming that the deacon turn that way, but also because it is plainly contra Romanum ordinem, according to which the deacon stands on the ambo turned to the south, that is, the side of the men. He explains the variant practice, which had already become fixed and rooted, as a conscious imitation of the movement and position of the priest who, when saying Mass without a deacon, does really have to say the Gospel at the north side of the altar in order to leave the other side free for the sacrificial activity, and who thus could give the appearance of actually turning towards the north. But this explanation, suggesting the private Mass as the origin of the practice, although it has been repeated in our own day, is presented only for lack of something better.

Just what is to be said about this “Roman order” which Bernold had in view? He is thinking, one might say, of Mabillon’s second Roman Ordo, but this order he could not have known since it was not compiled till the tenth century and in Franco-German territory. The real Roman arrangement was not as precise as Bernold supposes. We can reconstruct it as it actually was, better perhaps from archeological evidences than from literary sources. The spot from which the deacon at a solemn function could read the Gospel most conveniently and fittingly had to be chosen in such a way that on the one hand the reader had the people before him, and on the other he did not turn his back on the bishop and the clergy surrounding him. In the basilicas of the dying ancient period, where the cathedra of the bishop stood in the apse, he would therefore have to stand to the side, in the forward part of the choir, to the right of the presiding bishop (for all the ranks of honor were reckoned with the cathedra of the bishop as the point of departure). He would thus face either north or south depending on the position of the apse and the cathedra, whether to the west, as they were in the older Roman structures, or to the east, as later became customary. As a matter of fact we find the ambo is arranged in many places in accordance with these notions. In the latter case, where the apse is towards the east, the deacon who wanted to talk to the people, turned toward the south. This position is evinced both by the placement of ambos and by literary documents; this is the position which Bernold wanted observed (Fig. 1). In the Roman churches of the older type, which had the apse toward the west, the deacon would, under the same circumstances, assume a position facing north, and many Roman basilicas actually indicate this layout (Fig. 2).

Bernold, Micrologus, c. 9 (PL, CLX, 982 f.): De evangelio in qua parte sit legendum.

Similarly somewhat later Honorius Augustod., Gemma an., I, 22 (PL, CLXXI, 531).


Ordo Rom. II, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972): Ipse vero diaconus stat versus ad meridiem, ad quam partem viri solent confluere.

The position looking towards the south is already appointed for the deacon in Amalar’s Expositio of 813-14, ed. Hanssens (Eph. liturg., 1927), 164 f. (= Gerbert, Monumenta, I, 154 f.); this section means Ecclesiam ferventem animo in amore Dei. Likewise in the Expositio Missae pro multa, ed. Hanssens (Eph. liturg., 1930), 36, and in the Elogia (PL, CV, 1322 f.). It is also admitted in the Missal of St. Vincent (c. 1100; Fiala, 201): versus ad septentrionem sit versus ad meridiem. The same direction is still mentioned in Durandus, IV, 24, 21.

Cf. the anonymous study “Pourquoi ces différent endroits pour la lecture de l’épitre et de l’évangile?,” Les Questions liturgiques, IV (1914), 314-320.

THE LITURGICAL SETTING OF THE LESSONS

stood in the apse, he would therefore have to stand to the side, in the forward part of the choir, to the right of the presiding bishop (for all the ranks of honor were reckoned with the cathedra of the bishop as the point of departure). He would thus face either north or south depending on the position of the apse and the cathedra, whether to the west, as they were in the older Roman structures, or to the east, as later became customary. As a matter of fact we find the ambo is arranged in many places in accordance with these notions. In the latter case, where the apse is towards the east, the deacon who wanted to talk to the people, turned toward the south. This position is evinced both by the placement of ambos and by literary documents; this is the position which Bernold wanted observed (Fig. 1). In the Roman churches of the older type, which had the apse toward the west, the deacon would, under the same circumstances, assume a position facing north, and many Roman basilicas actually indicate this layout (Fig. 2).
It is this latter position, set free of its natural foundation, that continued to be the fixed norm in the conception of the medieval liturgists and still survives in the rubrics of the *Ceremoniale episcoporum*. But in the transfer to the oriented churches two possibilities remained open. The deacon could place himself to the left of the *cathedra* (still standing at the center of the apse) and thus speak from the south side of the church, facing the nave and the north (Fig. 3); again there are actual examples. It was hardly possible to tolerate for long the reading of the Gospel at the left of the *cathedra* and with face towards the women's side of the church. So the second possibility came to mind; the deacon could stand to the right and still face northwards, too—as we are accustomed to seeing it done (Fig. 4).

This last solution is basically in complete correspondence with the intellectual and cultural condition of the Middle Ages. It seemed more important to hold on to the symbolism of the northward direction (since this had a message for the symbol-hungry eyes of the people of that era) than to turn to the people (since the contents of the Latin lesson were not grasped by them anyway). This arrangement then became a norm for the priest in reading the Gospel at the altar. Thus, besides this symbolical northward transfer to the oriented churches two possibilities remained open. The deacon could place himself to the left of the *cathedra* (still standing at the center of the apse) and thus speak from the south side of the church, facing the nave and the north (Fig. 3); again there are actual examples. It was hardly possible to tolerate for long the reading of the Gospel at the left of the *cathedra* and with face towards the women's side of the church. So the second possibility came to mind; the deacon could stand to the right and still face northwards, too—as we are accustomed to seeing it done (Fig. 4).

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Interest in a gradation amongst the readings was early at work in the choice of readers, as we have seen. But in localizing the reading the process was slower. Even in the early Middle Ages there was, as a rule, but one ambo, which served for all the lessons. Amalar is the first to mention an *excellentior locus* at which the Gospel was read. The *Ordo Romanus II*, which originated in the north in the tenth century, directs the subdeacon

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*Fig. 1*  
*Fig. 2*

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*Fig. 3*  
*Fig. 4*
who reads the Epistle to mount the ambo, *non tamen in superiore gradum, quam solum solet ascendere qui evangelium lecturus est,* a rule which is often repeated later on. At the same time we hear of a specially built desk for the reading of the Gospel; it had the form of an eagle with wings outspread.

In the church architecture of the later Middle Ages the ambo is no longer considered, or, to be more precise, it is moved away from the cancelli farther into the nave of the church where it becomes a pulpit. Obviously the smaller churches did not possess an ambo even in earlier times. Ivo of Chartres apparently has this case in mind. The Gospel thus retained the place it got either by tradition or by symbolic interpretation—a place on the level of the choir (sanctuary), on the north side. The subdeacon became the bearer of the Gospel book, replacing the lectern or desk—a new honor for the Gospel. But the Epistle later obtained its place on the opposite side, with the subdeacon reading toward the altar, and himself holding the book. Thus the “Epistle side” of the altar was evolved. Ivo of Chartres seems to stipulate some such thing, although in many other places, even at a much later date, there is still no fixed rule. In an intervening period, when the division of readings to right and left was recognized and still at the same time the need was felt for an ambo, two ambos were sometimes constructed, one more ornamental on the Gospel side, the other more modest on the Epistle side. In our modern buildings we sometimes

It is precisely in this portion of the Mass, the Epistle, that the allegorical significance (preaching of the prophets, of John) is of ancient tradition and quite unanimous; cf. supra, p. 89; p. 110, note 41.

For this reason the priest, while reading the Epistle, is even at present directed to place his hands on the book or to hold the book, whereas he reads the Gospel with hands folded, like the deacon whose hands are free. *Missale Rom., Rit. serv., VI, 1, 2; 5.*

Supra, p. 413.

Cf. the expression *contra medium altaris* for the reading of the Epistle, note 58 above.

The study of H. Leclercq, “Ambo.” DACL, I, 130-1347, which covers the period up to the 9th century, maintains that in this time there is nowhere any evidence of two ambos (1339).

Thus in S. Clemente which was rebuilt in 1100 but kept the form that it had had at the time. In S. Lorenzo the Gospel

It does the subdeacon kiss his hand (Fischer, 81). Later the bishop read the Epistle at the same time that the subdeacon did.

That the ceremony was continued ties in very well with the rather commonly accepted allegorical interpretation of the Epistle as the preaching of the prophets or the Baptist: by means of a symbolic ceremony it was possible to suggest the fulfillment of the Old Covenant through Christ who is represented by the priest; cf. Durandus, *loc. cit.*

In some isolated instances this blessing of the subdeacon is found fitted out with a petition and a formula of benediction: *Ordinarium of Bayeux* (13th c.): Martène, I, 4, XXIV (1, 627 B).

Cf. *Innocent III, De s. alt. mysterio, II*, 129 (PL, CCXVII, 816 C). In the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 236) this is done only on Sundays and feasts.

It is therefore all the more striking that since the 11th century tropes were composed for some of the Epistles, but not for the Gospels. These tropes expanded the text either by means of Latin phrases

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It is therefore all the more striking that since the 11th century tropes were composed for some of the Epistles, but not for the Gospels. These tropes expanded the text either by means of Latin phrases.
This sobriety was evidently intentional, in order to let the Gospel stand out more strongly. Putting it more exactly, it was retained when the richer fitting-out of the Gospel was begun. In general an older manner in the fitting-out of the lection still survives in the Epistle. Here, too, the role of the lector is still acknowledged at least in part—which agrees with what we have said. To sit during the Epistle was also one of those olden reading practices. On the other hand, this sobriety is not quite so pronounced as at the readings which bear the stamp of greatest antiquity—those of Good Friday and Holy Saturday. About these the rubric still remarks that they are read sine titulo and the answer *Deo gratias* is omitted at the end—two elaborations which have nevertheless been accorded the Epistle.

The *Deo gratias* at the end is not necessarily proper to the Epistle only. It is repeated at the end of the last Gospel, just as it follows at the lessons of the Office, and also at the *Ite missa est*. In truth only in the last case does the response bear the marks of primitiveness, since it is made by the choir and not by the servers. It is without doubt sensible and very becoming for one to thank God after being permitted to receive His word. But it is questionable whether the *Deo gratias* is here intended as a spoken thanks. Primarily its function seems to be quite different. In this *Deo gratias* we have a formal shout which was much used outside of divine service especially in the North African Church, e.g. as an acclamation in the sense of approval, and as a greeting of Christians on meeting each other. The *Deo gratias* seems to have come from North Africa into the Arabian liturgy, where it is used along with *Amen* as a response after the reading. We find also that it was or, later, by means of French farcings.


*At one time it was customary at high Mass for the celebrant to sit during the Epistle, even if only a simple priest, along with the deacon, as is still the practice in the Carthusian and Dominican rites and as I myself saw it done at Lyons in 1929. This custom is attested also in the *Udalrici Consuetudines Clun.* (circa 1080), II, 30 (PL, CCLXIX, 716); in the Missal of St. Vincent: *Fiala*, 200; in the old Cistercian rite: Schneider, *Cist. Chronic.*, (1926), 315 f.; in the Liber ordinarius of Liége: *Volle*, 90; and in Durandus, IV, 18. Sitting also became customary for the faithful (*supra*, p. 241), and in many lands, especially those following English and French practices, it has continued customary; *Kramp*, "Messebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (Stz, 1927, II), 355.

For the papal and episcopal Mass see *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942); *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 971). At a pontifical Mass the bishop sits even today and reads the Epistle the while: *Ceremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 39; 41.

*On the contrary in the Office the whole choir answers the readings with *Deo gratias*. Thus the *Deo gratias* at the Epistle, which is apparently not mentioned in medieval *Ordines* or Mass books, becomes a secondary development, derived from the Office.

*F. Cabrol, "Deo gratias," DACL, IV, 649-652; cf. the examples from inscriptions which are there cited by H. Leclercq, *ibid.*, 652-659.

*ibid.*, 650.

The *Deo gratias* is repeated at the end of the last Gospel, just as it follows at the lessons. We can trace here the prevailing tone that dominates the Roman liturgy, the strong, religiously accented consciousness of the community, the realization that after the proclamation made to all, after the presentation of God's word, no doubt should be left about its reception. The proclamation has been heard, the reading has been received, and the reply that resounds from the people is one which the Christian should use in every challenging situation in life: *Deo gratias,* Thanks be to God.

5. The Intervenient Chants

It is in the very nature of things that the grace-laden message which God proclaims to men would awaken an echo of song. In the chant which is linked with the readings we have the most ancient song of the Christian liturgy, and in particular of the Roman liturgy. In contrast to the more modern strata of the Mass chants: introit, offertory and communion, which were antiphonal in design and so demanded a special singing group for performance, the gradual and alleluia still show plainly the traits of the older responsorial method which dominated the field till at least the fourth century. For this type of music only one trained singer was required, with the people all answering together. Only this solo singer had any continuos text to reproduce; the people answered by repeating after each passage the unchanging verse, the refrain or *responsum*. This is a very simple procedure, but for a vital participation of the people a procedure suitable in the highest measure, since neither any special preparation nor a written

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**THE INTERVENIENT CHANTS**

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This is *Deo gratias,* the form which was not allowance for. The singing itself they called *deplorare, deplorare,* the singing itself they called *responsum,* responsore, responsore. Leitner, 207 f.

In Spain it was called *subpsalmare;* *Ferotin,* *Le Liber mosarabicus sacramentorum,* p. XLI f.
Jewish Music

In this way the Hallel was prayed at the beginning of the agape. The reference is to the alleluia psalms in which the biblical text already contains the entry, “alleluia,” either at the beginning or at the end, as an indication that the word was to be inserted as a response after every verse. St. Athanasius on one occasion mentioned the deacon’s reciting a psalm before the entire people, while the people responded repeatedly: Quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius; just as we find it sketched in Psalm 135.

Since the third century, contemporaneous with the vanishing of the vogue of privately composed hymns, the use of the Scriptural psalms became more pronounced. And the opposition to these hymns probably led to a greater strengthening of the musical character of the psalms. In the fourth century there is explicit evidence of the use of psalm chant in the reading of the Fore-Mass, and its performance followed the method of responsorial song already in

service of the fore-Mass, and its performance followed the method of responsorial song already in vogue. In this process the alleluia gained considerable importance. It is, at any rate, a phenomenon worth remarking, that nearly all the liturgies both East and West still display the alleluia in the Mass in some form or other. And usually the alleluia follows the second-last reading, either immediately or (as in the Roman liturgy) too meditately, so that it looks like a prelude to the Gospel; but sometimes it does not appear till after the last lesson.

In the sermons of St. Augustine we are introduced to the fully developed form of the responsorial psalms. As he speaks of a psalm “which we heard sung and to which we responded.”

Augustine himself was wont to select the psalm. Even lengthier psalms were sung right through without curtailment. The refrain seems always to have consisted of an entire verse of the respective psalm. It could be taken either from the beginning of the psalm or from the context. The first alternative we see exemplified in Psalm 29, where the response is: Exaltabote Domine quoniam suscepisti me nec in condantibus inimicos meos super me.

Due to their constant recurrence these refrains were quite familiar to the people. Like Augustine, another preacher, St. Chrysostom, takes occasion time and time again to refer to these refrains as a starting point for a deeper study of the contents of the psalms. St. Leo the Great, too, makes reference to this community singing of the psalms with the people.

 Const. Ap., II, 57, 6 (Quasten, Mon., 182): When the reader has finished two readings, another shall sing the Psalms of David, with the words "alleluia" immediately, so that it looks like a prelude to the Gospel.

The refrain seems always to have taken over the role of the alleluia chant.

West Syrian liturgy (Brightman, 36; 79), Greek liturgy of St. Mark (ibid., 118), Byzantine (371) and Armenian liturgies (426): the Milanese liturgy (present-day missal; Daniel, Codex liturg., I, 60).

Coptic liturgy (Brightman, 156), East Syrian liturgy (ibid., 258 f.).

Mozarabic liturgy (PL, LXXXV, 536).

As A. Lesley notes (ibid., note), it was decreed by the IV Council of Toledo (633), can. 12 that the alleluia be sung not before the Gospel but after it; cf. Isidore, De eccl. offic., I, 13, 4 (PL, LXXXIII, 751), who took part in the proposal and who presents the following reason: Thus it could be suggested that our life after the revelation of the Gospel must be one praise of God.

Obviously, then, even here a different plan had previously been followed.

Augustine, Enarr. in ps. 119, 1 (PL, XXXVII, 1596). Further texts in Wagner, Einführung, I, 81 f. and likewise in Roetzer, 101 f.

Augustine, Enarr. in ps. 138, 1 (PL, XXVII, 1784).

Wagner, I, 82. The text named, along with the following verse (as the remainder of the psalm) today forms the gradual for the Wednesday in Passion week.

Chrysostom, In ps. 117 exposit, 1 (PG, LV, 328), in ps. 144, 1 (464); Leitner, 208 f.

Leo the Great, Serm., 3, 1 (PL, LIV, 145): Davidicum psalmum... consona voce cantatum.
It is really remarkable that now only a few remnants remain of this responsorial singing which was once so flourishing. Quite early it invaded the domain of art. In the Oriental Church the refrain was first expanded into a strophe, the heirmos, then further verses were intercalated for the repetition of the refrain, and these groups of strophes, called a "canon," entwine around the psalm or canticle of the singer like an ivy-vine. These canons were performed by a choir, or by two choirs. The next step in the evolution was to drop most of the psalm at a solemn Office, retaining a few verses which were thematically interwoven in the manner indicated. Finally in the canticles the basic text disappeared entirely and all that was left was an elaborate store of hymn poetry, redolent of the biblical songs upon which they had been founded.

Between the readings of the fore-Mass, however, the development did not reach these lengths even in the Eastern liturgies. The basic form did not disappear entirely. True, only a fragment of the psalm remains, a few verses that vary with the church year. But this remnant is linked with the alleluia which appears in some sort of repetition, so that the responsorial character is still plainly recognizable. Amongst the East Syrians a triple alleluia follows after every three verses; amongst the Copts, a triple alleluia after two verses, and a single alleluia after another verse; amongst the West Syrians, a double alleluia precedes, and a single alleluia follows the one verse of the psalm. Similarly in the Byzantine liturgy the variant verse is enclosed between an alleluia at the beginning and one at the end.

On Holy Saturday a whole psalm is sung, with alleluia inserted as a response after each verse. But less extended chants which are found within the compass of the lessons display few of the responsorial features; they are, in fact, mere preludes to the later readings rather than echoes of those that went before. Even the alleluia, paralleling this, has been conceived predominantly as a preparation for the Gospel, if it is possible to judge in the midst of such a variety and irregularity in the forms of the chants as well as the prayers.

In the Roman liturgy, too, this curtailment of responsorial song has been allowed a free hand, and not one single chant has retained the original type unimpaired. Aside from the ferial formularies, in which only one responsorial chant follows the Epistle, as also the case after the several lessons of the vigil Masses on Ember Saturdays—aside from these instances the full form of the Sunday and feast-day formularies includes two songs, the gradual and the alleluia (resp. Tract), and in addition the more recently composed sequences also belong in this grouping. There are various indications that tend to show that the gradual originally followed the first of the three readings (which disappeared very early). That is manifested even at present on the few days that have three readings; one of the chants follows the first reading, one the second. Similarly in the Milan liturgy the psalmus follows the first of the three readings, and the alleluia chant follows the second. In fact, even in the Roman liturgy a fragment of a Mass book has recently come to light which regularly has the gradual follow the first of its three lessons, and the alleluia the second.

When the first reading disappeared, it was hard to sacrifice either the gradual or the alleluia, probably because both had become by that time—the sixth century—jewels of the Roman Mass; perhaps, too, because by that time the alleluia was more and more considered an Easter piece.
admirably suited to the eucharistic celebration especially on Sundays and feast days. And then it was no longer regarded simply as an echo of the Epistle but a presentiment of the joyous Gospel message, as the later interpreters regularly explain it."

All the more, then, must the texts of the two chants be shortened, and all the more thoroughly in proportion to the melodic elaboration which by this time they had gained. If in the Orient it was poetics that proved to be the enemy of the ancient responsorial technique, in the Western world it was musical art. Already in St. Augustine’s time the singers displayed the tendency more and more to enhance the chant with richer melodies. The formation of the elaborate melismas must have been accomplished in the solo singing of the psalmist long before a similar development could be inaugurated in the schola cantorum. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that even later melodies of the responsorial songs, compared with those of the antiphonal songs of the schola, show an unevenly greater embellishment. This can be seen to best advantage only since the Graduale Romanum has been republished with the fuller ancient melodies. The richness of the solo chant must have had a reaction also in the responsorium of the people. Gradually this response slipped away from the congregation and into the ranks of the singers, that is, the schola. With this new development another fact was closely related, namely that even the most ancient books containing the texts for the Roman chants between the readings—with a few exceptions that were fast disappearing—indicate for both graduals and alleluia only a single verse instead of the full psalm. This is what we are accustomed to at present, and so the responsorial design of these songs is scarcely ever noticed.

Still this abbreviation of the texts did not make such progress in other parts of our liturgy. In these places it came to a halt. Thus in the invitatory in Matins we have an example of the original form of responsorial singing. In order to render the design of the songs we are considering more plainly visible we might do well to outline and compare the forms of responsorial song still preserved in our liturgy.

1. Invitatory
   Response intoned
   Response of the choir
   Verse 1 of the Psalm
   Response of the choir
   Verse 2 of the Psalm
   Response of the choir
   Verses of the choir

   Gloria Patri
   Response of the choir

2. Responsory at the Little Hours
   Response intoned
   Response of the choir
   Verse
   Response of the choir
   Verse

3. Responsory at Matins
   Response of the choir
   Response of the choir
   Verse
   Response of the choir
   Verse

4. Alleluia Chant
   Response intoned
   Response of the choir
   Verse
   Response of the choir

5. Gradual
   Response of the choir
   Response of the choir

In the gradual almost nothing of the original responsory character is retained, though the older sources did keep the names responsorium or responsorium graduale. Still the second half of the text is designated as versus (V.). This verse takes the place of the once complete psalm sung by the precentor. Even now all of it except the final cadence is performed (according to rule) by one or two soloists. But the preceding portion of the text which corresponds to the older response of the people is now begun by the soloist(s) and continued by the choir. This method of performance, of which there are evidences even at an earlier period, is a substitute for the more ancient plan according to which the responsorium was first intoned by the precentor and then repeated by all. The further repetition

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(PL. LXXXIII, 750.) In the church of St. Augustine it was heard, in the main, only during the Easter season; Roetzer, 234 f. Vigilantius wanted the same thing in Gaul; Jerome, Contra Vigilantium, c. 1 (PL. XXIII, 339). This latter restriction to Eastertide has its sponsors also within the territory of the Roman liturgy at the time of Gregory the Great, who was reproached quis Alleluia dicit ad missa extra pentecosten tempora fecititas. For his own praxis the pope invokes the old tradition stemming from the church of Jerusalem. Gregory the Great, Ep. IX, 12 (PL. LXXVII, 956). Perhaps it was Gregory who had ordered the omission of the Alleluia after Septuagesima, a reform that did not seem radical enough to his correspondent; cf. below, note 67. A different explanation of the spare accounts which have been preserved is sought by J. Fröger, "L'Alleluia dans l'usage romain," Eph. liturg., LXII (19-48), 6-48.

A certain connection between the Alleluia and Easter is even a pre-Christian tradition, for the allelulia belonged especially to the paschal Hallel. See the results of this interpretation in Durandus, IV, 20.

Augustine, Confessiones, IX, 6 f.; X, 33 (CSEL. XXXIII, 208; 263 f.); Cassian, De coenob. inst., II, 2 (CSEL. XVII, 18).

Wagner, Einführung, I, 33-40. Wagner believes he is able to date the introduction of the rich melismatic style into the responsorial Mass chants about the period between 450 and 550 (83 f.). But since the explanation of the Gallican liturgy ascribed to St. Germanus begins at earliest to the 7th century, it seems better to stretch out this period to the time of Gregory the Great.

It can now be easily studied in the editions of the six oldest MSS. (8th and 9th centuries), which appear in parallel columns in R. J. Hebert, Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex (Brussels, 1935). Cf. supra, p. 64.

Expositio 'Primum in ordine' (PL. CXIX, 1747): Et dictum responsorium, quod uno cessante hoc ipsum alter respondet.

"Ordo of the Lateran church (middle of the 12th century) : Fischer, 81, 1. 19.

Wagner, Einführung, I, 87 f. This repetition is clearly attested in Amalar’s exposition of 813-14, ed. Hanssens (Eph. liturg., 1927), 162 = Gerbert, Monumenta, II, 151 (see supra, p. 89, note 73); in
of the responsum after the verse was still customary in the thirteenth century, and in many places even later. As a rule it was at first omitted only in those instances in which another chant, the alleluia or a tract, followed, but in most churches it soon disappeared entirely. In order to avoid an unsatisfactory ending it then became the practice to have the entire choir join in during the closing cadence of the verse, as usually happens today. But in the new edition of the Graduale Romanum (1908), the original plan was also permitted, that namely of repeating the responsum after the verse.

In Holy Week twograduals are retained which even today show several verses instead of the usual one. The repetition of the response after the individual verses which was still customary in the Carolingian period and even later has disappeared, it is true, so that the chants are no longer to be distinguished from the tractus; indeed they have actually taken this title from the latter form. In Easter Week also a lengthy section of the Easter psalm Confitemini, with a constant repetition of the refrain, Hac the Expositio Missa pro multis, ed. Hansens (Ep. liturg., 1930), 34; in the Eclogae (PL, CV, 1321); in the Ordo Rom. II 10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 971 B); and also in the late medieval Ordinarium of Chalon: Martène, I, 4, XXIX (I, 646 CD).

Thus, e.g., in the 1312 Ordinal of the Carmelites (Zimmerman, 71).

Wagner, 87 f.

In the Mass for the feast of John the Baptist the omission of the repetition brought with it an unnatural and infelicitous break in the text. For the verse reads as follows: Missit Dominus manum suam et tegit os meum et dixit mihi: this naturally demands the repetition of the response: Privasquam. (If need be we could take the Alleluia-verse as a continuation of the phrase: Tu puer ...) Wagner, 88 f. Thus in the 13th century at Bayeux, but here in the same way the response after the verse was begun by the chanters and continued by the choir to the finish. U. Chevalier, Ordinaire et Cowntumier de l'eglise cathedrale de Bayeux (Bibliotheque liturgique, 8; Paris, 1902), 27.

On Wednesday: Domine exaudi orationem meam, with five verses; on Good Friday: Domine audi mei, with four verses.

Wagner, 89 f.

Robert Paululus (d. circa 1184), De carmenitis, III, 17 (PL, CLXXVII, 449 A).

The present-day manner of executing the alleluia really corresponds in substance to this description: the first alleluia is sung by one or two soloists and then, with the jubilus added, is repeated by the choir; the verse again is the soloist's; and in the repetition after the verse the choir joins in once more at least with the jubilus.

But as time went on the verses of the psalm were distributed throughout the week. Just as here in the Easter octave a store of antique responsorial song is to be found, so (to cite another example) in the second Christmas Mass, too. The head-piece of the gradual, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Deus Dominus et illuxit nobis, was the song which the Christian people in the fourth century repeated tirelessly during the Christmas procession from Bethlehem to Jerusalem.

If in the gradual only a rudiment of the ancient responsorial singing has been retained, in the alleluia, as it is presented now, the original design still peeps through. The singer chants alleluia, just a he usually intones the refrain. The congregation repeats it. The singer begins the psalm, that is, he sings the verse which replaces the psalm. The choir again repeats the alleluia. In Eastertide, from Low Sunday to Whitsunday, where a double alleluia is inserted in place of the gradual and alleluia, a second verse follows and then the alleluia once more.

The present-day manner of executing the alleluia really corresponds in substance to this description: the first alleluia is sung by one or two soloists and then, with the jubilus added, is repeated by the choir; the verse again is the soloist's; and in the repetition after the verse the choir joins in once more at least with the jubilus.

It is true that in the MSS, the alleluia-verse is not presented uniformly, that therefore in its present state it is of later date. But that is not the same as saying that even previously the alleluia at Mass was not connected with a verse.

That this is not the case also in Easter week is explained by the fact that the psalm Confitemini had an even stronger and more original Easter character than the alleluia. The reflections in Gih, 501, therefore, miss the main point.

It must be remarked that the double alleluia of Eastertide is, musically and textually, really two separate alleluias juxtaposed.

Thus according to the rubric in the Graduale Romanum (ed. Vaticana, 1908), De rit. serv. in cantu Missae, IV: Si Alleluia, alleluia cum versus sunt dicenda, primam Alleluia cantatur ab uno vel duobus usque ad signum. Chorus autem repetit Alleluia et subiungit neumu, seu jubilum, protrobas syllabari. Canore versum concinunt, qui ut supra occurrente asterisco a toto choro terminatur. Finito
The tendency to drop the repetitions, particularly the repetition after the verse, was also manifested in the alleluia, but, excepting the days of lesser solemnity, the tendency was overcome. The nearness of the joyous message of the Gospel probably helped to produce this result."

In the jubilus of the alleluia Gregorian chant achieved its highest expression, and, no doubt, in the ages before people were spoiled by the charms of harmony, the untried reiteration of the melismatic melodies with their endless rise and fall must have been a wonderful experience for the devout congregation."

In penitential periods the tractus takes the place of the alleluia. Its one big peculiarity today is the fact that it consists of a lengthy series of psalm verse, each marked with the designation V(ersus). The tract for Palm Sunday, for instance, embraces the greater part of Psalm 21, that of the first Sunday of Lent the complete Psalm 90. The Carolingian liturgist thought the chief distinction between tract and gradual was the lack of a response (refrain) after the verses in the former, where it was still customary in the latter. Musically the distinctive mark is the scantier store of melody."

This in fact may possibly be the derivation of the name: tractus = επιπός, a typical melody, which reverts according to fixed rules in the course of the piece. Medieval interpreters sought the derivation in the "drawn-out" method of singing, a style appointed for penitence and:

versus cantor vel cantores repetunt Alleluia et chorus additolum neumar. This distribution to choir and soloists (pueri) is already to be found in the Ordinarium of Bayeux of the 13th century; Chevalier (note 47 above), 27.

"Ord. Rom. V. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 987 C).

"Both repetitions are omitted in paschal Masses of a ferial character (Rogations, vigil of Pentecost and partly Pentecost Ember days). In this case there is the same design as is now found in the gradual.

Only the repetition after the verse has disappeared on Holy Saturday. It is only this last phenomenon that is explained in Wagner, I, 95. This is really only a sort of toning-down of the festal jubilee in accordance with the type of celebration; cf. Ordo Rom. I, n. 26 (PL, LXXVIII, 950 A): in quotidianis diebus it is alright to be satisfied with the first Alleluia.

Spanish missals of the later Middle Ages had only one alleluia outside the paschal season and only the verse followed; Ferreres, 106.


"Many of the tracts belong to the second or to the eighth (ecclesiastical) mode, and the preference is for the same melodies. The same musical melodies are repeated from verse to verse and from tract to tract. Wagner, I, 99 f.

"Wagner, I, 99.

"Durandus, IV, 20, 7: Per hoc vero quod Alleluia cum psalm repetitur, laus et gaudium ineffabile patria significatur.

"Even in the ancient Church the alleluia was sung with rich melismas. Pertinent remarks of St. Augustine (who speaks of wordless jubilation) in Roettzer, 235-235. Further particulars in Wagner, I, 36 ff. Regarding the singing of the Alleluia among oriental Christians, see Wagner, 92. From his own experience Wagner confirms the report of older authors that the Copts often sing just alleluia for a quarter of an hour.


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"Wagner has good grounds for his opinion that in the tract we have simply the repetition after the verse has.

This tradition is evident in the tractus for Septuagesima on a few incidental feasts, as well as Ember and Holy Weeks. It is only here that the oldest chant books indicate the tract; see the survey in Hesbert, p. 244.

The tract Divina non secundum pecata, which we use every Monday, Wednesday and Friday in Lent, is a more recent composition. It was introduced in Frankish territory, and not before the 9th century. Its origin is due to the then prevailing penitential discipline which exacted from public penitents special penitential works on the three times the psalm is sung throughout Quadragesima. Jungmann, Die lateinischen Baustriten, 70 f.

Since these are regularly the chants which stand in the second place, especially on the Sundays in the pre-Easter fasting season, there is an explanation for the loss of the responsio. This latter would have had to stay in the alleluia, but this too was excluded during this season.

About 400 the alleluia was still compatible with sorrowful solemnities, like the burial of Fabiola, even at Rome; Jerome, Ep. 77, 12 (CSEL, LV, 48, 1, 12). But a few decades later Sozomen, Hist. eccl., VII, 19 (PG, LXXVII, 1476), was under the impression that the alleluia was originally sung at Rome only on Easterday. What is behind his report, which is at any rate quite questionable (cf. Cabrol, DACL, I, 1236), might possibly be the fact that the alleluia was removed from Quadragesima. This was already a fixed rule in Spain and in Africa at the time of St. Isidore, De eccl. aff., I, 13, 3 (PL, LXXIII, 750 f.), and perhaps also in Rome. Gregory the Great seems to have banned the alleluia further, from Septuagesima; Callator, Sacr. erudiri 650, 652 f. On the part of the Greeks the omission of the alleluia during the Lenten season was made at the first time made a matter of complaint and accusation by Leo of Achrida in 1053; A. Michel, Humberti und Kerullarii II (Paderborn, 1930), 94, note 124.

"Graduale Romanum (ed. Vaticana, 1908), De rit. serv. in cantu Missae, IV: cu in diversi alternativam cantantur ab abutih sibi invicem respondentibus chori partibus, aut a cantoribus et universo chori.

Reporting from Rouen, de Molem, 361, tells of an older manner of performance.
ascended the ambo, first the one who intoned the responsorium and after him the one who did the alleluia. For these songs were not like those of the schola, intended merely to fill out a pause, nor were they, like the latter broken off at the signal of the celebrant. They were independent, self-sufficient members inserted between the readings like a moment of pious meditation, like a lyrical rejoicing after the word of God had reached the ears of men. The name of the singer like that of the reader of the Epistle had to be made known to the pope at the beginning of the service. Previous to Gregory the Great these chants were done by deacons, but St. Gregory forbade this since he wanted to avert the possibility of a beautiful voice counting in the promotion to diaconate. They were independent, allowed to stand at the top—at least this was true later, in the territory of the Romano-Frankish liturgy. This platform was reserved to the Gospel. Instead, like the reader of the Epistle, he had to be satisfied with one of the steps (gradus) of the stairway. Hence the chant took the name "graduale." And his vesture, too, was that of the reader of the Epistle—that is, he first took off the planeta."

For the text of the chant the singers of the responsorial songs looked to a special book which is called, in the Roman Ordines, simply cantatorium. He carried it along to the desk. Amongst the six oldest manuscripts which give us the Mass chants, only one is devoted entirely to the solo-songs. All the others combine these in one book with the antiphonal chants of the schola; this shows that by the ninth century the singer had become simply a member of the ensemble, and the latter, in turn, had long since taken over the response and therefore needed to have the text in view. Nor was the singer separated from the choir in space, particularly when the ambo gradually disappeared from the plan of the church. About the same time the soloist was replaced by two or three singers; soon even four were mentioned. In other places the boy singers appeared as performers of the solo chants, apparently as a continuation of the arrangement followed in the Gallic liturgies—an arrangement which must have been car-

The time occupied by these chants seems to have meant nothing even in the 11th century; this is gathered from the lengthy prayers that the celebrant was expected to recite during these intervening chants. Those in the Missa Illirica and in the Mass of St. Bede in Cod. Chigi would take at least a quarter of an hour even for a hurried recital; Martène, I, 4, IV; XII (I, 499-504; 570-574).

The Office is emphasized more than once in the grave inscriptions, e.g., in that of the archdeacon Deusdedit (5th century):

17 Hic levitarius primus in ordine vivens Daviticii cantor carminis tui fuit.

(Duchesne, Christian Worship, 170.)

At the Roman Synod of 595 (PL, LXXVII, 1335).

18 This seems to be at least suggested in Ordo Rom. I, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 940). Later on every grade of orders was waived; see below, note 81.

19 Expositio 'Primum in ordine' (c. 800; PL, CXXXVIII, 1174 C); Ordo Rom. II, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 971 B); Expositio 'Missae pro multi'; ed. Hansens (Eph. liturg., 1930), 34 f.

20 Amand, De eccl. offic., III, 15 (PL, CV, 1122 f.); cf. the references given supra, p. 411, note 48.

21 This Gradual of Monza (8th century); see the ed. in Hesbert.

Whereas in Rome and Italy at this time the cantatorium is still a separate book, in the Frankish kingdom it is united with the Mass antiphonary. Amand, De ord. antiph., procl. (PL, CV, 1245 B). The cantatorium is also referred to under the term tabula, as Wagner, Einführung, I, 85, note 5, opined and J. Smits van Waesberghhe proves, for the tabula which Amand, De eccl. offic., III, 16 (PL, CV, 1123), says the singers held in their hands, were probably the cantatorium, bound (as usual) in ivory; see JL, XII (1934), 423; 457; JL, XIII (1935), 453; cf. also de Moleon, 54, 284.

22 In the Roman stationary services this situation seems to have been brought about already in the 8th century, as seems clear from the papal notification referred to in Ordo Rom. I, n. 7 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1389), talis de schola cantautoria. (In Stapper's ed. the de schola is missing; 18).

23 Rabanus Maurus, De inst. cleric., II, 51 (PL, CVII, 365). According to Ordo Rom. XI, n. 20 (PL, LXXVIII, 1033), on festive occasions two censors mount the ambo and together sing gradual and Alleluia. According to the Ordinarium of Laon (c. 1300), the gradual was sung by two deacons, the Alleluia by two deacons; Martène, I, 4, XX (1, 607 D).

24 Amalar, De ecc. offic., pl. (PL, CXLVII, 38 B).

For great feasts: Ordinarium O.P. (Guerrini, 145); Liber ordinarius of Liége (Volk, 47, 1. 17).

25 In the Expositio ant. liturgia gallicana (ed. Quasten, 12; 14), mention is made of fauxuli who sing the Kyrie and also the responsory after the lessons.

About the same time singing boys also appear in the Orient in the role of performers; see Testamentum Domini, I, 26; II, 11 (Rahmani, 55; 135). Cf. J. Quasten, Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit (LQF, XXV; Münster, 1930), 137 f.

Singing boys are found in Rome at a very early time, but only for antiphonal chant within the schola cantorum; Wagner, I, 23; 29; 216 ff. In the Roman liturgy boys as performers of the gradual are expressly mentioned for the first time by Sicard of Cremona, Mitrales, III, 3 (PL, CCXIII, 106 A). However they are already presupposed in Ordo Rom. V (10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 987 B); here there is a prescription that...
rived over into the Roman liturgy only after encountering great opposition. The text of these chants is derived, as a rule, from the psalms and canticles; after all, this matches their origin as psalmodic chants. But where two songs follow each other, they are totally independent and the choice of one in no way influences the choice of the others. The tracts follow the rule strictly and are taken, without exception, from the psalms. For the gradual and the alleluia chant, texts not taken from the psalter are very infrequent in the pre-Carolingian Roman liturgy. They do appear now and then on feast days, when the remarkable art which was able to adapt the psalm verses to the occasion did not seem able to achieve its aim. On Sundays no effort was made to draw a particular connection between the chants and the readings; the effort would probably have been fruitless anyhow. But on feasts there is a certain agreement between them. Thus on the feast of St. Stephen, after the account of the hearing before the High Council, the gradual continues with Psalm 118:23: sedentur principes et adversum me loquebantur. And on Epiphany the closing sentence of the lesson is simply taken up and amplified: Omnes de Saba venient.

Indeed there is even an instance where the chant is an actual continuation of the reading, namely on Ember Saturday when the lesson from Daniel concludes with the canticle.

For the alleluia verse in the Sunday formulaires there was from the very start no fast connection with certain psalms. But Amalar does advise choosing those verses which would most appropriately lead to the repetition of the alleluia, those (in other words) which gave expression to the joy of the Church or the praise of God. The antiphonaries often contained a list of suitable alleluia verses to be chosen at will. It is therefore evident that later on, after the various churches had settled on a certain alleluia verse for each formula there should be very little uniformity on this matter amongst the Mass books. And this also explains why the present Missale Romanum should contain amongst these verses such a great number of non-psalmodic and even non-Biblical texts, for the connection with the original psalm-chanting had meanwhile been loosened even more.

In medieval liturgical practice the alleluia obviously received greater attention than the gradual. The gradual was allegorically interpreted only as a re-echoing of the penitential preaching of John the Baptist and at best as a transition from the Old Testament to the New, and therefore, despite its content and its musical form, it was often accounted penitential in character. But the alleluia was the first of the Mass chants to be treated with troping. The alleluia verses which were performed by a soloist were the very first texts of the Mass to be set to multi-voiced compositions. But in general, the stress was put not on the verse but on the alleluia

Add the parallel case with regard to the prophecies on Holy Saturday. As Hesbert, p. XLII remarks, in such cases the reader also performed the chant which followed at once in his Bible text and was here often accompanied by notes or corresponding signs as well as a rubric (Hic postea sonum or the like); cf. Pulchrior musicae, XIV (1931-4), 272; see also the Antiphonale of Senlis in Hesbert, n. 46 a.

Amalar, De eccl. off., III (19, 4); IV, 19, 4; 20.

Blume, Trophen des Missale, II (Anl. to Buchh. liturgiatricum, 41, p. 211): the alleluia verse on the contrary, with its closing Alleluia, is the proper medium for the growth of the tropes. The oldest tropes to the Alleluia-verse reach back to the 9th century (214). Ibid., p. 215-287, the edition of the text of the "Tropi ad Responsorum gradualia et ad versum Alleluiaicum".

In the Winchester Troper (11th century), ed. Frere (HBS, VIII), of the 100 or so multi-voiced tropes for the Alleluia there are for alleluia-verses, besides about a dozen for sequences; cf. Ursprung, Die kath. Kirchenmusik, 119-121.
itself. On its final vowel tune was piled upon tune, florid melodies called jubilis or, to follow medieval precedent, sequentia.48

Singers found it no easy task to memorize these long intricate tonal figures. But since about the middle of the ninth century certain texts begin to make an appearance in Normandy and then in St. Gall—texts intended to support the melodies49 and at the same time (and perhaps primarily) to render the melodies more agreeable to the musical sensibilities of the northern peoples to whom up to now the melismatic chant was strange. Soon this new art was also extended to newer and more protracted melodies.50 It is the same routine that was later repeated in the tropes, but with this difference that in the latter case brief texts already in existence were expanded.51 Notker Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall (d. 912), set to work to supply texts on the principle of one note to a syllable. This text was then itself called sequentia. They were written in a free rhythmic style, a kind of elevated prose, and were therefore also called ‘proses,’ a term which is still used in French for church hymns. But since each of the musical phrases or strophes of the complete melody was repeated with a different text, the result was a series of paired strophes which were then usually performed by alternate choirs. However, the first and last strophes—the introduction and the conclusion—and the conclusion were not usually paired.52

After the year 1000 a new type of sequence began to develop, a type founded on rhythmical principles and, in general, composed of even verses

48 Amalar, De ecc. off., III, 16 (PL, CV, 1125). Even earlier in the Antiphonary of Mont-Blandin (c. 800), in the list of alleluia-verses the note is added to several: cum sequenti. Hesbert, n. 199 a; cf. ibid., p. CXIX f.
49 Cf. also in the Ordo Rom II, n. 7 (PL, LXVIII, 971, note d): sequitur jubilatio quam sequentiam vocant.
50 A. Manser, Sequenz, 1 (1937), 482-485; here a good bibliography.
53 According to Wagner, I, 253 ff. these richer melodies must have been brought over by oriental monks from the Byzantine church treasury. But Cl. Blume and H. Bannister, Liturgische Pros en erster Epoche (Analecta hymnica, 53; Leipzig, 1911), pp. XLI-XXVIII, differ with him, referring to the fact that the traditional sequence melodies—the oldest traceable to the 9th century—fit in perfectly with the Gregorian melodies of the final syllable of the alleluia and in fact build upon it (XXVI f.). In this continuation they prefer to see rather the independent ‘improvisations’ of the sequence-poets (ibid.). A preliminary step to the sequence proper they find in the versus ad sequentiam of French MSS, which are based only on part of the Alleluia jubilis. In a similar vein also Ursprung, Die kath. Kirchenmusik, 67 ff. Cf. also Anselm Hughes, Anglo-French Sequelena (1934), passim, and Jacques Handschen, ‘The Two Winchester Tropers,’ Journal of Theological Studies, 37 (1936), 35.
55 Supra, p. 344 f.
56 Cf. the examples in Wagner, I, 256 ff.

and strophes; they also make use of rhyme. This is the flourishing period in the composition of sequences, the most famous writer of which was Adam of St. Victor (d. about 1192). Some 5000 sequences have been collected from the manuscripts57; they form an important branch of literature in the Middle Ages.

In northern countries the Mass books of the later Middle Ages contain a sequence for almost every feast day, or even (you might say) for every Mass formula that uses the alleluia. A Cologne missal of 1457 has 73 of them, the Augsburg missal of 1555 has 98.58 But elsewhere, above all in Rome, their reception was very cool,59 or at least (in line with their origin) they were not used at low Mass.60 In the reform of the Mass books under Pius V, out of all the luxuriant crop only four were retained—the same, approximately, as those which are encountered earlier here and there in Italian Mass books.61 The Italian tradition and the humanist attitude were probably both at work in bringing this result about.62

Of the sequences kept,63 the Easter sequence, Victimae paschali, belongs to a traditional form halfway between the older and the newer type. Its author is the Burgundian Wipo (d. after 1048), court-chaplain of Emperor Conrad II. This sequence, which, for all its freshness and the happy, genuinely paschal play of its thoughts, still gives us the impression of a somewhat clumsy poem, is in its original form actually very strictly fashioned; there are an introduction, and four verse-pairs matched line for line and syllable for syllable.64

63 In the Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi ed. by Cl. Blume and G. M. Dreves, the portion given over to “Sequentia inedita” comprises vols. 8, 9, 10, 53, 54, 55; cf. also v. 47, 49.
64 A selection is presented in G. M. Dreves-Cl. Blume, Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung (Leipzig, 1909).
65 The figures according to Eisenhofer, II, 113. English Mass books often contain a rubric to the effect that the sequences that follow are to be sung above all in Advent and at greater saints’ feasts outside the period from Septuagesima to Easter. J. W. Léger, The Sarum Missal (London, 1916), 461-496; cf. Ferreres, 109.
66 Cf. see supra, p. 136.
67 Data regarding the literary history in Eisenhofer, 1, 112-114.
68 An edifying exposition in Gehr, Die Sequenzen des römischen Messbuches dogmatisch und aszitätisch erklärt (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1900).
69 Wagner, I, 268.
70 Thus among the Dominicans and the Carmelites; Manser, 484.
71 It is in this same sense that the Missal of Benedict XV (1925) permits the priest to omit the sequence at private Masses within the octave of Corpus Christi, and likewise at private daily Masses for the Dead.
72 See in the Index in Ebner. Cf. also Wagner, I, 176.
73 Some few other sequences are preserved in the proper of various orders and of some French dioceses; thus, e.g., the sequence Latautavus exulcit on Christmas and Epiphany in the present-day Dominican rite.
74 Cf. supra, p. 136.
75 Data regarding the literary history in Eisenhofer, 1, 112-114.
76 An edifying exposition in Gehr, Die Sequenzen des römischen Messbuches dogmatisch und aszitätisch erklärt (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1900).
77 Wagner, I, 268.
78 But the reform under Pius V the 5th strophe was left out; in strophe 4a the stus was replaced by vos, but the Vatican edition of the Graduale Romanum has once more restored the stus.
but appears to be the work of an even more ancient Franciscan; of late St. Bonaventure has been designated as author. At first it was accepted in Mass books only exceptionally, and for long it was used only in Books of Hours and prayer books. Not till 1727, when Pope Benedict XIII extended the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows to the whole Church, was it admitted into the Roman Missal. And it actually exhibits a character that is not properly liturgical, an accent that is emotionally lyrical rather than hymnic, and in its immersion in the sufferings of Christ—reminiscent of St. Francis’s mysticism—it shows traces of individual piety, of Franciscan devotion to the Passion and our Lady hardly consonant with the objective spirit of common prayer.

Almost the same is true, at least in part, of the Dies irae which put in an appearance at the end of the twelfth century. But the Dies irae has its basis in the liturgy, since it grew out of a rhymed trope added to the responsony Liber me, Domine. Besides, various portions of the hymn have been borrowed from older liturgical songs.

The possibility of giving the alleluia a musical elaboration was the tiny crevice in the structure of the Mass liturgy which the medieval mind was able to widen to such an extent that there was space for its own liturgical language and its own liturgical creations. The sequence, along with the alleluia, became the first crown and climax in the Mass. Here it was that polyphony found its first outlet. At the sequence the organ seems to have been used as an accompaniment from the start. Later we hear of a solemn pealing of bells to accompany the sequence. Dramatic art, too, found its home in it.

In many parts of Germany it is customary to ring a bell at the Gospel. It is as good as proven that here we have a case of transfer; the sequence being omitted, the bell was rung at the Gospel instead. A transitional stage is seen in de Molone, 245, 365, 426; according to these accounts, it was the custom in French churches about 1700 to ring a bell "during the gradual," "shortly before the Gospel and during it," "during the prosa;" the reporter thought that this was done to usher in the Mass of the Faithful. It is remarkable that an English source about 1529 mentions the ringing of a large bell at the Gospel; see Macskell, 63. Also a Trier Synod of 1549, can. 9, speaks of a signal of the bell at the Gospel; Mansi, XXXII, 1447.

It might be well to note the structure of the latter part of the sequence: a question by the congregation, the answer of the biblical person, especially in oriental church ascribed to a number of different authors, is the work of it has been argued with some probability that the first part of the hymn must have been in existence already before Wipo.

The Pentecost sequence, Veni, Sancte Spiritus, which was formerly ascribed to a number of different authors, is the work of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1228). Here the sequence, although built on the alleluia-jubilus, has become independent hymn. Still the text is tied up with the second alleluia verse, Veni, Sancte Spiritus and so becomes an earnest prayer, a cry for that vivifying power from above which overcomes all the weakness of nature. Thus it came to be an expression of medieval devotion to the Holy Ghost, which had revealed itself in the dedication of so many hospitals and hospital churches to the Holy Ghost.

In the Lauda Sion, the sublime didactic poem on the Holy Eucharist which St. Thomas Aquinas composed in 1263, the spirit of Scholasticism created within the liturgy a memorial which bears witness at once to the penetrating search for knowledge and the deep devotion of those generations.

The Stabat Mater was long assigned to Jacopone da Todi (d. 1306),

—Baumstark, Liturgie comparée, 113 f.

Stephen Langton is well-known as a theologian and as the originator of the present system of dividing the Scriptures into chapters.

This itself is of later origin. In its stead in older antiphonaries the verse Spiritus Domini or Hoc dies was to be found; Hesbert, n. 106.
an opening here for its first efforts. As is well known, the older type of sequence, with its double-strophe that seemed to invite the use of dialogue (as we still have it in the *Victima paschali*), was the most important starting-point for the religious play. The dramatic development properly so-called did not, it is true, intrude here, just before the Gospel, where the link with the liturgical action was too pronounced, but it is found usually at the beginning of Mass where on Easter the dialogue-trope, *Quem quattuor in sepulcro, o Christicola*, introduced the introit *Resurrexit*. 128

But the verse-pairs with the repetition of the melody did give rise to the possibility of a popular amendment and elaboration at this very spot. There is proof that in the *Victima paschali* the step so important for the development of a German vernacular hymnology was actually taken; vernacular verses were written in imitation of the Latin, and were then sung by the whole congregation right after each strophe of the Latin. 129 This is the origin of the ancient *Christ ist erstanden*, a German Easter hymn traced back to the twelfth century, whose melody gives a clear indication of the connection between German hymn and Latin sequence. 130

The ancient Pentecost songs, *Num bitten wir den Heiligen Geist und Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* stand in the same relation to the Whit-sun sequence, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*; likewise the vulgaris prosa known as *Christ fuer gen Himmel* is linked with the sequence for Ascension, *Summi triumphum*. 131 The syllabic character which distinguished the sequences from the more ancient melismatic chants, along with the accentual versification (as distinguished from the quantitative), was from the start a popular element that made such a transformation easier. But when these songs became distinct and independent of the sequences they could no longer keep their place within the liturgy of the Mass. Performance by alternate voices—either precentor *versus* choir, or two choirs—has continued, even till now, as the rule for the sequences.132

128 K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), I, 201-222.
129 Ursprung, 77; cf. 79.
130 W. Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied* (Freiburg, 1883), II, 12, quoting a school plan of Crailsheim, 1480: *Item circa alia festa Resurrectionis, Ascensionis et Corporis Christi habentur plures canones convenientes cum sequentis; videlicet in sequentias 'Victime paschali laudes': 'Crist ist erstanden,' circa quotiesb duos versus, etc., regulariter fit. Vel alius: 'Surrexit Christus Hodie, alleluja, alleluja, humano pro solamine, alleluja', vulgaris: 'Erstanden ist der heilige Christ, Alleluja, Der aller Welt ein Tröster ist, Alleluja, usw.

For Ingolstadt about 1530 Dr. Eck attests this usage: *Sub Alleluja solet ali-

wheno cani: 'Christ ist erstanden'. Greving, Johann Eck's *Pfarrbuch*, 152, note c. Bäumker, *op. cit.*, 188 f., 199, also cites the Mainz Cantual of 1605 and 1627, where German verses within the sequence of great feasts are presupposed.

131 See the comparison presented by Ursprung, 72, cf. 101. Also printed in F. Gennrich, *Der Gemeindegeang in der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche* (Welt des Gesangbuchs, 2; Leipzig o. J.), 27.

132 Other older forms of the song in Bäumker, I, 502-510.

133 Bäumker, II, 12.

134 Cf. also W. Bäumker, *Zur Geschichte der Tonkunst* (Freiburg, 1881), 132 f.

135 Graduale Romanum (ed. Vat., 1908), *De rit. serv. in cantu Missæ*, IV.

The Intervenient Chants

In the period of Baroque it was especially the sequence *Lauda Sion* that received a ceremonial embellishment. At the high Mass celebrated before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, the celebrant near the end of the sequence, before the words *Ecce panis angelorum*, took the monstrance from the throne and turned with it to face the people; or he himself intoned the words just mentioned. 136

The fact that here the swift course of the Mass seemed to reach a point of rest, a breathing spot before the triumphal entry of the divine word in the Gospel, was early manifested in the possibility of making various insertions here. In contrast to a more ancient arrangement, which placed the ordinandas (without any fore-Mass) immediately before the start of the Mass proper, 137 it was customary at Rome as early as 600 to insert the conferring of the major Orders before the Gospel, or more precisely, between gradual and alleluia, resp. tract. 138 This has remained the rule even today, at least for ordination to priesthood and episcopacy. Like the consecration of abbots and virgins and the crowning of kings, these are introduced before the alleluia or, as the case may be, before the last verse of the sequence or the tract. 139

In the later Middle Ages it became customary at a high Mass to start the preparation of the offerings during these interpolated chants before the Gospel. 140 This custom was then taken over here and there into the less

136 The latter was the case at the Corpus Christi high Mass as celebrated at Klosterneuburg in the 18th century; Schabes, 171.

137 For the Premonstratensians of Brabant a provincial chapter of 1620 decreed: Each time, when the conventional Mass *de Venerabili* was celebrated, *Ecce panis* should be sung after the Alleluia, and *sub iis omnibus* (viz., also at the *Tantum ergo* and *Genitori* before and after the service) *venerabile sacramentum a celebri ore abeit acul, acolythi undas accessant, cymbala pulsent et turribularius thurisciect. J. E. Steynek, *Capitula provincialis Cincaria Braabantiae* (Supplement to the *Analecta Pram.*, 17-18 [1841-42], 4).

138 Countless other examples are found in the 14th century in Browne, *Die Verheuchung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, 150-153.


140 *Ordo Rom. VIII., n. 3, 4, 8* (PL, LX XVIII, 1001-1004); cf. de Pueyrredon, *Das romische Pontifikale*, 1, 131 f. Since the 10th century the other orders which were formerly conferred outside Mass or after Communion were often inserted here, until later the Gallican fashion of conferring the orders at various places in the fore-Mass finally won the day; ibid., 132.

141 Pontificale Rom., *De ordinibus conferredis.*

Thus already in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 81): The subdeacon washes his hands and then puts wine into the chalice and the requisite hosts on the paten. *Ordo Rom. XIV.,* n. 53 (PL, LX XVIII, 1161 B). We learn that in French episcopal churches of the late Middle Ages this preparation took place on a side altar and that the deacon spoke the accompanying words (*Dena qui humana substantia* or *De latere*) at the commingling of the water. Frequently the chalice and paten were then carried to the altar during the *Credo*; Martene, 1, 4, 4, 10 (1, 375 f.). Further examples, ibid., 1, 4, XXIV, 171, XXIX, XXXVII (1, 627 D, 646 D, 677 D).

sacred Mass. At the same time we hear occasionally that during these chants and preparations the celebrant was to say certain *apologiae* quietly to himself, or at least that he could do so; in fact some Mass books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries offer a large store of them in this place. It is hard to say whether this is the expression of an exaggerated sin-consciousness or of a remarkable *horror vacui* which could not tolerate a pause not filled with vocal prayer. Both practices disappeared in the course of time.

6. **The Gospel**

It is a strict rule which holds true in all liturgies, that the last of the readings should consist of a passage from the Gospels, but this is not something self-explanatory. If the order of the biblical canon or the time sequence of the events were the norm, the Acts of the Apostles would, at least on occasion, come last. But obviously there had to be some order of precedence and, there was never any doubt that the Gospels hold the highest rank; they contain the “good tidings,” the fulfillment of all the past, and the point from which all future ages radiate. And just as in a procession of the clergy the highest in rank comes last, so too in the series of readings.

How highly the Gospels were regarded is seen in the care and the wealth that was expended on the manuscripts containing them. The Gospels were long written in stately uncials even after these had otherwise gone out of use. Not a few manuscripts were prepared in gold or silver script upon a purple ground, or they were richly decorated with miniatures. What Christian antiquity had begun in this regard, was even surpassed in the Carolingian era. Not seldom was the binding of the evangeliary covered with ivory and pure gold or silver. The Gospel book alone was permitted to be read by the celebrant himself, or at least that he could do so; in fact some Mass books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries offer a large store of them in this place. It is hard to say whether this is the expression of an exaggerated sin-consciousness or of a remarkable *horror vacui* which could not tolerate a pause not filled with vocal prayer. Both practices disappeared in the course of time.

The oldest attestations for the Gospel as the last lesson will be found in Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestaments,* Kanons, II (Erlangen, 1890), 380, note 2.

Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1250 A): the Epistle precedes, just as the Lord sent his apostles before him (Luke 10: 1). Later expositors unanimously see in this precedence of the Epistle a representation of the activity of the Forerunner; thus Amalarius, *De eccl. off.,* III, 11 (PL, CV, 1118); Durandus, IV, 16, 2 ff.; Eisenhofer, II, 103.


In the liturgy itself the effort was made from earliest times to enhance and stress the *evangelium* as much as possible. It was to be read not by a lector but by a deacon or a priest. On feast days perhaps the bishop himself read the Gospel; in Jerusalem this was the case every Sunday. In the West the delivery of the Gospel was the deacon’s duty from earliest times, for he was the first cleric amongst all those assisting. On Christmas night it became the privilege of the Roman emperor to stand forth in full regalia to deliver the Gospel: *Exuit editicum a Caesare Augusto.*

In the latter part of the ancient Christian period the question was agitated, whether the Gospel was not too sacred to be heard by the profane ears of the catechumens. The Roman baptismal rite as revised in the sixth century at all events puts the sharing of the Gospel on a par with the sharing of the confession of faith and the Our Father which were always regarded as restricted by the *disciplina arcani.* And as a matter of fact the catechumens—as a rule children who were subjected to the forms of adult baptism—were dismissed before the Gospel at the Scrutiny-Masses. Similar endeavors must have made themselves felt in Gaul even earlier, for the Council of Orange in 441 had occasion to insist that the catechumens were on the altar which otherwise bore only the Blessed Sacrament, a conception which survives in the Greek Church down to the very present.

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also to hear the Gospel. This latter attitude paralleled the counsel of our Lord: Preach the Gospel to the whole of creation (Mark 16:15), and was always the standard in the Church as long as the catechumenate continued.

The departure of the deacon, too, as he walked to the place where the Gospel was to be read, was built up gradually into a formal procession. The beginnings of such a ceremonial are already to be seen in the first Roman Ordo; the deacon kisses the feet of the pope, who pronounces over him the words: Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labis tuis. Then he goes to the altar where the Gospel book has been lying since the beginning of the service (having been placed there ceremoniously by a deacon, accompanied by an acolyte). He kisses it and picks it up. As he betakes himself to the ambo, he is accompanied by two acolytes with torches, and by two subdeacons, one of whom carries a thymiamaterium.

13 Can. 18 (Mansi, VI, 439). The same prescription is repeated by later councils. Amalar, De eccl. off., III, 36 (PL, CV, 1156 B.), calls the dismissal before the Gospel consuetudo nostra, but finds it unreasonable. Cf. P. Borella, "La 'missa o 'dimissio catechumenorum'," Eph. liturg., LIII (1939), 60-10, especially 63 ff.

14 In the Byzantine-Slav rite of the Catholic Ukrainians it is still the custom to sing the Gospel on Easter Sunday in several languages, including the modern one of the locality in which the church is built. Usually the various languages follow verse for verse or section for section; see note 6 above.

15 In the solemn papal Mass not only the Gospel but the Epistle also is read in both Latin and Greek; Brinktrine, Die feierliche Papstmesse, 14-16. There is evidence for the practice since the early Middle Ages: Liber pont., Vita of Benedict III (d. 858; Duchesne, II, 147); Ordo Rom., n. 20; 47 (PL, LXXVII, 1033, 1044). A custom held also for Easter and Pentecost and for the Ember Saturdays; see Kunze, Die gottesdienstliche Schriftenlesung, 105 f.

Similar customs were still in existence at St. Denis about 1000: Martène, 1, 3, 2, 10 (1, 281 D.). Further accounts, ibid., 3, 2, 7 (280 f.). At the coronation of Alexander V at the Council of Pisa (1409) both in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; Martène, loc. cit.

16 Ordo Rom., n. 5; 11 (PL, LXVIII, 942 f.).

17 In this short form also in Sicard of Cremona, Mitrale, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 106).

18 This was obviously done to show that the sacred message comes from Christ. Amalar, De eccl. off., III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125) and later interpreters; with special exactness Hugh of St. Cher (ed. Söch, 18).

19 In the Middle Ages it was the rule (to a great extent) to place the Gospel book on the altar at the beginning of Mass. However, according to the Cistercian and Carmelite rites, it was laid on the reading desk at once; Söch, 66.

20 When, in the present-day high Mass, the deacon lays the Gospel book on the altar after the Epistle, it is doubtless a reminiscence of the ancient symbolic rite. The older, fuller ceremony was probably omitted from the Missal of Pius V (Rit. serv., VI, 5) because the Gospel is contained in the missal, and the latter is on the altar from the start. Söch, 67.

In the Gallican liturgy of this period we come upon somewhat the same picture as that at Rome, but heightened a little. The well-known commentary on this ancient liturgy—a work of the seventh century—sees in the solemn entry of the evangelium (which is accompanied by the chanting of the Trisagion and at which seven torches are carried) a representation of Christ's triumphal coming. We can also include as parallel the Little Entry of the oriental liturgies, although this is placed at the very beginning of the reading service. Its center, too, is the Gospel book— if not exclusively, at least predominantly. A procession which apparently centers on the Gospel book is also found in the Coptic liturgy. The procession is formed immediately before the reading of the Gospel; lights are carried in front of the book, and the altar is circled.

As seems plain from what has been said, the carrying of tapers before the Gospel tially with an ancient Christian practice that must have been common to all the liturgies. In fact St. Jerome testifies that it was customary in all the churches of the Orient to light lights when the Gospel was to be read, and this on the brightest day; in this way an air of joy could be lent to the gathering. More precisely, however, the practice was painfully an honor paid to the holy book. The Roman Notitia dignitatum of the fifth century, amongst the official insignia of the various dignitaries of the Roman State which are there illustrated, shows for the praefectus pretorio a picture in which a book stands opened on a covered table between two burning candles—a book whose cover bears a likeness of the

21 Expositio ant. lit. gallicana (ed. Quas ten, 14 f.): Egregiior processio sancti evangelii velut potentia Christi triumphantis de morte, cum predicta harmonia et cum septem candelabris lumi nis, quae sunt septem dona Spiritus Sancti ... ascendent in tribunal analogii velut Christus sedem regni paterni, ut inde intonet donea vita clamantibus clericis: Gloria tibi Domine, in sancte angelorum qui nascente Domino: Gloria in excelsis Deo, pastoribus apparentibus, etc. The seven torches (after Apoc. 1: 12, 20) still found in Ordo Rom VI (Germany, 10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXVIII, 991). On the contrary only at the entry for the start of services in Ordo Rom., n. 8 (PL, LXVIII, 941). See supra, p. 263.

22 See supra, p. 263.

23 Cf. supra, n. 81. For the other rites of the Orient, cf. the indications in Baumstk, Die Messe im Morgenland, 82. B. sees the prototype of the uskak eloveq in the procession from the church of the Resurrection to that of the Holy Cross after the fore-Mass of Sunday morning's service, as described in the peregrinatio Aetheria, c. 24 (CSEL, XXXIX, 74). The explanation does not seem to be wholly warranted, for the procession here mentioned took place after the Gospel and had an entirely different function (cf. supra, 261 f.).

24 Renaudot, Liturgiarum orient. collectio, I (1747), 189 f. I. Cf. for the Ethiopian liturgy, Brightman, 220, 1.5.

25 Jerome, Contra Vigilantium, c. 7 (PL, XXIII, 346)

emperor on a ground of gold; it is the liber mandatorum which contains the powers granted to this official by the emperor.\(^{24}\) We can also recall the custom of carrying lights and incense before the bishop at a solemn entry—one of the honors which, since the time of Constantine, was transferred from the higher civil officials to church dignitaries.\(^{25}\) It is but a step to explain the carrying of lights and incense before the Gospel book on the basis of the personal honor paid to the bishop; in the Gospel book, which contains Christ's word, Christ Himself is honored and His entry solemnized.\(^{26}\) This custom is on a level with the practice of erecting a throne at synods and placing the Gospel book thereon to show that Christ is presiding;\(^{27}\) or with that other practice, followed as late as the tenth and twelfth century, of carrying the Gospel book in the Palm Sunday procession to take the place of Christ.\(^{28}\)

In the later Middle Ages the processionals character of this act was emphasized in many places by having a cross-bearer precede the group.\(^{29}\) The cushion for the book was probably also carried in the procession.\(^{30}\) This stately escort of the Gospel book at a high Mass is sometimes reflected in the action of private Mass, when the priest himself transfers the Mass book for the Gospel.\(^{31}\) At Le Mans it was even the custom for the priest to carry the Gospel book to the altar at a high Mass, and only then to turn it over to the deacon.\(^{32}\)

That Christ Himself is honored in the Gospel book\(^{33}\) is also revealed in the acclamations that are uttered. Here we have another of those dramatic elements which the Roman Mass gradually acquired in the countries of the North. The deacon greets the people and receives their greeting in return.\(^{34}\) Then he announces the pericope and the cry is heard: Gloria tibi, Domine.\(^{35}\) After the lection the Mass-server answers: Laus tibi, Christe.\(^{36}\) And in one Italian church of the twelfth century use is made of the shout of homage with which the crowds greeted our Lord: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.\(^{37}\) In some isolated instances the deacon himself, at the end of the reading, is saluted by the celebrant with a Pax tibi.\(^{38}\)

Merati, Thesaurus, II, 5, 5 (1, 233). Practical considerations have here won out over the esteem for symbolism. Cf. however the stressing of the ancient rubric by J. M. Hanssens, "Cuius est in Missa privata transierre Massalem?" Eph. liturg., XLVIII (1834), 326-330.

\(^{24}\) Notitia dignitatum, ed. O. Seck (Berlin, 1876), p. 8; 107; cf. E. Böcking, Liber de Nicolai dignitatum (Bonn, 1834), 96 f., 101.

\(^{25}\) Supra, p. 68 f.


\(^{27}\) Thus, e.g., at the Council of Ephesus (431): Cyril of Alexandria, Apol. ad Imperatorem, (PG, LXXVI, 472 B).

\(^{28}\) Eisenhofer, I, 506.

\(^{29}\) It is not necessary, therefore, to follow Atchley, 184 f., in considering the use of lights and incense at the Gospel procession as originally intended to honor the bishop.

\(^{30}\) Durandus, IV, 24, 16; Frete, The use of Sarum, I, 73.

The custom existed among the Premonstratensians and even today is preserved by the Dominicans and in many French churches; Söch, Hagi, 69 f.

\(^{31}\) Innocent III, De s. alt. mysterio, II, 41 (PL, CCXVII, 823 B); Durandus, IV, 24, 1. Also at a later period: de Moleon, 55; 229.

In this procession the Middle Ages found ample opportunities for allegorical interpretation: The deacon must proclaim the Crucified. The cushion reminds him of the reward. The two candles recall the two Testaments, or they refer to Enoch and Elias who will precede Christ's second coming, etc. Durandus, IV, 24, 12-16; cf. A. van Dijk (Eph. liturg., 1939), 324, with the references to older expositors. That the deacon carried the book supported on his left arm was also a matter of moment, because the preaching of Christ in the Gospel passed from the Jews to the Gentiles (indicated by the left); Sölch, 67 f.

Alphabetum sacerdotum (15-16th century): Legg, Tracts, 39; Ordinanrium of Coutances (1557), ibid, 88.

Even in the present Missale Rom., Ritus serv., VI, 1, the priest at a private Mass is given to understand that he himself carries the book to the other side: ipsum et su minister. C. M. Merati (d. 1744) was the first to think it more fitting that the server transfer the book, and he has him carry it over closed, pollice sinistro inter folias interrecto; Cavanti.

\(^{32}\) Augustin, In Joh. tract., 30, 1 (PL, XXXV, 1632): Nos taceo quicquid audiamus evangelium quod praebent Deus et Dominus. Similarly already Ignatius of Antioch, Ad Phil., 5, 1: The Gospel is his refuge, 'like the flesh of Jesus.'

\(^{33}\) Thus first in the Carolingian Ordo Rom., II, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972).

\(^{34}\) From the Gallican Mass of the 7th century; see above, note 17. With the wording Gloria Deo omnipotenti already in Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc., VIII, 4 (PL, LXXI, 451 D).

\(^{35}\) Boeckler, I, 10 (PL, CV, 1125 f.) is the first to attribute its presence in the Roman Mass and he wishes that everyone should join in saying it, even if he cannot understand the words of the Gospel.

\(^{36}\) In the later part of Ordo Rom I, n. 27 (PL, LXXVIII, 950 C); also Innocent III, De s. alt. mysterio, II, 46 (PL, CCXVII, 826), who apportions it to the people.

\(^{37}\) According to the Ordinanrium of Coutances (1557) the priest adds to the response given by the clerics (Gloria tibi Domine) the words: Qui natus es de Virgine or Qui apparuesti hodie, etc.; Legg, Tracts, 59.

\(^{38}\) Supra, p. 407. The practice still ap-
If, in these crises, the clergy answer the message of joy rather than the people, still the faithful also take a part in showing honor to the Gospel, and is provable there as far back as the fourth century. In the West also there is early and manifold evidence of standing at the usage and describe it in minute detail. When the deacon's greeting sounds, all stand up and turn to him. Thereupon all the people face east, till the words of our Lord begin. Meanwhile the canes that are used to support oneself are put aside and the people either stand erect (like servants before their Lord) or else slightly bowed. The men are to remove every head covering, even the princed crown. Mention is made, too, of setting

pears in Mass books of the 11th century; Ehnen, 330, 337. But it is not explained even in Ordo Rom. III (11th century; Germany), n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 980). In the Missa Ilyrica all the clerics cry out to the deacon: Pax tiibi; Martene, I, 4, IV (I, 505 B).

Today it is prescribed as the one exception to the kneeling position at private Mass; Missale Rom., Ruber., gen., XVII, 2.

Hanssen, III, 214.


Liber pont. (Duchesne, I, 218): Hic [Anastasius I] constituit, ut quiecamunque evangeli sancta recitantur, sacerdotes et ceteri omnes super planetam). This is attested as still the practice of the 13th century; see van Dijk, 323: "et capite aliquantulum inclinato."

This regulation is probably inspired by the same reasons which fostered the bowing of the head; see the evidence from a lectionary of the year 1073 in Périnon, Le Liber mosanensis sacramentorum, p. 94; cf. Ferreres, 112.


Similarly most of the later interpreters, e.g. Hildebert of Le Mans (d. 1133) in his poetic exposition of the Mass: Fiebas baculis ponti, stat retegitque caput, et in ipsa hora neque corona neque alium experimentum super capita eorum habetur. Et ceterum (PL, CV, 1322).

This kiss, later in the form of crutches, usually took the place of pews; Söldch, Hugh of St. Cher, 74. Canes of this sort are still used for the same purpose by Abyssinian monks. "Amalar, loc. cit.

Further illustrations below, note 45 f., and in van Dijk (Eph. liturg., 1939), 325; Durandus, IV, 24, 23-25.

Thus according to the ancient canon; see note 41 above. John Beleth, Explicatio, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 49 B): "erecti . . . aut capite inclinato."

This is attested as still the practice of these military orders by J. M. Cavaleri (d. 1575), Commentaria in authentica SRC decreti, V (Augsburg, 1764), 84 f. Also note 9 above.

Some student fraternities have taken over the usage of drawing their weapons at the Gospel. A custom having a similar aim is that of waving banners, as is done by certain Catholic organizations.

Ordo Rom. I, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943). The deacon, like other clerics of the 8th century, wore a bell-shaped chasuble which he therefore rolled up. In like manner the acolyte covered his book, which he carried before the entrance procession and carried it to the altar. Ordo Rom. I, n. 5 (PL, LXXVIII, 940); Beissel, Bildete, 304 f., 313. In Ordo Rom. I, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943) it seems at first only a small group who were concerned, at least if Batiffol's explanation of the phrase per ordinem graduum pertinea here; Leçons, 82.

This kiss of the Gospel book by the bishop and the assembled clergy is attested as an ancient tradition by Jonas of Orleans (d. 843), De cultu imagin., II, prof. (PL, CVI, 342 f.).

The book is honored by a kiss from the pontiff upon entering the church, and by a kiss from the deacon before he ascends the ambo (supra, p. 445). Ordo Rom. II, n. 5; 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 950 C, 971 C), which mentions the same reverence, also names the bishop as the first to kiss the book after the Gospel; n. 8 (972 B).

In the Byzantine liturgy the celebrant kisses the Gospel-book at the finish of the Little Entrance; Brightman, 368, I, 19 f. above. Ordo Rom. I, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943). Expositio Missa pro multius, ed. Hansens (Eph. liturg., 1930); Ordo Rom. II, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972 B). According to William of Hirsauc (d. 1091), Const., I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017), the priest at a private Mass kissed the book after the reading, then handed it to the Masserver et alii communicare solentibus to be kissed. Also according to the Lay Folks Mass Book of the 13th century (Simmons, p. 18), the faithful still kiss the book. Later there is no mention of it any more. In the Coptic liturgy it is also customary for those present to kiss the book after the reading of the Gospel, the priest kissing the open book, the faithful kissing the silken covering; Renaudot, Liturg. orient. collectio, I, 190. Notice the similarity to the practice at Bayeux, note 56 below.

"Thus according to a decision of Honorius III, March 8, 1221 (A. Potthast, Regesta pont. Rom., I [Berlin, 1874], p. 573); cf. J. M. Cavaleri, Commentaria, V, 31.
to be kissed,"" and the celebrant used to do so with the book opened, just as it is customary nowadays, while the rest of the choir did so with the book closed."" Gradually, however, since the thirteenth century, the custom of having the clergy kiss the book disappeared,"" although it was still to be found in some places as late as the eighteenth century."" According to present-day practice even the deacon no longer kisses the book,"" but only the celebrating priest"" or (but only in his stead) an attending higher prelate,"" even at a private Mass. And while doing so the priest says: *Per evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta.* Similar formulas have attended the kissing of the Gospel since around the year 1000."" And traces of the original meaning

Even according to present usage a Gospel book (not the same as that kissed by the celebrating bishop) can be handed to a *maximus princeps* for a kiss, likewise to a high prelate. *Ceremoniale episc.* I, 29, 9. For the rest, however, the prohibition to hand the book to lay people has been repeatedly stressed in decrees; Gavanti-Merati, II, 6, 2 (I, 237 f.).

**Thus in John of Avranches, De offic. eccl.** (PL, CXLVII, 35 B).

**Hugh of St. Cher, Tract.** (Sölch, 21).

At Bayeux the book was handed to all the priests as open, to other clerics closed; Martène, 1, 4, XXIV (I, 628 C). Similar customs also existed elsewhere; see Lebrun, *Explication,* I, 204, note b.

In this case the open book was understood in the light of Luke 8: 10: "To you it is granted to understand the secret of God's kingdom; the rest must learn it by parables." Durandus, IV, 24, 32.

**Durandus, IV, 24, 32, cites it only** in the following form: *Postea in quibusdam ecclesiis celebratur Missa illa qui sunt in choro ostenditur.* However it did endure for a long time in many places in France: Martène, 1, 4, XXIV; cf. XXIX (I, 608 A, 628 B, 646 E).

In England we see the practice, but in a later part of the Mass, at the Offertory when the clergy are incensed and then each is given the book to kiss; Missal of Sarum: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667).

**According to Martène, 1, 4, 5, 6 (I, 379 D), it was at that time customary at Vienne and Tours to hand each one the open book with the words: *Haec est lex divina.* Likewise Lebrun reports the custom at Paris: After the thurifer has incensed each individual, the subdeacon presents the Gospel book to be kissed with the words: *Haec sunt verba sancta,* whereupon the other answers: *Credo et confiteor;* Lebrun, *Explication,* I, 203 f. Similarly amongst the Premonstratensians in the *Ordinarium of 1729;* Waelhelm, 56, note 2.

The subdeacon often kissed the book as soon as the reading was finished: Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrare,* III, 4 (PL, CXII, 112 B); Durandus, IV, 24, 30.

In the rite of the Dominicans and of the Carthusians he kisses it after the priest; Sölch, *Hugh,* 75.

In some places the deacon also kissed the book before starting to read: thus in the *Missa Ilyrica:* Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 505 B), in the Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 201), likewise in Sicard, *loc. cit.* (110 B). According to a mid-Italian sacramentary of the 11th century he kissed not only the book but the altar, saying *Munda cor and Domine labia mea,* Ebner, 340. The same formulas, without the kissing of the altar, also at St. Vincent: Fiala, 201.

**The possible exceptions, note 54 above.**

**Missale Rom., Rit. sac.,** VI, 2; 5. The same direction in the *Ordo Missae* of John Burchard; *Legg, Tracts,* 147.

**Specially frequent is the formula which then appears about 1030 in the Missa Ilyrica,* mostly with slight variations: *Per istos sanctos sermons evangelii Domini nostri Jesu Christi indulgent nobile Domini universa peccata nostra:* Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 505 B). Likewise in a mid-Italian book about the same time: Ebner, 300 (quando salutant omnes evangelium, dicat unusquisque . . . ); likewise later:

**ibid., 322, 355; Fiala, 202. Cf. Martène 1, 4, XIII, XVI (I, 576 D, 596 f.).**

In a somewhat exuberant fashion the *Alphabutum sacratodictum* (after 1495; *Legg, Tracts,* 40) directs the priest to make a sign of the Cross over the book while saying: *Deo gratias. Per evangelica dicta deleantur dicta. Amen.* *Haec sunt verba sancta.* *Credo et confiteor.*


**Missa of St. Denis (11th century; cf. Leroquis, I, 142):** Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 523 B); here at the same time the formula already referred to (note 62), *Per istos.* Some mid-Italian Mass books of the 11th century use here the formula that is also used at the start of Mass: *Pax Christi quam* (see pp. 291, 312, supra); Ebner, 298, 300.

**Missa of St. Pol de Léon 15th century; cf. Leroquis, III, 230 f.:** Martène, 1, 4, XXXIV (I, 592 B). Here, however, there is a further formula, our *Per evangelica dicta,* which is otherwise hard to find in medieval Mass books.

The first-named formula should be compared with that used in the Jacobite Mass, in which the deacon, after intro-

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**ing of reverent and grateful greeting are to be seen in a formula from that early period: *Ave verba sancti evangelii quaetum mundum reflestit* ""; or in the words found in a more recent arrangement of the private Mass: *Deo gratias, credo et confiteor.*

In contrast to this sharp retrenchment of the kissing of the book, the use of incense—again in the northern countries—has been on the increase. Originally the censer was merely carried in the procession of the book to the ambo; no special incensing took place. Then later it was to be carried up the ambo with the deacon* "" if there was room. In fact a second *thuribulum* was probably employed.*"" Now the fragrant smoke emanating from the censer and swirling around the Gospel book gains a special value; everyone wants to be touched by it, to be blessed by the trinity of consecrated incense, and therefore after the reading the censer is carried through the crowd. This usage, is, significantly, mentioned first by the same witness who testifies to the ceremony of handing the book to the people to be kissed.*""

The practice was curtailed and only the celebrant was incensed, but even then this incensation retained its special meaning (already men-
In the ninth century for the first time do we come mentioned) that the cross on forehead and breast after the words "Ite Domino benedictare. Domini sit in corde credenda et opercule, qua verba praebentes.

The desire to grasp the sacred word of God and to secure its blessing (a desire that proved transiently effective in the case of the incensing), also found a lasting expression in another symbol—the sign of the Cross. In the ninth century for the first time do we come across this practice of the faithful signing a cross on their foreheads after the deacon greets them. Then we hear of another custom, the deacon and all those present imprinting the cross on forehead and breast after the words "Sequentia sancti evangelii." About the eleventh century mention is made of forehead, breast, and hand, and following him William of Melitona, Opuscula super missam (ed. van Dijk, 336): "Lecto evangelio liber et thuribulum ad episcopum deferunt... et ipsa ad atellam. A middle stage is seen in the Ordo eccl. Lateran. (Fischer, 81): After the reading, the deacon is presented with incensum odorandum, likewise then the bishop and the assisting priest. (Similarly the Missal of St. Vincent: Fiala, 201.) In fact here the deacon is offered this incensum also at the very beginning of the reading. Also in the Liber ordinarius of the Liege monastery of St. James (Volk, 91) we read much the same thing at the beginning of the Gospel: transferens se debet diaconum interim incensare et ad finem evangelii simuliter faciat, whereas the celebrant is not incensed.

This special meaning is expressed, to some extent, in the prayer which the celebrant says while putting in the incense: "Odoe coelestis inspirationi sua accentat Dominus et implant corda nostra ad audientia et implenta evangelii sui praecepta. Qui vivit. This is to be found in Mass books since the 11th century, e.g., in the Missal of Troyes (circa 1050): Martene, 1, 4, VI (I, 531 A); in a mid-Italian missal of the 11th century: Ebner, 297 (later examples: ibid., 332, 345); also, with the addition of a second formula of blessing, in the Missa illiyca: Martene, 1, 4, IV (1, 504 f.).

Durandus, IV, 24, 34, is aware only of the incensing of the bishop after the Gospel, and sees in it an invitation to prayer.

John of Avranches, De off. eccl. (PL, 147, 35 A): Sacrid of Cremona, Mitrale, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 110 B). Other interpreters know nothing of it, not even Durandus.

According to the Sarum Ordinary (c. 1320) it is not the book but the altar that is incensed; Legg, Tracta, 4.

Cf. supra, p. 445 f.

According to the present-day Missale Romanum. At the time of Durandus (IV, 24, 33) the basic principle regarding Masses for the Dead was formulated: omnis solemnitas subtrahatur, but it was applied only in part to the kiss, not as yet to the incensing.

Amalar, De off. eccl. III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 D); Ecloge (PL, CV, 1322 A). Also, according to Remigius of Auxerre (d. circa 908), Expositio (PL, CL, 1251 A), the people make the sign of the Cross on their foreheads, the deacon on both forehead and breast.

Ordo Rom. II, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972).

There is mention only of the deacon in the Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 201)

and in Berni, Micrologus, c. 9 (PL, LI, 983); likewise in Hugh of St. Cher, Tract. super Missam (ed. Sölich, 20), where besides the crossing of the book comes first. The same ritual in the Liber ordinarius of Liége (Volk, 91). According to the Regensburg Missal of 1500 (Beck, 265 f.), the priest at a non-solem Mass stands at the center of the altar and crosses his breast and lips with the words: Fube Domine benedicere. Dominus sit in corde v moco in labiis, ut ...; thereupon he signs the altar, adding the words: Domine mecum. Et cum spiritu meo. Then he starts the reading of the Gospel with Dominus voluitcum, and once more signs the book, his forehead and breast; likewise at the end he signs the book.

William of Hirsau, Const., I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017); cf. as a preliminary step Bernard., Ordo Clun., I, 72 (Herrott, 264).

Honorius Augustod., Gemma an., 1, 23 (PL, CLXXII, 551); John Beleth, Explicatio, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 4803); Innocent III, De c. alt. mysterio, II, 43 (PL, CCXVII, 824); Ordinarium O.P. (Guer rini, 238); Durandus, IV, 24, 28.

The threefold sign of the Cross is attested for the first time, in general, by these authors of the 11th and 12th centuries.

John Beleth, loc. cit.

Alexander of Hales, Summa de sacrific. missae, and following him William of Melitona (in van Dijk, Eph. liturg., 1939, 325). That the faithful, too, should sign themselves with the Cross these interpreters declare is only the opinion of guides (van Dijk, 325). As a matter of fact among the Saxon Franciscans of the 15th century it was still thought sufficient that the deacon should make a single sign of the Cross, and this upon himself; ibid., note 149.

Remigius of Auxerre, Expositio (PL, CL, 1251 C); Ordo Rom. II, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972 B); John Beleth, Explicatio, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 48 D). Further witnesses from the 12-13th century in van Dijk, 326.

This last sign of the Cross was customary among the Dominicans from the outset and is still prescribed; Sölich, Hugh, 74: at present it is the large Latin Cross that is prescribed both here at the end and also after the triple Cross at the beginning. Missale tacta ritum O.P. (1889), 26.


The quotation is connected with this closing sign in Remigius, loc. cit., Beleth, loc. cit.

Further illustrations in van Dijk, 326.

Amalar, De off. eccl., III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 f.).

The Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century) presents a special prayer for this sign of the Cross with the rubric: Quando se signent; the prayer is as follows: Crucis svidice signo muni, Domine, omnes sensus mocos ad audienda verba sancti evangelii corda credenda et opera compleanda; Martene, I, 4, V (I, 523 A).
is placed on the readiness to acknowledge God’s word with courage in the sense of St. Paul’s assertion: I am not ashamed of this Gospel. Probably it was in this sense that the signing of the forehead grew into a triple signing of forehead, lips and breast, and in addition, the signing of the book. The meaning is this: For the word which Christ brought and which is set down in this book we are willing to stand up with a mind that is open; we are ready to confess it with our mouth; and above all we are determined to safeguard it faithfully in our hearts.

Pursuing this conception of a blessing with which we ought to prepare for the Gospel, Amalar remarks that the deacon who is about to scatter the seed of the Gospel stands in need of a benediction. The simple word of blessing which, according to the first Roman Ordo, the pope pronounces over the deacon, is soon broadened out into formulas that reproduce or resemble the one we use today, for example, Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labis tuis ut munies competentem evangelium pacis; or it is replaced or supplemented by other blessing formulas, for instance: Benedicte Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super te et aperiat Christus os tuum ad pronuntiandum dignum idoneum sanctum evangelium suum; or: Corroboret Dominus sensum et labia tua, ut recte pronunties nobis eloquium divinum; or by a biblical phrase Deus miseretur vestri et benedicit; or: Spiritus Domini super te, evangelizare pauperibus. Then too, the deacon formally begs for the blessing with Iube, domne, benedicere. Since the eleventh century there appears, either before or after the blessing and the blessing, both unchanged, were taken over into the private Mass just as we have them today.

Thus the same thought of a proper preparation is disclosed: Pure must be the heart and chaste the lips of him who is to set forth the word of God, as the Lord Himself had declared in His message to Isaias when the seraph had touched the seer’s lips with the glowing coal; lips that were to pronounce the word of God; and the heart, too, because this pronouncement was not to be a mere mechanical movement but an intellectual and intelligent speech, because the messenger of the glad tidings (and this holds also for one who only reads the message to the assembly) must first take the lesson to heart before he conveys it to the congregation.

\[\text{Ordo of Johannes Archicantor, De conversio (Silva-Taronca, 213 f.).}\]
\[\text{\textit{Iube = dignare = "deign"; it is a courteous formula which implies that great lords do not themselves act but charge servants with the task. The dominus here used is also customary in other cases to distinguish earthly masters from the heavenly Dominus.}}\]
\[\text{Ebn. 300, 314, 340, 342; Ordo Rom. XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1161).}\]
\[\text{Ps. 50: 17; Ordo Rom. VI (10th century), n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 991).}\]
\[\text{Also Eth. 14: 12 f. (in Old Latin phrasing: Conforta me rex... is often found in monastic texts: Fiata, 201; Ebn. 355; De Corswarem, 121; cf. Missal of Hereforde (1502): Da mihi, Dominine, sermone recitum... Mussell, 56).}\]

The same prayer for purity, based on this passage from Isaias, is found at the beginning of the liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 32, 1. 4). But here the glowing coals are referred to the two natures in Christ, to his humanity aglow with the divinity; this interpretation is quite frequent in the exegesis of the Fathers since Origen.

celebrant pronounces the blessing, another prayer by which the deacon prepares himself, our \textit{Munda cor meum}. But it was far from common even as late as the sixteenth century, and in the Dominican use is lacking even today. Elsewhere the deacon recites the psalm verse: \textit{Domine, labia mea aperies et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam}.

In a non-solemn Mass the priest, before starting to read the Gospel, was satisfied with a little petition, \textit{Dominus sit in ore meo} or with Psalm 50:17 or with one of the formulas already mentioned (revised with reflexives): Corroboret Dominus sensum et labia mea ut recte pronunciem verba sancti evangelii. Per Christum, or with the sentence used in the present-day Dominican rite: Dominus sit in corde meo et in labis meis ad pronuntiandum sanctum evangelium pacis. In the Ordo Massa of John Burchard (1502) the \textit{Munda cor meum}, with the petition for the blessing and the blessing, both unchanged, were taken over into the private Mass just as we have them today.

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\[\text{\textit{Missaux iuxta ritum O.P.} (1889), 18.}\]

Similarly already a Hungarian missal of the 13th century: Radó, 61.

\[\text{\textit{Legg, Tracts}, 4, 146. In the Mass-plan Inducta planeta (since 1507) it is left to the option of the priest to pray either Sit Dominus in cor meum or Munda cor meum: Legg, Tracts, 184.}\]

Older Mass-ordines direct the priest to kiss the altar while saying the pertinent prayer at private Masses: Liber ordinarius of Liége (Volk, 101, 1. 27). Cf. Sarum Ordinary of the 14th century: \textit{Legg, Tracts}, 4.

\[\text{\textit{Is.} 6: 6 f.}\]

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7. The Homily

The sermon, which (together with its embellishments) is delivered in the vernacular after the Gospel, is currently regarded as an interpolation in the course of the liturgy rather than as a step forward in its progress. As a matter of fact, however, it belongs to the earliest constituent parts, indeed to the pre-Christian elements of the liturgy. The Sabbath Bible reading in the synagogue, which according to rigid custom had to be followed by a clarifying explanation, was for our Lord the main opportunity for preaching the word of God to receptive hearers and to proclaim His kingdom. At Antioch in Pisidia Paul and Barnabas, in similar circumstances, were ordered by the rulers of the synagogue to direct "a word of encouragement" to the assembly.1

It stands to reason, therefore, that in Christian worship the homily was similarly joined at the very start to the reading of the Scriptures. Indeed, the homily appears almost as an indispensable part of public worship;1 which took place, of course, only on Sundays. The Bishop who presided over the community-worship would himself address the congregation after the reading. This was a particular duty of his. Still the priests also were allowed to preach; thus we have the numerous homilies of an Origen, or those of Hippolytus of Rome or later those of Jerome, and—

1 According to Durandus, IV, 26, 1, the sermon took place only after the sym­bolum, which served as a subject for exposition. This is still the custom in some places, like the diocese of Trier.

According to the Ordo of the Lateran church (Fischer, 78), the sermon (on the worthy reception of Communion) took place here on Easter Sunday post accep­tiam oblationem; cf. Sicard of Cremona, Mirrata, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 116 B).
The Low German "Rule for Lay People" (15th century; R. Langenberg, Quel­len und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Mystik [Bonn, 1902], 87) also assumes that the preaching is done at this spot; similarly the Pontifical of Noyon (15th century; V. Leroquais, Les pontificaux [Paris, 1937], I, 170). In France and England the sermon in the later Middle Ages was usually inserted after the Orate fratres; in France this practice continued till the 18th century; Simmons, The Lay Folks Mass Book, 317 ff., especially 318, note 2. The explicit prescription in the Missale Romanum, Ritus sacer., VI, 6, according to which the sermon follows the Gospel, was first inserted in 1604 by Clement VIII.


Towards the end of the Middle Ages, therefore at a time when the sermon was becoming more and more separated from the Mass, emphasis was frequently laid on the obligation of the faithful to attend Mass and the sermon on Sundays. J. E. Rijmenraak, "Die Verlegung der Messerkiöpfen in der Volkssprache" (Separate print from Theol.-prakt. Monatschrift, 1899; Pasa­sauf, 1899), 14-16.

Origen had incurred the displeasure of his bishop by preaching outside his dio­cese, even though with the permission of the bishop of the place. About 230 he had himself ordained priest but again, because of his self-mutilation, this was contrary to the canons. O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1914), II, 108 f.

from Antioch—those of Chrysostom. In the fourth century it was the general custom in the East, when several priests were present at the divine service, that each one would preach after the reading; and finally, as a rule the bishop himself.1

In other places, the presbyters were not allowed to preach at public gatherings, whereas for the work of catechizing no grade of Orders was required at all. Thus, after the fall of Arius, preaching was forbidden to priests in Alexandria2; likewise in North Africa, where the prohibition was not cancelled till the time of St. Augustine who himself was permitted to preach when only a priest. A similar practice obtained for a long time in Rome and in Italy. In fact under Pope Celestine a letter of disapproval was sent out from Rome to the bishops of Provence where a contrary custom was in vogue. Sozomen made it known that in his day, as he thought, no preaching whatsoever was done in Rome.3 As a matter of fact there is no provision for preaching in the ancient Roman Ordines, which (of course) record primarily only the divine service for the major stations.4 Still the homiletic works of a Leo the Great and of a Gregory the Great prove that this was not altogether a period of absolute silence.5 From the beginning of the Middle Ages, at any rate, there was in general a strong return to the preaching of the word of God.6

1 Const. Ap., II, 57, 9 (Quasten, Mon., 182 f.); ibid., VIII, 5, 12 mentions only the preaching of the bishop.

Likewise the pilgrim lady Aethelred reports regarding Jerusalem that as many of the priests as wanted to preach, but after them came the bishop: Aethelreda, Liber prægratini, c. 25, 1 (CSEL, XXXIX, 74); cf. ibid., c. 43, 2 (93). St. John Chrysostom, too, while a priest at Antioch, frequently refers to the fact that after his sermon other addresses would follow, occasionally that of the bishop. Similarly Jerome, in the homilies which he delivered at Bethlehem. See the passages in A. Bludau, Die Pilgerreise der Athiria (Paderborn, 1927), 63 f. Baumstark, Die Messe im Morgenland, 98, recognizes in this succession of several speakers an echo of the charis­matic preaching of the primitive period.

Socrates, Hist. eccl., V, 22 (PG, LXVII, 640); Sozomen, Hist. eccl., VII, 19 (PG, LXVII, 1476 f.).

Celestine I, Ep., 21, n. 2 (PL, L, 528­ 530).


The first Roman descriptions of the Mass which also mention the sermon are: Ordo eccl. Lateran. (Fischer, 50, 1, 32; 78; 1, 22; 82, 1, 9): Ordo Rom XI (n. 20; PL, LXXVIII, 1033 C) of the 12th century and Ordo Rom. XIV (c. 53; PL, LXXVIII, 1162 A, C) of the 14th.

A number of sermons by Innocent III have been handed down. In numerous passages in Ordo Rom. XIV (circa 1400) the sermon after the Gospel of the papal service is alluded to (PL, LXXVIII, 1274 f.).

In Germany in the 10th century, in Ordo Rom. VI, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 A), which had its origin there, the sermon is presumed in the plan of the episcopal service. The Lombard, Bonzio of Sutri (d. c. 1095), De vita christiana, II, 51 (ed. Percis, 59), also testifies to the same arrangement.

6 Cf. also Bataillon, Leçons, 137.

In some oriental communities the sermon has long since gone out of use. In the texts of the Coptic Mass, however, the place of the sermon after the Gos-
But if in Christian antiquity the preaching to the assembled congregation was chiefly restricted to the bishop, there resulted from this the clear and indubitable expression of his teaching authority. Furthermore such a restriction was quite necessary because of the none too high ability of the priests. But the restriction was carried through without considerable harm in the well-established provinces of North Africa and middle Italy, where every little town had its own bishopric. In Gaul the case was quite different. There the Council of Vaison (529), at the urgent request of St. Caesarius, expressly gave the priests in the city and in the country the right to preach; and in case the priest was hindered by sickness, the deacons were to read from the homilies of the Fathers. In fact the ancient commentary on the Gallican Mass has the homily follow the Gospel in the ordinary course of the service; there, apparently, the mere reading of the homiliae sanctorum was practically on a par with the real sermon. In regard to this latter it was the duty of the preacher (stressed by the author of the Expositio) above all to find, by his own efforts, the proper medium between the language of the people and the pretensions of the more highly educated. And even when the homilies of the Fathers were read, they had to be rendered more or less freely in the language of the people. The Carolingian Reform-Synods of 813 expressly demanded the translation of the homilies in rustico Romanam linguam aut Thetisicam quo faciliter cuncti possint intelligere quae dicuntur. The requirements of the clergy were supplied by various collections of homilies, such as were prepared for reading at monastic choir prayer (as, for example, those of Paul Warnefried), or others that offered an explanation of the Epistle and Gospels intended directly for the laymen's service. In this modest form the homily must have been used quite regularly in the following centuries even in the country—at least in Germany—in such a way, at any rate, that it shared the Sunday pulpit along with the repetition of the elementary Christian truths taken from the Symbol and the Our Father. The crest of the Middle Ages, and the appearance of the mendicant Orders, is still marked; Brightman, 158, 1. 5.

Regarding the sermon among the West Syrians, see Baumstark, Die Messe im Morgenland, 98.

Among the Greeks the sermon was still zealously practiced during Byzantine times; see A. Ehrhard in K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur (2nd ed.; Munich, 1897), 160 f. "The vita Casarrii, I, 54 (MGH, Scriptores rer. Merov., III, 478 f.)

C. 2 (Mansi, VIII, 727): placuit ut non solum in civilibus sed etiam in omnibus parochiis verbum faciendi daretur prebendaris potentatam.

Expositoq. cit. 1. 5. f.); cf. Duchesne, 197.

Tours, can. 17 (Mansi, XIV, 85); similarly Reims, can. 15 (Mansi, XIV, 78). Cf. H. v. Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter (Tübingen, 1921), 654. Here also the reference to reminants preserved in the Old French and Old Slovenian languages.


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brought a new blossoming, if not of the homily, then surely of the sermon in general.

Although it would be an exaggeration to say that all church preaching should be limited to the framework of the Mass or perhaps even the homily, still there was from olden times a definite and restrictive pattern for the spiritual talk that followed on the reading, a pattern exacted by the circumstances in which it appeared. The talk was to be about the word of God that had been read from the Sacred Scriptures, it was not to stifle it but to apply it to the present day. Therefore the talk is basically a homily— the application of the Scripture just read. To this day, in the ordination of the Lector, his office is still designated as: legere ei qui prae dicat. This neither is nor was the spot to unfold the entire preaching of the Church. The homily was the living word of the Church taken up into the liturgy as proof of the higher world in which it lives and into which it enters after being renewed by the sacred mysteries.

Hence also the trend to make visible the hierarchical structure of the Church in the person of the homilist. Hence, too, the guarding as much as possible of the liturgical structure even in its outward appearance. As a rule the Bishop talks from his cathedra, and, as an expression of his authority, he is seated, or else standing on the steps that lead to the cathedra.

30 Cf. the extensive and detailed explanation of the "liturgical sermonette" in Parsch, Volksleben, 453-441; according to Parsch not only Christian instruction (catechetics) but also evening sermons lie outside the compass of the Mass.

31 Not necessarily only the Gospel. What Augustine, for instance, as a rule explains in his homilies is "a text of Scripture, usually taken from one of the three lessons"; Roetter, 109.

The Pontificale Romanum selects this wording in preference to the other: legere ea que prae dicacis. This last reading, which appears to presume preaching on the part of the lector himself, is indeed to be found in the Roman Pontifical of the 12th century and in that of the 13th (Andrieu, I, 125; II, 330), but the earliest evidence of the formula in Cod. 14 of Vendôme (first half of the 11th century; see Andrieu, Les ordines Romani, I, 351 f.) gives us the reading: legere ei qui prae dicat; see de Puniet, Das Römische Pontifikale, I, 283. Only this latter reading is taken into account. True, de Puniet, I, 139, does raise a doubt, referring to Isidore, De off. eccl., II, 11, where there is mention of lectoris qui verbum Dei prae dicacit, but it is to be noted that praedicare, according to Parsch not only "preaching" but also "solemn reading"; see IV Synod of Toledo (633), can. 17 (Mansi, X, 624). Similarly even Ord. Rom. III, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972 A): prae dicavit eo (sc. diaconus) evangelium.

32 That the sermon in the liturgy is not an instruction but an initiation, an introduction into the mysteries, is stressed by J. Hartog, The Sacrifice of the Church (Barn, 1899), 23 f., 26 ff.

33 Eisenhofer, I, 382 f.; Dölger, Antike und Christentum, I (1929), 61.

34 Thus, e.g., Augustine (Roetter, 111 f.). This corresponds to the archeological findings; H. Leclercq, "Chaire episcopo-pale," DACL, III, 19-75. Following the custom in the synagouge, our Lord himself spoke while seated (Luke 4: 20).

Regarding the symbolism of this sitting, see Th. Kauser, Die Cathedra im Teton-kult (LF, IX; Munster, 1927), 11; 179 ff.

35 Augustine, De civ. Del, 22, 8 (CSEL, XL, 2, p. 611, 1. 18; Roetter, 112).
A preacher like Chrysostom of course mounts the ambo for the convenience of his audience. According to a rule of the Egyptian Church, the bishop—but not the priest—holds the Gospel book in his hand.

The revival of the sermon during the height of the Middle Ages involved a separation from the liturgy, and also a departure from its homiletic character. It leaves the confines of the Mass in the form of a mission sermon of the new Orders. Even the stand of the preacher is moved into the body of the church, though it takes with it the old name: in French, for example, it takes the name of the cathedra (chaire; cf. the German Predigtstuhl), and in German the name is derived from the ambo as an extension of the chancel (Kanzel), but the English word “pulpit” is a mere descriptive term (from Ltv. pulpitum, a platform or scaffold). Its site on the Gospel side still shows its connection with the reading of the Gospel. On the other hand, the very high pulpit towering over the heads of the listeners is apparently the result of the impassioned oratorical form of the sermon, a condition that also contributed to the fact that now the preacher generally speaks standing.

Although the teacher was seated, the audience (according to the prevailing custom of the ancient Church) was obliged to hear the lecture while standing. Augustine felt that such a rule was quite a strain during long delivery and therefore he praised the custom followed in other places, in quibusdam ecclesiis transmarinis, where the people were seated. Cesarius of Arles permitted the more feeble people to sit during the sermon or the readings, though they probably used the floor for this. Only the clerics were provided quite generally with seats in those early days. The faithful helped themselves with canes on which to lean. Only in modern times in

A. Eisenhofer, I, 383.
2 Canones Basilii, c. 97 (Riedel, 273).
3 Honorius of Augustodunum and Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215), however, mention the sermon in the course of the Mass. Eisenhofer, II, 120.
5 However there is no prescription to this effect.
6 It might be remarked in this connection that nowadays the “meditations” which are preached at a retreat—suited to the tone of a simple εἰκών (“conversation”)—are often given while seated.

The Cremmoniale episcoporum, II, 8, 48, even today presumes that the bishop preaches while seated, whether from the throne (if it is turned to the people) or from the faldstool which is set on the θυσιαστήριον of the altar. Likewise the priest, too, might preach, sitting at the Gospel-side of the altar; see Gavanti-Merati, Thesaurus, II, 6, 6 (I, 247 f.). But we must remark that pacing up and down while preaching is often determined and affected by the antics customary in profane speaking.

Augustine, De cachet. rad., I, 13, 19 (PL, XL, 325).

In the earliest times seats in church are often mentioned; see H. Achelis, Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahr­hunderten (Leipzig, 1912), II, 61, note 4.


Supra, p. 448.

8. The Credo

The Creed of course the laity obtain pews, perhaps copying the Protestant churches.

As a simple homily, the address of the celebrant could follow upon the reading of the Gospel without any further intermediary or any special prayer-introduction. The preacher addressed the people at the beginning and end of his sermon with the usual greeting and began his delivery. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, however, it was the practice for the preacher to begin with an Ave Maria while everybody knelt. The custom is possibly traceable to the mendicant preachers. It is prescribed in the Cremmoniale episcoporum and seems to have been in use for a long time within the Mass. Alongside of the Ave, however, the Veni, Sancte Spiritus or the Lord’s Prayer was also permitted.

Together with the prayer-introduction in this or that form, there was often also a special song to introduce the sermon, taken over from the independent sermon and adapted here to the sermon that followed the readings at Mass. The patterns that thus arise remind us of the preparatory prayers or songs which precede the readings in the oriental liturgies. And contrari­wise, the independent Sunday parochial sermon at times had a very rich prayer ending, the basis of which was borrowed for its connection with the Mass or more precisely (as we shall see), taken from the old “Prayer of the Faithful.”

On Sundays and on certain feast days the last lesson (or the homily, as the case may be) is followed by the Credo as a sort of re-enforced echo. Although it is but a supplement on these days, still it gets such a performance at solemn service that both in duration and in musical splendor it
often surpasses all the other portions of the Mass. It is precisely in this role of the Credo at the high Mass that a contrast is marked out—despite its import, the Credo offers the great masters of music only a simple and rather unpoetic verbal text. In addition, this style is stylized as the profession of an individual (Credo, Confiteor), exactly like other professions of faith. All the more reason to ask, why this formula of profession of faith secured the singular honor of being used at the celebration of Mass.

Our symbol was not composed just for the Mass. It first appears in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451) as the profession of “the 150 holy fathers who were assembled in Constantinople.” As time passed the symbol was taken as a compilation summing up the belief proclaimed at the preceding councils of Nicea (325) and Constantinople (381); this is borne out by the current name of Nicene or Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. Not that its wording was immediately formulated by these councils. The symbol drawn up at Nicea, which concludes with the words Et in Spiritum Sanctum—only an anaphora follows—does not coincide exactly with our Credo even in the foregoing parts. In the acts of the Council of Constantinople no symbol whatever was handed down and in the interval till Chalcedon there is never a reference to any such profession of faith drawn up there. The only matter ascribed to the synod at Constantinople is the expansion of the statement regarding the Holy Ghost.

In the Niceno-Constantinopolitan symbol we have the draft of a profession which, of all the various forms in use in the episcopal cities of the East, gained the widest acceptance, particularly after the approval accorded it at the Council of Chalcedon. We can track this draft even a little distance back into the fourth century. We discover it, almost complete, about 374 in Epiphanius; and, in a slightly simpler form, about 350 in Cyril of Jerusalem, who explained it to his candidates for Baptism. We may therefore see in this basic text of the Niceno-Constantinopolitanus the ancient baptismal symbol of Jerusalem. Our Mass Credo thus had originally the same purpose which our Roman “Apostles’ Creed” had, the same purpose which it still serves at present, namely, as a profession of faith before Baptism. That is the reason why even in its original form the Mass Creed, like the Apostles’, is set in the singular: Credo.

In the two texts mentioned we clearly have the typical instances of the basic form of the profession of faith in West and East. And these in turn give us an inkling of the common design underlying both. In both cases the content of our belief falls into three sections, comprising our belief in God the Creator, in Christ our Lord, and in the goods of salvation. And what is more to the point in a baptismal profession, these three sections are linked with the naming of the three divine Persons. Further, in both of these main forms the second section is enlarged through the inclusion of a more detailed profession of Christ. A peculiarity of the oriental type is that its structure was influenced not only by the command to baptize (Matt. 28:19) but also by a second scripture text, Eph. 4:4, which emphasizes the praise of unity: “one body and one spirit...one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.” This is the apparent clue to the stressing of oneness in this symbol: Credo in unum Deum...in unam Dominum...in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam...Confiteor unam baptisma. With a certain pride the contrast is drawn between the division caused by error and the oneness of God and the oneness of his revelation in Christ, Church and Sacrament.

The design of the Credo will probably be rendered clearer in the following abstract, in which the texts of the older drafts are also indicated.


The character of this symbol is distinguished by one trait—its theological clarity. While in our Apostles' Creed the faith is asserted simply and forthrightly, in this by contrast we have a century. In the christological section these statements circumscribing the divinity of Christ are found in the baptismal confessions and even where they are wanting in that of Jerusalem, they are who for his part was never suspected of having gone too far in his exposition. Still, after comparing this with other oriental forms of the symbol, we come to recognize the fact that but a few of the phrases are the result of the struggles of the fourth century. In the christological section these are the words Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum, consubstantalem Patri, words with which the Council of Nicea had countered the heresy of Arius. All the other statements circumscribing the divinity of Christ are found in the baptismal confessions, and even where they are wanting in that of Jerusalem, they are contained in the more ancient one of Eusebius of Cesarea (d. 340), who for his part was never suspected of having gone too far in any opposition to the Arians. But in contrast to this, all the older baptismal professions contained only one assertion regarding the Holy Ghost: Qui locutus est per prophetas. Everything else was occasioned by the struggle against the Macedonians who drew the conclusions inherent in the Arian doctrine of the Logos and denied also the divinity of the Holy Ghost. Still the more complete profession regarding the Holy Ghost in its present-day wording appeared (as we can see above), in the symbol of St. Epiphanius even before the solemn condemnation of this heresy which took place at the Council of Constantinople (381).

Even aside from these additions which were first incorporated in opposition to heresy, there still remains in this Mass Credo, compared with its extreme terseness of our Apostles' Creed, a notable wealth of statement which serves not so much to oppose heresy as rather to unfold the contents of our faith. In the very first assertion about "God the Creator of heaven and earth," the creation is described by a second double phrase "of all things visible and invisible."

But in this basic text one point is given special prominence, the divinity of Christ. In its kerygma of Christ, our Apostles' Creed also goes into detail regarding the mystery of the person of our Lord whom it introduces as the only-begotten Son of God; He was born of the Virgin Mary, conceived by the Holy Ghost. But these assertions refer immediately to His human nature, even if its wonderful origin suggests His godhead. The oriental Credo, however, adverts at once expressly to the eternal divinity of the Logos: "Born of the Father before all ages, God of God, light of light, through whom all things were made." Only the last phrase is taken word for word from St. John (1:3), but in the rest we can detect the tone of his language. The additions which the Nicene Creed here embodies, expressing with inexorable lucidity the uncreated divinity of Christ and His essential unity with the Father, dovetail easily with the rest even stylistically, despite the unavoidable abstractness of the ideas. They round out the profession of faith into a tiny hymn.

The additional assertions which describe the entrance of the Logos into the world and His assumption of a human nature from the Virgin wind up the picture of the mysterious person of the Redeemer. One significant feature is the prominence given here to the work of salvation: "for us men and for our salvation came down down from heaven." Rightly does this article become the center and turning point of the whole creed. In His mercy God wanted it that way, and so the inconceivable became a reality. We therefore fall upon our knees at the words Et incarnatus est, in awe of the mystery. Some of the grandest creations of ecclesiastical music have become man, suffered and rose again on the third day and ascended into the heavens and will come again in majesty to judge the living and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost." H. Lietzmann, "Apostolikkum," Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (2nd ed.), (1927), I, 445. 14. For the expression gen. ex genit. cf. Justin, Dial., c. 61 (PG, VI, 616 A). 15. This genefactio is mentioned as being done by many, in Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), De canonum observ., prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 141 f.), but it is opposed by him as a novelty. However it is already mentioned in Durandus, IV, 25, 10. Reference to it also occurs in the Statutes of the Carthusians: Martine, I, 4, XXV (I, 632 C); with them, however, even today, the celebrant here only kisses the altar: Ordinarium Cart., (1932), c. 26, 18.

A decision of Peter of Chamy (d. 1156) calls the genuflection at the singing of the words et homo factus est a custom which longo iam usu is observed almost everywhere (PL, CLXXXIX, 1027). As a matter of fact it is assumed in the Liber usuum & Cist., c. 56 (PL, CLXVI, 1431). The Premonstratensians, too, followed the practice already towards the end of the 12th century (Lefèvre, 21). In this case the genuflection was later lengthened out up to the words et apexit est, as is still done at present (Waefelghem, 121, note Q). This use of a genu-
here made the devout offering of their greatest endeavor, in the effort to help us conceive the meaning of that tremendous descent of the Son of God from heaven to bring peace to earth.

After the mystery of the person of the God-man is thus sketched out, the Credo turns to His work, which is again clearly designated in two steps: first the lowly path of pain and the cross and the grave (with a stressing of pro nobis), then the victorious surge of His Resurrection “according to the Scriptures,” which even in the Old Testament had announced the concluding triumph of the Messias. His return to the glory of His Father, His judgment, and His kingdom without end, as these were already foretold in the message of the angel.

The third section of the symbol surveys the fruit which has become ours as a result of the work of redemption. In various texts of the ancient Church the first thing mentioned in this connection is the Holy Ghost, who is poured out over the believing congregation. This concept is likewise to be supposed in the basic form of our symbol. That He had already spoken through the prophets was the start of His activity. Its completion is the bestowal of the new life, as is added in the later supplement to the older text of the symbol. This supplement also takes into account His divinity; He is the Lord. He proceeds from the Father and from the Son. Right-

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fully is He given in the doxology the same adoration and the same honor as the other two. The series of predications seems to have been dictated mainly by certain formal considerations, as the Greek text indicates more clearly.

After the mention of the Holy Ghost there follows in nearly all the creeds—and here, too—the mention of the Church which is inspired and vitalized by His activity. It is one, as God is one, and as Christ is one. This one Church, to which we pledge ourselves, is holy, because it is filled by the Holy Ghost; it is catholic, because it stands open to all peoples; it is apostolic, because it rests on the foundation of the Apostles. The Church transfers its own life to its children by means of the sacraments. Baptism, mentioned in the creed, stands for all the others which are based on it. In fact Confirmation and the Eucharist are linked with it. Its wonderful efficacy in taking away sin was mentioned by our Lord Himself amongst the basic elements of the glad tidings. A prospect of our final transformation to the likeness of the Risen One in the resurrection from the dead and in the life of eons to come—with this the creed concludes. The outpouring of the Spirit, holy Church, sacrament, glorious resurrection—that is the way by which the new creation and the new creature reach their perfection.

This symbol was in use at Constantinople as a baptismal creed formula. Here on Good Friday it was also pronounced at public worship while the bishop catechized the candidates for Baptism. The same historian who

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of all the faithful is given expression by means of the plural form: we believe, we profess. It is also usually heralded by a call from the deacon.

In the same century in which the Niceno-Constantinopolitanum was for the first time admitted into the Mass in the Orient, it appears also in a similar employ in Spain, a portion of whose coastline was under Byzantine domination. When in 589 King Reccared and his Visigoths renounced Arianism, they made their profession of faith in this creed and it was then ordered said by all the people at every Mass right before the Pater noster so that, before the Body and Blood of the Lord were received, the hearts of all might be purified by faith. Thus the symbol here shares in the function of the Pater noster as a prayer of preparation for Communion; this was the position it also held, in passing, in the Byzantine Mass,* and still holds today in the rite of Communion for the sick.

Two centuries later the creed also makes an appearance in France, just about the time that a reaction was setting in against the last offshoot of christological error, the Adoptionism of the Spanish bishops Elipandus and Felix who had been condemned at various synods since 792. It must have been about this time that Charlemagne introduced the symbol in his palace chapel at Aachen. Various indications point to the theory that the custom came to the Irish from the Spaniards, and was by them carried to the Anglo-Saxons and so, through Alcuin, the custom reached Aachen. In Aachen the symbol was sung after the Gospel. Charlemagne obtained the consent of Pope Leo III to his innovation, perhaps with the subsequent restriction to leave out the Filioque. But the custom took long to spread. Of the Carolingian sources of the ninth century a few mention it, others appear to know nothing about it.* Not till the next century did it become general in the North. When the emperor Henry II came to Rome in 1014 he was surprised that at Rome the Credo was lacking in the Mass. The Roman clerics explained to him that the Roman Church had never been

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disturbed by error and therefore had no reason to profess the Credo so often. However the pope, Benedict VIII, gave in to the emperor’s importunings. As such an instruction must have issued from Rome, restricting the Credo to Sundays and to those feasts of which mention is made in the symbol. As such the feasts of our Lord from Christmas to Pentecost are named, those of the Blessed Virgin, of the Apostles, of All Saints and the Dedication of a Church. The principle of selection, namely, quorum in symbolo fit mentio, recurs regularly in the liturgical commentators of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Gradually, however, other regulations were adopted till, with Burchard of Strassburg, the present-day rule came into being, according to which only the feasts of martyrs, virgins and confessors are without a Credo. Of the confessors, the Doctors of the Church—whose number, before Pius V, was restricted to the “Four great Doctors” (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great)—took a place next to the Apostles as outstanding heralds of the faith to whom a Credo was due. And even the feast days of the other saints had the creed when they were celebrated with special solemnity. The Credo was thus conceived simply as a means of enhancing the festivity."

Our Credo was therefore originally a profession of faith at Baptism; one vestige of this, in the draft of the Antiphonale missarum de l’ancien rit (Munster, 1896), 129; cf. also Fortescue, The Mass, 258. But this is a misunderstanding; Capelle, Le Credo, 180 and note 25. Ordo Rom. II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVII, 972), cannot be considered as evidence since this Ordo is not Roman. However, the Credo does seem to have been in use at Beneventum in the 8th century. From here it went to Aachen; this is the opinion of R. J. Hesbert, “L’Antiphonale missarum de l’ancien rit bénéventain,” Eph. liturg., LII (1938), 36–40.

As an immediate witness we have Abbé Berino of Reichenau, De quibusetam rebus ad missa officium spectantibus, c. 2 (PL, CLXII, 1606 f.): "The pope ordered ut ad publicam missam illud decantaret. Many have thought that the Credo must have belonged to the Mass much earlier; among them Mabillon; more recently F. Frobst, Die abendländische Messe (Münster, 1896), 129; Wagner, Einführung, I, 103; cf. also Fortescue, The Mass, 258. But this is a misunderstanding; Capelle, Le Credo, 180 and note 25. Ordo Rom. II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVII, 972), cannot be considered as evidence since this Ordo is not Roman. However, the Credo does seem to have been in use at Beneventum in the 8th century. From here it went to Aachen; this is the opinion of R. J. Hesbert, “L’Antiphonale missarum de l’ancien rit bénéventain,” Eph. liturg., LII (1938), 36–40.

Bernold, Micrologus, c. 46 (PL, CLI, 1011 f.), and contemporaneously in the Missal of St. Thierry (11th century); Capelle, 181 f.

"Because of the apostolica Ecclesia; Durandus, IV, 25, 13. All Saints’ was accounted a feast of dedication and therefore of the church; Durandus, loc. cit.

A very extensive list is presented in the Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 202).

John Beleth, Explicitio, c. 40 (PL, CCI, 49).

In some details the interpretations were at variance, thus in regard to the Evangelists. Some wanted to allow John the Baptist a Credo because he was “more than a prophet” (cf.: qui locutus est per prophetas). For the angels the words creatorem coeli were made to, for Mary Magdalen the fact that she was apostola apostolorum; Durandus, IV, 25, 13. Cf. also Radulph de Rivo, De can. observ., prop. 23 (Molberg, II, 141).

Capelle, Le Credo, 183.

Thus today three titles are taken into account as reason for the Credo, namely mysterium, doctrina, solemnitas. Gihr, 529-533. For details see Gavanti-Merati, Thesaurus, I, 11 (I, 111-118).

This intonation takes the place of the invitation which is elsewhere customary; see note 45 above. The accompanying gesture, spreading, lifting and folding the hands, is exacted (as for the Gloria) in the Ordinarium O.P. of 1256 (Guerrini, 238). Cf. Durandus, IV, 25, 4, who also mentions the sign of the Cross at the close.

While, according to the Roman rite, the Credo is recited by the priest in its entirety at the center of the altar, in the Dominican rite the priest returns to the Gospel side after intoning the creed and continues it there. But the Et incarnatus est, like the start, is said at the center; Missale iuxta ritum O.P. (1889), 18. This movement seems to be a late medieval custom, since the Dominican Missal of the 13th century in Legg. Tracts, 77, and the Ordinarium O.P. of 1256 (Guerrini, 238) do not contain it. See supra, p. 343, note 53.

Ut Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto et Credo in unum Deum apud omnes in missa decantetur. Martène, I, 4, 6, 10 (I, 383 a).

Amaral, Expositio of 813-14, ed. Hansens (Eph. liturg., 1927), 163 (= Gerbert, Monumenta, II, 152): Postquam Christus locutus est populo suo fas est ut dulcissimae et intentius profitarer credulitatem who professes his faith. But it is also a profession influenced by the war against the christological heresies. Because of these its statements were augmented, and it was set up as a barrier against them even in the celebration of Mass, first of all in those lands which had become the battleground. By the subsequent restriction to certain days—days which show a certain internal relation to the contents of the symbol—a middle way was found between the early almost belligerent affirmation of the right belief and the calm inwardness of prayer to almighty God—a solution which in a certain sense bespeaks the peace which the Roman Church has continued to maintain, ever vigilant for the purity of faith, yet never permitting the movement of prayer and worship to be disturbed by loud protests against heresy. Thus the creed, the profession of faith, is simply the conclusion of the reading service, the joyful “yes” of the faithful to the message they have received. Even when viewed in its systematic setting, the creed is an organic extension of the line begun in the readings. Just as the sermon is joined to the lessons on certain occasions to further the teaching of God’s word through His Church, so on appointed days the catechetical and theological formulation of that teaching is likewise annexed. And so the profession of faith forms a solemn entrance-gate to the Mass of the Faithful.

The Credo was introduced into the Mass as the avowal of the whole believing congregation. Necessarily, then, it ought to be spoken by the whole congregation. In the East this was as a general rule always maintained, and at the start also in Spain. In France, too, the same idea was kept in mind—the priest intoned the creed while standing at the center of the altar; and the people carried it through to the end. Bishop Herard of Tours, in 858, lists the credulitas along with Sanctus and Kyrie as texts to be sung devoutly by all. More unequivocal is a decree of Bishop Walter of Orleans, of the year 871. The Mass commentators of the period also ascribe the Credo to the people, and even at a much later time it con-
continued in many places to be entrusted to them."

When one considers how much trouble must have been taken during the era of the Carolingian reform to teach the people to recite the simple Apostles’ Creed in the vernacular, it is easy to imagine what results were achieved with the much longer—and still Latin! —Credo in the Mass. A practicable way out—a solution which agrees with that followed sometimes in the Orient—was to have the faithful recite the symbol they knew. This seems to have been tried in northern France during the twelfth century," but whether or not the vernacular was used is not certain." At any rate the attempt was not very widespread at that time, though nowadays the practice is again being introduced in many places in the dialogue Mass.

The difficulty of having the people perform the Credo was all the greater when—contrary to the practice usual in the Orient—the words were to be sung. True, Credo-songs played a conspicuous role in vernacular singing," but right now we are concerned with the Latin text of the symbol.

suam... Sicque convenit populum post evangelium, quia Christi verba auditivit, intentionem credentis suae praeter orem proferre. The same in Elegia (PL, CV, 1320); cf. also Expysticilia Missa pro multiis, ed. Hanssens (Eph. liturg., 1930), 36.

Ordino eel. Lateran. (Fischer, 82, 1.14): Ab universis sc. clero et populo com­muniter canticando symbo/um Apostolicum. There is a reference to the practice by the hypothesis that the Greeks had brought our symbol in cantilenas dulcedinem.

For Germany Berthold of Regensburg (1272) mentions with praise the prac­tice he found in several places where the people joined the Credo in unum by sing­ing a German song which he cites as follows: Ich glaube an den Vater, ich glaube an den Sun miner frouwen samt Marien, and an den Heiligen Geist. Kyrieleyce. Berthold von Regensburg, Predigten, ed. Pfeiffer, I, 498.

The pre-Reformation hymn, "Wir glauben all‘ an einem Gott," must have had the same purpose. W. Bänkler, Das kath. deutsche Kirchenlied, I (Freib­burg, 1886), 683-688. Here we must also mention the report that the people sang Kyrie eleison while the clergy said the Credo; Honorius Augustod., Gemma an., I, 19 (PL, CLXXII, 550 C): Hierarchia, II, 52 (PL, CCXVII, 830): at the papal high Mass the subdiaconos, who are distinguished from the canones (= schola).

De Moléon, 167. At Sens, for similar reasons, the organ was excluded (ibid.). This is expressly ordered in 1550 by the Synod of Bordeaux (Hardouin, X, 1340 D).

It is not surprising to find that even in the tenth century the performance of the Credo was turned over to the clergy who formed the choir at high Mass. This transfer was especially easy since the Credo was at that time apparently considered a substitute for the sermon." But the choir was then retained even independently of this.

Even so the chant at first remained in the simplest forms of a syllabic recitation. In addition, in many churches objection was raised to perform­ing the Credo in two choruses, since everyone had to profess the entire creed. In contrast to the other chants of the Ordinary the manuscripts and even the early printed copies seldom contain more than a single tune, the ancient recitative. The Gregorian melodies remained generally plain; the melodies included in the present Graduale Romanum show this clearly. How different, once the Credo was set to polyphony. Often it became the show-piece amongst the chants of the Ordinary. In fact, because of its broad presentation and because of the musical unfolding of its inexhaustible contents, it has attained such an importance in the full course of the Mass that it leaves the eucharistic prayer (which, in its design, is much akin to it) quite in shadow. For the sacerdotal eucharistic prayer has much the same aim: to survey, in the form of a thanksgiving, the achievements of the divine plan of salvation which we grasp by faith. So true is this that words like predicatio, contestatio and even plena apertae appear as names for this prayer," names which could only be applied to a profession of faith; just as, contrariwise, the profession of faith itself is sometimes designated an αρχη. And so true is this, that the older formulations of the eucharistic prayer are distinguished in little from a profession of faith. Because the text of the prayer of thanksgiving is kept plain and simple in the Roman Mass, the Credo has taken on an even

*Ordino Rom. VI, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 992): Siin aetem episcopus praedicare nonuerit, alta vox incipit canere: 'Credo in unum Deum, et et omnis chorus in­cipiens 'Pater omnipotentem' ad finem usque perducat.


For Rome: Ordo Rom. XI (City of Rome, circa 1140), n. 20 (PL, LXXVII, 1033): basilicarum = clergy of the par­ticular basilica; Innocent III, De sall. mysterio, II, 52 (PL, CCXVII, 830: at the papal high Mass the subdiaconos, who are distinguished from the canones (= schola).

De Moléon, 167. At Sens, for similar reasons, the organ was excluded (ibid.). This is expressly ordered in 1550 by the Synod of Bordeaux (Hardouin, X, 1340 D).

The same is reported of other churches in Lebrun, Explication, I, 217 f.

* Wagner, I, 105.

* Cf. infra.

*Pseudo-Dionysius, De eccl. hierarchia, III, 3, 7 (Quasten, Mon., 305 f).

On the intrinsic relationship between the Credo and the eucharistic prayer, F. Probst, Liturgie der drei ersten christ­lichen Jahrhunderte (Tübingen, 1870), 47 f., 208 f., was the first to remark (giving examples from Novatus, De Trinitate, I, 8): see also Kattenbusch, Das Apostolische Symbol, II, 347-353. Further refer­ences in Dekkers, Tertullianus, 194, note 5. Most impressively is this relationship seen in the Eucharistia of Hippolytus of Rome; see supra, p. 28 f.
greater importance. In the reawakening of all those concepts of our faith which center on Christ’s life-work, in that reawakening with which every celebration of the Eucharist must begin, that reawakening which is the prime purpose of the whole reading service, that reawakening to which the anamnesis after the consecration recurs in a short and hurried word—in that reawakening the *Credo* has become a main element.

On the other hand, in tracing this tremendous growth of the *Credo* we encounter—very early, at that—the phenomena that manifest fatigue, the attempts to counterbalance the musical expansion by cutting down the text. It is an abuse that is to be found frequently enough even today where small choirs try to emulate bigger and more capable groups; in fact, it is an abuse that is almost unavoidable when small choruses pretend to do a many-voiced *Credo* that is beyond their power. But it is a practice that the Congregation of Sacred Rites has repeatedly condemned. In any case the plain recitation of the creed by the whole congregation, as is done in the dialogue Mass, is far more in harmony with the original design of the *Credo* and with its place in the plan of the Mass-liturgy, far more in harmony than such and similar residua of a musical culture that is past.

9. The Dismissals

With the *Credo*, which we have for the moment surveyed, we have strictly speaking gone out of the sphere of the Mass of the Catechumens; for the symbol is a hallowed formula, matter only for the faithful. However, it got its place at a time when there was no longer a question of the *disciplina arcani*, and one merely felt its close, intimate connection with the Gospel. But now, as we return to that early period during which there still existed a sharp boundary between the Mass of the Catechumens and the Mass of the Faithful, we must direct our attention to those forms which were attached to that boundary-line, and of which several remnants still exist.

It was always self-evident and (thanks be to God) still is for the most part even today, that a Christian instruction, a catechesis and a common reading from the Bible are concluded with a prayer. Therefore prayer had also to follow the readings and the instructions of the fore-Mass. And all the less could people forego a special prayer when the fore-Mass was felt to be an independent entity. Actually the prayer of the entire congregation at this spot we find already attested in the oldest accounts. The prayer that was supposed to be said here, however, coincided with the dismissal of those whose presence at the further course of the holy sacrifice did not seem permissible. For the instructional service did not form a part of the introduction into the Christian world of faith for the catechumens alone; heretics as well as pagans were admitted as guests in the hope that many would in this way find the path to the faith. After the instructional service, however, they had to leave the congregation. The celebration of the Eucharist was the exclusive privilege of the children of the house. This conception was not a result of the *disciplina arcani*, which first came into existence in the third century and was in full force for only a comparatively short time; rather it was the simple expression of a sound Christian feeling, that at least the most sacred possession of the Church ought not be presented to the eyes and ears of all. This conception did not lose ground till the beginning of modern times, as a result of the conditions of a divided Christendom.

Then the question arose, whether these participants of the fore-Mass who were not of the same class as the rest, should be given a part in the community prayer, or whether they were to be dismissed beforehand. When the catechumens had their usual instruction this had to be concluded with a prayer, according to a third-century law. But a prayer said together with the faithful—that was to be avoided. Their common prayer would be looked upon as a strange, coarse and debasing admixture in the prayer of the Church—an idea which somehow continued effectual even later on. Nevertheless several solutions were possible. These participants could be let go after the readings without prayer or any further ado, or they could be permitted to say a certain prayer right at the beginning of the series of community prayers that followed, or they could be allowed to stay at least till that part of the prayer of the Church where, according to an establishment of the 5th century, they are also invited to rise and, presumably, to answer with *Kosmos* 

1 This reason explicit in the Council of Valence (524), can. 1 (Mansi, VIII, 620); cf. also p. 443 supra. The most famous example is Augustine, who listened to St. Ambrose when he was still only an inquirer.


3 *Cf. supra,* p. 234.

The same reasons are behind the antagonistic reactions of rectors of churches towards photographers at solemn church functions.


5 See the arrangement in the liturgy which Chrysostom explains: even when prayer is said for the catechumens, only the faithful are invited, for the catechumens themselves are still *daklērōi*; only at the last petitions of the deacon are they also invited to rise and, presumably, to answer with *Kosmos* 

6 Wagner, *Einführung,* I, 105, tells of one late medieval MS. of St. Gall (Cod. 546) in which several *Credo* melodies close with *et homo factus est* to *Confiteor unum baptismum.*

7 The decrees in Eisenhofer, II, 126. Especially SRC 3827 ad II.

8 The disructions in *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 29).

9 Some few liturgical monuments show that the presence of the catechumens was permitted during all of the General Prayer of the church; see the ecclesiastical *Canones* of Sahidic transmission, c. 64 f. (Brightman, 462, 1. 6; cf. 461, III, 105).
lished procedure, the faithful would pray for them and their own act of prayer could then be inserted here.

The first solution, a rather cold one, seems to have been employed in early times.²

In the prime of the catechumenate at Antioch,³ the second solution was taken as a basis. It was so arranged that when the readings and sermon were over, the people were summoned to pray for those who had to leave, that is, to add their κύριε ἐλέησον to the series of supplications which the deacon pronounced for them and during which these persons lay stretched on the floor. Then they were summoned to rise and bow for the blessing which the bishop in solemn prayer bestowed on them. Only then were they asked to leave. During St. Chrysostom's time an independent prayer-act of this sort was devoted to the catechumens, the energumens and the public penitents.⁴ The Apostolic Constitutions (belonging to the same area) inserted before the public penitents, as a particular class, the candidates for Baptism who were undergoing their last preparation (συνεπόθεμενοι).⁵ Each one of these groups, when it had received the blessing of the celebrant, in the manner previously stated, was summoned by a call from the deacon

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² Brightman, 316, 1. 7; 478; 1. 6; 531, 1. 3.
³ Cf. Baumstark, Die Messe im Morgenland, n. 406 ff. (Bolla) (see note 22 below).
⁴ For Syria there is evidence in Chrysostom (p. 476 supra), as well as in Pseudo-Dionysius, De ecc. hierarchia, III, 3, § 6 f. (Quasten, Mon., 301 ff.) and later in Jacob of Edessa (see note 18 below), of a dismissal of catechumens, energumens and penitents.
⁵ Thus in Asia Minor, according to a decree of the Council of Laodicea (4th century) Brightman, 518.
⁶ Only a dismissal of catechumens is attested by the Euchologion of Serapion, n. 3 f. (Quasten, Mon., 51 f.) and in the Pilgrimage of Aetheria, c. 24 ff. (CSB, XXXIX, 71 ff.).
⁷ H. Koch, "Die Büserenlassung in der alten abendlandischen Kirche," Theol. Quartalschr., LXXXII (1900), 481-534; Jungmann, Die lateinischen Bussreihen, 7 f. There is one exception to take into account, namely can. 29 of Epaon (517; Mansi, VIII, 560), according to which penitents were to leave with the catechumens.
⁸ It is possible, too, that the prayer for penitents which the Spanish Missale mistum (PL, LXXV, 307 A) indicates before the Offertory at the ferial Masses of Lent might be the remnant of such a dismissal of a smaller order (see note 22 below).
⁹ Jacob of Edessa depicts the same rite, but notes that about that time, 703, it was already a thing of the past (in Brightman, 400): "[After the prayer over the catechumens] the deacon calls loudly: 'Go, catechumens,' that is, they should present themselves under the hands of the bishop or prebyster, receive the laying-on of hands and depart." The same procedure here for the energumens and penitents. Because of this regular laying-on of hands, which under no circumstance could take place within the Mass, it is said in the Orient of a certain
catechumens! In this consisted the missa catechumenorum.29 With the disappearance of the catechumenate the corresponding dismissals had naturally to be omitted or at least contracted. In the Byzantine Mass alone not only is the cry of dismissal retained—and this is a fourfold phrase!—but even the prayer for the catechumens (as a second prayer after the Gospel) is still continued today. In the West and particularly in the sphere of the Roman liturgy, as we shall see more in detail, even the prayer of the congregation in this place has been sharply curtailed. In Rome it had completely disappeared, even in an early period, perhaps at a time when there were still catechumens. So the prayer for them, too, was dropped in the ordinary service.30

Elsewhere corresponding forms survived somewhat longer.31 As a matter of fact a formal dismissal of the catechumens right after the reading service, in which the celebrating bishop had a share, is reported in Milan, Gaul, Spain and North Africa.32 The Expositio of the Gallican liturgy (a work of the seventh century) still makes particular mention of a prayer for the people, and of one for the catechumens after the readings and the sermon. Both prayers were performed by "Levites" and priests; that is, in form of a litany-like alternating prayer and a collect following. The deacon's voice directed the catechumens and finally called upon them to go.33 The group of penitents that they are sub manus impositione; cf. Jungmann, Die lateinische Bussriten, 308 and in the index s.v. "Handauflegung." 34 For the expression see Jungmann, Ge­wöhnliche Liturgie, 38; cf. supra, p. 261, note 1. 35 "Ostol katagogomnio proélältos to katagogomnio próōlaithe toos katagogomnioi proélaithe μέχρι τῶν καταχωμάτων!" Bright­man, 395.

Before the Credo the call of the deacon resounds once more: τὸς Θεός, τὸς Θεός! Brightman, 383. 1.1. Other liturgies also have a call of dismissal. In the Armenian liturgy the penitents are also named. See the survey in Hanssens, III, 265 f.

That at the beginning of the prayer which follows the readings a prayer was spoken for the catechumens, is clear from the testimony of Felix 11 (483-492), Ep., 7, al. 13 (PL, LVIII, 925 C; Thiel, 263) who decrees as a penance for certain clerics who had done wrong by rebaptizing: nec orationis non modo fideltiun sed ne catechumenorum (quadem) omni­modis interesse. This oratio catechumenorum therefore must at that time have been arranged within the framework of the Mass somewhat differently than in today's Good Friday prayers.

P. Borella, "La 'missa' o 'dimissio catechumenorum' nelle liturgie occidentali," Epiph. liturg., LIII (1939), 60-110. 36 Borella, 63-67. 37 Expositio ant. lit. gallicana (ed. Quas­ten, 16 f.): Caticuminum ergo diaconus ideo calmat iuxta antiquum Ecclesiis­rium si tam Judaei quam heresici vel pagoni instructi vel ... audient consilium Veneris et Novi Testamenti, postea depre­care pro illis levite, dicert sacerdos collectam post precem, exirent postea foros. An ostiarius then had the duty of seeing ne quis retardaretur in templo. The author makes it clear that in his day the rite was little more than a memory.

The doubt that hinders some from recognizing here a second prayer besides the preceding pro populo (Borella, 88 f.) is not right at all. In the Orient, too, as seen above, pp. 475, 477, there was a previous prayer of the Church which was definitely not the "Prayer of the Faithful" in the narrowest sense. 38 Borella, 90 ff.; cf. 71. The candidates for Baptism receive the following call for silent prayer: Orate competentes, servicum flectite! Then they were to stand upright and again bow for the blessing. Finally the deacon cries out: Procedant competentes! and acolytes repeat the call. M. Magistretti, Manuale Ambrosianum (Milan, 1908), II, 123 f. 39 Ordo Rom. VII, n. 6; (PL, LXXXVIII, 998 f.) and the parallels.

Eisenhofer, II, 255; see the examples in Martêne, 1, 1, 12 (1, 89 ff.). 40 Cf. p. 443, supra. 41 The Roman basic text of the older Sacramentarium Gelasianum (6th cen­tury) presupposes only three scrutinies, on the 3rd, 4th and 5th Sundays of Lent; the Frankish recension reckons seven. The great scrutiny was still held at Bamberg as late as 1631. Eisenhofer, II, 250-255. 42 Borella, 96 f. 43 Lidosore, Etymol., VI, 19 (PL, LXXXII, 252) reports the formula: Sì quis catechumenus remanit, excitat foras. It was used before the beginning of the sacrifice. 44 Borella, 104. 45 Editions of the traditional melodies are noted in Borella, 107, note 166.
Considering the wide circulation of this last formula, from Milan and Aquileia to Beneventum and Bari, it is not difficult to conclude that Rome was, if not the point of origin, at least a point of intersection. Still the formula must have gone out of use here quite early, because Roman documents make no mention of it.

10. The General Prayer of the Church

Just as the readings of the fore-Mass were everywhere the most excellent form of the reading service, so the prayer which followed upon it—apart from the eucharistia—was from ancient times regarded as the most excellent prayer, the prayer, simply, of the Church. Its importance became clear already in the earliest accounts. After the sermon by the bishop (here is the description of Sunday service as given by Justin) "we all stand up and recite prayers."

These prayers of the assembled brethren are the first in which the neophyte takes part. In them prayer is said "for ourselves, for the neophyte, and for all others everywhere." Prayer "after the delivery of the homily" is a common term in the third and fourth century in Egypt. Later on we meet the prayer after the readings in all the liturgies of the East. In the West it is plainly indicated by Hippolytus; besides, Cyprian clearly refers to it when he speaks of the Communis oratio. In Augustine's time a large number of sermons ended with the

*a* See the passages in Dölger, Sol salutis, 331, note 4 ff.

Further illustrations from Augustine for the prayer at this part of the Mass in Roetzer, 113-115.

Dölger, 331-333. Standing turned towards the sun is also accentuated in the Apostolic Constitutions, II, 57, 14 (Quasten, Mon., 184 along with the notes). In so doing the hands were raised and stretched out in the attitude of prayer; Baumstark, Die Messe im Morgenland, 100.

*Baumstark, 100 f. Here you will find many details regarding the development which we can only briefly hint at in the following sketch.*

In Rome and Egypt: Flectamus genua. Letate, insofar as these calls come under consideration; cf. supra, p. 367 f. This gradually increasing prominence given to the deacon is evidenced, so Baumstark thinks, loc. cit., in the Aetheregia Peregrinatio, c. 24, where the deacon appears as leader in prayer at Vespers, but not yet at Mass.

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formula: Conversi ad Dominum, that is to say, common prayer followed upon the sermon, and during it, as was always customary, the congregation turned towards the East. In the beginning this prayer was antiphonally recited by celebrant and congregation, a practice that remained in the Roman liturgy and partly in the Egyptian. The bishop led, by first inviting to prayer; then recited his own portion and the congregation answered. Then as time went on, the deacon, who at first only announced short directions, began to take a more prominent place in most liturgies. By the end of the fourth century he took over the invitation to prayer, the announcing of the special intentions which combined into a litany (ektene or synapē), and to which the congregation answered with the Kyrie eleison or some other similar invocation; only then did the celebrant start to pray.

In the Roman liturgy, in which the older and simpler form was preserved, this general prayer is still in use once a year, on Good Friday. Even in the eighth century this practice was still customary also at least on the Wednesday of Holy Week. It is a well-grounded hypothesis in these Good Friday prayers, whose echo goes back to the first century, we have here are called, are at any rate on this day also separated from the Mass which follows some hours later, just as on Good Friday they are disjoined from the following rite by a pause; the fore-Mass is therefore treated as an independent unit.

Clement I, Ad Corinth., c. 59-61: "We beseech thee, O Lord, be our helper and provide for us; save those of us who are in tribulation; take pity on the oppressed, raise up those that have fallen, reveal thyself to those who beg, heal the sick, lead those of thy people who have gone astray once more into the right path. Feed the hungry, deliver those in prison, bring health to the sick, and comfort to the faint-hearted. Let all peoples recognize that thou art the only God and that Jesus Christ is thy servant and that we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture . . . Yea, Lord, make thy face to shine upon us for our well-being. Give unity and peace to us, and to all who dwell on earth, as thou didst give them to our fathers when they called upon thee devoutly with faith and sincerity. Let us be obedient to thy all-
the general prayer of the Roman Church in the exact wording in which it was performed after the readings and the homily in the Roman congregation at their regular services since the third century. The petitions that are here offered in nine parts: for the church, for the pope, for the assembled clergy, for the ruler, for the catechumens, for all who are in straits and in danger, for the heretics and schismatics, for the Jews and for the heathens, show up, except for the last two mentioned, and for occasional different groupings, in the general church prayer of other liturgies.

Still in the eastern liturgies, and especially in the litanies introduced by the deacon, which correspond to the invitations to prayer in the Roman Good Friday prayers, numerous other petitions are mentioned, and here they are answered by a supplication of the people. Peace on earth, prosperity in the field, the country or the city or the monastery, the sick, the poor, widows and orphans, travelers, benefactors of the poor and of the Church, eternal rest for the dead, forgiveness for sinners, an untroubled life, a Christian death—these are the intentions recommended to prayer. In the Egyptian liturgies the proper rising of the Nile and beneficial rains are not forgotten. The respective prayers of the celebrant are mostly kept

dominant and powerful name and to our rulers and princes on earth. . . . Grant them, O Lord, health, concord, peace and stability, that they may exercise unhesitatingly the authority in which thou hast entrusted them, so that they may piously exercise in peace and meekness the authority which thou hast granted them, and may participate in thy grace. . . . Who alone hast power to give these and more good things, thee we praise through the high priest and protector of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and majesty to thee now and from generation to generation, forever and ever. Amen."

It might be noted that the identification of the Good Friday prayers with the ancient general prayer, proposed by Msgr. Duchesne, Christian Worship 172-173, was disputed by E. Bishop, "Kyrie eleison," Downside Review, XVIII (1899), 294-303, but Bishop's view is hardly sustained.

For the great antiquity of the Good Friday orations preserved today and already extant in the oldest sacramentaries, Baumstark, Missale Romanum, 20 f., refers to the naming of confessores after the series of clerics: the prayer belongs to the period of persecution, when those who suffered for the faith were given the honors and rights of clerics; cf. Hippolytus, Trad. Ap. (Dix, 18 f.).

From the 5th century we have the evidence of the Indulcens, which is transmitted to us as an appendix to a letter of Celestine I on the Pelagian heresy, and which is traced back to Prosper of Aquitaine (M. Cappuyns, Revue Bénédict., 1929, 156-170). Here, in c. 11 (PL, L, 535; Denziger-Limburn, Enchiridion, n. 139) which contains the famous sentence: ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi, to bolster an argument for the necessity of grace, reference is made to the prayer of the Church (obsecrationes sacerdotales), which was handed down from the Apostles and is in use throughout the world: the bishops pray therein tota secum Ecclesia congregissime for unbelievers, idolaters, Jews, heretics, schismatics, penitents, catechumens. Echoes of the traditional text are not recognizable in this reference, as in the mention of the prayer for the Jews: ablato cordis velamine. Felix II (483-492) likewise testifies to the existence of such a prayer (supra, p. 478, note 21): here, however, the oratio catechumenorum must have stood right at the beginning.

Cf. Kennedy, 29-32.

36 Brightman, 121 f., 160 f., 223 f.

"Three prayers" of the faithful were appointed by the Synod of Laodicea, can. 19, of which the first was spoken by the deacon, the second and third by the people, and which follows (Brightman, 319 f., 380 f.), in reality εις τινων γ' is to be found, all the more since the litany expressly enters as a continuation of what precedes: εκπληκτηρι η τον θεον ημας. The liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 38-40) and Armenian liturgy (ibid., 428-430).

37 Liturgy of the West Syrian Jacobites (Brightman, 80 f.); cf. Baumstark, Die Messe im Morgenland, 107.

The silence of the Offertory do not come into consideration as an explanation of the isolated Oremus, since they are all much more recent.
said in the name of the congregation, just as the other orations are, and therefore it requires, no less than these, an introductory invitation to pray and a greeting. Both these elements are present at the offertory, only separated from the oration by a pause. But even the pause involves nothing surprising. It is a time for the prayer by the people, though not announced by a \textit{Flectamus genua}, since in the stricter compass of the sacrifice a bending of the knee, according to ancient modes, is not to be thought of. That is the explanation for the lone \textit{Oremus}.

The only thing standing in the way of our recognizing in this formula the ancient concluding oration of the faithful is that in content the prayer is simply and indubitably an \textit{oratio super oblata}. But this need not surprise us. For even in the Byzantine liturgy we noted the same process of change, indeed in two instances at least, namely, in the \textit{first} and the \textit{second} prayer of the faithful. But while here prior to the dismissal of the catechumens a first section of the general prayer of the Church remained unshortened, viz., the fervent \textit{ektene} with the corresponding prayer of the priest, nothing corresponding to it was kept in the Roman liturgy. This almost complete disregard of the Roman Mass for the general prayer of the Church ties in with the fact in its place some substitution was or would be made: in the intercessory prayers that meanwhile found entrance within the canon, and also in the \textit{Kyrie-litany} which begins to emerge at the start of the Mass simultaneously with the disappearance of the prayer of the Church. Probably the general prayer of the Church no longer had (if it ever had) the same extent in connection with the sacrifice which it showed when it was the conclusion of an independent prayer service. And therefore very probably the offertory procession was inserted a long time ago in the pause after the last \textit{Oremus}, and correspondingly also the content of the oration was newly devised. What preceded was at last naturally dropped.

Nevertheless there are traces still to be found of the foregoing prayer of the Church. With a certain regularity the Gelasian Sacramentary—and partly also the Leonean—has an addition to the present-day pattern of one oration (our collect) preceding the \textit{oratio super oblata} (our secret); instead we find not one but two, both having the same form and both of a similar general character. Several conjectures have been made about this twofold prayer. We will be nearest to the truth if we assume that the second oration corresponded to the two pre-Gospel readings. Similarly P. Alfonso, \textit{L'Euchologica Romana Antica} (Subiaco, 1931), 131, 135. But notice that the instances which come to mind of two orations preceding the two pre-Gospel readings in the present-day \textit{Missale Romanum}, among them those on the Ember Wednesdays, do not represent the original arrangement and plan; Hierzegger, \textit{Collecta und Statio} (ZkTh, 1936), 520 ff.


In the Milanese liturgy each Mass has, besides the orations corresponding to our collect, secret and post-communion, a proper oration \textit{super sindonem}; it is preceded, as is the \textit{oratio super oblata} (= secret) by the \textit{Dominus vobiscum}. The designation \textit{super sindonem} is derived from the moment in which it is said; cf. the \textit{"prayer of the chalice-cover} in the West-Syrian anaphoras, which Jacob of Edessa considers as developing from the third member of the prayer of the faithful; Hanssens, III, 332 ff. Regarding the function of the \textit{oratio super sindonem} there is little clarity; see Borella (\textit{Éph. liturg.,} 1939), 94, who rejects the opinion that it is in reality the closing prayer of the dismissal of the catechumens, and rightly believes it is a development from the \textit{oratio fideliem}.

A different view is taken by V. L. Kennedy: "The two collects of the Gelasian," Miscellanea Mohlberg (1948), I, 183-188.

In the Mass book fragments from lower Italy edited by A. Dold (see supra, p. 995, note 16) the Mass formularies regularly have, between Gospel and Offertory, an \textit{oratio post evangelium}; see Dold, p. XXX ff. It is obviously of secondary development; cf. the remarks on this in ZkTh, LIX (1935), 320.

Within the \textit{Ordo Missae} in a mid-Italian sacramentary of the 11th century there is an \textit{oratio post evangelium}, but its contents have taken over the thoughts regarding the oblation and remind one of the \textit{apologia}; Ebner, 298.

See \textit{supra}, p. 368.

\textit{supra}, p. 336 ff.

The consciousness of this still survives in Sicard of Cremona, \textit{Mitrade}, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 114 B): While among the Greeks prayer follows at this spot, amongst us the oblation of the people precedes (\textit{precedit}).

The intervention of a different rite in a prayer-pause is repeated elsewhere, e.g., in the ordination liturgy in regard to the laying-on of hands.

\textit{supra}, p. 368.

In some instances the \textit{Oremus} was omitted; it is missing in the Wolfenbüttel MS. of \textit{Ordo Rom. I} (Stapper, 22) and in \textit{Ordo Rom. III}, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 980).

According to Baumstark, \textit{Das Gezet der Erhaltung des Alten} (JL, 1927), 6 ff., and \textit{Missale Romanum}, 29, these two orations correspond to the two pre-Gospel readings. Similarly P. Alfonso, \textit{L'Euchologica Romana Antica} (Subiaco, 1931), 131, 135. But notice that the instances which come to mind of two orations preceding the two pre-Gospel readings in the present-day \textit{Missale Romanum}, among them those on the Ember Wednesdays, do not represent the original arrangement and plan; Hierzegger, \textit{Collecta und Statio} (ZkTh, 1936), 520 ff.


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solemnly recited for the people and in which the priests made intercession for the sins of the people. There is reference here apparently to a single litany spoken by the deacon or deacons with a collect following post precem. Under this name, the contemporary Gothic Missal also actually contained a corresponding formula for the priest for Christmas and Easter services. Likewise examples of the litany of the people are preserved in certain texts in which the Gallican material has been fitted to the Roman: in the Irish Stowe Missal, where each of the petitions is followed, after the Gallican manner, by the people’s response, Oremus te, Domine, exaudii et miserere or prasta, Domine, prasta, and in the Freiburg Pontifical of the ninth century, where the schema of the litany of All Saints forms the groundwork.

When in the eighth century the Frankish Church turned to using the Roman liturgy and found in the newly received forms no palpable traces of the erstwhile general prayer of the Church, there must have been some repercussions also here in Frankish territory in regard to this prayer. For what now appear are either remnants of an old tradition or even products obviously created in an untimely attempt to achieve new forms.

It was a matter of preserving old relics in those various cases in which, after the readings and the sermon, we find the people repeating the Kyrie eleison. But the meaning of this isolated Kyrie eleison, still found today in the Milanese liturgy, was unclear already in the height of the Middle Ages. The people repeated the cry of Kyrie, not only as if the clergy had recited the symbol but even during its recitation itself and it was explained as signifying among other things a praise of God for the faith received. Then here and there the Kyrie turned into a Letz, the German hymn which is

90* Expositio (ed. Quasten, 16): Preces vero paulliure leivias pro populo ab origine libri Mosiaci duxit exordium ut... levitas pro populo decerentur et sacerdoles prasstat ante Dominum pro pecatis populi intercedant. There follows the prayer act for the catechumens; see supra, p. 478 f.

91* Muratori, II, 520.

The intercessions are emphasized to some extent only in the Christmas formula. Notice that in the Gallican Mass the reading of the names still follows, along with a pertinent collectio post nomina, in which most often prayers are said expressly for the living and for the dead. For the Gallican formulas from the Leofric Missal, see note 39 below.

92* Warner (HBS, 32), 6 f. That the litany here stands before the Gospel is naturally something secondary. A parallel case is to be seen in the Abyssinian Mass where the initial portion of the general prayer of the Church today likewise precedes the Gospel; Brightman, 216, f. 31; cf. 210 f. and resp. 150 f.

93* Nickl, Der Anteil des Volkes, 12 f.

94* Metzger, Zwei kardinoliges Pontifikalien vom Oberhein, p. 68*-70*. The introductory rubric says: tempore ieiuni ut in alia statitis diebus recitetur quando missa celebratur. Within the Mass at this time the only spot that could be considered is after the readings.

95* Missale Ambrosianum (1902), p. 167: After the reading of the Gospel there follows Dominus vobiscum and three times Kyrie eleison. Thus already in the oldest sources of the Milan liturgy.

96* Durandus, IV, 25, 14.

97* Honorius Augustod., Gemma an., I, 19 (PL, CLXVII, 550 C), interprets as a promise to observe the teaching of the Gospel the Kyrie eleison which the people sing at the same time that the clergy say the Credo; cf. supra, p. 472, note 67.

98* Cf. A. Linsenmayer, Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland (Munich, 1886), 142 f.

99* Regino of Prüm, De syno. causis, c. 190 (PL, CXXII, 224 f.): ... in quibus singillatim precibus plebs orationes dicat, sacerdos vero orationes ad hoc pertinentes per singulas admonitiones sollemniter explicat. Post hae sacra celebratur oblatio. Regino’s careful wording hardly confirms the theory maintained by H. v. Schubert, Kirchengeschichte des Frühmittelalters (Tübingen, 1921), 654, that the entire intercessory prayer was said in German. Regino obviously has in mind a plan similar to the Roman arrangement for Good Friday. Certainly the silent Vater unser corresponds to the pause (then still customary) after the Flectamus genitum (see supra, p. 369 f.). The omission that followed would be in Latin. But one can not maintain this for the preceding admonitio; see the conditions in the French and English tradition, note 43 f. below.

100* F. E. Warren, The Leofric Missal (Oxford, 1883), 207 f. In this Mass book (9th-10th century), from either Lotharingia or the Rhine, there is, outside a Mass formulary and without any special designation (being thrown in among various formulares), a remarkable group of four orations of which the third, by its closing formula, betrays the Gallican origin which would otherwise be recognized from the vocabulary and its temper. The titles of the individual formulas indicate the contents only imperfectly: Oratio pro familioris (a prayer for benefactors, relatives, for those recommended to our prayers, vel qui nobis eleemosinarum quadrin red­tina ergavert). Oratio pro omnibus po­pulis catholico (for the king and his family, for believers and unbelievers), Oratio generalis pro omnibus populo (for all princes and leaders, for the clergy and the monasticst, for married people and children, for sinners, for the poor and oppressed, for all our departed quorum nomina tu scis), Oratio in agenda mortuorum (for the deceased quorum et quorum nomina commendata sunt nobis, with several further specifications).

101* According to the text in G. Lefebvre, O.S.B., Missel-Vesperal roman (Lophem-lez-Bruges, 1923), 77-79. Here, to correspond to actual use, there is reference to the text of the "prène" between Gospel and Credo in the Ordo Missae (p. 100).

The word "prène" is translated in many modern Latin texts as promae, ante­chamber, but this is incorrect. The word to be found in many places since the twelfth century at the close of the sermon. But alongside of all this, new forms sprang up, the basic pattern of which is seen in Regino of Prüm (d. 915). On Sundays and fast days after the sermon the priest is to recommend to the faithful a general prayer for various needs: for the rulers, for the heads of the churches, for peace, against plagues, for the sick, and for the departed. The people were to recite quietly an Our Father each time, while the priest recited the corresponding Latin oration. The votive Masses of the Gelasian Sacramentary offered the priest a sufficient supply of such orations. Other orations survived from the Gallican liturgy, as the Leofric Missal indicates.

In many French-speaking dioceses the tradition of Regino has been preserved to this day with remarkable purity in the so-called prières du prène. Their wording, while keeping to the basic structure, varies in different places. A form very widespread today has the following outline*: After
an introductory reference to the Sunday and feast-day offering, there is mention first of a list of prayer intentions: for Church and clergy, for secular rulers, for benefactors, for the soldiers of the parish, for the sick and for sinners. Here follows a Pater and Ave recited in common, or—what must have been the original—Psalm 122, a silent Pater noster and, after the corresponding versicles, the Latin oration. Then follows a second invitation to prayer, this time for the departed. Psalm 129 is recited, the Requiem aeternam, and again the corresponding oration. Then follow the announcements for the coming week.

A formula prescribed for a church in Paris shortly before 1300 shows exactly the same design. A similar order was probably in use in northern France as early as the eleventh century, because it is already found, though somewhat more developed, in England after the Norman conquest, where it is used.

The oration for the 22nd Sunday after Pentecost (Deus noster refugium) is used.

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In both cases only in France as early as the eleventh century, because it is already found, though the corresponding versicles, the Latin oration.

In the same diocese differing practices occur. The participation of the laity was limited to a high degree and tended gradually to disappear entirely. Maybe in the beginning there was a Kyrie eleison by the parish after each part. Nevertheless we meet such a chant usually at the end of the entire list. But this too faded out. Towards the end of the Middle Ages we note the practice of inviting the faithful to recite an Ave, or a Pater and Ave after each part. Later a single Pater and Ave was recited as a British text of the “bidding prayer” just prior to the consecration shows a different form.

On German soil, on the contrary, no such well-adorned form was able to unfold. Of course one can still see a trace of the forms of the older traditions in a German formula of the twelfth century in which a long drawn-out invitation to prayer is divided into two parts: for the living and for the dead, and closes both times with the command to raise a “cry.” But for the rest the practice we find from this time on, is that the priest mentions a fairly long list of prayer intention after the sermon, which usually begin with the temporal and spiritual rulers, but outside of that follows no strict order. Selection, grouping and wording are much interchanged. Even in the same diocese differing practices occur. The participation of the laity was limited to a high degree and tended gradually to disappear entirely. Maybe in the beginning there was a Kyrie eleison by the parish after each part. Nevertheless we meet such a chant usually at the end of the entire list. But this too faded out. Towards the end of the Middle Ages we note the practice of inviting the faithful to recite an Ave, or a Pater and Ave after each part. Later a single Pater and Ave was recited as a British text of the “bidding prayer” just prior to the consecration shows a different form.

Ibid. 62 f. The Old English text has four sections, each section closes simply with the exhortation to say the “Our Father.” Worthy of note is the emphasis put on the petition of the godfather and godmother. In the fourth section, for the dead, the naming of names is presupposed. The Bede-rolls in English churches contained the list of petitions and the names of those for whom prayer was asked. Details on giving out the bidding-prayers in English cathedrals and parish churches in D. Rock, The Church of Our Fathers, i, chap. 7 (in the edition cited, vol. 2, p. 292); also A. Gasquet, Parish Life in Medieval England, 222 ff.

In the homily mentioned in note 47 above, the list of intentions is introduced with a formula much like the close of that of Honorius: Modo, fratres, cum timore Dei levate corda et stabilitate carissimi, velam venire diligenter a vos. But this too faded out. Towards the end of the Middle Ages we note the practice of inviting the faithful to recite an Ave, or a Pater and Ave after each part. Later a single Pater and Ave was recited as a British text of the “bidding prayer” just prior to the consecration shows a different form.
at the end, or once more all noticeable prayer activity of the faithful drops out."

In these circumstances it was indeed a step forward when St. Peter Canisius in 1556-57 wrapped the long list of the current prayer intentions into one single all-embracing and theologically excellent prayer, and began to spread this around. He found sympathy almost everywhere for this idea. His composition prevails to this day as the "general prayer" of the German dioceses; more than this, it has in many places taken the spot in the divine service which belonged to the ancient general prayer: after the sermon, where Sunday after Sunday it is said by the entire congregation in chorus, and in places, in fact, it has for a long time been said within the Mass itself.

11. Further Adjuncts to the Sermon

Alongside the General Prayer of the Church, other texts in the course of time were also adjoined to the end of the sermon, but no particular order of succession was ever made standard for them. Some of these have come and gone like the wind; others have at least left a permanent mark. The chief of these additions are the announcements, the formulas for popular catechesis, and the culpa or Offene Schuld ("open confession").

(Liturg. Zeitschrift, 1929), 58-62, the Pater and Ave are expected in six places in the 14-sectional prayers. Likewise in the "Announcement for Sundays in Parish Churches," written about 1500 at Regensburg (Beck, 274 ff.) a Pater and Ave are appointed in six of the sections: for spiritual and secular authority, for all believers, especially the sick and oppressed, for each one's wants, for all deceased priests, for all deceased faithful, for deceased members.

The Regensburg Obsequiale of 1570 (Beck, 354) has a shorter formula of petition, chiefly prayer for the peace of Christendom and for spiritual and secular authority, and only twice are Pater and Ave recited.

Practices of this sort have not gone out of use entirely. The announcements in many churches begin or end with a recommendation of the souls of the sick and dead of the parish to the prayers of the congregation.

Thus, after a long list of intentions, according to the Basle parish priest John Ulrich Surgent, Manuale curatorum predicandi prebens modum (Strassburg, 1508), fol. 78-79.

Thus in the plan which R. Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter (Detmold, 1879), 224 ff., presents as the usual phraseology.


Thus, e.g., in my own parish of Taufers in Pastertal. From such public use it spread also to private use at night prayer.

An important attempt to reconstruct the general prayer of the Church along the lines of the Litany, taking into account variations for various feasts and seasons and various needs, is found in the plans projected by J. Günden, "Fürbittgebete": Parochia, ed. by K. Borgmann, 387-408.

R. Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter, 221 ff. The development was in the direction of order and design, so that the many different formulas and prayer activities were gradually reduced to this list (and this order): Announcements, creed, culpa (with granting of indulgence), recommendations for prayer, Our Father and Assisi Mary, Cruel, 222-225; Linsenmayer, 140 ff. Already by the 12th century the creed and culpa had been reduced to a single formula. For a different order see note 9 below.

Leo the Great, Serm., 12, 13 (PL, LIV, 172 f.), et al.

Augustine, at the end of his sermon (Sermo 3) announces the anniversary of the consecration of the old bishop which would occupy the following day and in which the basilica of Faustus (Roetzer, 112 f.; further examples here). Cf. in the later Gelasianum (Mohlb erg, n. 1460 f.) the formula of the denuntiation natalicii unius martyris.

In an earlier period these announcements took place at Rome just before the Communion of the faithful, therefore before the non-communants had departed; see below, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 8.


FURTHER ADJUNCTS TO THE SERMON

First of all, the end of the sermon was always considered a good spot though not the only one—to make the announcements to the people, telling them of the future plans for worship or of other matters of interest to the congregation. Pope Leo the Great (to cite one example) at the end of his Emberide sermon always reminded his hearers of the fast days during the coming Ember week and invited them to attend the vigil on the eve of the next Sunday. The practice during the late Middle Ages was much the same, detailed explanation being given of the sanctoral calendar for the week following. Indeed the custom is still maintained to a great extent at the present.

Secondly, this spot right after the homily, or perhaps even in its place, was usually selected for a modest form of popular catechesis, in accordance with the decrees of Charlemagne. The heart of this catechetical instruction consisted of the Our Father and the Apostles' Creed. These formulas had to be explained or at least recited with the people. Often in the course of the Middle Ages the prescription was inculcated anew. Later, from the
for the sacramental confession of individuals. But just as the profession of faith in its original singular form was transferred from the baptismal rite into public worship, so now the formula of acknowledging our sin was transferred from the sacrament of Penance. In this instance, however, the complete sacramental rite was originally united with the formula, at least in a limited way, even at Holy Mass. For after the tenth century it became customary to include all the faithful congregated in church in the rite of the reconciliation of penitents on Holy Thursday. And soon this grew into the practice of granting a similar benefit to the faithful also on other days. Already by the middle of the eleventh century it was the custom in Rhenish churches for the preacher after every sermon to make the faithful raise their hands and confess their faults. Then they pronounced over them the then customary formula of sacramental absolution, a variant of our Indulgentiam —to which the Misereatur was soon prefixed.

Of course it was well-known even then that this type of general absolution, without a special individual confession, was not in itself enough for mortal sins; in fact this was inculcated very emphatically. But the practice was so highly treasured that it continued for long even after the sacramental character was denied it (in the period of Scholasticism), and it was no longer performed with sacramental intent. It is even practiced today to some extent, but usually only at the end of the Sunday sermon preached outside Mass.

But it is also retained in the solemn pontifical Mass, in the course of which our rite was already taken for granted as a fixed constituent as early

thirteenth century on, the Ave Maria and the Ten Commandments were added to the materials for catechism, besides the seven sacraments, and at least several times a year other lists or enumerations, as built up in the systematic instruction of the later Middle Ages, and finally “Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity” with other allied formulas.

Insofar as prayer-texts were concerned, the saying of these formulas was on the borderline between an impressive repetition and real praying. General prayer and popular catechesis were therefore often intermixed and combined. Here, too, French tradition has maintained a fixed arrangement with clear limits right down to the present.

Sometime after the year 1000 another act of purification put in an appearance, connected loosely either with the Prayer of the Church or with the catechetical texts. This act, which was to precede all further prayer and the start of the sacrifice itself, was called the “Open Confession” (Offene Schuld). It is an expanded Confiteor said in the vernacular. The German texts for this are amongst the most ancient monuments of the German language. At first (since the ninth century) they served patently


* Thus, e.g., in the formulary of Pastor Surgant, Manuale, fol. 79-83. Surgant had in view the prescriptions of the Synod of Basle, 1503; Göbl, 95 f.

* The Regensburg “Announcement” follows up the prayer intentions already mentioned (p. 489, note 62) with Our Father, Hail Mary and creed; then, within the framework of the culpa, as possible objects of sin, there follows the enumeration of the Ten Commandments, the nine ways of sharing the sins of others, the seven deadly sins, the six works of mercy, the five senses, the four theological virtues already in the Thirteenth century on, the Ave Maria and the Ten Commandments were added to the materials for catechism, besides the seven sacraments, and at least several times a year other lists or enumerations, as built up in the systematic instruction of the later Middle Ages, and finally “Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity” with other allied formulas.


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By the 17th and 18th centuries they already play a great part in catechisms; then, F. Hofinger, Geschichte des Katechismus in Österreich von Canisius bis zur Gegenwart (Innsbruck, 1937), 195, with note; 232 f.

Benedict XIII and Benedict XIV granted indulgences for their use; F. Beringer, Die Ablasser, (16th ed., Paderborn, 1915), I, 167 f. In the bull “Etsi tamen” (Feb. 7, 1742) Benedict XIV prescribed them—the acts of the three theological virtues, plus an act of contrition—intra missarum sollemnia. Twice a year the prêtres du prêne are replaced by the reading of a prescribed section of Christian doctrine.

According to the Rituale Parisiense of 1839 (supra, p. 488, note 42), the reading of this epistle of doctrine should follow the prêne.

28 The more recent texts, traceable to the 10th century, marked “Beichten” (Confessions) in E. v. Steinmeyer, Die kleinern altdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler (Berlin, 1916), 309-364.
as the twelfth century, and is still, in a way, taken for granted even today. At present it is merely a substitute for the sacramental absolution after the announcement of the indulgences, and the formula of blessing is superadded to that of absolution.

What we have here in substance is an attempt — only halfway successful — to find for the faithful here at the start of the sacrifice a counterpart to that preparation and purification which was provided for the celebrant and his assistants at the beginning of the fore-Mass in the Confrat and the prayers accompanying it. Thus an idea which had once been realized in the primitive Church once more strove to take tangible shape.

opinion of some Protestant historians that this form of absolution — which they surmise is a substitute for private confession — reaches back to the time of Charlemagne, cannot be sustained; Jungmann, Die Lateinischen Bussriten, 291, note 198.


In the late Middle Ages there was undoubtedly at this spot an announcement of the granting of an indulgence to all those present at the sermon; this was a widespread custom even for the ordinary service; see Linsenmayer, 148 f.

Ceremoniale episc., II, 30; after the homily the deacon sings the Confrat; the preacher (see II, 8, 50 and II, 8, 80, the presbyter assistens) announces the indulgence of 40 days; the bishop pronounces the absolution, turning to the people: Precibus et meritis B. M. semper virgins . . . misereatur vestri . . . then the Indulgentiam; finally, with mitre on his head, the blessing: Et benedictio Dei omnipotentis . . .

The same rite already in the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, 639); but the addition of the blessing was here still left to the discretion of the bishop (si velit). Similarly, with even more exact rubrics, in the Pontifical of Castellani (1520): Martène, 1, 4, 5, 8 (I, 381); cf. also Ordo Rom. XIV, n. 53; 72 (PL, LXXVIII, 1294 D).

In the Cerem. episc., I, 25, 2, when the rite is first described, the Indulgentiam is omitted, thus emphasizing the characteristic of blessing. According to Cerem. episc., II, 8, 80, it is also permissible to unite this rite, now simply described as the granting of an indulgence, with the blessing at the end of Mass, the solution most frequently employed nowadays.

The change of the original character of a general absolution has a parallel in the case of the dying, the general absolution being replaced by the granting of a papal blessing to which is attached a plenary indulgence; cf. Jungmann, Die lateinischen Bussriten, 294 f.

Supra, p. 51.
A change will be made to the Ordinary Form of the Holy Mass in early 2014.

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