

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

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

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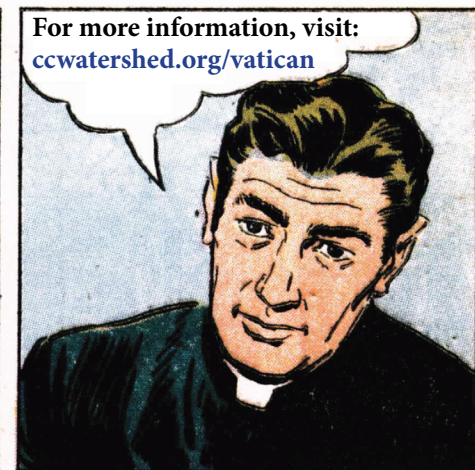
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emphasize the social side of the celebration, the solution was more frequently in common prayer or song in the vernacular, accompanying the low Mass. And finally, in our own century, a form of community Mass, the dialogue Mass, was devised, built up 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.<sup>118</sup>

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 retained as much as possible of the high Mass, but also that the latter gave up many of its privileges. Already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the priest at a high Mass began to read from the Mass book the texts which were handled by others, just as he did at a private Mass.<sup>119</sup> Other privileges, while continuing as rubrics,<sup>120</sup> are practically abandoned. Scarcely ever does one see a cleric in attendance to read the Epistle, or the special server who tends the book and, if a cleric, brings the chalice to the altar, and after Communion covers it and carries it back. At most there is a second server who shares the duties of the first.

The problem of the server is today identical for both sung Mass and private Mass.<sup>121</sup> Whereas in the early Middle Ages a cleric was ordered for the former but not for the private Mass,<sup>122</sup> we see that later a cleric was

<sup>118</sup> *Supra*, p. 162 f.

<sup>119</sup> *Supra*, p. 106 f.

<sup>120</sup> Gatterer, *Praxis celebrandi*, 97 f., 260-264; A. Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (7th ed., rev. J. O'Connell; London, 1943), 126-133.

<sup>121</sup> The duties of the server are touched upon very scantily in the rubrics of the Roman Missal (unlike the Dominican). For that reason, aside from the responses and the essential assistance with the book and the cruets, they vary from place to place. Thus a signal of the bell, prescribed for the *Sanctus* and the Consecration, is also inserted at other times: in Germany and Austria and parts of the U. S. at the offertory and the Communion (*Domine*

*non sum dignus*), in France and elsewhere at the Little Elevation (*omnis honor at gloria*), in Central America at the *Pax Domini*, etc. In some places (France and Alsace, for instance) the server mounts to the priest's side at the offertory and receives and folds the chalice veil, and after Communion he hands it to him again when he covers the chalice. The transfer of the book is usually the server's duty, despite *Rit. Serv.*, V, 1 f. (According to *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (1932), c. 26, 12, the priest himself carries the book even at high Mass.) The Missal presupposes that the server extinguishes the candles before the priest leaves the altar (*Rit. serv.*, XII, 6), but this is not the usage in most places.

<sup>122</sup> *Supra*, 210; 226.

demanding for both and finally in either case a layman was permitted.<sup>123</sup> 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.<sup>124</sup> 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.<sup>125</sup>

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.<sup>126</sup> On the one hand, this daily celebration by the priest

<sup>123</sup> *Supra*, p. 210 f.; 226 f.

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 (*διακονος* = *minister*, server). Reminiscent of this latter office is the oft-repeated designation of the server's vesture, as found in medieval inventories—clothing of various hues; *dalmaticæ puerorum*, they are called, or *tunicæ, albæ puerorum*; Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 60 f. Hanssens 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.

<sup>124</sup> 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 Goussanville (d. 1683) called it an abuse which might possibly be excused on the ground of custom (PL, LXXVII, 1336 D). Martène, 1, 3, 9, 10 (I, 344) is equally severe in his declaration. Bremond, *Histoire littéraire*, VI, 220, relates that Claude Martin, who was prior of Marmoutier from 1690 on, wanted to banish children as well as married men

from the sanctuary. Even in the 18th and 19th centuries voices were raised against the use of altar boys; Trapp, 165, note 923; 295 f. along with note 97.

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

<sup>125</sup> Cf. F. K. Debray, *Dienst am Altar. Werkbuch für Ministrantenseelsorge* (Freiburg, 1942), 153-159. A formula for the "Consecration of the Altar Boy," approved for the diocese of Limburg, is reviewed in Th. Mathyssek, *Leitfaden der Pastoral* (4th ed.; Limburg, 1940), 299. If there is no formal "consecration" there should at least be a systematized method of enrollment; see the helpful suggestions in G. Johnson, "The Priest and His Sanctuary Boys," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXXVI (1932), 7-28.

It is worthy of note that in Rome even in the 8th-9th centuries the young clerics were ordained first as acolytes (they had the privilege of carrying the little bag with the Eucharist); this ordination was performed by the pope or a bishop. Before that they just received a blessing at the hand of the archdeacon; *Ordo Rom.* IX, n. 1 (PL, LXXVIII, 1003): *accipient primam benedictionem ab archidiacono*. See M. J. Metzger, *Zwei karolingische Pontifikalien vom Oberrhein* (Freiburg, 1914), 68 f. But cf. M. Andrieu, "Les ordres mineurs dans l'ancien rit Romain" (*Revue des Sciences religieuses* [1925]), 36 f.

<sup>126</sup> In the early Middle Ages the Synods of Pavia (850), can. 2 (Mansi, XIV, 930)



himself has become, along with the breviary, part and parcel of his spiritual life. The ground for this is the consideration that personal celebration, even from the viewpoint of one's own religious life, has greater value than participation in another's Mass.<sup>127</sup> On the other hand, this personal desire of the priest coincides with the good of the cure of souls. The people are thus offered opportunities to attend Holy Mass every day in churches and chapels, and in large churches, especially on Sundays, also at various hours. At the altar not only the *festas fori* but also the *festas chori*, the individual saints' feasts, are celebrated. Thus the personal and public factors go hand in hand, leading in many cases to a regular semi-public celebration of the Mass.

There is still another influence at work, one that was efficacious already in Christian antiquity and which continually gives rise to the private Mass properly so called. There should be some way of satisfying the demands of the faithful who request the priest to offer the sacrifice for their special wants and who tender him the offering for this in the form of a stipend. That these offerings form, for a large number of the clergy, an important part of their income, especially at a time when richly endowed foundations are a thing of the past, cannot be denied. But that there is also peril here is equally beyond doubt. Church legislation, as the result of sad experiences which it has had in the course of history, seeks to counter it. Of

and of Compostella (1056), can. 1 (Mansi, XIX, 855) desired that bishops, *resp.* bishops and priests, celebrate daily. But the praxis in the later Middle Ages, in Spain and elsewhere, was far different from today's. Although the common esteem for Votive Masses drew many priests who had no other means of support and who literally lived from the altar, to celebrate daily, there were many others who seldom said Mass. For that reason a minimum had to be enjoined. Toledo synods from 1324 to 1473 set down the requirement at four times a year at least (Mansi, XXV, 734; XXXII, 392); and a Ravenna synod (1314) demanded at least one celebration a year (*ibid.*, XV, 546 c). A Synod of Bourges, 1336, demanded that priests with the cure of souls celebrate once or twice a month (can. 3; Mansi, XXV, 1060). Elsewhere a weekly celebration was prescribed; see the examples from the 13th to the 16th centuries in Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 57, 67, 68; cf. 74.

Even as late as the 18th century it is said that many pastors in the Moselle region were not accustomed to celebrate daily;

unless there was a special occasion many of them would celebrate only once or twice a week *ex devotione*. The increase which subsequently took place is traced in great part to the influence of P. Martin von Cochem; A Schüller, "Ein Moselfarrer" (*Pastor bonus* [1928]), 190.

<sup>127</sup> Theological discussions usually have had in view a different question, namely, whether it is better to celebrate daily than not to celebrate; see the pertinent chapter in Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, III, 2 (Schneider, 304-313), and the authors there mentioned.

In regard to the question remarked above, reference should be made (in favor of celebrating oneself) to the so-called *fructus specialissimus* which, as theological opinion has it, is the celebrant's very own. Even more important is the fact that, by his more intense sharing in the Mass, the priest as a rule finds it easier to celebrate Mass with devotion. Still we must not overlook the fact that on the other side are the great values of unity and charity which, *suppositis supponendis*, a community celebration not only represents but actually cultivates.

course the legitimacy of celebration on this title is not at all questionable.<sup>128</sup> 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. 196 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 conventual 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.

<sup>128</sup> *Cor. Iur. Can.* c. 824-844.



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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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, concubinaires, usurers *et al.*) from the Church or at least to order them out after the Gospel,<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Durandus, VI, 56, 11, still speaks of this dismissal. In several churches the practices of the catechumenate were retained even much later; Eisenhofer, II, 255.

<sup>2</sup> Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 67 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Goerres, VIII, 921, l. 27; 923, l. 14; 928, l. 1; 929, l. 53; etc.

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> and in Gaul those who were going to leave were given a solemn blessing right after the *Pater noster*.<sup>7</sup> 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 readings.<sup>8</sup> Therefore Cæsarius 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 *benedictio*.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> The prev-

<sup>4</sup> *Testamentum Domini*, I, 36 (Rahmani, 89 f.): *Propter fratrem qui sero venit, supplicemus, ut Dominus ei diligentiam et laborem concedat, relaxet ab ipso omne ligamen mundi huius, tribuatque ei voluntatem dilectionis, caritatem et spem.*

<sup>5</sup> *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Cæsarius, *Serm.* 73, 2 (Morin, 294; PL, XXXIX, 2276 f.): *Cum enim maxima pars populi, imo, quod peius, pene omnes recitatis lectionibus exeunt de ecclesia, cui dicturus est sacerdos: Sursum corda, aut quomodo sursum habere corda respondere possunt, quando deorsum . . . descendunt?* The same complaint rings out again in the 13th century; Franz, 17 f.

An analogous misconception is remarked by Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, CXIV, 948 B), although here it regards a participation in Mass dictated by devotion only: *sæpe in illis transeunter offerunt missis, ad quas persistere nolunt*, that is, they leave after the offertory procession.

Another abuse, significant of a third popular misunderstanding of the Mass, was the practice of the later Middle Ages of rushing to church only for the elevation; see *supra*, p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> Cæsarius, *loc. cit.*; also *De Vita*, c. 2 (PL, LXVII, 1010 C), which tells how he often had the doors of the church locked after the Gospel.

<sup>10</sup> *Infra*, III, 6, 4.



alent 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 indoctum*, at what parts of the Mass must one be definitely present, answers: from the offertory to the *Ite missa est*,<sup>11</sup> for here the sacrifice is being offered. Later moral theology also included the fore-Mass, whose independence was perceived less and less.<sup>12</sup> But Church legislation, whether during the Middle Ages or later, did not make any special declaration regarding these precise limits.<sup>13</sup>

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 answers is obvious from the occasional remarks of the Fathers. Even Justin testified to it.<sup>14</sup> Jerome mentioned one time that the Amen in the Roman basilicas reverberated like a heavenly thunder.<sup>15</sup> Augustine in his sermons and writings often made reference to the responses of the people.<sup>16</sup>

The only question is, how long during the Middle Ages did the practice continue. Cæsarius of Arles still takes it for granted.<sup>17</sup> It is also otherwise ascertained for the Gallican liturgy of the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 36 (PL, CV, 1156). The same answer is given by Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cleric.*, c. 33, *ad-ditio* (PL, CVII, 326).

<sup>12</sup> It is worth noting that moralists nowadays do not consider the Last Gospel as pertaining *ad integritatem missæ*; all else, from the prayers at the foot of the altar to the priest's blessing, does. H. Noldin-A. Schmitt, *Summa theol. mor.*, II (20th ed.; Innsbruck, 1930), 245; Aertnys-Damen, *Theol. Moral.*, I (14th ed.; Turin, 1944), 422: *Ita constat ex communi sensu et consuetudine totius Ecclesiæ*. 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, 5. Moralists 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).

<sup>13</sup> *Cod. Iur. Can.*, c. 1248.

The *Decretum Gratiani* III, 1, 63 ff. (Friedberg, I, 1311 f.) contains little more than the general injunction imposed by synods of the 6th century, that one must hear the entire Mass.

<sup>14</sup> *Supra*, p. 22 f.

<sup>15</sup> Jerome, *In Gal. Comment.*, 1, 2 (PL, XXV): *ad similitudinem coelestis tonitruum Amen reboat*.

<sup>16</sup> Roetzer, 99, 115; 117 ff.; 124; 131; 236 f. Some of this we shall see later.

Other evidences from the Fathers will come to our attention in the places noted.

<sup>17</sup> *Supra*, p. 235, note 8.

<sup>18</sup> Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 8 f. Cf. especially the data mentioned below, p. 365, with regard to *Et cum spiritu tuo*.

<sup>19</sup> Clearest of all in the Mass-Ordo of John the Arch-chantor who in every instance where an answer is expected inserts a phrase like *respondent omnes, respondentibus omnibus* (Silvia-Tarouca, 197-201). The Ordo of St. Amand makes a similar

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 part.<sup>20</sup> Amalar advises those who do not understand the Latin Gospel lesson, at least to pronounce the *Gloria tibi Domine* with the rest.<sup>21</sup> Other Carolingian authors talk about these responses as something taken for granted.<sup>22</sup>

In his penitential lists, Burchard of Worms (d. 1025) mentions the neglect to respond as an example of unbecoming behavior in church.<sup>23</sup> And even later the responses are referred to as at least the ideal requirement.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup>

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 Nickl, II 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. Pad. 47 (9th century), which is in substance a 7th century text, and which time and again prefates he answer with *Respondet populus*; Mohlberg-Baumstark, 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.

<sup>20</sup> c. 70 (MGH, Cap., I, 59): The people should sing *Gloria Patri* and *Sanctus*. Cf. Rudolf of Bourges (d. 866), *Capitulare*, c. 10 (PL, CXIX, 708).

<sup>21</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 f.). For the dialogue before the Preface, cf. *ibid.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1128 A, 1131 f.).

<sup>22</sup> The *Expositio 'Primum in ordine'* remarks in passing that the response to the *Dominus vobiscum* before the Preface and likewise to the *Pax Domini* of the priest is made by *et clerus et plebs* (PL, CXXXVIII, 1175 B, 1185 B). Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cleric.*, I, 33 (PL, CVII, 323) informs the priest about the oration: *populum salutans pacis responsum ab illo accipiat . . . Amen hebraicum est, quod ad omnem sacerdotis orationem seu benedictionem respondet populus fidelium*.

Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL,

CI, 1252 f.), also expressly mentions the counter-greeting and *Amen* of the people and their response in the dialogue before the Preface.

<sup>23</sup> Burchard of Worms, *Pœnitentiale Eccl. Germ.*, n. 145 (Schmitz, II, 441; PL, CXL, 970 C): *Fecisti quod quidam facere solent . . . cum eos presbyter salutet et hortatur ad orationem, illi autem ad fabulas suas reuertuntur, non ad responsionem nec ad orationem?*

<sup>24</sup> Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 2, 7 (PL, CLI, 979; 981 f.). Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), also desiderates the ancient traditional *Amen* of all those present (*omnes adstantes*) as a *signum confirmationis*.

Even in the *Ordo missæ* of Burchard of Strassburg (1502), which has in view chiefly the Low Mass, the answer of the *interessentes* is sought along with the Mass server, even in the prayers at the foot of the altar and at the *Suscipiat*; Legg, *Tracts*, 135 ff.; 152. In Italy it seems the people at that time actually made these responses; see the references in Ellard, *The Mass of the Future*, 103.

The Missal of Pius V does not have any unequivocal direction regarding the responses; cf. Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit," (StZ [1926], II), 209, footnote 2.

<sup>25</sup> A. Barin, "Circa missam quam dialogatam appellat," *Eph. liturg.*, XXXV (1921), 299-313, had defended the view that at a *missa lecta* the duty of responding had been turned over by the Church to the server exclusively; that therefore the congregation's joining in was a presumption which violated can. 818 (*cave-*



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<sup>26</sup>; 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 individual fortunes of all these songs will occupy our attention in connection with the detailed explanation to come. Taken together—aside from the refrains of the interposed chants—they form the chants of the so-called Ordinary of the Mass which, along with the ancient acclamation, were taken over from the people by the choir of clerics and finally by the church choirs.<sup>27</sup>

Besides the words by which the participation of the people in the celebration was made manifest, we have to add also some activity, *doing* something. The "Partaking," simply, the *κοινωνία*, 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 offertory 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.<sup>28</sup>

*atque [sacerdos] ne alias caeremonias at preces proprio arbitrio adiungat*"). The articles of Hanssens and Saponaro noted above pp. 226 and 227 were written to controvert this opinion.

<sup>26</sup> In other liturgies responsorial chants were also used particularly at the Communion. In connection with the directions for Communion we read in the *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 275) the express charge: The congregation should answer lustily after all the psalms.

<sup>27</sup> 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, *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3786. Cf. *Cæremoniale 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*.

<sup>28</sup> *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 13.

Most especially, however, the inner participation of the faithful at the holy action has to be exhibited in a suitable bodily posture. The principal posture (aside from the early period with its meal celebration) has always been a posture of standing. Before the higher Being whom he wishes to honor, a person stands erect, particularly when he realizes his obligation of service. Just as the priest at the altar stands before God in reverential readiness, so also the faithful; they are the *circumstantes*. In line with this, it was an understood norm in olden times that the people followed the motions of the bishop or the priest when he said the prayers and, in general, in all the rest of his deportment, so that like him they stood with hands uplifted and facing east.<sup>29</sup> Standing was the ordinary posture of prayer even among ancient peoples,<sup>30</sup> in fact, standing with uplifted hands<sup>31</sup> and with eyes fixed in the direction of the rising sun. This posture of prayer was continued by the Christians, both people and *liturgi* together, with only this variant: they saw in the orient sun which they faced, an image of the Risen Christ.<sup>32</sup> Only when the celebrant pronounced a blessing over the congregation, to whom he turned standing erect, was there any change

<sup>29</sup> 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, *De sacr.*, VI, 4, 17. It is precisely this passage from Ambrose that shows that the lifting of the hands (following 1 Tim. 2:8) was observed by the faithful especially at worship. Cf. also Chrysostom, *In Phil. hom.*, 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 iustum est* the deacon ordered them to stretch out their arms Πετάσατε, Brightman, 125; *contra* Brightman, 601, this seems to be addressed, like the following, to all the faithful), at a later spot to stand up (Οι καθήμενοι ἀνάστητε, *ibid.*, 131, 174, 231), and finally, just before the *Sanctus*, to turn to the east (Εἰς ἀνατολὰς βλέψατε, *ibid.*, 131, 174, 231).

For the orientation at prayer the most important evidence in Quasten, *Mon.*, 35; 184 (in the notes to *Didascalia*, II, 57 and

*Const. Apost.*, II, 57, 14) and the basic researches in Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 136 ff.

Apparently the turning to 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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 *statio* (in the sense of the primitive Christian station fast) originally meant prayer, place of prayer. Schümmer, *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis*, 136 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Heiler, 101 f.

<sup>32</sup> 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 preghiera verso oriente," *Eph. liturg.*, XLIX (1945), 52-68; cf. *idem.*, "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der jüdischen Gebetsrichtung," *Theol. Zeitschrift*, III (1947), 1-15.



in the bearing of the congregation; now it differed from his in accordance with the shouted command, *Humiliate capita vestra Deo*<sup>33</sup>—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.<sup>34</sup> 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,<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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).<sup>37</sup> 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 missæ* 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<sup>38</sup>; there was no longer any mention of bowing.

<sup>33</sup> This bow at the blessing also in other liturgies; cf. *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 3 and 4, 1.

<sup>34</sup> For this and what follows see *infra*, p. 370 f. and Vol. II, Ch. 2, 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Ordo Rom. antiquus* (Hittorp, 66).

<sup>36</sup> 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 eccl. Lateran.* (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 we 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, *Mysterii missæ expositio* (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.

<sup>37</sup> Can. 37 (Mansi, XIV, 89).

<sup>38</sup> Legg, Tracts, 134. A genuflection 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 and the last blessing, but leaves it free during the Canon.

Sitting, as a posture for the faithful, was hardly thought of seriously in the churches of the Middle Ages, since there was no provision made for seats.<sup>39</sup> Only for the choir of clerics in capitular and monastic churches were choir stalls erected and for this narrower circle of participants new choir rules were devised.<sup>40</sup> Established on the same basis as that which held for the faithful, these rules became constantly more detailed and began to include sitting, just as the bishop and *presbyter* had been doing previously in accordance with the oldest Roman *ordines*.<sup>41</sup> The choir sat at the Epistle and, provided the whole group did not sing, also during the following chants.<sup>42</sup> But it was not till near the end of the Middle Ages that any localities began to consider the possibility of the people's sitting down.<sup>43</sup> But now in many countries it is regularly taken into account in the erec-

<sup>39</sup> 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.

Even today in African and Asiatic mission lands squatting seems to be the basic posture for the faithful; cf. Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (StZ, [1927], II), 365 f.

<sup>40</sup> An example of exact rules for choir at Mass and Office is presented about 1285 in the *Liber ordinarius* of St. James' monastery in Liège (Volk, 102-109; regarding the conventual Mass, 102 f.). The rules now in force for choir assistance at Mass, rules frequently modified and detailed by local custom, are collected in the Roman Missal, *Rubr. gen.*, XVII, 5; *Cæremoniale episc.* II, 8, 69; 11, 5; 7; for details see P. Martinucci, *Manuale sacrarum cæremoniarum*, (3rd ed.; Regensburg, 1911), I, 9-88; J. O'Connell, *The Celebration of Mass* (Milwaukee, 1940), III, 64-74.

<sup>41</sup> *Supra*, p. 68 f.

<sup>42</sup> *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 102 f.; cf. 105).

In the *Liber ordinarius* 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 capuche thrown back, at the blessing. Kneeling is done only at the Consecration (and at *homo factus est* in the *Credo*). But *tempore prostrationum* 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. Cist.*, II, 56 (PL, CLXVI 1430-1432). From this work the *Liber ordinarius* has taken, for instance, the direction that at certain times the brethren are to stand facing the altar, whereas otherwise they stand *chorus contra chorum*; also the mention of certain places at which they are to bow, like at the *adoramus* in the *Gloria*.

<sup>43</sup> German preachers in the 15th century directed the people to sit during the Epistle, gradual and the sermon; Franz, 21 f.

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 offertory.

The *Ordo missæ* 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 *Credo* (as before), after the offertory 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.<sup>44</sup>

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 festal seasons.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> Standing was expressly required only during the Gospel.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> This rule, however, was never very strictly insisted on.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 459 f.

In many countries outside Germany, especially those influenced by French, English and Spanish culture, sitting at the offertory is taken as much for granted as standing 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; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (StZ [1927], II), 355 f.

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

<sup>45</sup> 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. Martène, *De ant. Eccl. ritibus*, App. (III, 791 f.).

<sup>46</sup> 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. Analogous 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 (PL, LXXVIII, 1291).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the details *infra*, p. 447 f.

<sup>48</sup> Thus already in the Mass-*Ordo* of John Burchard (Legg, *Tracts*, 134). This regulation has gone into our present Missal, *Rubr. gen.* XVII, 2.

<sup>49</sup> German preachers in the 15th century usually stress only the kneeling at the Consecration; Franz, 21 f. At the Council of Trent a Portuguese complained that in Italy the faithful stood up right after the elevation of the chalice; they ought to stay kneeling as long as Christ's body was on the altar, as is customary elsewhere; Jedin (*Liturg. Leben*, 1939), 35; 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; Franz, 31.

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

The forms of external participation, however, fulfill their meaning and purpose only when they are props and stays 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.<sup>50</sup> If the faithful of the earlier Middle Ages took part in the offertory 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.<sup>51</sup>

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 olden forms of outward participation. The prayer book of Charles the Bald presents prayer-texts of offering at the offertory, of intercession when the priest asks for prayer for himself, and of preparation for Communion<sup>52</sup>; they are texts which square thoroughly with those of the priest. An English prayer book from the thirteenth century<sup>53</sup> also sets great store on the liturgical collaboration of whoever used it.<sup>54</sup> Joining with the prayers of the priest occurs in many places, often, it may be, quite extrinsically.<sup>55</sup> Just on the threshold

it is worthy of note that Father J. O'Connell, at the request of many American bishops, included in his ceremonial 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.

<sup>50</sup> At the same time it cannot be denied that the juncture of the closing *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* 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 again.

<sup>51</sup> Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 4 (CSEL, 3, 269); Const. Ap., II, 57, 21 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 186).

<sup>52</sup> See the pertinent sections in Vol. II, ch. 1, 4; and Ch. 3; 9.

<sup>53</sup> Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 1-60.

<sup>54</sup> 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 offertory procession was considered optional.

<sup>55</sup> 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 malo*—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 Sacrament 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.<sup>66</sup> It is this same Burchard who wanted to inaugurate once more the responses by the *interessentes*.<sup>67</sup>

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.<sup>68</sup> Following the prayers of the priest was, and continued to be, beyond the reach of the average Catholic,<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup> A long intellectual preparation was

<sup>66</sup> Legg, *Tracts*, 135.

<sup>67</sup> *Supra*, p. 237, note 24.

<sup>68</sup> Near the end of the Middle Ages the secrecy of the Canon was kept less and less rigorously, not observed as absolutely as either before or afterwards; cf. *supra*, p. 143, n. 14; however, in the long run it continued unabated; Franz, 631 ff.

<sup>69</sup> 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 "we ought nat to pray at masse, but rather onely to here and harken"; but then, she asks, why does the priest say: "Pray for me"? What I told you, the chaplain replies, is applicable espe-

cially 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 herken the words that the preest say [and those who do not understand] shall behold, and shall here, and thynke, and by that they shall understande."

<sup>70</sup> In the *Mediator Dei* of Pope Pius XII the Holy Father develops at length the idea that in holy Mass the people offer together with the priest, and bases his teaching on that of the great theologians and above all on the Mass prayers themselves. The pertinent sections (paragraphs 80-111, on "Participation of the Faithful in the Eucharistic Sacrifice") are a wonderful step to a fuller appreciation of the part the faithful must play, in heart and body, in offering the sacrifice. Cf. G. Ellard, "At Mass with My Encyclical," *Orate Fratres*, XXII (1947-8), 241-246.

required, and many intermediate steps had to be taken before it became possible once more to establish a closer spiritual bond with the praying and sacrificing at the altar, and thus to go back again to more ancient forms of expression. It was only after chant and the *Singmesse* and the spread among the laity of the use of the missal paved the road, that an opening was gradually made for a fuller participation in the celebration and offering of the Holy Sacrifice.

## 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."<sup>1</sup> Sunday is unequivocally designated in the *Didache*<sup>2</sup> and in Justin.<sup>3</sup>

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 correptus esse videatur*.<sup>4</sup> After that, the precept of Sunday Mass was often repeated, both in the East<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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.

Cf. 1 Cor. 16:2.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 18, note 54.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 23.

The pertinent data in Hippolytus' *Traditio Ap.* (Dix, 3; 43) is not quite certain.

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 attend-

ance to only a portion of the Milanese Christians. A similar opinion for Carthage (*ibid.*, 186-191) rests on even stronger considerations; cf. ZkTh, LXX (1948), 377.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. J. Guiniven, C.Ss.R., *The Precept of Hearing Mass* (Catholic University Canon Law Studies, Washington, (1942) No. 158), 17-22, who argues that this legislation of Elvira is vague and inconclusive.

<sup>5</sup> The canon of Elvira recurs at the Synod of Sardica (Sofia, 343), can. 11 (Mansi, III, 19) and at the Trullanum (692), can. 80 (Mansi, XI, 977); as a Communion obligation it also occurs in the West; see W. Thomas, *Der Sonntag* (Göttingen, 1929), 110. Limited to attendance at the parish Mass the same punitive sanction reappears as late as 1624 at the Synod of Bordeaux, III, 3 (Hardouin, XI, 66B; cf. *ibid.*, 1331), which legislates regarding those missing three Sundays in a row.



and in the West.<sup>6</sup> From the decrees of the Synod of Agde (506)<sup>7</sup> it was copied into the general law of the Church.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> Besides it was the custom since the fourth century in nearly all Christendom on the stationary 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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"<sup>13</sup> and was therefore fitted out in like manner with divine service.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Franz, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Can. 47 (Mansi, VIII, 332); cf. Guiniven, 23-25.

<sup>8</sup> *Decretum Gratiani* III, 1, 64 (Friedberg, I, 1312).

<sup>9</sup> Franz, 11-15.

<sup>10</sup> 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 iudiciis omnium peccatorum*; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* (Düsseldorf, 1898), 492 f. *Decretum Gratiani* III, 1, 50 (Friedberg, I, 1307).

<sup>11</sup> Schümmer, *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis*, 117. In Africa, at least in Tertullian's time, the celebration of the Eucharist appears to have taken place on these days early in the morning; *ibid.*, 120; Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 109 ff., 140 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Infra*, pp. 400-402.

<sup>13</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. eos qui castigationes ægre ferunt* (PG, XLVI, 309 B).

<sup>14</sup> *Const. Ap.*, II, 59, 3; V, 20, 19 (Funk, I, 171 f., 301 along with the pertinent notes). Cf. Bludau, *Die Pilgerreise der Ätheria*, 102 f.

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 celebration<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

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,<sup>18</sup> which was designated at Rome<sup>19</sup> about 530,<sup>20</sup> as well as in Gaul,<sup>21</sup> and this hour it is which consistently recurs in the writings of both the liturgists<sup>22</sup> and the canonists.<sup>23</sup> Since the Middle Ages it was regularly preceded by Terce, not only

<sup>15</sup> For Cyprian, *Ep.*, 57, 3, see *supra*, p. ???, note 4. Cf. Schümmer, *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis*, 117 f.

<sup>16</sup> Daily Mass is mentioned in Augustine, *Ep.*, 54, 2, 2; 228, 6; *In Joh. tract.*, 26, 15; *De civ. Dei*, X, 20, etc. Cf. Roetzer, 97 f.; Monachino, "La cura pastorale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma," 191-193.

Cf. Chrysostom, *In Eph. hom.*, 3, 4 (PG, LXII, 29).

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> The "third hour" did not, of course, coincide 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, were necessarily shorter; in summer they began earlier and were lengthened out. For that reason the Synod of Cambria (1586), III, 10 (Hardouin, IX, 2157) stipulated: in summer at 8 o'clock, in winter at 9. See H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters*, (Hanover, 1891), I, 183 ff.; cf. also G. Bilfinger, *Die mittelalterlichen*

*Horen und die modernen Stunden* (Stuttgart, 1892), 1 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 129): Pope Telesphorus, it relates, ordered that no one presume to celebrate *ante horam tertiam cursum*. The statement is, of course, unauthentic, but it indicates the attitude of the early sixth century.

<sup>20</sup> The choice of the third hour was already anticipated 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").

<sup>21</sup> Synod of Orleans (538), can. 14 (Mansi, 16): *De missarum celebritate in præcipuis duntaxat sollempnitatibus id observari debet ut hora tertia missarum celebratio in Dei nomine inchoetur*.

<sup>22</sup> Among others: Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 42 (PL, CV, 1160); Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 23 (PL, CXIV, 951); Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 58 (PL, CLI, 1019).

<sup>23</sup> Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, inq. 29 (PL, CXXXII, 188); Burchard, *Decretum*, III, 63 (PL, CXL, 686); *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 48 (Friedberg, I, 1307).



in monastery and chapter churches but also as far as possible even in parish churches,<sup>24</sup> and Sext usually followed.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, in the still extant directions for ringing the church bells<sup>26</sup> a special peal—rung two or even three times—was provided.<sup>27</sup> The arrangement developed for Sundays and feasts was shifted also to week days when daily conventual Mass became common in monastery and chapter churches.<sup>28</sup> But it must also have been adopted at quite an early period as the order of worship in parish churches.<sup>29</sup> "Mass time" was an unambiguous time-designation all through the Middle Ages and even after, and it meant the third hour of the day.<sup>30</sup>

Already in Ambrose there is evidence of an evening celebration of Mass, but only on fast days.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> This remained the custom in the centuries to follow, especially for Lent.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> It was not till near the end of the Middle Ages that any tendency was shown to push

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 211-212.

<sup>25</sup> John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 38 D): *Diebus omnibus excepto ieiunii tempore Sexta missam sequatur.*

<sup>26</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 395 f.

Durandus, I, 4, 9-15.

A thoroughly detailed and exactly graded program for ringing the bells is contained in the *Missale Romanum* printed at Venice in 1501 (reprinted in Legg, *Tracts*, 175-178).

<sup>27</sup> According to Durandus, I, 4, 12, at Terce a first stroke of the bell was given *ad invocandum*, a second *ad congregandum*, and a third *ad inchoandum*.

<sup>28</sup> A notable early attestation is found in Bede (d. 735), *Hist. gent. Angl.*, IV, 22 (PL, XCV, 206 f.): The bonds of a prisoner were very often (*sapissime*) loosened *a tertia . . . hora* because, as the story later reveals, his brother who was priest and abbot offered the sacrifice for him.

<sup>29</sup> According to Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, inq. 33 (PL, CXXXII, 188) the parish priest should be examined *si tempore statuto, id est circa horam tertiam diei, missam celebret, et post hac usque ad medium diem ieiunet, ut hospitibus atque peregre venientibus, si necesse fuerit, possit missam cantare.* The context shows that this refers to more than just Sundays and feasts.

<sup>30</sup> St. Ignatius of Loyola, in his Book of Exercises, still regularly employs the ex-

pression *ad horam missae* as an indication of the time for meditation (*Exercitia spiri-* 180, etc.). Notice that the *Directorium* for the Exercises, published in 1599, substitutes *paulo ante prandium* (c. 3, 7; *ibid.*, 348).

<sup>31</sup> Ambrose, *In ps. 118 serm.*, 8, 48 (PL, tualia [Regensburg, 1911], 151; 155; 173; XV, 1314). Cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen XXIII*, v. III ff. (PL, LXI, 610 C).

F. Zimmermann, *Die Abendmesse in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Vienna, 1914), 74 f., 82 f.

<sup>32</sup> Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.* c. 23 (PL, CXIV, 951).

The source material from the Gallic synods of the 6th century in J. Mabillon, *De liturgia gallicana*, I, 6 (PL, LXXII, 142 f.); repeated in Zimmermann, 114 f. <sup>33</sup> Zimmermann, 117-132.

The *missa quadragesimalis* or Lenten Mass was probably celebrated at 5 o'clock in the 6th century; see the reference to *vespertina* in III Council of Orleans (558), can. 32 (*MGH, Conc.*, I 82): *sacrificia vero matutina missarum sive vespertina.* But by the opening of the 9th century the time had been advanced; see P. Browe in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, CII (1921), 43.

<sup>34</sup> First occurrence in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 58 (PL, CLI, 1019). Zimmermann, 119 f. Further attestations up to the 13th century, *ibid.*, 120-132.

these later hours ahead by saying Mass as usual right after Sext or None, but anticipating these hours before noon.<sup>35</sup> 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 generales* of our Mass book. Its most important stipulation is that the *missa Conventualis et solemn*is on Sundays and feasts (semi-duplex and upward) ought to take place *dicta in choro hora tertia*, on simple feasts and ferial days *dicta Sexta*, and on days of penance *post Nonam*<sup>36</sup>; 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."<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup> For a long time no particular hour was stipulated for private Mass,<sup>39</sup> and therefore no connection with a canonical hour.<sup>40</sup> True, the faithful, in accordance with ancient law, were not so free to attend the *missae peculiares* on Sundays and holy days as to be drawn away from public Mass<sup>41</sup>; in fact, the faithful were obliged to fulfill their Sunday obligations not just in any public church but precisely in their own parish church.<sup>42</sup> But with the

<sup>35</sup> Thus in the middle of the 14th century according to P. Boeri; see E. Martène, *Regula s. Benedicti commentata*, c. 48 (PL, LXVI, 710 d).

<sup>36</sup> *Rubr. gen.* XV, 2.

At what time of day the hours were to be recited is not specified. Gottschalk Hollen (d. after 1481), however, in a sermon for the consecration of a church, repeats the old rule: third, sixth and ninth hours; but he emphasizes the fact that this holds only *de missis popularibus et conventualibus in quibus fit concursus populi* (cited by R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* [Detmold, 1879], 210).

Zimmermann, 177 f., makes it appear probable that even in the 16th century the old-time regulations were still observed in many localities.

<sup>37</sup> Thus, to cite an instance that seems to correspond, in Ingolstadt in the time of Johann Eck (d. 1543) the daily *summum officium* took place in summer at 8.00, in winter at 9.00; Greving, 84.

<sup>38</sup> *Supra*, p. 229.

<sup>39</sup> See the accounts in Martène, 1, 3, 4, 10 (I, 297 f.).

Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 42 (PL, CV, 1160), feels obligated 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. <sup>40</sup> Not till the 13th century (first in the Statutes of the church of Rouen) is there any general regulation that Matins, Lauds and Prime are to be said before Mass; Zimmermann, 171. The same injunction is also found in German synods of the 13th century (Hartzeim, III, 646; 662; cf. IV, 25). Also in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 100 f.).

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.

<sup>41</sup> Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitulare*, I, c. 45 (PL, CV, 208); *Decretum Gratiani* III, 1, 52 (Friedberg, I, 1308).

<sup>42</sup> Numerous decisions of this sort from 9th to 12th century in Browe, *Die Pflichten-kommunion*, 49-51. Later ordinances, in in part with threats of excommunication, in Martène, 1, 3, 9, 4 f. (I, 337-340).



coming of the Mendicants this law was slowly relaxed even though synod after synod took a firm stand in opposition.<sup>43</sup> 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<sup>44</sup> and, in consequence, at any Mass of one's choosing<sup>45</sup> and this right soon obtained papal approbation, beginning in 1517 with a decree of Leo X.<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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, XVIIIa, 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).

<sup>43</sup> Franz, 15-17. Among the synods cited here the first is that of Prague, 1349, the last that of Hildesheim, 1539. The Council of Arles (1260) had already strictly prohibited religious to receive lay people into their churches and chapels 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.

<sup>44</sup> Thus attests St. Antoninus (d. 1459), *Summa theol.*, II, 9, 10 (Verona [1740]: II, 1001).

<sup>45</sup> Nicholas of Cusa, when Bishop of Brixen, had admonished parish priests to instruct the people *quod non sufficit audire peculi-ares missas*. Franz, 16, note 4.

<sup>46</sup> Benedict XIV, *De synodo diocesana*, VII, 64 (= *De s. sacrificio missæ*; ed. Schneider, 320 f.).

Still the Council of Trent advised the bishops to admonish their people *ut frequenter ad suas parochias, saltem diebus dominicis et maioribus festis, accedant*; Sess. XXII, *De observ. et vit. in celebr. missæ*.

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

<sup>47</sup> An even less favorable criticism of the Sunday's service in towns and cities is to be found in Parsch, *Volksliturgie*, 188.

<sup>48</sup> Leo the Great, *Ep.*, 9, 2 (PL, LIV, 627): *Necesse est autem, ut quædam pars populi sua devotione privetur, si unius tantum missæ more servato sacrificium offerre non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte convenerint*. 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 pastorale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma," 354 f.

Considerations of a similar sort under the conditions of World War II prompted the extensive approbation of evening Masses, and this exclusively as public Masses, celebrated in the interests of the faithful but without being confined to Sundays and holydays.<sup>49</sup> This is no unqualified innovation, even apart from the primitive Church,<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup>

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 stationary 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.<sup>52</sup> However, this is no evidence of a daily Mass attendance by a wider circle.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> These indults were granted to the military ordinariates 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*, CXXII (1950), 331-340.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. in this connection E. Dekkers, "L'Eglise ancienne a-t-elle connu la Messe du Soir?" *Miscellanea Mohlberg* (1948), I, 231-257; 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 patristic period even week-day Mass was said *sub vesperam diei*.  
<sup>51</sup> 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.

<sup>52</sup> Augustine, *Ep.*, 228, 6 (CSEL, LVII, 489): those of the faithful especially had become recreant *quibus cotidianum ministerium domini corporis defuit*. Cf. *supra*, p. 213, note 4.

<sup>53</sup> Augustine, in his *Confessions*, V, 9 (CSEL, XXXIII, 104, l. 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.<sup>64</sup> Daily attendance at Mass in the castle chapel was part of the order of the day amongst the Norman nobility of twelfth-century England<sup>65</sup>; elsewhere too, the knights appear to have followed a similar practice.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup> As a matter of fact daily attendance at Mass was a prevalent practice amongst all ranks of the people in the later Middle Ages.<sup>68</sup>

## 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 *oblato ad altare*.

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

<sup>64</sup> *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.

<sup>65</sup> See the proofs in Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, p. 38 f.

<sup>66</sup> In the Grail poem of Chrestien de Troyes (v. 6450 ff.). Percival 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 Wolf-

ram von Eschenbach, *Parzival* (ed. Lachmann; 6th ed.), III, 169, 17 ff.; IV, 196, 12 ff.; XV, 776, 25.

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

A sermon ascribed to St. Ambrose (PL, XVII, 656 B) contains this admonition: *Moneo etiam, ut qui iuxta 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 gone out of use entirely during the 9th century.

<sup>68</sup> L. A. Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche 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 even 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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, *κυριακόν*, "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.<sup>3</sup> For that reason it seems in its design to mirror the idea and structure of the living temple.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, pp. 208, 217.

Cf. also Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 22, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Permission was granted to chaplains during World War II.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Sedlmayr, *Architektur als abbildende Kunst* (Österr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsbericht, 225, 3; Vienna [1948], 4-13).



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,<sup>4</sup> so too the ecclesiastical building is turned into a "ship" (nave=*navis*) voyaging towards the East,<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6</sup>; 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<sup>7</sup>; 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 301.

<sup>5</sup> For this cf. H. Rahner, "Antenna crucis, III," *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 196-227, especially 201.

<sup>6</sup> R. Grosche, "Versuch einer Theologie des Kirchbaus," *Betendes Werk*, ed. R. Schwarz (Würzburg, 1938), 113-121.

<sup>7</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 406 ff.; 410-412.

<sup>8</sup> J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (2 vols.; Munich, 1924); Geoffrey Webb, *The Liturgical Altar* (2nd ed.; Westminster, 1949).

<sup>9</sup> *Supra*, p. 24 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 344 f.

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 ἡ ἄγία τράπεζα.<sup>11</sup>

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*.<sup>12</sup> One way, the priest stands turned towards the altar facing in the same direction as the people; this is at present 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.<sup>13</sup> 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 exception<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Salaville, *Eastern Liturgies*, 133. This term is used even beyond the Greek-speaking areas; Brightman, 569.

<sup>12</sup> *Ritus serv.*, V, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Braun, I, 412 f., suggests three reasons: (1) If the altar was linked to a martyr's grave (*confessio*), 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 stational 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.

Cf. for Augustine's time, Roetzer, 89.  
<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> See the plans by R. Schwarz, *Vom Bau der Kirche* (Würzburg, 1937), esp. 56 f. 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 God-ward 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 immolation 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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 caputular churches it became a formal clerical chapel, specially designed for the clerical services which continually became more richly developed.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> Braun, I, 390-393.

<sup>17</sup> 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, *Vide* K. Liesenberg, *Der Einfluss der Liturgie auf die frühchristliche Basilika* (Diss.; Freiburg i. Br., 1928), 39 f.

This plan of construction was used quite generally in North Africa; J. Sauer, "Der Kirchenbau Nordafrikas in den Tagen des hl. Augustinus" (*Aurelius Augustinus*, ed. Grabmann and Mausbach; Cologne [1930]; 243-300), 286 f.

The same holds true of ancient Christian

architecture in Greece; see the review of a pertinent discussion by G. A. Sotiriou in *JL*, XI (1931), 290.

<sup>18</sup> In Syria, for example, this development had already been completed by the time of the Islamic invasion; Liesenberg, 64.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 82 f.

<sup>20</sup> *Supra*, p. 40. Cf. also Salaville, *Eastern Liturgies*, 105-111.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 103 f., 205 f.

<sup>22</sup> Braun, II, 665 f.

<sup>23</sup> Braun, I, 401-406.

Regarding the history of side altars we have already given a brief resumé, *supra*, p. 222 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> The frontals (*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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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 *civory* (*ciborium*).<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

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

<sup>24</sup> Origen, *In Jesu Nave hom.*, 10, 3 (PG, XII, 881).

<sup>25</sup> Chrysostom, *In Matth. hom.*, 50, 4 (PG, LVIII, 509).

<sup>26</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, X, 4 (PG, XX, 865 f.).

<sup>27</sup> Braun, II, 178 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Peter Anson, *Churches: Their Plan and Furnishings* (Milwaukee, 1948), 100-103.

<sup>29</sup> C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* (3rd ed.; Paderborn, 1922), 422-430.

<sup>30</sup> Braun, II, 533. Examples (several of them from churches in Cologne and southern Tyrol), *ibid.*, 532 f. More often this concerns side altars.



so-called retable. In the choice of subjects for these pictures the widest variety prevailed; all of Christian iconography was brought into play.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> By the sixth/seventh century these relics were dismembered and inclosed in the altar itself, just as is prescribed for every altar today.<sup>35</sup>

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 relic-shrines.<sup>36</sup> 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 polyptych altars and the Baroque architectural masses, in which the *mensa* or table often seems to sink into the insignificance of a mere appendage.<sup>37</sup> But there was some compensation to be found

<sup>31</sup> Braun, II, 445 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Braun, II, 456.

<sup>33</sup> 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 Schenute appears to regard the same kind of conditions; this is referred to in Braun, I, 652, 654 f.

<sup>34</sup> Braun, I, 525-661, esp. 656 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Cod. Iur. Can.*, c. 1198 § 4.

<sup>36</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 370.

<sup>37</sup> 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.

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,<sup>38</sup> a prescription of law still maintained in our own day.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 469 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Missale Romanum*, Rubr. gen., XX.

The present-day legislation does not distinguish whether or not there is on the wall behind the altar or on the altar-structure itself some adequate representation of Christ, so that, for example, on the Sacred Heart altar we will see a rather unpretty duplication.

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).



### Part III

## 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 contradistinction to the Mass proper or the sacrifice-Mass.<sup>1</sup>

As we shall see more in detail later, the fore-Mass—or, more precisely, the older portion thereof which began with the lessons—was originally an independent liturgical entity. The consciousness of a certain independence of this older fore-Mass remained alive for a long time. For it other regulations held than for the eucharistic service in the narrow sense. Sometimes the fore-Mass was conducted in one church, the Mass proper in another;

<sup>1</sup> 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 iidem catechumeni mittebantur, i.e. dimittebantur foras. Missa ergo catechumenorum fiebat ante actionem sacramentorum, missa fidelium fit post confectionem 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,<sup>2</sup> and also in North Africa.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 25 (CSEL, XXXIX, 74 f.), et al.; cf. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, II, 4 f.

<sup>3</sup> Augustine, *Serm.*, 325 (PL. XXXVIII, 1449).

<sup>4</sup> Typikon of St. Sabbas (Hanssens, II, 6 f.); text compiled in the 12th century (Latins = Φεάγγοι), 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, II, 5 f.

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 *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 209); cf. *Gelasianum*, I, 38; 40 (Wilson, 63; 72); Dix, *The shape of the liturgy*, 439-442.

<sup>5</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 5, 11 (Funk, I, 477). Likewise in the somewhat more recent *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 273), but here with the notation, "while they [the faithful] are coming in they should read over the Psalms."

<sup>6</sup> Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8 (CSEL, XL, 2, p. 610 f.).

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 offertory 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> This plan of prayer is most plainly evident today in the Byzantine Mass.

This forms the heart of the so-called εναρξίς, or Opening. Here we find, one right after the other, 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 *ektene*. 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

<sup>7</sup> Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 78-86.

<sup>8</sup> *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 9. (CSEL, XXXIX, 73).



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.<sup>9</sup> 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 (*εἰσοδικόν* = *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*, collects—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.<sup>10</sup> 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*.<sup>11</sup>

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 *ektene* shows today<sup>12</sup>; putting it another way, the

<sup>9</sup> Hanssens, III, 104 f.

<sup>10</sup> P. Alfonso, *L'Eucologia romana antica* (Subiaco, 1931), 132-137; similarly Eisenhofer, II, 97.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. P. Parsch, *The Liturgy of the*

*Mass*, trans. F. C. Eckhoff (St. Louis, 1936), 112.

<sup>12</sup> Fortescue, *The Mass*, 252.

Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 79, raises some objections against the originality of

oration in the Roman Mass has the character of a conclusion, and must therefore represent in this connection a stopping point after the litany already mentioned.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup> This manner of concluding with prayer Ætheria, 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.<sup>15</sup> In particular, the litany at Vespers was concluded by the bishop with an oration.<sup>16</sup> 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 *preces* 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.

<sup>13</sup> Batiffol, *Leçons*, 120.

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

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the decree of the emperor Justinian, *Novellæ*, 123, c. 32 (*Corp. Jur. civ.*, ed. Schoell, III, 617): *qualiter enim est litania* [an impetrative procession, but probably involving a litany-prayer] *in qua sacerdotes non inveniuntur et sollemnes faciunt orationes?*

Cf. also Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cleric.*, I, 33 (PL, CVII, 323 A): *Post*

*introitum autem sacerdotis ad altare litanie aguntur a clero, ut generalis oratio præveniat specialem sacerdotis.*

<sup>15</sup> Ætheria *Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 1 (CSEL, XXXIX, 71).

<sup>16</sup> *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*, 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.<sup>17</sup> 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 processional, 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> Rupert of Deutz, too, includes all the proceedings up to the collects under one heading as *initium quod dicitur Introitus*,<sup>20</sup> and we have found the same thing even in Albertus Magnus and other commentators of the period.<sup>21</sup>

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

<sup>17</sup> Hardouin, IV, 935 D.

<sup>18</sup> *Supra*, pp. 68-70

Cf. Parsch-Eckhoff, *The Liturgy of the Mass*, 83.

<sup>19</sup> 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 lectionem.*

Cf. also the declaration of Rabanus Maurus quoted in Note 14 above.

<sup>20</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *De div. off.*, I, 31 (PL, CLXX, 28 B).

<sup>21</sup> *Supra*, p. 114.

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 station 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.<sup>22</sup> 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*."<sup>23</sup> 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 station church itself.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 473-4; cf. 480. This same plan, somewhat abbreviated, also in the appendix to *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 23 f. (PL LXXVIII, 949).

Cf. Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," *ZkTh* (1936), 528 f., 533 f.

<sup>23</sup> Duchesne, 474, 480.

<sup>24</sup> 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 station 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*.



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 pray before the main altar. While the versicle in honor of the patron of the church is chanted, he kisses the altar at the middle and then recites the pertinent oration at the Epistle side.<sup>25</sup> Here, too, the entry into the church, the visiting of a church, has been given a liturgical form. In the case of the Mass-liturgy, the visiting of the church has been transformed into an entrance or opening ceremonial.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> 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 congregation did when it assembled at some

<sup>25</sup> *Pontificale Rom.*, p. III, *Ordo ad recipiendum processionem praelatum*. Similarly the other plans for reception contained in the Pontifical.

<sup>26</sup> At the basis of all this lies what I have elsewhere called the liturgical ground-plan, namely the series: reading, singing,

prayer of the congregation and prayer of the priest; there is only this difference, the external activity of the reception is substituted for the reading; cf. J. A. Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship* (New York, 1941), 65-81.

<sup>27</sup> R. Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," *ZkTh*, LX (1936), 511-554.

church for the start of a penitential procession, or when it stopped in at a church on the way. "We come to pray," is the basic motto of this first part of the Mass.<sup>28</sup>

Nowadays, however, this notion is no longer so apparent. The rite of entry has to a great extent lost its meaning, owing in the main to the fate which the entry has suffered in the course of centuries. Up till about 1000 it continued to be a fully-developed ceremonial, and so it was easy to survey the liturgical transformation which it was undergoing. Not only in the Roman stational service<sup>29</sup> but even in the Frankish Church, the entrance of the clergy had been a ceremony of capital importance, and in the descriptions and the allegorical explanations of Carolingian interpreters of the liturgy it assumed a formidable amount of space.<sup>30</sup> But in the years that followed a change set in. John Beleth (d. about 1165), in explaining the introit, had to make the remark that the bishop on feast days sometimes vested outside the choir.<sup>31</sup> In harmony with this, Durandus too felt compelled to note that the bishop—in whose regard, to be sure, every effort must have been made to retain the more solemn formalities—might take up the *paramenta* either *longe ab altari* or *juxta altare*.<sup>32</sup> All the more quickly, then, would the vesting of the priest be transferred to the sanctuary or its environs.<sup>33</sup>

This change is easily explained by the medieval evolution of choir prayer and the development of the fixed regulation that the conventual service, which for centuries simply meant the Mass, should each day immediately follow Terce or the other corresponding hour, for which the clergy were already assembled.<sup>34</sup> An entrance procession was therefore superfluous. Often the celebrant and his assistants were already clothed in the Mass vestments, as, for instance, when in monastic churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries all priest members of the choir wore alb, maniple, and stole.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> 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, *Kurze Messerklärung* (Klosterneuburg, 1930), 33; (2nd ed., 1935), 52. The schema then recurs in its essentials in Schott's *Messbuch der hl. Kirche* (37th ed., 1934), 26\*, with the first step divided: We come—We beg. Cf. Parsch-Eckhoff, *The Liturgy of the Mass*, 43; Parsch, *Study the Mass*, trans. Wm. Busch (Collegeville, 1941), 19 ("We offer our prayer"); R. Bandas, *The Mass and the Liturgical*

*Year* (St. Paul, 1936), 19 ("We speak to God").

<sup>29</sup> For the entry in extra-Roman churches of Christian antiquity see several references in Bona, II, 2, 1 (553 f.).

<sup>30</sup> Thus, e.g., in Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 5 (PL, CV, 1108-1113): *De introitu episcopi ad missam*. Cf. supra, p. 89.

<sup>31</sup> John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 35 (PL, CCII, 44 B).

<sup>32</sup> Pontificale of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 635).

<sup>33</sup> 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).

<sup>34</sup> *Supra*, pp. 204, 247.

<sup>35</sup> *Infra*, 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 the long way through the nave of the church<sup>36</sup> (as was done in the late Middle Ages on great feast days),<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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 the few steps which as a rule were all that had to be taken to reach the altar. Instead of a processional, the introit became an introductory chant which in Rome already in the fourteenth century was not begun till the priest reached the altar steps.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> According to the ancient rite of the Cistercians, the procession of the clergy first went to the south transept, where all remained bowed while the choir intoned the *Gloria Patri* of the introit. Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.* [1926], 252 f.).

A similar entrance procession 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.

<sup>37</sup> 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 Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 85.

<sup>38</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 478 f.

This procession is still to be seen (or was a few years ago) in Lithuania; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern," (StZ [1927], II), 359.

<sup>39</sup> But Durandus, in his *Pontifical* (Andrieu, III, 635, l. 11), pays no attention to the place of vesting, and in either case has the bishop stride to the altar *processionaliter et sollempniter*. Cf. *Ceremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 23 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 14; 27 (PL, LXXVIII, 1129 B; 1135 B).

The rubric of the present-day Vatican Gradual apparently takes the stand that the introit should again assume its rightful place as the entrance song of the Mass, for it expressly orders that the introit be intoned as the celebrant approaches the altar: "When the priest starts towards the altar, the cantors begin the introit." There are liturgists who insist that the Vatican Gradual introduced no change, that the introit is to be intoned only after the priest arrives at the foot of the altar. But actually the wording adopted is different from that in the older rubrics, substituting *accedente sacerdote ad altare* for the other reading, *cum . . . pervenerit ante infimum gradum altaris* (the rubric based on the *Ceremonial of Bishops*). The plain and ob-

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<sup>41</sup> were now more frequently set on the altar from the very start.<sup>42</sup> Since Carolingian times there was no longer any hesitancy about putting on the altar things other than those required for the sacramental celebration<sup>43</sup>; 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<sup>44</sup>—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,<sup>45</sup> but at the altar itself which is incensed.

Finally the psalm *Iudica*, 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. *Præparatio 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.<sup>1</sup> This requirement applies not only to the priest

vious direction of the rubric is: *Start* the introit as soon as the celebrant appears in the sanctuary.

<sup>41</sup> *Supra*, pp. 68 and 201. Regarding this and also regarding the changing position of the candles (torches) in the sanctuary the Carolingian interpreters have presented very thorough discussions; e.g. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 7 (PL, CV, 1114 f.); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1248; 1250).

<sup>42</sup> The first literary notice of this arrangement is not to be found till Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 21 (PL, CCXVII, 811). But various pictorial illustrations since the second half of the 11th century display candles on the altar. On the other hand the older system of placing them next to the altar did not disappear entirely until the 17th century

Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 492-498. See also Edm. Bishop, "Of Six Candles on the Altar: an enquiry," *The Downside Review*, VI [XXV] (1906), 189 ff.

Peter Anson, *Churches, Their Plan and Furnishing* (Milwaukee, 1948), mentions the Cathedral of Chartres as still having its six candles on the steps of the high altar, not upon it; 113, note 21.

<sup>43</sup> *Supra*, p. 258.

<sup>44</sup> *Supra*, p. 68.

<sup>45</sup> Acc. to the *Pontifical of Durandus* (Andrieu, III, 635) the censer is also carried when the bishop has vested next to the altar, but in this case no incense need be placed in it. No immediate significance is therefore attached to it any more.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 18.



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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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 different types of so-called "accession" prayers make their appearance. These first appeared in the form of apologies,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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 (*Benedixisti*), the Advent psalm, which praises God's grace and begs His continued protection; and, to round out the number

<sup>2</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 478-480.

Cf. Cuthbert Goeb, O.S.B., "The Asperges", *Orate Fratres*, II (1927-8), 338-342.

Attempts to introduce a more profound, sacramental purification from sin will engage us in connection with the *Confiteor* and especially in connection with the prayers which once were attached to the sermon.

<sup>3</sup> Records since the 10th century in Hanssens, III, 1-7.

<sup>4</sup> Sacramentary of St. Thierry (2nd half of the 9th century; see Leroquais, I, 21): Martène, I, 4, IX (I, 541-545): 14 penitential prayers, some of them very extended, designated as *orationes ante missam*; to them are added intercessory

prayers. Cf. also the Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century), *ibid.*, V (I, 518).

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

<sup>5</sup> *Supra*, p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> It recurs again in the Missal of Troyes: Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 528), and greatly expanded (the seven penitential psalms replacing Ps. 50) in the *Missal 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.

three, another psalm in the psalter, Ps. 85 (*Inclina*), which merely invokes God's help in a general way.<sup>7</sup> Of the versicles 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 tuæ 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 versicles, but the original singular (*precibus meis—merear*) has been altered to the plural.

This office of preparation quickly underwent various augmentations. One addition that gained general acceptance was Psalm 115 (*Credidi*), which mentions taking up the chalice of sacrifice.<sup>8</sup> Other psalms which were subjoined appear only sporadically,<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> It found its way into the Mass *ordo* of the papal chapel by 1290<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> In the same document of the papal chapel<sup>13</sup> 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*<sup>14</sup> the still missing versicles of similar penitential spirit. There is also the increase

<sup>7</sup> Sacramentary of Séz: PL, LXXVIII, 245, and related sources (see *supra*, pp. 92 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 492 D; here with many other accretions); cf. *ibid.*, XVI (I, 594 D). Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 1; 23 (PL CLI, 979; 992); Sacramentary of Modena (Muratori, I, 86) and most of the later sources.

<sup>9</sup> Among them Ps. 116 (*Laudate*) often appears, either alone (thus, after the 12-13th century, in Styrian Mass books [Köck, 95; 100], and regularly in Hungarian ones [Radó, 23; 40, etc.]) or together with the last octonary of Ps. 118 (*Appropinquet*; thus more than once outside Italy: Köck, 97; Beck, 260; Yelverton, 5). The octonary mentioned is also found in other relationships in Spanish books of the 15-16th century: Ferreres, 54; 67; and already in the Missal of Liège (11th century): Martène, I, 4, XV (I, 582 E).

<sup>10</sup> Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, I, 47 (PL, CCXVII, 791); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, II, 8 (PL, CCXIII, 86).

In the 13th century the psalms in use today, with appropriate orations, are mentioned in Pseudo-Bonaventure, *De præparatione ad missam*, c. 12 (Bonaventure, opp., ed. Peltier, XII: Paris, 1868), 286; Durandus, IV, 2, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, [1937]), 199. See also Hoeyneck, 367f.; Beck, 260; Yelverton, 5.

<sup>12</sup> The seven penitential psalms are found in the *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, 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): Martène, I, 4, I, 8 (I, 348 C); Mass-Ordo of Regensburg: Beck, 258.

<sup>13</sup> Brinktrine, *op. cit.*, 199f.

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

<sup>14</sup> The transition to the versicles with *Kyrie* and *Pater noster* is remarked in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 1; 23 (PL, CLI, 979; 992); in the Missal of St. Vincent at Volturno, about 1100 (Fiala, 197; cf. Codex Chigi: Martène, I, 568 E); in a Seckau Missal of 1170 (Köck, 95), in



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,<sup>15</sup> and the seventh, the old Advent oration *Conscientias nostras*,<sup>16</sup> 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 later Middle Ages sometimes actually transformed it into a formal canonical hour.<sup>17</sup> From the very beginning these prayers were thought of as suited for common recitation,<sup>18</sup> and even according to present-day rules, at a pontifical Mass the two assisting canons must answer the bishop when he says the "accession" prayer while his sandals are being put on.<sup>19</sup>

the Sacramentary of Modena written before 1174, which also contains an antiphon which, however, reads: *Sanctificanos, Domine* (Muratori, I, 86).

In certain Hungarian Mass books since the 12th century the *Kyrie* has been built up into a peculiar kind of litany (no names of saints but only groups: *omnes s. patriarchæ*, etc.): Radó, 23; 40; 76; 96; 18; 123; 155. But for the rest, abstracting from the versicles, these Mass books are most closely akin to the Séz group; e.g. both groups have simply the two prayers—often even combined—as the conclusion: *Fac me, quæso* (see *infra*, p. 286) and *Aures tuas*.

<sup>15</sup> The prevalent attention to the Holy Ghost is shown also in the Seckau Missal where the antiphon *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* follows the psalms; likewise in the late medieval *Ordo* of Gregorienmünster: Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 653 D), where besides the *Veni, Creator* heads the psalms. The isolated antiphon is also found *ibid.*, XXVIII (I, 642 D); Ferreres, LXXXIV.

The *Veni, Creator*, with versicle and the oration *Deus, cui omne cor patet* (without a psalm) as a rule formed the preparation in the usage of Sarum: Legg, *Tracts*, 210; 255; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 216; Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 664); it was recited while vesting.

Cf. also *infra*, p. 297, note 29.

<sup>16</sup> Sources in Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1359; cf. also Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 46.

<sup>17</sup> Beginning with *Deus in adiutorium* and the hymn *Veni, Creator*, then the psalms, little chapter (Rom. 5:5), responsory,

*preces* and several orations; Augsburg Mass-*Ordo* of 1493: Hoeynck, 367 f. Similarly in a Hungarian missal of the 14th century; Radó, 71. Expanded (e.g., with *Appropinquet*; see note 4 above), in the Missal of Seckau about 1330; Köck, 97f. and in the Regensburg Mass-*Ordo*, Beck, 259-261. In curtailed form also in Sweden: Yelverton, 5-7. Hoeynck rightly remarks: "These prayers read like an *Officium de Spiritu Sancto*" (41).

<sup>18</sup> Mass-*Ordo* of Séz: Martène, I, 4, XIII (I, 574 E): *cum circumstantibus*. Similarly the parallels: XII, XIV f. (I, 568 D, 580 B, 582 E); the *Missa Illyrica* has the clerics praying alone while the bishop vests: *ibid.*, IV (I, 492 C). The Sacramentary of Modena (Muratori, I, 86) also gives a special direction: *cantet per se (episcopus vel presbyter) et per circumstantes psalm. istos cum litanis et antiphona*. Cf. Ebner, 321.

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.

<sup>19</sup> *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 7. The same prescription in the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 632f.): the bishop prays the psalms *cum clericis suis*. Likewise in a Neapolitan missal of the 15th century (Ebner, 115): the bishop *cum capellanis suis*. The Roman Pontifical of the 13th century still mentions the prayers, beginning with Ps. 83, recited by the bishop while vesting (Andrieu, II, 371, 471, 478 et al.).

Whereas originally this much re-written accession office took the place of the earlier apologies, eventually a very lengthy formula of this latter type was added to the accession, 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.<sup>20</sup> Like the other prayers and considerations which later Mass books, particularly our present Roman Missal, assigned to the priest,<sup>21</sup> it was not considered obligatory.<sup>22</sup> But the foregoing accession 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.<sup>23</sup> 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*.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> F. Cabrol, "Apologies", *DACL*, I, 2599; Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 101-125, where a critical text is offered and John of Fécamp (d. 1079) is suggested as author. However it must be noted that the prayer is already found by the middle of the 11th century in the Sacramentary of St. Denis, where it stands at the beginning of Mass: Martène, I, 4, V (I, 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 Bona, I, 12, 4 (148f.).

Pseudo-Bonaventure (*op. cit.* note 10 above) advises the priest to append this prayer to the five psalms, etc. It appears to have reached the Roman Missal via the Mass-*Ordo* of Burchard of Strassburg (Legg, *Tracts*, 126ff.), who makes the prayer optional.

<sup>21</sup> The *Ordo missæ* of Regensburg (c. 1500) was a veritable anthology of the preparatory prayers and devotions of the later Middle Ages: Beck, 257-261. The *Ordo qualiter sacerdos se præparet* here

contains, after the 15 *gradus beatæ virginis* (that is, three times five psalms, with certain supplements) and the 7 penitential psalms, an introduction to interior recollection, a prayer *de passione Domini*, several other prayers, and besides this the accession 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 (*Dial.* IV, 58) beginning *Hæc singulariter victima* (Ferreres, p. CIV).

The prayer presented in the Roman Missal with the heading *Oratio s. Thomæ Aquinatis* is found with variants in the preparatory prayers of Linköping (Yelverton. 9 f.); *Omnipotens et misericors Deus, ecce accedo*. The other prayers that follow did not enter the missal until the new revised edition of Clement VIII (1604) and other succeeding editions.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 20.

<sup>23</sup> *The Tractatus Misnensis de horis canonicis* (c. 1450) ed. Schönfelder (Breslau, 1902), 102, acknowledges an obligation only *ubi hoc est consuetudo vel statutum provinciale vel synodale*.

<sup>24</sup> *Rit. serv.*, I, 1; cf. *Cod. Iur. Can.*, c. 810.



The Tridentine 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> Rightly did morning meditation before Mass become a set part in the order of the day of every priest.<sup>27</sup>

### 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<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> At first it was merely more costly, more precious than the ordinary holiday clothing of the townspeople.<sup>3</sup> 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 (*humeral*, shawl or shoulder covering), the neckcloth or scarf of old, which went by various names. As an outer garment there is the chasuble, the Mass garment proper, which by its very name (*casula*, "little house") is reminiscent of an older shape that com-

<sup>26</sup> P. Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, III, (trans. W. H. Mitchell; New York, 1927), 4-22.

<sup>27</sup> *Rit. Serv.*, I, 1, Cf. *supra*, p. 248 f.

<sup>27</sup> 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 Lebrun, I, 30f. Cf. de Moléon, 173 F.; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 273 f.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Christians acted even in the days

of Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.*, III, 11 (PG, VIII, 657).

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed study of what follows vide J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung* (Freiburg, 1907). Cf. also a series of articles by Dom Raymund James, O.S.B., "The Dress of the Liturgy," *Orate Fratres*, X (1935-6), 28 to 12, and XI (1937-8), 545.

<sup>3</sup> Even in 530 the *Liber pontificalis* (Duchesne, I, 154) ascribes to Pope Stephen a prohibition to wear *vestes sacratæ* outside church; the author is plainly thinking in terms of his own generation.

pletely shielded the body. This shape suggests clearly its origin in the old Roman *pænula*, which almost entirely replaced the Roman toga in the late imperial period.<sup>4</sup> It was not till the thirteenth century that the ample folds of the ancient bell-shaped *casula* were reduced so that less material—now in various colors—had to be used, and the vestment finally attained its present shape by cutting down the sides. What might first have been induced by the Gothic temper, since the oval outlines suited the style of the period, was eventually pushed to an extreme in the interests of Baroque, which seemed to prefer using heavy, stiff brocades.

The original character of the garment was thus lost, but in the last few years efforts have been made to return to the older shape. As signs of honor and distinction the priest wears two other vestments, both the color of the chasuble, namely, the maniple and the stole. The origin of the stole is not clearly known, but in the maniple we can recognize the fashionable handkerchief of Roman times, called *mappa* or *mappula*, which was carried in the hand—hence the later name *manipulus*—or fastened to the arm.

Since Carolingian times the act of vesting in the liturgical garments gradually became a liturgical act fitted out with prayer. It is usually, but not always, preceded by a washing of the hands.<sup>5</sup> This too is accompanied by a short prayer, either by the verse *Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas* (Ps. 25:6),<sup>6</sup> to which in the earlier sources the verse *Asperges me* (Ps. 50:9) is sometimes joined,<sup>7</sup> or by the oration *Largire*, which often recurs after the eleventh century,<sup>8</sup> or, as often happened later, by both verse and prayer.<sup>9</sup> The formula which we at present connect with the handwashing, *Da Domine virtutem manibus meis ad abstergendam 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.<sup>10</sup> The preparation of the outer man-

<sup>4</sup> The same garment, styled here a *planeta*, is already mentioned in the first Roman *Ordo*; see *supra*, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> In some instances the washing of the hands is placed ahead of the accession psalms; so in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 492); in Styrian missals: Köck, 95; 100; and also in Italy: Ebner, 321.

<sup>6</sup> The *Mass-Ordo* of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 439.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Martène, I, 4, VI ff. (I, 528 E; 534 E; 537 E).

<sup>8</sup> First in the *Mass-Ordo* of the Séz group: *Largire sensibus nostris, omnipotens Pater, ut sicut exterius abluuntur inquinamenta manuum, sic a te mundentur interius pollutiones mentium et crescat in*

*nobis sanctorum augmentum virtutum. Per . . .* (PL, LXXVIII, 245).

<sup>9</sup> Styrian missals, for example; in some of these Ps. 25 is said from its very start; Köck, 95, 96, 98. Also in Hungary: Radó, 23, 41, *et al.*

Seckau missals of the 15th century have interpolated a *Kyrie*, *Pater noster* and versicle between psalm and oration; Köck, 99, 105; further additions in the Regensburg *Ordo* of circa 1500: Beck, 261.

<sup>10</sup> Missal of St. Vincent (circa 1100): Fiala, 196; cf. Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 568 B). Also the *Ordo* of Gregoriamünster (14-15th century), *ibid.*, XXIII (I, 654 A); Augsburg missal of 1555: Hoeynck, 369; Hungarian missals: Radó, 23, 41 *et al.*



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,<sup>11</sup> a reference no doubt to the medieval mode of longish hair-cuts.<sup>12</sup>

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)<sup>13</sup> and in the older period also by the putting on of special footwear.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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

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

<sup>11</sup> Sacramentary of Ratoldus (d. 986; PL, LXXXVIII, 241 a): *ministretur ei aqua ad manus et pecten ad caput*.

Later on, the comb is always mentioned before the washing: Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 199 (PL, CLXXII, 604): *deinde pectit 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 pectinem*: May God remove all that is superfluous and send down the sevenfold 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): Radó, 41. See also the illustrations in Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, VIII (Paris, 1889), 167-173.

The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, in agreement with its Dominican model, says about the sacristy: *Solent etiam ibi haberi pectines et forcipes*; Volk, 49, 1. 31.

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.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> Examples from the 12th to 15th centuries in Köck, 95-104; Radó, 23, 41; Martène, 1, 4, XXXI f. (I, 649, 654); Augsburg Missal of 1555: Hoeynck, 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: *Exue me Domine veterem hominem cum actibus suis, et indue me novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate veritatis*. (The prayer is still used at religious investiture ceremonies.)

At an earlier time the phrase from the Psalm was used: *Conscinde Domine saccum meum et circumda me lætitia salutari* (Ps. 29:12); *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 492 C).

<sup>14</sup> Thus in Carolingian sources, e.g. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, II, 25 (PL, CV, 110), where the *sandalia* of bishop, priest, deacon and subdeacon are all distinct; cf. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 390 f.

A prayer *ad calceandum* for priests is seldom mentioned, but it does appear already since the turn of the 11th century: Fiala, 196; Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 568); here it is the same as that now commanded for the bishop (*Calcea me*). A different formula in Ebner, 332.

<sup>15</sup> Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 351, 352); *ibid.*, 1, 4, XXVI, XXXVI (I, 635, 671); Ordinary of Coutances: Legg, *Tracts*, 55.

with a scarf or neck-cloth<sup>16</sup>; this usage is still retained in the liturgies of Milan and Lyons.<sup>17</sup> 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,<sup>18</sup> 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<sup>19</sup> it might be good to note that the first liturgists who speak of it are the same ones who mention the comb,<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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, capiti meo 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

<sup>16</sup> 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 eccl. off.*, II, 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 sacral usage where at the sacrifice every disturbing noise had to be restrained.

<sup>17</sup> Proofs in Braun, 28. Cf. also the succession according to the *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 6; *ibid.* 86.

<sup>18</sup> Braun, 29-32.

<sup>19</sup> Braun, 31 f., lists a series of explanations, but acknowledges himself that they are all unsatisfactory.

<sup>20</sup> Honorius and the rhymed German interpretation (*supra*, note 11). According to the latter the humeral is for the priest "the shelter of the Holy Ghost," and he

lays it upon his head that his eyes and ears might not see or hear anything improper (Leitzmann, 16 f.).

<sup>21</sup> It is striking that this mode of putting on the garment first disappears about the 15th century, and in Italy at that; Braun, 30. Italy was the cradle of the Renaissance and consequently of the return to the ancient Roman style of short hair.

This does not exclude the possibility that the primary position of the amice (it was put on first according to the most ancient Frankish sources, in contrast to the older Roman *Ordines*) had its source also in the old Germanic hair style.

<sup>22</sup> In some churches, like Paris, Auxerre, Rochelle, this was done only in the colder season of the year; the practice continued even down to the 18th century; Braun, 31. Thus the amice served not only as a neckcloth and a protection for the hair but also as a winter hood.



shifted to our present use.<sup>28</sup> 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 *Confiteor*.<sup>24</sup>

There was a great simplification in the ritual of vesting, at least in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when—as was the practice in various Benedictine monasteries—all the monks on feast days wore albs and maniples during the choir prayer that preceded the Mass.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

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 missalia tot sensus*.<sup>27</sup> There is even a trend to forego any special texts.<sup>28</sup> 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

<sup>23</sup> Braun, 543-548.

<sup>24</sup> Braun, 546 f. The practice will be explained *infra*, p. 289.

<sup>25</sup> Braun, 522 f.

In German cathedrals of the 10th century, the capitulars appeared before Terce humeralibus et albis, apud quosdam autem casulis induti. *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 1 (PL, LXXXVIII, 989).

<sup>26</sup> Braun, 581 f.; 583.

As a matter of fact, in the preparation for both private and conventual Mass the Customs of Cluny make mention only of putting on the chasuble; *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 30 (PL, CXLVII, 715 D, 724 B); it is different, however, in William of Hirsau (d. 1091), *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1015 f.).

Cf. also the monastic Mass-*Ordo* of Rouen (perhaps 13th century): Martène,

1, 4, XXXVII (I, 676): the priest readies himself for Mass simply by putting on maniple, stole (and chasuble) at the altar.

<sup>27</sup> Braun, 706.

In the Missal of St. Lawrence at Liège (1st half of 11th century): Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 583), there are four formulas *ad zonam*.

<sup>28</sup> Late medieval Mass-books from Normandy and England have the priest saying the entrance prayers (*Veni Creator* and Ps. 42) even while he is vesting; thus in Bayeux and Sarum: Martène, 1, 4, XXIV, XXXV (I, 626, 664). Cf. also the *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, Tracts, 35 f.

At an earlier period, however, Sarum had vesting prayers just as other places did; Legg, Tracts, 3.

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.<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup> And wherever possible we will try to present the original text and the original ascriptions.<sup>31</sup> 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,<sup>32</sup> the amice is simply adjusted to the spiritual world and inspires the eleventh century prayer: *Humeros meos Sancti Spiritus gratia tege, Domine, renesque meos vitiis omnibus expulsis præcinge ad sacrificandum tibi viventi et regnanti in sæcula sæculorum*.<sup>33</sup>

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: *Obumbrā, Domine, caput meum umbraculo sanctæ fidei et expelle a me nubila ignorantie*.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Supra*, 88, 110 ff.

<sup>30</sup> 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.).

<sup>31</sup> For example, formulas that were once allotted to the chasuble were later transferred to the stole or even to the alb.

*Conscinde*, the formula mentioned above as being recited while taking off the outer garments, was often used since the 11th century as an accompaniment to the donning of the amice; see Martène, 1, 4, VI, XV (I, 529 D, 583 A); likewise in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101). Cf. Braun, 712. It was also shifted to the alb: Sacramentary of St. Denis: Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 528).

Cf. also the remarks made about the fate of the formula *Da Domine virtutem*, noted on p. 277.

<sup>32</sup> Kissing certain individual vestments before putting them on is noticed for the first time in an Admont missal of the 15th century, here in reference to amice, alb, stole and chasuble; Köck, 102.

<sup>33</sup> *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 492 D). *Ibid.*, XV (I, 583). Köck, 102; cf. 99, 103, 105.

In Hungarian missals it is combined with the following formula *Obumbrā*; in fact the Boldau Sacramentary (circa 1195) states: *Dum humerale imponit dicat: Obumbrā . . . Dum involvit humerale dicat: Humeros . . .*; Radó, 41; cf. 24, 60 f., et al.; Jávör, 112.

In Sweden it is amplified: *Caput meum et humeros meos . . .* Yelverton, 10.

Further sources in Braun, 711, Note 4. The basic ideas recur in the older Mass-*Ordo* of Gregorienmünster, put up in biblical style: *Sub velamento alarum tuarum, Domine, tua me cooperi pietate . . .* (cf. Ps. 16: 8): Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 595).

<sup>34</sup> Sacramentary of Séz: 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.*<sup>36</sup> 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 iustitiæ circumda me semper.*<sup>37</sup>

The contrast between the white garment and the soiled condition of our sinfulness is emphasized in a prayer that appears quite frequently: *Omni-potens sempiternus Deus, te suppliciter exoro, ut fraude omnium fuscatorum exutus, alba veste indutus te sequi merear ad regna, ubi vera sunt gaudia.*<sup>38</sup> 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: *Dealba me, Domine, et a delicto meo munda me, ut cum his, qui stolas suas dealbaverunt in sanguine Agni, gaudiis perfruar cæli. Per.*<sup>39</sup> This formula, rounded out somewhat, is our present-day prayer. But we also encounter the image of the spiritual warrior, accoutred in the armor of faith, in such prayers as: *Circumda me, Domine, fidei armis, ut ab iniquitatum sagittis erutus valeam æquitatem et iustitiam custodire,*<sup>40</sup> or *Indue me vestimento salutis et circumda me lorica fortitudinis.*<sup>41</sup>

568, 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.*

<sup>36</sup> Sacramentary of Moissac (11th century): Martène, 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 *galea salutis* follows I Thess. 5: 8 and Eph. 6:17: hope for salvation is a protecting helmet.

In the Sacramentary of St. Gatien (9-10th century) the formula has the addition: *et omnium inimicorum meorum persequentium me scævitiā superandam*; Martène, I, 4, VII (I, 535). So also in later texts: *ibid.*, II (I, 477); *ibid.*, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350).

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

Further sources in Braun, 712, Note 5; cf. 29, note 2.

<sup>37</sup> Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 439.

For the alb alone, Martène, 1, 4, II, VI ff., XXVI ff. (I, 477, 529 A, 535, 538, 635, 639, 642); Köck, 95.

Often also with several amplifications (*tunica lætitiæ*, etc.), e.g. the Sacramentary of Modena: Muratori, I, 87.

<sup>38</sup> *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 492).

*Ibid.*, XV (I, 583).

Even in the later Middle Ages: Köck, 99, 102, 103, 105; Radó, 24 et al.; Jávör, 112.

<sup>39</sup> Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 353). Further sources: Braun, 713, note 1.

<sup>40</sup> Missal of Liège (1st half of 11th century): Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 583).

*Ibid.*, IV (I, 492); 1, 4, 1 (I, 350); Volk, 101.

Used for the amice: Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 518).

<sup>41</sup> Sacramentary of Séz and related sources: Martène, 1, 4, XIII, XII, XV f., XXXI (I, 575 A, 568, 595, 649 f.); *ibid.*, 1, 4, 1 (I, 352); Fiala, 196.

For the cincture, the Bible had already furnished a ready symbolism.<sup>42</sup> But this symbolism was brought out more plainly and illustrated from various angles in the prayers that accompany the act of vesting. *Domine, accinge in me custodiam mentis meæ, ne ipsa mens infletur spiritu elationis,*<sup>43</sup> 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: *Præcinge me, Domine, zona iustitiæ et constringe in me dilectionem Dei et proximi.*<sup>44</sup> 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: *Præcinge, Domine, lumbos mentis meæ et circumcide vitia cordis et corporis mei,*<sup>45</sup> or in another formula which sounds Carolingian and whose original wording is probably retained in the Sacramentary of Moissac (eleventh century): *Præcinge, Domine, cingulo fidei lumbos mei corporis et comprime et extingue in eis humorem libidinis, ut iugiter maneat in eis tenor totius castitatis.*<sup>46</sup> 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 or napkin, a formula was composed at latest 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 abstergendam omnem maculam immundam, ut sine pollutione mentis et corporis*

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

<sup>42</sup> 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: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 583); the first also *ibid.*, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350), and also 1, 4, V (I, 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.

<sup>43</sup> Sacramentary of Séz and related sources: Martène, 1, 4, XIII, XII, XV, XXXI (I, 575, 568, 583, 650); Fiala, 196. Further passages in Braun, 714, note 6.

<sup>44</sup> 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 f., 105); Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 262.

With the isolated reading: *constringe in me virtutem caritatis et pudicitiae* it is already in the older Mass-Ordo of Gregorienmünster: Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 595).

<sup>45</sup> Sacramentary of Tours (9th-10th century): Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350 B). With tiny variations (among others the beginning *Circumcinge*), *ibid.*, IV f., XV, XXXVI (I, 492, 518, 583, 672); Sacramentary of Modena: Muratori, I, 87.

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

Further sources: Braun, 714, note 1.

<sup>46</sup> Martène, 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.

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



*valeam tibi servire*.<sup>46</sup> Its actual significance as an ornamental kerchief which was required for one to be fully dressed up, survived in the 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.<sup>47</sup> To such a use for choir prayer and psalmody<sup>48</sup> corresponded the text which the priest also used while vesting in maniple: *Da mihi, Domine, sensum rectum et vocem puram, ut implere possim laudem tuam*.<sup>49</sup> 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<sup>50</sup> istius mappulæ subnixæ deprecor, Domine, ut sic operer in temporalis conversatione, quatenus exemplo priorum patrum in futuro merear perenniter gaudere*.<sup>51</sup> 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 flebili cum patientia, ut cum exultatione illud deferendo cum iustis portionem acci-*

<sup>46</sup> *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 493).

Without exception in all eight of the Styrian vesting programs of the 12th-15th century in Köck, 96-105. See further in Braun, 715, note 3.

In several places we have a more recent and more precise wording: *Da, Domine, manipulum in manibus meis ad extergendas cordis et corporis mei sordes, ut sine pollutione tibi Domino ministrare 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.

<sup>47</sup> Rupert of Deutz, *De off. div.*, II, 23 (PL CLXX, 54). Cf. Braun, 522 f.

<sup>48</sup> 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 Moléon, 150. At that time, too, the choir boys at Lyons wore the maniple on their left arm when on Holy Saturday they sang the prophecies; *ibid.*, 63.

<sup>49</sup> Sacramentary of Séz: Martène, 1, 4, XIII (I, 575).

*Ibid.*, XII, XV, XXXII (I, 568, 583, 654); 1, 4, 1 (I, 352); Fiala, 196; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 216, note 1; a missal from Fonte Avellana (13-14th century): PL, CLI, 932 B.

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, 595, 672).

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

<sup>50</sup> The word is handed down in corrupt form: *Investione* (Illyr.), *In vestione* (Hittorp), and *Invectione* (the remainder).

<sup>51</sup> *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 493).

*Ibid.*, 1, 4, 1 (I, 353); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101).

See also Braun, 716, note 1.

The same prayer is spoken by the bishop at the ordination to subdiaconate in *Ordo Rom. antiquus* (circa 950): Hittorp, 91.

In the same sense of duties assumed we have the scriptural phrase *opus manuum* (Ps. 89: 17) in the Missal of Beauvais: Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350).

The maniple is also looked upon as a token of the higher orders which impose the obligation of special virtue; thus in the formula *Manipulum innocentiae* which puts in a late appearance in Styria (Köck, 103) and in Hungary (Jávor, 112; Radó, 24, 71, 76 *et al.*; at first, in the 13th century, *Stolam innocentiae*: Radó, 41).

Cf. also Braun, 715 and note 8.

*piam*.<sup>52</sup> The tearful bundle of earthly care should become the sheaf of a jubilant heritage.

Although the stole had already become, even in the Carolingian period, only a narrow band which was hung around the neck,<sup>53</sup> the name it bore awakened the memory of a garment of the same name which plays so significant a role in the picturesque language of Scripture.<sup>54</sup> The prayer which the bishop says today, and also, slightly changed, the priest, appears as early as the ninth century: *Redde mihi, Domine, obsecro, stolam immortalitatis, quam perdi in praevaricatione primi parentis, et quia cum hoc ornamento accessi, quamvis indignus, ad tuum sanctum ministerium, praesta ut cum eo lætari merear in perpetuum*.<sup>55</sup> The same garment which alone has value in God's sight is the thought behind another prayer which is of the same age but was not used so frequently: *Stola iustitiae circumda, Domine, cervicem meam et ab omni corruptione peccati purifica mentem meam*.<sup>56</sup> But there is also another concept that comes to the fore, the stole as a yoke around the neck. In the declining Middle Ages the words of our Lord in Matthew 11:30 are added to the formula mentioned.<sup>57</sup> The yoke of the Lord, and its opposite, is thought of exclusively in a third formula: *Dirumpe, Domine, vincula peccatorum meorum, ut iugo tuæ servitutis innexus valeam tibi cum timore et reverentia famulari*.<sup>58</sup> Here, too, the texts of our Lord from St. Matthew have been added, and that at a very early time.<sup>59</sup>

This scriptural text is today spoken while putting on the chasuble, since this garment with its bell-shape hardly suggested comfort.

<sup>52</sup> Sacramentary of Moissac (11th century): Martène, 1, 4, VIII (I, 538); shortened in the Missal of Narbonne: *ibid.*, 1, 4, 1 (I, 351).

Somewhat altered: *ibid.*, 1, 4, II, VI (I, 477, 529).

Further passages in Braun, 715, Note 5.

In some few late medieval Mass 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, XXXIV (I, 635, 661).

<sup>53</sup> Braun, 586 f.

<sup>54</sup> Ecclus. 6: 32; 15: 5; Luke 15: 22; Apoc. 6: 11, etc.

<sup>55</sup> *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, 643).

<sup>56</sup> Sacramentary of St. Gatien: Martène, 1, 4, VII (I, 535). (In mutilated form also in the *Mass-Ordo* of Amiens, ed. Leroquais, 440).

Numerous sources: among others, Martène, 1, 4, III, IV, VI, XII etc. (I, 481, 492, 529, 568, etc.); Radó, 24, 41, etc.

<sup>57</sup> Styrian Mass books of the 15th century: Köck, 100, 102, 103 f.; Pressburg Missal D (15th century): Jávor, 112; *Mass-Ordo* of Regensburg: Beck, 262; Missal of Upsala (1484): Yelverton, 11.

<sup>58</sup> *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 493).

*Ibid.*, XV (I, 583); Köck, 99; Radó, 41.

Cf. also the formula of a Hungarian missal of 1384: *Stolam innocentiae pone . . .* Radó, 118.

The formula dependent upon this, *Dirumpe, Domine, omnes laqueos satanae et confirmato in me hereditatis tu[ae] funicul[um]*, appears in one St. Gall MS. for the maniple (Braun, 715) and in an Admont MS. (14-15th century) for the cincture (Köck, 102, note 1).

<sup>59</sup> Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 519).



The formulary to which we are making reference is amongst the oldest: *Domine, qui dixisti: iugum meum . . . præsta ut sic illud deportare in perpetuum valeam, qualiter tuam gratiam consequi merear.*<sup>60</sup> 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 virtutibus possim resistere vitiis et hostibus mentis et corporis.*<sup>61</sup> 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,<sup>62</sup> others conceiving it as a *lorica (fidei or iustitiæ)*<sup>63</sup> or as a *vestis nuptialis*,<sup>64</sup> still others insert *sacerdotalis iustitia*,<sup>65</sup> and the corresponding petition follows.<sup>66</sup>

The *sacerdotalis iustitia* forms the basic motif of another vesting formula we have to mention, *Fac me, quæso*. 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<sup>67</sup> and that of the apologia-

<sup>60</sup> Sacramentary of St. Gatien (9-10th century): Martène, 1, 4, VII (I, 535); Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais, 440.

Cf. Martène, 1, 4, II f., VI, VIII (I, 477, 481, 529, 538); also, 1, 4, 1 (I, 351); Braun, 718, note 6.

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): Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350).

<sup>61</sup> Sacramentary of Séz, Martène, 1, 4, XIII (I, 575). Often the word *humilitatis* or *humilitatis et castitatis* is set before or after the word *caritatis*, thus stressing, instead of the symbolism of love, the notion of *undique munitus*: *ibid.*, XII, XV, XXXI f. (I, 568, 583, 650, 654); Fiala, 196; Braun, 718, note 2. Also, in a more drastically revised form, Martène, 1, 4, XXVII f. (I, 639, 643).

<sup>62</sup> The phrase *indumenta iustitiæ et lætitæ* finds a place also in a formula (beginning *Creator totius creaturæ*) which appears in the Missal of Liège: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 583) and in Seckau: Köck, 99.

<sup>63</sup> Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350, 351); Muratori, I, 87. The expression *lorica fidei* founded on I Thess. 5: 8.

<sup>64</sup> Martène, i, 4, XXVI, XXXIV (I, 636, 662).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 4, IV f. (I, 493, 519); also 1, 4, 1 (I, 350).

<sup>66</sup> The formula of the older Mass-Ordo of Gregorienmünster: Martène, 1, 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 valeam puro corde laudare nomen tuum gloriosum in sæcula sæculorum.* Cf. the Mass-Ordo of Bec: *ibid.*, XXXVI (I, 672 C); Hungarian Mass books: Radó, 24, 41; Jávör, 113. Used for the alb in some German Mass books: Beck, 262; Köck, 97, 100.

A Sacramentary of Fonte Avellana (before 1325) offers: . . . *sacerdotali iustitia, ut induci merear in tabernacula sempiterna*; PL, CLI, 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 . . . concupiscentiis crucifigi*; Radó, 118, 123, 155.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. even in the late Middle Ages the rite of Sarum, *supra*, note 28.

type. This formula itself must be reckoned as belonging to this type.<sup>68</sup> The formula, which is part of the supplement of Alcuin,<sup>69</sup> is designated for the Mass *ordo* of the Séz group of the eleventh century<sup>70</sup> together with its derivatives. Here it usually forms the conclusion of the accession psalmody.<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup> Sometimes it even carries a corresponding title.<sup>73</sup> In the later Middle Ages it sometimes became the prevalent text when assuming the chasuble.<sup>74</sup>

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,<sup>75</sup> no text was specially 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-

<sup>68</sup> E.g., in the Pontifical of Halinardus: Martène, 1, 4, XIV (I, 580 B): *Fac me, quæso, omnipotens Deus, ita iustitia indui, ut in sanctorum tuorum merear exaltatione lætari, quatenus emundatus ab omnibus sordibus peccatorum, consortium adipiscar tibi placentium sacerdotum, meque tua misericordia a vitiis omnibus exuat, quem reatus propriæ conscientia gravat. Per.* In the Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century), Martène, V (I, 519 A) it is found with a variant which might well be the original: *ita iustitiæ 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*: *Rogo te*, with the direction: *ad tunicam*; it usually appears among the *apologia*; see *infra*, p. 298, note 3.

<sup>69</sup> Muratori, II, 191. Here the formula serves as the collect of a *missa specialis sacerdotis*. This could have been its original function.

<sup>70</sup> *Supra*, p. 94, note 11.

<sup>71</sup> *Supra*, p. 273, note 14.

<sup>72</sup> Thus, e.g., in the Pontifical of Halinardus, where the formula which the bishop recited *cum se ad missam parat* represents the only prayer expressly intended as a vesting prayer.

In later years this vesting, with its accompanying vesting prayers, sometimes precedes the psalmody and the oration *Fac me quæso*; so Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 568). At other times it is interposed between the psalmody and the oration *Fac me quæso*; so *ibid.*, IV, XV (I, 492 ff., 583); Köck, 95 f., 96 f., 100 f. Sometimes, too, it follows the prayer: thus Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 594 f.); Köck, 97 ff.; Hoeynck, 369.

<sup>73</sup> Missal of Troyes (c. 1050): Martène, 1, 4, VI (I, 530): after the psalms the celebrant says this formula, *induens casulam*. The Sacramentary of St. Denis (*supra*, note 20): *Ad casulam*.

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

<sup>74</sup> Thus in seven of the eight vesting forms from Styrian missals in Köck, 96-106; the Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 262. As an *alia* for the chasuble also in the Missal of Upsala: Yelverton, 11.

In one case marked *Ad albam*: Martène, 1, 4, XXXII (I, 654).

<sup>75</sup> 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,<sup>76</sup> and conceiving the priest putting on the *paramenta* as one donning the armor of God and readying himself for the spiritual combat.<sup>77</sup> 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<sup>78</sup>—there is not to be found any planned progression in the priest's preparation.<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup> 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*.<sup>81</sup>

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,<sup>82</sup> at other times it is trans-

<sup>76</sup> I Thess. 5: 8; Eph. 6: 14-17.

In the Oriental liturgies, especially the Byzantine, the vesting prayers are restricted almost entirely to scriptural phrases which are used to wonderful advantage; e.g., the Byzantine uses for the idea of girdling, Ps. 17: 33 and Ps. 44: 4 f.; in addition Is. 61: 10; Ex. 15: 6 f.; Ps. 118: 73; Ps. 132: 2. Brightman, 355.

<sup>77</sup> Among the several interpreters, Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 199 (PL, CLXXII, 604 B), mentions this symbolism but did not expand on it; it was carried out more thoroughly by John Bel-eth, *Explicatio*, c. 32 (PL, CCII, 43). Cf. Braun, 705 f.

<sup>78</sup> Burchard of Strassburg is the first to leave these prayers optional; one could replace them by the *Miserere* or some other psalm; Legg, *Tracts*, 132.

Our Roman Missal, *Ritus serv.*, I, 2, does not make any such reservation. Still most rubricists who discuss the priest's conduct going to the altar and returning, ascribe only a directive character to this direction; thus M. Gatterer, *Annus liturgicus cum introductione in disciplinam liturgicam* (5th ed.; Innsbruck, 1935), 78. But see J. O'Connell, *The Celebration of Mass* (Milwaukee, 1941), I, 22.

<sup>79</sup> The division and gradual mounting which Brinktrine, *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.

<sup>80</sup> Exceptions see *supra*, p. 281, note 30. Even in the group of the Séz Mass-Ordo (*supra*, p. 92) the vesting prayers of the Sacramentary of Séz, 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.

<sup>81</sup> Martène, I, 4, 1 (I, 352); also I, 4, VI, XXXIV (I, 528 f., 661); Köck, 99 99f., 105 f. Likewise 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 Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*: Martène, I, 4, XXVIII (I, 642 f.).

<sup>82</sup> *Cod. Chigi* (11th century): Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 568).

ferred to the altar, and sometimes even the donning of the last vestments is joined to the very beginning of Mass.<sup>83</sup> A survival of this practice is possibly to be found in the custom which is to be noticed since the thirteenth century and is still followed today,<sup>84</sup> the custom of handing the bishop his maniple only after the *Confiteor*.<sup>85</sup>

According to the Missal of Westminster<sup>86</sup> 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 revestiendo*.<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup> In other places the maniple and stole were put on before saying the psalm,<sup>89</sup> which was recited while holding the chasuble lying on the altar.<sup>90</sup> Sometimes, too, the *Confiteor* was said without the chasuble.<sup>91</sup> 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

<sup>83</sup> 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. Chun.* II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724); cf. *supra*, p. 279. Later this refers to the vestments taken collectively: *Liber ordinarius* 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.

<sup>84</sup> *Ceremoniale episc.*, I, 10, 2.

<sup>85</sup> 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 Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 59, is untenable; he would take into account the *prostratio* mentioned in John the Arch-chanter (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 *Confiteor* was in use after the early Middle Ages.

<sup>86</sup> 14th century; ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 487 ff.

<sup>87</sup> Missal of Tours (1533): Martène, I, 4, 2, 4 (I, 361 C); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 35.

<sup>88</sup> Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 672); similarly in the Mass-Ordo of Rouen: *ibid.*, XXXVII (I, 676).

<sup>89</sup> Missal of Châlons (1543): *ibid.*, I, 4, 1 (I, 352); Missal of Orleans (1504): de Moléon, 200.

<sup>90</sup> *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557): Legg, *Tracts*, 56. The same rubric (without naming the psalm) is presupposed in the 13th and 14th centuries: Martène, I, 4, XXVI, XXXIV (I, 636 A, 662 A).

Even as late as 1620 St. Vincent de Paul was witness to this manner of starting the Mass; Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux*, III, 248.

<sup>91</sup> This was presupposed in every case for private Mass in William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016): after the *Confiteor* the priest takes the stole in order to pronounce the *Indulgentiam*; only then does he put on the chasuble.



the way to the altar.<sup>92</sup> 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 conventual Masses except on the very highest feast days.<sup>93</sup> Even at a later time it was the practice in Orleans to say the psalm *Iudica* in the sacristy, vested in alb and stole, and this before high Mass.<sup>94</sup> 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 *Iudica*—as the bishop of Minde strikingly testifies with regard to France, the homeland of this special order of vesting<sup>95</sup>—or after the *Confiteor*, as it became customary in Rome later on.<sup>96</sup>

#### 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.<sup>1</sup> In the solemn services of the Roman basilicas the approach to the altar was turned into a procession of the clergy, during which the singers chanted the introit. In the churches of the Frankish Kingdom, according to a law

<sup>92</sup> De Moléon, 167, 427, relates about Sens and Reims that at that time (1718) even the *Confiteor* was said in the sacristy at a high Mass.

<sup>93</sup> *Statuta antiqua*: Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 B). The psalm *Iudica* was not said by the Carthusians.

See also the case of Evreux-Jumièges: *supra*, p. 269, note 33.

<sup>94</sup> De Moléon, 186; the completion of the statement, *en aube et en étole*, in the Index, p. 535.

<sup>95</sup> Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 7, 4: *pontifici facturo confessionem* the maniple is put on. In agreement is Durandus's Pontifical (Andrieu, III, 634): *cum confessio coram altari fit*.

<sup>96</sup> Not unequivocal even in the *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1159 B).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 70. Even though in the station service of the 7th-8th century—

just as in the present-day pontifical Mass—the fore-Mass centers not on the altar but on the throne where the pope remains during almost its whole length, still in *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 the altar is definitely indicated as the terminus of his march; as soon as he enters the sanctuary he *inclinat caput ad altare*, the silent prayer that follows is performed *ante altare*, and finally the salutatory kiss is given: *osculatur evangelia et altare*.

The German expression “Stufengebet” (like the English “prayers at the foot of the altar”) is postulated on conditions which obtained only after the year 1000, because before the 11th century there were, as a rule, no steps up to the altar, no platform even; only the sanctuary as a unit was raised above the level of the nave. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 176-179.

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, *apologiae* were considered above all as suited to this spot.<sup>2</sup> Already in the ninth century such prayers had been inserted here,<sup>3</sup> and until the eleventh century the space they thus occupied at the beginning of Mass grew and grew immensely.<sup>4</sup>

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 Séz group and which in the time to come was adhered to more or less. The pertinent rubric reads as follows:

*Postquam ecclesiam intrat episcopus [. . .], osculetur diaconos et presbyteros duos. Et incipiat per se “Introibo ad altare Dei,” cum psalmo “Iudica me Deus.” Cum venerit ad altare dicat has orationes: “Aufer a nobis . . .,” “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui me peccatorem . . .” Deinde, cum evangelium osculatus fuerit, dicat: “Pax Christi quam . . .”*<sup>5</sup>

On the way to the altar, therefore, Psalm 42 was spoken in common,<sup>6</sup> and upon arrival at the altar two orations were added in conclusion, one

<sup>2</sup> A prayer upon entering the sanctuary, derived from the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 33), is also found in 11th century Mass programs: Martène, 1, 4, IVff. (I, 494f., 519 C, 530 B): *Domine Deus omnipotens, qui es magnus*.

In nearly all oriental liturgies *apologiae* are found at the beginning of the Mass. The priest usually recites them quietly to himself during the external preparations or the introductory incensations.

<sup>3</sup> Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 440f.: *Antequam accedat ad altare dicat: Indignum 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 deprecetur*.

The Sacramentary of St. Thierry (10th century): Martène, I, 4, X (I, 548), has for the first prayer, *dum accedit*, the prayer which now is found at the beginning of the Breviary (with variants): *Aperi, Domine Deus, os meum*.

<sup>4</sup> 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: Martène 1, 4, XXVII, XXXVII (I, 640, 672, 676).

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

<sup>5</sup> This is the form of the text as handed down in the 10th century Pontifical of Halinardus: Martène, 1, 4, XIV (I, 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 Séz 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 hebdomadariis et archipresbytero* (two priests are substituted for them) *et diaconibus omnibus . . . Et surgens pontifex* (after quiet prayer) *osculatur evangelia et altare . . .*

<sup>6</sup> The opinion put forth by Brinktrine, *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 *apologiae*, 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.<sup>7</sup>

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 *apologiae* a formal *Confiteor*, along with the response begging forgiveness, was composed and introduced between the psalm and the oration.<sup>8</sup> This new plan seems to have spread by way of the Cluniac reform into Italy<sup>9</sup> and even into Germany.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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 missing even at present, since, in accordance with the fluctuations of usage, it was not inserted when their Mass arrangements were established during the thirteenth century. Even at the first general chapter of the Society of Jesus, held in 1558, when a unified rite was to be established within the

and thence was taken over into the Mass, first of all into private Mass, I do not find sustained in any of the sources.

<sup>7</sup> The Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century): Martène 1, 4, V (I, 519f.), assigns the following as preparation: upon entering the church the priest recites an *apologia* and immediately *Aufer a nobis*, then several psalm verses (85:11; 53:8; 49:14) and Ps. 42: 1-4, and again several *apologiae*.

<sup>8</sup> Mass-Ordo of Cod. Chigi: Martène, 1, 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 1065 (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).

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992).

<sup>11</sup> The only exception which I could ascertain is to be found in a missal of Toul dated c. 1400: Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 650), where the *apologia Ante conspectum* precedes the *Aufer a nobis*. Still this Mass-arrangement represents substantially nothing more than a late revision of that of the Séz group, with the interpolation of several more modern elements.

order, it was decided that the psalm be left out.<sup>12</sup> The Missal of Pius V, following the example of most of the Italian Mass books, and particularly the Missal of the Roman curia where it had long had a permanent place, made it a general prescript.

There can be no doubt about the appropriateness of Psalm 42; if any prayer was to be chosen to be said on the way to the altar, this was certainly apt. The fourth verse actually made reference to the very act which was occurring: *Introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui lætificat iuventutem meam*. For one special occasion, the entrance of the newly baptized into the church, this verse must have been incorporated in the Milan liturgy even in the time of St. Ambrose.<sup>13</sup> When it came to inserting the text in the Mass, at first it was only this single verse, just as for the incensing the psalm text is confined to a single verse, *Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea . . .*, and at the washing of the hands to the words *Lavabo . . .* But to secure a certain richness, the other verses were added whenever their use here made some sense; in this case the whole psalm was included. But the dominant tone is given by this one verse which from the very start was selected as the antiphon: I shall go in to the altar of God, to the God who was the joy of my youth.<sup>14</sup> This approach unto God, which the psalmist longed for, has become fully possible in a proper sense only in the New Covenant; for we gain entrance to God only through Christ "who gives us all confidence, bids us come forward, emboldened by our faith in Him" (Eph. 3:12; cf. Rom. 5:2). The altar of the New Covenant is the place where this meeting with God can be best accomplished this side of heaven. How strikingly pertinent it is, that the Syrians call the Mass simply *Kurobho*, that is, "approach."

But not only is the approach accomplished here, but the situation too in which the psalmist finds himself in his longing for God assumes the nature of a type. When we desire to draw near God, the way is always blocked somehow by the *homo iniquus*. We therefore cry out to Him who is our strength that He may illumine us with His light and sustain us with His faithfulness and guide us in *montem sanctum*, that height upon which the sacrifice of Golgotha will be renewed. The psalmist closes with

<sup>12</sup> *Decret. Congr. gen. I*, n. 93 (*Institutum S. J.*, Florence, 1893, II, 176).

<sup>13</sup> Ambrose, *De Myst.*, VIII, 43 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 131); *De Sacr.*, IV, 2, 7 (*ibid.*, 156).

<sup>14</sup> The Hebrew text is translated: I will go up to the altar of God, the God of my triumphant joy. But our problem is rather: What is the meaning of the Vulgate wording, and what is the original conception of the verse in liturgical usage? Ambrose, who cites the verse for

the procession of the neophytes into the Church, understands the *iuventutem* as referring not to biological youth (which is now made joyful) but to the youthful new life of grace which is granted in baptism: *abluta plebs . . . renovata in aquila iuventute* (*De myst.*, VIII, 43). *Deposisti peccatorum senectutem, sumpsisti gratia iuventutem* (*De sacr.*, IV, 2, 7). Cf. also J. Pinsk, *Liturg. Leben*, II (1935), 185-187.



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 *Benedicite* 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.<sup>15</sup> Very seldom was there any clear transfer of the psalm to the altar steps.<sup>16</sup> Often this transfer occurred because the chasuble was put on at the altar.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Thus in Italian Mass books since the 11th century (Ebner, 297, 300, 332): *Dum ingreditur ad altare*, or (*ibid.*, 345): *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: Leroquais, I, 131, 163, 211, etc.

The Regensburg Mass-*Ordo* (Beck, 262): *Transeundo ad altare*. The Augsburg Mass-*Ordo* of 1555 (Hoeynck, 370): in the sacristy or *dum itur*, with the added remark that the *ministrantes et qui intersunt* should alternate with the priest verse for verse. Similarly a Camaldolese missal from the 13th century (Ebner, 354) notes: *In inceptio processionis dicitur psalmus . . . quem ministri cum eo alternando veniant ante altare*. However in regard to the remark in a mid-Italian Mass-*Ordo* of the 11-12th century (Ebner, 336): *Quando ingreditur ad altare, sub silentio dicat sacerdos*, it must be observed (*contra* Batifol, *Leçons*, 13) that this rubric is immediately followed by an apology to which the *sub silentio* directly refers.

<sup>16</sup> Missal of St. Lambrecht (1336; Köck, 107): *inclinatus ante altare dicat: Introibo*. A missal of the Hungarian Her-

mits of St. Paul (15th century; Sawicki, 146): *ad gradus altaris*.

There is one isolated instance from this era of groping 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).

<sup>17</sup> The older Missal of Fécamp (13-14th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 636 A): *Stans ante altare induat se dicens . . . Postea incipiat antiphonam: Introibo. The Ordinarium of Coutances (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.*

Missal of Evreux-Jumièges: Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 643).

<sup>18</sup> Italian Mass-arrangements of the 11-13th Century: *accedat ad altare et dicat*: Ebner, 321, 327; cf. 306.

Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992): *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 *Confiteor*, does not exclude the possibility that the psalm be said already on the way. The same remark in Durandus, IV, 7, 1.

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

As early as the eleventh century the characteristic or thematic antiphon was introduced before the start of the psalm. In our present-day manner of handling it, however, the verse is treated not precisely as an antiphon but as a versicle, so that the second half, *Ad Deum qui lætificat* serves as a response. This treatment will be best understood in some situation where a middle way was sought between using the psalm and leaving it out entirely and being satisfied with the one verse which set the tone. With this single verse other versicles could then be joined.<sup>19</sup> This middle way was taken in the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, which in this matter followed the rite of Liège used at that time. The prayers at the foot of the altar began with three verses, *Introibo, Confitemini, Dignare*; in each case the response was supplied by the second half of the verse; the *Confiteor* followed.<sup>20</sup> A similar thing is done in the contemporary Roman Masses in those instances in which Psalm 42 is left out<sup>21</sup>; the confession of faults is preceded by two verses, *Introibo* and *Adiutorium nostrum*. When these verses were joined to the psalm their treatment as versicles was naturally transferred too<sup>22</sup>; however this transfer was not by any

<sup>19</sup> Such versicles were in use even independently of the psalm in question. In the *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 494), the bishop, on leaving the sacristy, recites Ps. 85: 11 (*Deduc*); 58: 8 (*Voluntarie sacrificabo*); when entering the church, Ps. 5: 8 f. (*Introibo in domum; Domine deduc*); 118: 37 (*Averte*).

Cf. the French books (11th century); *ibid.*, V f. (I, 519 D, 530 B); further, the Hungarian books of the 12th century: Jávör, 113; Radó, 24, 42, 123. <sup>20</sup> Volk, 89. Likewise in a 15th century MS. at Tongern; de Corswarem, 110; cf. 112.

The Klosterneuburg Mass-*Ordo* of the 15th century (Schwabes, 61) exhibits the three verses: *Ostende nobis, Et introibo, Confitemini*; a Seckau missal of the 15th century (Köck, 109), *Ostende* and *Introibo*; a Lyons monastic missal of 1531 (Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII [I, 658]): *Et introibo, Pone Domine, and Confitemini*. Similarly *ibid.*, XXXIV (I, 662), where the second versicle is missing.

<sup>21</sup> The reason why the Missal of Pius V omits Psalm 42 during Passiontide and at Requiem Masses is to be discovered — with Lebrun, I, 99 — in the feeling that the words *Quare tristis es anima mea* are singularly incongruous on such days of sorrow. Cf. also Kössing, *Liturgische Vorlesungen*, 224-228. Perhaps the fact

that on Passion Sunday the psalm occurs as the Introit of the Mass gave occasion for 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 æternam*, is presupposed by Paris de Grassis (d. 1528), *De caeremoniis*, II, 39 (see Lebrun, I, 99, note a). In the *Directorium of Ciconiolanus* 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.

<sup>22</sup> The versicle form of the verse *Introibo* appears as an introduction to the psalm in the Mass-*Ordo* of the papal chapel about 1290, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 200: the prayers at the foot of the altar start with *Introibo* and *Adiutorium*; Psalm 42 follows; then this rubric: *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, *Confitemini*, leads into the *Confiteor*. Similarly *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1185 A).

Probably the same treatment of the verse as a versicle is intended in the Seckau Missal, about 1170: Köck, 106. In late medieval Mass schemes the appearance of *Introibo* as a versicle before Ps.



means a universal practice.<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>24</sup> It had been used as a blessing frequently in the early Middle Ages,<sup>25</sup> and even appears in the Mass itself quite a bit earlier as the characteristic blessing formula.<sup>26</sup> 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 “blessing,” the “*signum*” *crucis* is connected with it<sup>27</sup>; we begin the holy action in the power that comes from the triune God through the Cross of Christ.<sup>28</sup> 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.

42 is quite frequent; see Legg, *Tracts*, 3, 134, 181, 204; Köck, 107 f.; Yelverton, 11.

<sup>23</sup> 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.

<sup>24</sup> 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 donning 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.

<sup>25</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 278.

<sup>26</sup> At the head of a formula for the blessing of incense in the *Missa Illyrica*; Martène, 1, 4, IV I, 494 C), and in related Mass-*Ordines* of the 11th and 12th cen-

turies: 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 ad 3.

<sup>27</sup> The sign of the Cross at the start of Mass also in *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 8 (PL, LXXXVIII, 941 C); also in the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 12, 4 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 212 f.), where the bishop at the beginning of the eucharistic prayer signs the *εὐχάριστον τοῦ σταυροῦ* on his brow.

<sup>28</sup> In the same sense the Regensburg Mass-*Ordo* notes an opening sign of the Cross in connection with the words *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia*; Beck, 263. The same in Spanish Mass books of the late Middle Ages together with the trinitarian formula or some other; Ferreres, 66, 67, 71, 76; also in the *Missale mixtum* (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 versicle *Adiutorium nostrum* (which also has an introductory function); Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 643); cf. Augsburg Mass-*Ordo* of the 15th century: Franz, 751.

Late medieval Mass arrangements often made of this petition for God's blessing a special act of prayer during which the priest knelt at the altar.<sup>29</sup> It was frequently the custom to kneel down first for a few moments' prayer.<sup>30</sup> The psalm *Iudica* was sometimes given a special conclusion, a prayer being said to reaffirm its meaning.<sup>31</sup> In the Norman-English ambit, where such a conclusion was almost universally in use, the *Kyrie* and *Pater noster* were said.<sup>32</sup> A further development of the custom involved going up

<sup>29</sup> *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (Legg, *Tracts*, 35): *Veni Creator* with versicle and oration (cf. *supra*, p. 278, note 15 and p. 280, note 28, the *Veni Creator* during the vesting in the rite of Sarum). A Styrian missal of the 15th century (Köck, 112): *Veni S. Spiritus*, *reple* with the versicle and oration, and the added sentence, *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia*. Similarly in Hungary: Jávör, 113; Radó, 24, 96, 123; here the elements are already found in the Sacramentary of Boldau c. 1195 (Radó, 42): at the start *Adsit nobis*, before kissing the altar *Veni S. Spiritus* and oration.

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

According to the Regensburg Mass-*Ordo* (c. 1500) the priest should say Ps. 42 on the way to the altar, then kneeling before the altar he should recite *antiphonam et orationem de B. Virgine vel de S. Spiritu*; Beck, 263. Similarly missals of the Hungarian Hermits of St. Paul; Sawicki, 146 f., with note 27. Cf. the Admont Missal, *supra*, note 24. Augsburg in 1555 had both the *Salve Regina* and the *Veni S. Spiritus*, each with oration; Hoeyneck, 370.

The Missal of Evreux-Jumièges (14-15th century) directs that the priest, even before vesting, kneel before the altar and pray first to the Holy Ghost, then to the Blessed Virgin, then to all the saints; Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 642).

<sup>30</sup> In the ancient Carthusian rite the priest was to say a *Pater noster* kneeling before the altar; Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 A); later an *Ave* was added: Legg, *Tracts*, 99; this is still the present-day custom: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 32, 3.

In Holland it was a common practice to pray silently for a few moments or to say the *Pater* three times: Smits van

Waesberghe (*Ons geestelijk Erf*, 1941), 292 f. Or prayers relating to the Eucharist were suggested; Legg, *Tracts*, 130, 204.

In Germany many recited the psalm *Iudica* kneeling at the altar; Franz, 574. At the Synod of Brixen (1318), c. 4, *tres genuflexiones ante altare* were appointed for this occasion, to be accompanied by prayer; likewise *missa finita*; J. Baur, “Die Brixner Synode von 1318” (in the *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundert jährigen Bestandes des Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchivs* [Vienna, 1949]).

The Spanish *Missale mixtum* (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 littéraire du sentiment religieux*, III, 248.

<sup>31</sup> Sacramentary of Brescia (11th century; Ebner, 16): *Omnipotens sempiterna Deus, misericordiam*.

<sup>32</sup> Legg, *Tracts*, 36, 56, 219; Maskell, 10 ff.; Simmons, 90; Martène, 1, 4, XXIV, XXVI ff., XXXV ff. (I, 626, 636, 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 only in late sources: in the Regensburg *Ordo* (Beck, 262) and in two printed missals of Chalons and Tours (Martène, 1, 4, 1 [I, 352]; 1, 4, 2, 4 [I, 361]). 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-



to the steps of the altar at the conclusion of the *Pater noster* (*Et ne nos*), and continuing the prayer with *Confitemini* and *Confiteor*.<sup>38</sup>

## 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 station services of Rome, he came to the altar.<sup>1</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup>; the Frankish revision of the eighth century makes the addition: *fundens orationem pro se vel pro peccata [!] populi*.<sup>3</sup> Thus the theme of the apologies is sounded.<sup>4</sup>

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

turno (Fiala, 198); but the Beneventan script of both documents forces us to conclude that they are of Norman provenance. This arrangement is also contained in a Sacramentary of Fonte Avelana which must be dated before 1325 (PL, CLI, 884 d).

<sup>38</sup> Maskell, 12, 14; Legg, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 64.

In the use of Bec the entrance psalm was given an even greater air of independence; here the *Pater* was followed at once by the oration *Aufer*; similarly other Norman arrangements fitted in a series of versicles and the oration: Martène, 1, 4, XXVII, XXXVI f. (I, 639, 672, 676). Other orations, too, were either substituted or adjoined; see Maskell, 12. In late texts the *Pater noster* was sometimes supplemented with an *Ave*: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 664 C); Bona, II, 2, 6 (567); Beck, 262.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> While *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 942) merely says that the pope prays on the *oratorium* which is laid down before him, the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 196) says more definite-

ly: *accedit ad altare et prostrato omni corpore in terra facit orationem*. Since the wording in the *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (*ibid.*) agrees with this, we may rightly trace this method of prayer (which survives even now in the last days of Holy Week) to the Roman Arch-chanter John (Archicantor Johannes).

On the other hand, Frankish tradition of the 9th century recognized in this place only one type of bodily attitude—prayer while standing bowed: Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 5 (PL, CV, 1111 C): *inclinatus stat*. See *infra*, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 196).

Even intercession for the people often finds a voice in the *apologia*, for example in the formula: *Rogo te, altissime Deus Sabbaoth, Pater sancte, ut me tunica castitatis digneris accingere . . . ut pro peccatis meis possim intercedere et adstantibus populis peccatorum veniam promereri ac pacificas singulorum hostias immolare . . .* Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927, 440; and later frequently.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. about this *supra*, p. 78 f.

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

*Tunc accedat ad altare dicens:*

*Ante conspectum divinæ maiestatis tuæ, Domine, his sanctis tuis confiteor tibi Deo meo et creatori meo, mea culpa, quia peccavi in superbia, in odio et invidia, in cupiditate et avaritia, in fornicatione et immunditia, in ebrietate et crapula, in mendacio et periurio et in omnibus vitiis, quæ ex his prodeunt. Quid plura? Visu, auditu, olfactu, gustu, et tactu et omnino in cogitatione et locutione et actione perditus sum; quapropter qui iustificas impios, iustifica me et resuscita me de morte ad vitam, Domine Deus meus.*<sup>5</sup>

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. The distinctive transition<sup>6</sup> to this new form was completed within the Mass in the first third of the eleventh century,<sup>7</sup> 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<sup>8</sup>—a mutual confession of daily faults made two-by-two. This method was now introduced at the beginning of Mass,<sup>9</sup> at first (usually) the priest and deacon alone confessing to each other,<sup>10</sup> later (more generally) the priest and a

<sup>5</sup> Leroquais, *loc. cit.*, 440.

<sup>6</sup> One single instance from the 9th-10th century is represented by the *Confiteor* of the Sacramentary of St. Gatien, Martène, 1, 4, VII (I, 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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, 1, 4, IV (I, 495 A), built on the design of the much-altered entry plan of the Séz 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 Halinardus), 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*), and

then, after several intervening orations and Ps. 42, the ingress into the sanctuary.

<sup>8</sup> *Ordo qualiter* (Albers, III, 29). Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 282.

<sup>9</sup> For this reason the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 250) lays down the rule: Whoever celebrates right after Prime should not say the *Confiteor* during Prime. Amongst the Premonstratensians, according to the *Liber ordinarius* of the 12th century (Lefèvre, 15; Waefelghem, 100), the *Confiteor* of the priest at the early Mass coincided with that of Prime.

<sup>10</sup> This was also given outward expression. At the conventual Mass in Cluny the priest recited his acknowledgment of sin before the altar, at the Gospel side, *inclinis contra diaconum similiter inclinem; Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 30 (PL, CX-LIX, 716 A). The two therefore stood to either side of the altar, facing each other. The same rubric amongst the Carthusians (cf. the illustration in Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 236-7) and in 1380 in the Missal of Westminster, ed. Legg (HBS, V), 489; cf. the commentary (HBS, XII), 1503. In the Westminster case the priest at the same time



number of those in attendance.<sup>11</sup>

The surprising thing is that not only the *Misereatur* (a companion piece to the *Confiteor* which even the layman was permitted to say as the intercessory response to the confession of faults)<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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<sup>14</sup>; the sacramental absolution was appended to the *Misereatur*.<sup>15</sup>

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 sacramental confession.<sup>16</sup>

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 act as an intercessor before God.<sup>17</sup> Intercession of the Church, or more particularly of the priest, was, for the first millenary, the form in which the sacramental power of penance was exercised. This petition for intercessory prayer could well be retained in the confession of lay people and

makes his confession to his minister and to the people: *stans iuxta sinistrum cornu altaris ministro suo circumstantique populo istam generalem faciat confessionem*. On the contrary, in the rite of Sarum the priest has the deacon at his right, the subdeacon at his left, and both answer him; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 664 C).<sup>18</sup> But the case of the Tours Missal (1533) is an extreme; here the *Misereatur*-formula of the priest begins with the words *Fratres et sorores*, Martène 1, 4, 2, 4 (I, 361).

<sup>12</sup> Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 207 f., 282 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 200, 217 ff., 251 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 283 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 180, 182, 207 ff.

The most ancient examples contain an often endless catalogue of sins, intended primarily as a confessional guide. Thus

the *Confiteor* in the Pontifical of Poitiers (last third of the 9th century): J. Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disc. in admin. sacr. poenitentiae* (Antwerp, 1682), app. 55 f. Similarly in a Tours Sacramentary of much the same age: Martène, 1, 6, III (I, 775-779), and somewhat shorter in the *Ordo Rom. antiquus* of the 10th century (Hittorp, 26 f.). More briefly worded forms of this type have also survived in the vernacular (Slavic and Old High German) since the 9th century. In part they still survive in the "Open Confession" or *culpa*; see *infra*, p. 492.

<sup>17</sup> Sacramentary of Tours (779 B): *ut pro eisdem peccatis meis intercessor existas*.

The confessional order of Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 300 (PL, CXXXII, 252 A): *ut intercedas pro me et pro peccatis meis ad Dominum et creatorem nostrum*.

it was also retained in the confession which the celebrating priest made to his assistants.<sup>18</sup> Another standard element in the early *Confiteor* formula was the mention of the saints, and, in the more ancient texts, an additional mention of the altar was also made.<sup>19</sup> This points to the fact that the formula was used with some eagerness whenever the monastic custom then in vogue was followed, of making the rounds from altar to altar, praying at each one.<sup>20</sup>

The oldest *Confiteor* formulas which were inserted into the Mass were satisfied to follow the fundamental lines just indicated.<sup>21</sup> About 1080 the following version was used at Cluny: *Confiteor Deo et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis, pater, quia peccavi in cogitatione, locutione et opere, mea culpa. Precor vos, orate pro me*.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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 beatæ Mariæ et omnibus sanctis*.<sup>24</sup> The pious devotion of a St. Bernard is patently at work here.<sup>25</sup> The later Middle Ages continued to add further names to

<sup>18</sup> An exception is found in the rite of the Carmelites where, till the 14th century the complementary section, *Ideo precor*, was missing: Zimmermann, "Carmes," DACL, II, 2172. This section is also wanting in Spanish books even in the 16th century; examples in Ferreres, 65-68.

<sup>19</sup> Ps.-Alcuin, *De psalmorum usu* (PL, CI, 498): *Confiteor . . . coram hoc altari sancto*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. L. Gougaud, *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1925), 57-59.

<sup>21</sup> A large number of examples in Bona, II, 2, 5 f. (565-570).

<sup>22</sup> *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 30 PL, CX-LIX, 716).

Similarly Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992): *Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, istis sanctis et omnibus sanctis, et tibi, frater, quia peccavi in cogitatione, in locutione, in opere, in pollutione mentis et corporis. Ideo precor te, ora pro me*.

lately the Carthusians: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 25, 13.

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

<sup>23</sup> In *Cod. Chigi*: Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 569): *Confiteor Deo omnipotenti et istis et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis fratres, quia ego miser peccavi nimis in lege Dei mei, cogitatione, sermone et opere, pollutione mentis et corporis et in omnibus malis quibus humana fragilitas contaminari potest. Propterea precor vos ut oretis pro me misero peccatore*. The intercessory formula is correspondingly augmented.

<sup>24</sup> Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 255.

<sup>25</sup> 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.



the list<sup>26</sup> usually, however, only in the second part of the *Confiteor* so that they appear as intercessors.<sup>27</sup> This penitential prayer was in danger of becoming a very externalized devotion. The Third Council of Ravenna (1314) decreed that aside from Mary, only Michael, John the Baptist and the Apostles Peter and Paul were to be named.<sup>28</sup> These are names calculated to recall to mind the sin-free glory and holiness of the triumphant Church.

Elsewhere there was often a long listing and detailing of faults<sup>29</sup> that often turned into an acknowledgment of sins *in specie* just as was general and usual at choir Office in many localities. The interpreters of the liturgy voice a disapproval of this, alleging rightly that there is question here

The anti-Arian movement had long since caused Christ to be considered as included (according to his godhead) in the mention of God. Few are the attempts to formulate a *Confiteor* text along the earlier lines. One example is that offered by the Pontifical of Poitiers (note 16 above): *Confiteor tibi, Domine, Pater coeli et terrae, tibi que benignissime Jesu una cum Spiritu Sancto, coram sanctis angelis . . .* Cf. the trinitarian phrasing in a sacramentary of Fonte Avellana (ante 1325: *confiteor Deo omnipotenti Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto et omnibus angelis . . .* (PL, CLI, 885 A).

<sup>26</sup> The Augsburg Mass commentary entitled "*Messe singen oder lesen*" (To sing or read Mass; 15th century) instructs the priest to name at least the patrons of the church and of the altar, and then to add those he wants, towards whom he has devotion. Franz, 751, note 4.

<sup>27</sup> Thus the exposition of the Mass mentioned in the last note. Also the Mass-*Ordo* of Regensburg (Beck, 263), which in the first part names only Mary and "all the saints," but in the second names the Apostles together and then 20 other saints from Stephen to Ursula. Similar, but a little more extensive, is the Styrian Missal of Haus (Köck, 112).

On the contrary, the Missal of the Barberini MS 1861 (14th century; cf. Ebner, 140) makes mention of individual saints mainly in the first part; Bona, II, 2, 5 (567). The theological basis for this confession before the saints is presented in Matt. 19: 28; 1 Cor. 6: 3.

<sup>28</sup> Mansi, XXV, 547.

Michael, who scarcely ever appears in

texts from northern countries, is named in a Fonte Avellana missal of the 13-14th century (PL, CLI, 932 C) and in the *Ordo Rom. XIV* (14th century), n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1185); in both these instances the symmetrical arrangement of the names in both segments, which became general later on, also emerges.

The Congregation of Sacred Rites had occasion more than once to curb the arbitrary insertion of names; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 1332, 5; 2142. However, some religious have the privilege of including the name of their holy Founder, e.g., the Franciscans insert St. Francis.

<sup>29</sup> This may perhaps have been due to the influence of *Confiteor* formulas which were used as a help in sacramental confession; cf. note 16 above. From the late medieval Mass-*Ordo* of the *Breviarium* of Rouen: Martène, I, 4, XXXVII (I, 677), we get this sample: . . . *quia ego miser peccator peccavi nimis contra legem Dei mei cogitatione, delectatione, pollutione, consensu, tactu, risu, visu, verbo et opere, in transgressionem ordinis mei et omissionem servitii mei, participando cum excommunicatis et in cunctis aliis vitiis meis malis, mea culpa*. An analogous form is already found in the Hungarian Sacramentary of Boldau (c. 1195): Radó, 42. Spanish formulas, too, usually list a series of sins, even with the acknowledgment *me graviter peccasse*: Ferreres, 65 ff. Such formulas as these were probably developed from the same sort of thinking that gave rise to the early Scholastic problem, whether it was permissible, for the sake of greater self-humiliation, to confess sins that one had not committed. Cf. H.

not of secret confession but of public.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

As to the external rite, we find from the very outset that the *Confiteor* was recited with body bowed profoundly.<sup>32</sup> But kneeling too must have been rather widespread.<sup>33</sup> Striking the breast at the words *mea culpa* is mentioned quite early.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

According to an old tradition the *Confiteor* of the priest was answered by the deacon or by one of the assistants<sup>36</sup> with the prayer *Misereatur* which corresponded to the final plea of the *Confiteor*.<sup>37</sup> 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 tui 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 sanctorum] ad gloriam sempiternam*.<sup>38</sup> How-

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

<sup>30</sup> Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 13 (PL, CCXVII, 806); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrato*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 95 A); Durandus, IV, 7, 2.

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

<sup>31</sup> Examples in Ferreres, 66 ff.

*Ego reus et conscius multorum malorum meorum*: Köck, 108; cf. 111; Beck, 263.

*Ego reus et indignus*: Radó, 42, 61.

*Ego reus et indignus sacerdos*: Radó, 76; Legg, *Tracts*, 36, 56.

<sup>32</sup> 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).

<sup>33</sup> 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.

The Mass-*Ordo* of Bec: Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 672): *ante altare prostratus*. Apparently also in the Styrian Missal

of Haus: Köck, 112 f.; in the Regensburg Mass-*Ordo*: Beck, 263 f.; in the Augsburg Missal of 1555: Hoeynck, 371.

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

<sup>34</sup> Stephen of Baugé (d. 1136), *De sacr. altaris*, 1. 12 (PL, CLXXII, 1283 B); Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 13 (PL, CCXVII, 806); Durandus, IV, 7, 3.

<sup>35</sup> Augustine, *Serm.*, 67, 1 (PL, XXXVIII, 433). Cf. Roetzer, 245-247.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 299. See also the example on p. 301 which imply a confession made now to one (*frater, pater*), now to several (*fratres*).

<sup>37</sup> 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, vos*). See *supra*, p. 301.

<sup>38</sup> Sacramentary of Reims: PL, LXXVIII, 442 A. The bracketed expressions are frequently missing in other texts.

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



ever it is only proper to record that the older Mass books mention this *Misereatur* of the assistants or of the deacon or of the Mass server as infrequently 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 priest's.<sup>39</sup> Besides it was hardly necessary to write the formulas down,<sup>40</sup> for not only every cleric but every properly instructed Christian had to know them by heart in some form or other, almost as he did the Lord's Prayer.<sup>41</sup> Still it appears that often the priest used for his *Misereatur* a much more solemn form in which a special phrase was prefixed like *Precibus et meritis sanctæ Dei Genitricis et Virginis Mariæ et omnium Sanctorum suorum*,<sup>42</sup> frequently adding a whole list of names, as in the *Confiteor*<sup>43</sup>; or a phrase like *Per gratiam Sancti Spiritus Paracliti*<sup>44</sup> or *Per auxilium et signum sanctæ crucis*<sup>45</sup> or *Per sanctam misericordiam D. N. J. C.*<sup>46</sup> or *Per amaram passionem D. N. J. C.*<sup>47</sup> or *Per sparsiones sanguinis D. N. J. C.*<sup>48</sup>; or he might use a phrase which changed with the Church year<sup>49</sup>; or several of these phrases together—an

Similar also the later Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992), in the conclusion with variants that are otherwise quite common: *et perducatur nos pariter Jesus Christus Filius Dei vivi in vitam æternam*.

<sup>39</sup> Yet even in the 11th century John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 D) says explicitly: *confessione invicem facta*, and William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016): *respondente sibi Converso versum Misereatur ac statim adiungente confessionem*. Cf. also *Udalrici Consuet. Chun. II*, 32 (PL, CXLIX, 725): The deacon stands opposite the priest *ut confesso confiteatur*.

The distinction customarily made today (the priest: *vobis fratres, vos fratres*; the server: *tibi pater, te pater*) is remarked in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101).

<sup>40</sup> Therefore in some early instances no definite wording is given even for the priest: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 495 A); cf. XV (I, 585 B); Köck, 106, 107.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 283.

St. Vincent Ferrer wanted the people to know the *Pater, Ave, Confiteor* and the Creed by heart; G. Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, (Paderborn, 1929) III, 232.

In most of the Romance countries this

would probably mean the Latin *Confiteor*; in German countries, the vernacular formula of the "Open Confession" (*culpa*) had to be substituted for the faithful.

<sup>42</sup> *Cod. Chigi*: Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 569).

<sup>43</sup> *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1185).

<sup>44</sup> Missal of St. Pol de Léon: Martène, 1, 4 XXXIV (I, 662 B); Hungarian Mass books of the 15th century: Radó, 24, 123; Jávör, 113.

<sup>45</sup> Missal of St. Pol de Léon: Martène, 1, 4, XXXIV (I, 662 B); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*. Legg, *Tracts*, 36.

<sup>46</sup> *Breviarum* of Rouen: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVII (I, 677); joined with it are several of the formulas already mentioned, including ten Saints' names. Similarly the *Alphabetum sacerdotum*, Legg, *Tracts*, 36.

A Hungarian missal of the 13th century has: *Per virtutem D. N. J. C. et*; Radó, 61.

<sup>47</sup> Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 263.

<sup>48</sup> Missal of Valencia (1417): Ferreres, 71; for the Mass-server a simple *Misereatur* is mentioned.

<sup>49</sup> *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557): *Per sanctam Incarnationem*, etc.; Legg, *Tracts*, 56 f. Here again the server is given just a simple *Misereatur*.

opportunity for giving the celebrant's devotion ample play.<sup>50</sup> Even though these additions to the intercessory prayer were very meaningful and suggestive of the whole economy of salvation, they were after all—excepting the first of them—embellishments proposed by the Gothic spirit and were in consequence not accepted everywhere,<sup>51</sup> nor were they admitted into the Missal of Pius V. Sufficient that the prayer expressed the wish and hope that God would forgive the faults confessed.

In content the wish expressed in the *Misereatur* differs in nothing except emphasis from the wish expressed in the priest's *Indulgentiam*. The formula, which had gone through no little development long before being taken into the Mass,<sup>52</sup> and had even been shortened in various ways,<sup>53</sup> appears in the Mass in the eleventh century in this simple version: *Indulgentiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus*.<sup>54</sup> It was only in a few individual instances that it received an augmentation as did its companion piece *Misereatur*.<sup>55</sup>

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, provided the *Confiteor* is said with proper intention, for if we stand before God as sinners 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 confession was not at all extensive enough since it was essentially very general. Besides the *Indulgentiam* was spoken only by the priest over the assistants, and not in reverse even when these latter were priests, a surprising thing since it was primarily the celebrant who required the purifying action

<sup>50</sup> Thus expressly in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances, *loc. cit.*

<sup>51</sup> Such additions are missing, for instance, in most of the examples cited from Styrian Mass books, Köck, 107 ff.

<sup>52</sup> 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 orations), so that they themselves eventually became the conveyors of the sacramental absolution. See Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 212 ff., 251 ff.

<sup>53</sup> 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 et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum et spatium veræ poenitentiae per intercessionem omnium sanctorum suorum tribuat nobis omnipotens, pius et misericors Dominus*.

In Spain the following wording often appears: *Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum et spatium et fructus dignos poenitentiae et emendationem vitæ et cor poenitens per gratiam Spiritus Sancti tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus*. Ferreres, 65 ff.

<sup>54</sup> Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992). Similarly a setting from Limoges: Leroquais, I, 155.

<sup>55</sup> St. Lambrecht Missal (1336): Köck, 107.



of the sacrament.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> But there was a constant effort to despoil 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 (*tribuat 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.<sup>58</sup>

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 *Misereatur*, put on the stole<sup>59</sup> which up to then he had carried in his hand, and then recited the *Indulgentiam*.<sup>60</sup> In other places a special versicle was inserted between *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam*,<sup>61</sup> or the *Indulgentiam* was introduced by the word *Oremus*.<sup>62</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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 habet*; *Udalrici Consuet. Clun II*, 12 (PL, CXLIX, 706 f.); similarly in a Klosterneuburg source of the 13th century: Schabes, 58; in a missal of Auxerre: Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 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 sacerdotum* (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.

<sup>57</sup> Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 277 ff., 285 ff.

<sup>58</sup> This was a use of the sacramental form outside its own proper sphere analogous to the practice much in vogue in the early Middle Ages of giving absolution to the dead, a practice from which is de-

rived the name still preserved for the corresponding rite, *absolutio ad tumbam, absolutio in exsequiis*. *Op. cit.*, 288 f.

<sup>59</sup> According to the confessional guide of Arezzo of that same 11th century, the remission of sins was granted *per stolum*. *Op. cit.*, 193. Further passages can be found in the same work cited in the Index *sub verbo* "stola."

<sup>60</sup> *Bernardi Ordo Clun. I*, 72 (Herrgott, 264); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016).

<sup>61</sup> But the witnesses to this practice are of a later period: Mass-*Ordo* of Regensburg (Beck, 264): *Christe audi nos, Salvator mundi adiuva nos*.

Hungarian Mass books of the 15th century, (Javor, 113; Radó, 24, 123): Ps. 120: 7.

*Ordinarium* of the Carthusians, c. 1500 (Legg, *Tracts*, 99): *Adiutorium nostrum*.

<sup>62</sup> Styrian missals of the 14th or 15th century: Köck, 111, 112.

Klosterneuburg (15th century): Schabes, 61.

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.<sup>63</sup> 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*.<sup>64</sup> 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*.<sup>65</sup> 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<sup>66</sup> of the type which was then otherwise employed when administering sacramental forgiveness.<sup>67</sup>

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 the-

<sup>63</sup> 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 sins and the *absolutio*, the priest recites a few intermediate verses and then says, *Iudicium pro peccatis meis*. Then the rubric continues: *Et pontifex iniungit illi Pater noster vel Ave Maria vel aliud, et sacerdos idipsum vel aliud pontifici*. Andrieu, 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. Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 658 D). The same dialogue, with unessential variations, in the Missal of Vich (1496): Ferreres, 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.

No doubt the same meaning must be attached to the rubrics of the Carthusian *Ordinarium* of circa 1500, according to which the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur* are followed by a *Pater* and *Ave*, to be said bowed, and then there follows the absolution formula (marked with the heading:

*absolutio post confessionem privatam*). Legg, *Tracts*, 99 f.; cf. *Statuta antiqua*, I, 43; Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 D). Later on the sacramental confession was anticipated before Mass. The present-day *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (1932), c. 25, 12, still mentions a *signum pro confessionibus* before the procession to the altar. But it also retains the *Pater* and *Ave* referred to above (c. 25, 14).

The same *Pater* and *Ave* are found in the old Cistercian rite, but here only after the *Indulgentiam* and the versicle *Adiutorium nostrum* which is combined with it; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 254 (and see the rubric, *ibid.*, 255, according to which the "confessio" can be completed later, during the *Gloria*). Cf. Franz, 587; de Corswarem, 111.

<sup>64</sup> Thus in Bayeux: Martène, 1, 4, 2, 5 (I, 363 B). *Ordinarium* of Coutances: Legg, *Tracts*, 57.

Similarly the Bishop of Le Mans as late as 1700: de Moléon, 221.

Cf. the custom of Bec: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI (I, 672 E).

<sup>65</sup> According to the *Ordinarium* of 1115: de Moléon, 109 f.

<sup>66</sup> Mass-*Ordo* of Gregorienmünster (14th or 15th century): Martène, 1, 4, XXXII (I, 655 B). Augsburg Ritus of the 15th century: Franz, 752. Missal of Chur of 1589: Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 295.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 231 ff.



ory and had begun to limit the use of sacramental powers to very definite conditions.<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup>

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 *Confiteor*, and it made no difference whether the psalm *Iudica* 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 ori meo . . .*<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> In Italy the verse (Ps. 123:8), *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini* had already been used in this same spot in the eleventh century.<sup>72</sup> In the Roman liturgy this last verse was used to introduce not only all blessings<sup>73</sup> 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

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 287 ff. Conclusive was the judgment of St. Thomas Aquinas, *De forma absolutionis*, c. 2: *Huiusmodi absolutiones* [at Prime, compline and holy Mass] *non sunt sacramentales, sed sunt quædam orationes quibus dicuntur venialia peccata dimitti*. There is possibly a connection between this decision of St. Thomas and the regulation in the Dominican rite which directs the priest reciting the formula, *Absolutionem et remissionem*, not to make the sign of the Cross: *Signum crucis ne faciat*; *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 17.

<sup>69</sup> C. Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 191 f., speaks in a similar sense of a sacramental that works *ex opere operantis Ecclesiæ*.

<sup>70</sup> Sacramentary of Modena (before 1174): Muratori, I, 88; Rite of Lyons: Bona,

II, 2, 6 (569); Buenger, 223, note 1. Besides these it appears only in the Mass-*Ordo* of the Carthusians, which is dependent on Lyons, and there it appears even today.

<sup>71</sup> *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235).

Mass-*Ordo* of the papal chapel (circa 1290), ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 200.

<sup>72</sup> A monastic sacramentary of the outgoing 11th century: Ebner, 297; cf. *ibid.*, 327, 332; Fiala, 198.

Otherwise it is not frequent at this spot. Later in the *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 60 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1173 C). Outside Italy apparently only since the 15th century; e.g., in Augsburg: Franz, 751.

<sup>73</sup> *Rituale Rom.*, VIII, 1, 7.

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.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup>

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.<sup>76</sup> Generally they are taken from the verses used

<sup>74</sup> 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 act of the Mass. According to William of Hirsau, *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 ordinaries 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, I, 4, XXXV ff. (I, 664, 672 E, 677 C). Since the turn of the Middle Ages also outside the area named: *ibid.*, XXXIII (I, 658 D); 1, 4, 2, 4

(I, 360 f.); Legg, *Tracts*, 36 f.; Ferreres, p. XXXII, LXXIX. Also in the Spanish Cistercian Missal of 1762: Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 254, and in the present-day *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 165 f.

In the monastery of Bec: Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 672 E), the priest would stand turned to the people and add to all this: *In nomine Patris . . .*; it had thus grown into a blessing. Similarly the monastic Mass-*Ordo* of Rouen: *ibid.*, XXXVII (I, 677 CD).

In several late and post-medieval Mass books this set of versicles is placed just before the Introit, again therefore with epicletic meaning: Legg, *Tracts*, 37, 58; Maskell, 27; Martène, I, 4, XXVII f., XXXIII f. (I, 640 B, 643 E, 658 E, 662 D); also 1, 4, 3 (I, 364 A).

<sup>75</sup> Thus already in the 15th century in the pontifical rite of Trier and of Strassburg; 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. *benedicat*].

<sup>76</sup> As was the case in the Sacramentary of Modena (Muratori, I, 88) where



earlier at the close of the accession 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.<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup> But in other places this same group is merely the foundation to which other verses are added.<sup>79</sup> Then after the general petition *Domine exaudi*, which otherwise almost always and even in an earlier period follows the series of versicles,<sup>80</sup> and after the greeting *Dominus vobiscum*, which is not omitted even for this small group of people, the oration *Aufer 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.<sup>81</sup> Its glance is turned

verses were chosen all directed towards penance: Ps. 55: 9 (*Deus vitam meam*) and Ps. 31: 5 f. (*Delictum meum*, etc.)  
<sup>77</sup> *Supra*, p. 272 f.

In the purest state in *Cod. S.* 1, 19 of the Biblioteca Angelica (Ebner, 322), with Ps. 84: 7, 8 (*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 *Confiteor* at Prime and Compline: *Converte nos, Dignare Domine, Miserere nostri, Fiat misericordia*. Ebner, 327, 332, 345.

<sup>78</sup> Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 200.

Likewise Ebner, 313.

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

<sup>80</sup> Thus already in the *Ordo Rom. antiquus* (circa 950): Hittorp, 28, 53.

<sup>81</sup> 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 *Exaudiat 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 Halinardus and other Mass-*Ordines* of the Séez group (*supra*, p. 291 f.) had added to the *Aufer a nobis* a second oration which later disappeared, so also many later Mass books supplemented the *Aufer* with one or more orations. Often these were taken from the accession prayers (*Consistentia*, *Adsit*; both orations, e.g., in Ebner, 341; cf. *supra*, p. 275). Norman books of the late Middle Ages borrowed from the recession prayers (*Ure igne*, *Actiones*; see Martène, 1, 4, XXVII f.; cf. XXXVII [I, 639 E, 643 D, 676 C]).

But most frequently the penitential oration *Exaudi Domine supplicum preces* (from the *Gregorianum*: Lietzmann, n. 201, 3) was thus used. It is found in the Missal of St. Vincent, added to *Aufer*: Fiala, 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, 113; Hoeynck, 371); also in Hungary: Radó, 42, where later a third oration, *Præsta* is added (this same oration, *Præsta*, also in Tongern; de Corswarem, 111); Radó, 96, 123; Jávör,

backward, back toward the sins we must leave behind, and also forward, toward the sanctuary, the holy of holies<sup>82</sup> that we must enter. The oration derives from ancient Roman tradition. It was used at the beginning of the Easter celebration<sup>83</sup> and later was also said when entering a shrine from which the relics were taken for the consecration of a Church.<sup>84</sup> Now it is used while mounting the steps to the altar, and since the later Middle Ages it is said in a low tone, a practice which spread from England<sup>85</sup> and which seems apparently to have been stimulated by the silence of the canon and the reasons which suggested the latter.<sup>86</sup>

## 6. Greetings. Kissing the Altar

In the solemn functions of the seventh century, the first thing that occurred when the pope reached the altar was a series of greetings—kisses, according to ancient custom. There was a greeting for the co-liturgists and also for the two objects most intimately connected with the liturgy, objects which represented Christ, the Gospel book and the altar.<sup>1</sup> Of these only the kissing of the altar has been retained in the universal Mass rite. The greeting of the co-liturgists is also to be found at present in solemn papal Masses; three cardinal priests greet the pope with the kiss of peace when he comes to the altar.<sup>2</sup> In France a similar practice is to be noted in many

113; Sawicki, 147; cf. Radó 24. In Augsburg it once even took the place of *Aufer*: Bona, II, 2, 6 (569); likewise in Klosterneuburg: Schabes, 61. In Gregorienmünster the abbot said it kneeling (14-15th century): Martène, 1, 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 peccatis* after the *Confiteor*: Franz, 521.

<sup>82</sup> The biblical term *sancta sanctorum* was already employed by Jerome, *In Ezech.*, c. 44 (PL XXV, 436 D) for Christian service.

<sup>83</sup> In the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 430) on Maundy Thursday; cf. the formulæ that precede and follow. In the older Gelasianum I, 17 (Wilson, 15) at the beginning of Lent. In the *Gregorianum* of Padua (Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 155) on the Thursday of the first week of Lent.

<sup>84</sup> *Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 194): *oratio quando levantur reliquiae*. It was used in a like function in the Pontifical of

Donauesching: Metzger, n. 101; and in the Sacramentary of Drogo, Bishop of Metz: Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 487.

<sup>85</sup> *Sarum Ordinary* (13th and 14th centuries): Legg, *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.

<sup>86</sup> 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 *Aufer a nobis*. Lebrun, I, 123; de Moléon, 427.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 7; 11. For the late Middle Ages cf. *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1185 D). Not restricted to the papal Mass in the Mass-*Ordo* of the papal chapel, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 201: *dat pacem diacono*. Cf. Ebner, 313.



churches all through the Middle Ages.<sup>8</sup> Here it was done later on—very significantly—right after the *Confiteor*.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> Usually the Gospel book was on the altar; so the kissing of the altar followed that of the book, seldom the other way round.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes, in fact, the kissing of the book counted for both.<sup>8</sup> 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 æternam*.<sup>9</sup>

Since the twelfth century a new object of these greetings was added, the crucifix, now generally standing on the altar.<sup>10</sup> It too is given a reverential kiss.<sup>11</sup> But towards the end of the Middle Ages the kiss is gradually trans-

<sup>8</sup> Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th century): PL LXXXVIII, 242 A; Mass-Ordo of the Séz group: *supra*, p. 92 f.

<sup>4</sup> John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 D): the priest salutes deacon and subdeacon.

Similarly the *Ordinarium* of Bayeux: Martène, 1, 4, XXIV (I, 626 D); cf. XXI (I, 609 D).

Durandus, IV, 9, 3 f.

<sup>6</sup> All the witnesses of the Sarum rite, e.g., Legg, *Tracts*, 4, 219 f. Normandy is obviously the place of provenience.

<sup>6</sup> *Ceremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 33; I, 10, 2.

Also in *Cod. Chigi* (11th century): Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 570 A): the subdeacon in the same way hands the bishop the book, after having held it towards him all during the *Confiteor*. Cf. Ebner, 311. <sup>7</sup> Both forms of the practice are witnessed to chiefly in the 11th and 12th centuries: *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.* II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 716 A); Ebner, 328, 345 (cf. also 322); Martène, 1, 4, IV f. (I, 496, 520, 530); Köck, 110 f.

From a later period there are: *Ordo Rom XIV*, n. 71 (PL LXXVIII, 1185 D); Missal of St. Lambrecht (1336): Köck, 107 (n. 395).

<sup>8</sup> Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th century): PL, LXXVIII, 242 C; here the book lies open on the altar, yet a kiss

of the book precedes (241 D).

Missal of Liège: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 586 A): *Deinde osculans evangelium super altare dicat*. The same amalgamation is probably to be supposed in the rest of the books representing the Séz group in which no mention is made of the altar; see *supra*, p. 291. Cf. also Ebner, 332.

<sup>9</sup> Other formulas appear only by way of exception; e.g., *Ave sanctum Evangelium, salus et reparatio animarum nostrarum*: Missal of Troyes (15th century): Leroquais, III, 46. Cf. Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 523 B).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 258. Till far into the 16th century the crucifix was but loosely connected with its stand, so that it could be easily lifted out. Thus, by placing it on a proper shaft, it was also used as a processional cross. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 478-483.

<sup>11</sup> Among the earliest examples we have the Seckau Missal (c. 1170): Köck, 107 (n. 479) and a Sacramentary of the 12th century from Verona (kiss of the Gospel not mentioned): Ebner, 306.

Along with the kiss of the altar and of the Gospel, also Köck, 109, 109 f.; cf. 111 f., 113; Martène, 1, 4, XXXII (I, 655).

ferred from the sculptured crucifix on the altar to the miniature image found in the Missal at the beginning of the canon or elsewhere,<sup>12</sup> so that sometimes the veneration of this image counts also for the veneration of the Gospel book<sup>13</sup> or even of the altar.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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,<sup>16</sup> like the text from the Good Friday liturgy, *Tuam crucem adoramus, Domine*<sup>17</sup> or the verse *Adoramus te, Christe*.<sup>18</sup> With this a versicle is usually connected (*Per signum crucis*;

<sup>12</sup> Augsburg Mass-Ordo in the 15th-16th century: With the words *Pax Christi* the priest first kisses the Gospel of the day, at his left, then, with *Tuam crucem*, the picture of the Crucified in the Mass book. Hoeynck, 372; cf. Franz, 752.

Cf. the Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 264 f.; Missal of Chur (1589): Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, 296.

<sup>13</sup> Martène, 1, 4, XXVI, XXXIII f. (I, 637 A, 658 E, 662 D).

<sup>14</sup> Missal of Toul (14th or 15th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 650), where the only rubric pertaining to this matter reads: *Postea osculatur pedes imagini Crucifixi in canone*. Cf. *ibid.*, XXVIII, XXXVI (I, 643 E, 673 A); Legg, *Tracts*, 58.

Sometimes, too, a kiss of the paten (with a cross on it) substitutes in like fashion for all the other reverences; *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 37; Missal of Tours: Martène, 1, 4, 2, 5 (I, 374 A).

Elsewhere, the rite was again split in two, a kiss being appointed both for the *Crucifixus* (the illustration of the Crucified at the start of the Canon—an elaboration of the *T* of *Te igitur*) and for the *Maiestas Domini* (an illustration of Christ in glory, found at the start of the Preface—an elaboration of the initial letters of *Vere Dignum*, hence usually marked by the sign *VD*). So the Missal of Vich (1547; here along with a kiss of the altar): Ferreres, 66, with a doubled accompanying phrase: *Adoramus te* and

*De sede maiestatis benedicat nos dextera Dei Patris*. Cf. Mass-Ordo of Rouen: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVII (I, 677 C).

Regarding the pertinent representations in the medieval Mass books, see Ebner, 438-441; 444-446 and in the index, "Kreuzigung", "Maiestas." Not seldom are there traces still to be seen of the celebrant's kisses; see Ebner, 166, 449.

<sup>15</sup> Köck, 109, 110, with the accompanying phrases *Ave Maria* and *Sancte Johannes optime, absolute*. . . . 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; Köck, 113.

<sup>16</sup> Newly-composed prayers are but seldom employed; thus one distich (Ebner, 306) begins: *O crux mihi certa salus*.

<sup>17</sup> Köck, 110, 112. Further see note 12 above.

For honoring the *Maiestas Domini* (see note 14 above) the wording is sometimes altered: *Maiestatem tuam adoramus*: *Breviarium* of Rouen: Martène, 1, 4, XXXCII (I, 677 C).

<sup>18</sup> Very frequent; e.g. Köck, 109, 113; Martène, 1, 4, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXIII f., XXXVI (I, 637 A, 643 D, 658 E, 662 D, 673 A).

At Vienne the *Adoramus te* was sung at a high Mass: *ibid.*, XXX (I, 648 C).



*Qui passus es; Omnis terra*), and an oration, e.g., *Respice quæsumus*. However, these ceremonies of greeting were quite secondary and entailed the danger of disturbing the principal lines of the liturgy and so they disappeared from many of the late medieval Mass arrangements for ordinary Masses<sup>19</sup> and finally vanished altogether from the Missal of Pius V. The only thing remaining is the kissing of the altar, the only thing that was there from the start—a fine example of a return to original forms.

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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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 Cæcilius, mentioned by Minucius Felix, did when he noticed the statue of Serapis while passing by.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> The salutation

<sup>19</sup> The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (c. 1285) mentions for high Mass only the “kiss of the text” (Volk, 89, 1. 25), for private Mass only the kiss of the altar (101, 1. 17), and both times without an indication of an accompanying phrase.

<sup>20</sup> However, another kiss is certainly meant when, after collecting the gift-offerings, the pontiff finally approaches the altar and, as the rubric puts it, *salutat altare* (n. 15). This second kiss of the altar is expressly noticed, e.g. in the Pontifical of Laon (13th c.): Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux*, I, 167.

<sup>21</sup> See the study “Der Altarkuss” in F. J. Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 2 (1930), 190-221.

<sup>22</sup> Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 2, 4 (CSEL, II, 4, 1. 22).

<sup>23</sup> Dölger, 215 f., 217 ff. Cf. *idem*, *Antike u. Christentum*, 6 (1940), 160.

Kissing the table at the start and finish of a meal is still a practice in the Capuchin order. In Lithuania the bride kisses the table (and the bread and the crucifix) when departing from her parental home (Kl. Razminas, 1948).

<sup>24</sup> Dölger, 201 ff. Medieval witnesses to the same use in L. Gougaud, *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1925), 56 f.

Traces of a corresponding popular custom can be found even at a later time. In Brittany, for instance, the newly-baptized infant was made to touch the

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,<sup>25</sup> the Armenian<sup>26</sup> and the Byzantine liturgies.<sup>27</sup>

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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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*.<sup>30</sup> 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 *Aufer a nobis* ends. Other texts also occur, touching on the forgiveness of sin,<sup>31</sup> and in some particular instances a formal oration is found<sup>32</sup> or an apology is connected

altar; something similar was done with the coffin before burial. P. Donceur, *Retours en chrétienté* (Paris, 1933), 43, 179.

From the region of Strem in the Burgenland (Hungary) comes the following account of a kindred custom: After confession the penitent prays his penance at the altar steps; having finished he mounts to the altar and kisses the center altar card in three places (J. Göndöcz, 1934).

<sup>25</sup> Brightman, 69, 1. 19.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 423, 1. 21.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 354, 1. 38.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 257 f.

The kissing of the grave which was customary in very ancient times (Dölger, 209 ff.) can no longer have had any influence here, because the span of time since the altar was regularly associated with a martyr's tomb was much too long.

<sup>29</sup> Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 15 (PL, CCXVII, 807).

<sup>30</sup> Ebner, 297. Similarly Martène, I, 4, V (I, 520 B).

In the *Missa Illyrica* (c. 1030): *ibid.*, IV (I, 508 B), at the kissing of the altar before the Offertory (see note 20 above), still in the singular: *Oro te, Domine*.

A. Reiffenstuel, *Jus canonicum*, III, 40, n. 40 (Venice, 1717; III, 589), mentions some older missals according to which the prayer was omitted when the altar contained no relics.

<sup>31</sup> The formula *Precibus et meritis*: Köck, 107, 113, just as, in older witnesses, at the kissing of the altar at the end of Mass.

The benediction *A vinculis peccatorum* (beside *Oramus*) in the Mass-*Ordo* of the papal chapel, circa 1290, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 201.

<sup>32</sup> Thus in Regensburg: *Descendat, q. D. Spiritus*; Beck, 264; also in the Sacramentary of Boldau (c. 1195): Radó, 42.

A formula much like an oration also at Augsburg: Hoeynck, 372.



with the kiss.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

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.<sup>35</sup> A century later, and it had become the prevailing practice to kiss the altar in every instance mentioned in the present-day missal<sup>36</sup>; 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*.<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup> According to one interpretation, the kiss is referred above all to the saints, with whom the priest

<sup>33</sup> Ebner, 345. *Ibid.*, 339 the same formula, *Omnipotens s. Deus qui me peccatorem* (see p. 291 above) is used which accompanied the first kissing of the altar in the *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 469 B), in the *Cod. Chigi*: *ibid.*, XII (I, 570 C) and in the Sacramentary of Boldau (Radó, 42), where a whole collection of relevant accompanying formulas are found (n. 14-19; 22).

<sup>34</sup> So in England: among others Maskell, 22 f.; in Sweden: Yelverton, 12; the Missal of Vich (1547): Ferreres, 66.

Cf. in Italy: Ebner, 328.

The ancient Cistercian rite had the kissing of the altar, without any accompanying phrase, even before the prayers at the foot of the altar, as soon as the altar was reached: Schneider (*Cist. Chr.*, 1926), 253. Similarly also in the Missal of Troyes: Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 530 D). Cf. *ibid.*, XXVII (I, 640 A).

<sup>35</sup> Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, III, 11 (PL, CCXVII, 850 C).

The *Liber usuum O. Cist.*, c. 59 (PL, CLXVI, 1434 D) also makes express mention of only three occasions for kissing the altar.

<sup>36</sup> Durandus, IV, 39, 5 f. Pretty much the same in a Minorite missal of the 13th century, where the kissing of the altar each time is so emphasized that it

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; and in the Sacramentary of Modena (*ante* 1174): Muratori, I, 92 f.; likewise in a sacramentary of the 12th century from Camaldoli: Ebner, 296 f. On the contrary the *Ordo Cluniacensis* 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.).

<sup>37</sup> 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 producitur signum crucis . . . super id quod osculandum est*.

<sup>38</sup> Thus by J. B. Lüft, *Liturgik* (Mainz, 1847), II, 542. Opposed is Gühr, 410, note 1.

In the Dominican rite even today there are only two occasions when the altar is

confirms his communion before he begins the sacrifice and also whenever he salutes the Church on earth.<sup>39</sup> According to another, the priest first receives the kiss of peace from the altar and from Christ in order to pass it on to the rest.<sup>40</sup> Still another interpretation envisions the kiss simply as a symbolic renewal of the bond and union with Christ.<sup>41</sup> All these things may be true as an extension of the meaning. But primarily the kiss, especially at the beginning and the end of Mass, is a proper reverence and honor to the sacredness of the altar, and the same may be said even about the kiss that precedes the greeting of the people.

## 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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 iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 17; 22.

<sup>39</sup> Thus Kössing, *Liturgische Vorlesungen*, 239 ff., 272. Similarly Gühr, 370, 410.

<sup>40</sup> Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 167.

<sup>41</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 260, 262; II, 96. Cf. Parsch, *The Liturgy of the Mass* (trans. Eckhoff; St. Louis, 1936), 74-76.

<sup>1</sup> 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 SRC*, 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 indulged 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.; Paderborn, 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; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3697, 2.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Atchley, *A History of the use of Incense* (Alcuin Club Collections, 13; London, 1909), 1-96.



in at the Sunday service in Jerusalem, so that the Church of the Resurrection was completely filled with its perfume.<sup>3</sup> And the baptistery of the Lateran possessed a *thymiamaterium* of pure gold, the gift of the Emperor Constantine.<sup>4</sup> In the procession at the papal services described in the first Roman *Ordo* seven torch-bearers and a subdeacon with the *thymiamaterium* preceded the pope,<sup>5</sup> a survival from the Roman court ceremonial.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> Amalar mentions the change from Roman practice in the use of incense at the offertory.<sup>9</sup>

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*).<sup>10</sup> The Sacramentary of Amiens presents two prayers for the pertinent *benedictio incensi*,<sup>11</sup> of which the second at least had

<sup>3</sup> *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 10 (CSEL, XXXIX, 73).

<sup>4</sup> St. Ambrose (d. 397) seems to have been the first to mention the practice of incensing the Christian altar: *Exp. Evang. Lucæ*, i, 28 (PL XV, 1545). In Pseudo-Dionysius (circa 500) it is fully developed.

<sup>5</sup> Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 174.

Hanging thuribles were common in churches all through the early Middle Ages (see Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus* [London, 1905], 17-18).

<sup>6</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 941).

Regarding the nature and shape of censers then and later see Braun, *Die christliche Altargerät*, 598-632. A thurible found in the ruins of a basilica at Salona which was destroyed in 624 (*ibid.*, 608; table 127) was held on three chains that came together—the same basic form as today's.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra*, p. 68.

<sup>8</sup> Apoc. 5: 8.

Cf. the explanation of the second gift of the Magi (Matt. 2: 11) which is already in patristic exegesis.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 77.

<sup>10</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, Præf. altera (PL, CV, 992). At the beginning of Mass he expressly mentions the carrying of the *thuribulum*; III, 5 (PL, CV, 1109 f.). Similarly Amalar's *Expositio* of 813-814, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 170; 173, according to which three censers could be used, one for incensing the altar, one for the men, and one for the women.

<sup>11</sup> *Ordo Rom.* VI (10th c.), n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 990 D).

Yet even down to modern times there were churches where the incense was carried in procession to the altar, but the altar was not incensed. Numerous examples for one usage or the other, along with many variations and degrees, from the 9th to the 19th century in Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 214-231.

<sup>12</sup> Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 441.

its origin in the East—an inkling as to the provenience of the custom.<sup>12</sup> A formal incensation of the altar is mentioned as early as the eleventh century.<sup>13</sup>

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,<sup>14</sup> and various formulas for this appear,<sup>15</sup> including the one we use nowadays.<sup>16</sup> But, just as at present, no special prayer was connected with the incensation.<sup>17</sup>

The external action is also mostly very simple. 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Domine Deus omnipotens, sicut suscepisti munera Abel . . .*; cf. the Greek liturgy of St. James, likewise at the beginning of Mass: Brightman, 32. In the Syrian homeland of this liturgy an incensing at the beginning of Mass is testified to by Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 294). Cf. also Hanssens, III, 72, 80.

<sup>13</sup> John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 38 B). In Italy first in that Pontifical of the 11th-12th century which we have already (*supra*, p. 297, note 32) recognized as a carrier of Norman tradition: Ebner, 328.

See also *ibid.*, 312, 313, 347.

Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 14 (PL, CCXVII, 806 f.).

<sup>14</sup> Even in the *Cod. Chigi* the incensation is mentioned without any such blessing: Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 570 D).

<sup>15</sup> Sacramentary of Amiens (note 11 above). The continuation of the second formula mentioned shows very pointedly the double meaning attached even then to the incense: *suscipere digneris incensum istud in odorem suavitatis—in remissionem peccatorum meorum et populi tui*. The phrasing is turned to good account in the *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 494 C).

Other formulas used here accent only the latreutic value; so a formula which

is allied to the one now in use at the Offertory: *Incensum istud dignetur Dominus benedicere et in odorem suavitatis accipere*; Missal of Toul (14th or 15th cent.); *ibid.*, XXXI (I, 650 D); cf. XV (I, 585 A).

Cf. also the formulas in the Sacramentary of Boldau (c. 1195): Radó, 42.

<sup>16</sup> In Norman-English territories it can be ascertained since the 13th century: *Ab illo sanctificeris in cuius honore cremaris, in nomine Patris . . .*; Martène, I, 4, XXVI; cf. XXXV, XXXVII (I, 637 B, 665 B, 677 D).

<sup>17</sup> So expressly Durandus, IV, 8, 2.

According to John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 38 C) the celebrant performs the incensation while reciting the *Gloria*—a solution akin to that employed nowadays at the *Magnificat* in Vespers.

Yet, by way of exception, Ps. 140:2 (*Dirigatur*) is mentioned; Sacramentary of Amiens: Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 441; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III 2 (PL, CCXIII, 96 B); *Breviarium* of Rouen: Martène I, 4, XXVII (I, 677 D). Even the Missal of Pius V originally contained Ps. 140: 2-4 here; J. O'Connell, "A Sixteenth Century Missal" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1948) 104.

<sup>18</sup> Missal of Sarum: Martène, I, 4 XXXV (I, 665 B).

<sup>19</sup> Rit. serv., IV, 4-7.



We will have occasion later<sup>20</sup> 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<sup>21</sup>; 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 *liturgus* himself are removed from this tainted 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 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.<sup>22</sup>

## 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 ruder 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 apse,<sup>1</sup> and when we take into consideration the numerous clergy who, according to the oldest *ordines*, took part in papal

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.

<sup>1</sup> Beissel, *Bilder*, 255, 302.

<sup>20</sup> *Infra*, p. 451 f.

<sup>21</sup> Durandus, IV, 10, 5.

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.

<sup>22</sup> The Old Testament concept came to the fore with special clarity in such a

worship, 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.<sup>2</sup> Even in the Roman liturgy of later antiquity this entrance chant, the *introitus*—at a later period also called *officium*<sup>3</sup>—was already arranged as an art-chant performed by a special group of singers,<sup>4</sup> 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 had 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.<sup>5</sup>

These chants were performed antiphonally, that is, the psalm was sung by two choruses, alternating verse by verse.<sup>6</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> *Pontificale Rom.*, p. III, *ordo ad recipiendum processionaliter praelatum*.

<sup>3</sup> Sölch, *Hugo von St. Cher*, 55 f. The title is already found in the 10th century in Pseudo-Alcuin, *De div. off.* (PL, CI, 1244 C). At the end of the Middle Ages it was generally used in Normandy and in England; see Maskell, 28 f.

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*.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>5</sup> J. Kroll, "Hymnen," in E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, 596 f.

<sup>6</sup> ἀντίφωνη = 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.<sup>7</sup> 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: *Constituit ut psalmi David CL ante sacrificium psalli antephanatim ex omnibus, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum epistula beati Pauli recitabatur et sanctum evangelium*.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately the account cannot be relied on as an historical report.<sup>9</sup> 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<sup>10</sup> had long been in use.<sup>11</sup> 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 *secretarium* ready to make his entry, he beckons to the proper cleric, the *quartus scholæ*, making a sign *ut psallant*; the latter in turn passes the signal on to the director of the *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,

<sup>7</sup> H. Leclercq, "Antienne," *DACL*, I, 2293 f.

<sup>8</sup> Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 230.

<sup>9</sup> Batiffol, *Leçons*, 105, note 1, points out that the data is dependent upon the apocryphal letter of Pope Damasus to Jerome.

<sup>10</sup> A preliminary older form of the Introit chant which, like the *Ingressa* 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, *Les véritables origines du chant grégorien* (Maredsous, 1890), 54. That the non-psalmodic texts which are still preserved today can be adduced for this older plan—as is done by C. Callewaert, "Introitus" (*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 *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino* and *Salve sancta parens* (the beginning of hymn by the 5th century poet Cælius Sedulius).

Regarding the mention of the "150 Psalms" see the various attempts at explanation in H. Leclercq, "Introit," *DACL*, VII, 1214 f.

<sup>11</sup> That all the people originally took part in this is only a later element even in the historical writing of this period; the words *antephanatim ex omnibus* are missing in the older recensions of the text (Duchesne, I, 89).

the men on the outside. At once the leader begins the antiphon. The psalmody is continued until the clergy have passed the rows of singers and reached the altar. After the pope has saluted his assistants with the kiss of peace, he gives a signal to start the *Gloria (Patri)*. At the *Sicut erat* the deacons rise, two by two, to kiss the altar. The pope meanwhile remains kneeling in prayer *usque ad repetitionem versus*, meaning obviously the antiphon.<sup>12</sup> The antiphon was therefore repeated at the end of the psalm. Whether it was also repeated after each single verse of the psalm, cannot be determined so far as the city of Rome itself is concerned.<sup>13</sup> In fact the phrase cited above seems to prove the contrary, for it does not say: *usque ad ultimam repetitionem versus*. But this 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.<sup>14</sup> 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

<sup>12</sup> *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 941 f.).

The same picture in the *Capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis* (Silva-Tarouca): the pope tarries in prayer *usque dum clerici antiphonam ad introitum cum psalmo et Gloria et repetito verso dixerint*.

<sup>13</sup> Still P. Wagner, among others, inclines to this view: *Einführung*, I, 66; cf. also 26 f., 144-147; *idem*, "Antiphon," *LThK*, I (1930), 503. Wagner considers the repetition of the antiphon after each verse as the general practice of ancient Christian antiphony. However he has in mind in the main the Frankish sources since the 9th century which also contain the notation of the melody. In the chanting of the Office, indeed, this constant repetition of the antiphon after each psalm verse was occasionally practiced. It is true, moreover, that also for the Mass chant even in the 8th century, there is evidence—in a later passage of the *Capitulare* just referred to above (Silva-Tarouca, 205, 1. 4-9)—of a similar handling of the antiphon as a refrain. Here is the direction: In cases where the antiphon is taken from the psalm, the first verse should be sung after the antiphon, then the antiphon repeated, after that the *Gloria Patri*, then the antiphon again,

then the *Sicut erat*, then the antiphon, then another verse of the psalm (*alio verso de ipso psalmo*) and the antiphon once more. Obviously we have here, within the *Capitulare*, the disclosure of a different source from that which expressly outlined the Roman arrangement of a papal Mass. The procedure of some monastic Mass must have been inserted here (Silva-Tarouca, 204, 1. 41; 205, 1. 41), an arrangement which need not have been of Roman origin at all, for the text of the *Capitulare* as handed down has also included Gallic material (cf. the interpolation p. 206, 1. 21 and the observation p. 219; see also Baumstark, *JL*, V [1925], 158). For the rest, the text in question, after mentioning the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* for Sundays and feasts, itself continues: on other days *antephona tantum ad introitum psalmo et Gloria, subsequente Kyrie eleison* (205, 1. 14 f.). It is once more the Roman source that is being cited which here, as always, presumes the chanting of a psalm and not of a psalm verse.

<sup>14</sup> 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*,<sup>15</sup> or the second (or a second) verse of the psalm is expressly indicated.<sup>16</sup> In other places the psalm was curtailed to the first verse apparently as early as the eighth century.<sup>17</sup> 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 capitular 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<sup>18</sup> 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,<sup>19</sup> or begin only when the clergy have arrived at the foot of the altar, as the later *ordines* usually demanded.<sup>20</sup> The hope that the introit would once more

<sup>15</sup> *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 4 (PL, LXXVIII, 990): *cum Gloria innuente episcopo cantabitur*.

Cf. Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1247 D): *ad nutum diaconi*.

<sup>16</sup> Thus in a 10th century Mass book from lower Italy; see Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuchfragmente aus der Zeit der Jahrtausendwende* (Beuron, 1934), p. lxiii.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *supra* the direction interpolated in the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (note 13 above).

Certainly at Rome by the time of *Ordo Rom. X* (11th century?) the Introit psalm was already reduced to its present state, one verse only (PL, LXXVIII, 1010).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 269 f.

<sup>19</sup> Since the 11th century the rubric is often met which directs the priest to go to the altar when the choir begins the *Gloria Patri*. John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 B, C); Mass-

*Ordo* of the *Cod. Chigi*: Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 569 B). From the 13th-14th century: *ibid.*, XIX (I, 605 A, 615 B). Also in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235). The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège limits the direction to *missæ maiores* (Volk, 89, 1. 9). The custom was also kept by the Cistercians: see *supra*, p. 270, note 36). At Lyons and Vienne this *Gloria Patri* was sung in a higher register; de Moléon, 29: 52.

Some few Mass schemes direct the priest to start out when the Introit verse is begun; thus a Camaldolese sacramentary of the 13th century; Ebner, 354; cf. the *Rituale* of Soissons: Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 610). Similarly also, in the 8th century, the *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 196, 1. 9), where there is question, however, of more than one verse.

<sup>20</sup> Thus partially already in the 11th century.

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<sup>21</sup>: soloists and choir divide the two halves of the psalm verse between them, and the two verses of the doxology.<sup>22</sup> And the liturgical books still employ the sign “Ps.” for the beginning of the psalm verse, not the “V.” which indicates the part assigned to the soloist in the responsorial chants.

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 had sought to have the *Gloria Patri* sung by the people,<sup>23</sup> in line with the original character of this doxology.<sup>24</sup> A hundred years later the prescription was still enjoined.<sup>25</sup> 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,<sup>26</sup> as was customary also in the psalmody of the Orient under certain conditions.<sup>27</sup> Alongside this there is the puzzling creation of a *versus ad repetendum* which is actually found in some of the oldest manuscript antiphonaries. In these books not only are the antiphon and psalm noted

Already in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 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.

<sup>21</sup> 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, *Mitrale*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 94 A).

<sup>22</sup> *Graduale Vaticanum* (1908), *Ritus serv. in cantu missæ*.

In another way the same rubrics recall the erstwhile intonation of the antiphon by the *prior scholæ* (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.

<sup>23</sup> *Admonitio generalis* of Charlemagne (789), n. 70 (MGH, Cap., I, 59).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, 173.

This tradition has been preserved in the Coptic liturgy: Brightman, 146, 1. 2-126; John, Marquess of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service* (London, 1908), 52.

<sup>25</sup> Herard of Tours, *Capitula* (858), c. 16 (Hardouin, V, 451). Cf. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie*, 15 f.

A modest residue resulting from this arrangement is revealed in the direction of the *Expositio 'Missa pro Multis'*; here we read: *innuente episcopo sive diacono Gloria a cuncto clero decantatur*. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), XXXII, 1. 4.

<sup>26</sup> *Supra*, p. 323.

Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th century; PL LXXVIII, 242 A): the psalm should be intoned *cum Introitu reciprocante*. Wagner, I, 66, takes the word in the sense indicated in the text.

<sup>27</sup> Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 116 f.



down for the introit—and likewise for the communion—but there is an additional verse of the psalm under the superscription *ad repet.*<sup>28</sup> Both of these phenomena perhaps belong to the same general plan, as we shall see in more detail in a later chapter.<sup>29</sup>

About the twelfth century two other ways of enriching the introit received further attention. They are both mentioned by Beleth (d. 1165).<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> The practice was followed from the eleventh century on,<sup>32</sup> and is still in use amongst the Premonstra-

<sup>28</sup> 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. Coeli enarrant. Ad repet. 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, 66, 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 eucharistischen Opferfeier der christlichen Frühzeit", (*Liturg. Leben*, 1938), 149-151, following E. T. Moneta Caglio, "'Capitulum' e 'Completorium'", *Ambrosius*, 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 (8-9th 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 ipso psalmo* in the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (8th century; note 13 above). As a matter of fact, this *Capitulare* it-

self, in its corresponding and exact presentation of the Communion chant, opens the way to a different explanation. Cf. also the *Breviarium 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 versu* which parallels it in the *Capitulare*. The same expression in the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 458) will have to be judged differently.

<sup>29</sup> *Infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 14.

<sup>30</sup> John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 35 (PL, CCII, 44): [*Introitus*] *diebus profestis bis cani solet, in sollempnitatibus vero ter. Quandoque intermiscuntur tropi.*

Cf. also Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 94); Durandus, IV, 5, 3; 6.

<sup>31</sup> Sölch, *Hugo von St. Cher*, 56-60.

Martène, I, 4, XX, XXIV, XXIX, XXXV (I, 607 C, 626 C, 646 B, 665 C); 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 Liturgik*, (5th ed.; Münster, 1931), 124.

<sup>32</sup> *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.* I, 8 (PL, CXLIX, 653): *In dominicis diebus ad maiorem missam Introitus post versum dimidius solet recitari, post Gloria Patri totus.* The repetition here mentioned of only half the antiphon also occurs amongst the Premonstratensians, and is referred to

tensians<sup>33</sup> and the Carmelites.<sup>34</sup> The system was called *triumphare psalmis* or *triplicare*. The other method consisted in enlarging the text of the introit by means of tropes.<sup>35</sup> In regard to the introit the favorite device was the introduction of a preliminary phrase.<sup>36</sup>

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.<sup>37</sup>

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 *Cæli 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* and *Viderunt omnes fines terræ salutare Dei nostri* (vv. 2f.). In the introit for Epiphany we find the verse: *Deus, iudicium 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.

<sup>33</sup> Waefelghem, 361.

<sup>34</sup> Sölch, 58.

<sup>35</sup> Blume, *Tropen des Missale*, II (Analecta Hymnica, 49), 17-164. Cf. *supra*, p. 123.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., on Christmas: *Laudemus omnes Dominum, Qui virginis per uterum Parvulus in mundum venerat, Mundum regens quem fecerat: Puer natus.* . . . Blume, p. 26. The corresponding Easter trope: *Quem quæritis in sepulchro* (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).

<sup>37</sup> *JL*, V (1925), 366. Cf. A. Winninghoff, O.S.B., *Choralmessbuch für die Sonn- und Feiertage* (Düsseldorf, 1938), wherein 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*,<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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,<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup>

Why is the *Gloria Patri* omitted during Passiontide? As early as Durandus the reason given was: sorrow and grief.<sup>42</sup> 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

<sup>38</sup> Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 151-177, esp. 160 f., 172 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 161, note 41.

<sup>40</sup> Can. 5 (Mansi, VIII, 727).

<sup>41</sup> *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 ever shall be . . . or so may it be now and forever.*

<sup>42</sup> Durandus, VI, 60, 4.

of the year, but not during this season.<sup>43</sup> The same principle is at work—only with greater efficacy—at the high point of the Easter service, the Holy Saturday Mass (which used to be sung in the night before Easter); here the introit chant, along with the other antiphonal chants, offertory and communion, is entirely absent. And on Good Friday, the entire opening rite, including *Kyrie* and oration, was not accepted.

From the viewpoint of music the antiphon is the most important part of the introit. And even as to contents the opportunity was here presented to accentuate the tone or temper with which the celebration was to begin. Thus the antiphon established the tone in a double sense, the musical note, the psychological mood. This latter was done often by selecting for the antiphon a psalm verse that seemed to fit the celebration. Thus for the Christmas midnight Mass Psalm 2 is sung at the introit, and verse 7 is chosen as the antiphon: *Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu*. Or in the introit of a *Confessor non pontifex*, Psalm 91, with the stress on verse 13 as antiphon: *Iustus ut palma florebit*. An introit of this sort was called in the Middle Ages *regularis*, while others, where the antiphon was not derived from the psalm, were styled *irregulares*.<sup>44</sup> It is understandable that feast days and festal seasons did much to break through this schema of the *Introitus regularis* in order to give free vent to the expression of the mystery of the day. For the most part texts from the Scripture were used. Thus the introit antiphon for the third Christmas Mass proclaims, with the Prophet Isaiah, the good news of the Nativity: *Puer natus est nobis et Filius datus est nobis*. And the antiphon for Whitsunday plays upon the Pentecostal miracle with words from the Book of Wisdom: *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum*. A remarkable fact is this, that the text of the antiphon is frequently derived from the Epistle of the day: *Gaudete in Domino; Cum sanctificatus fuero; Viri Galilaei; De ventre matris meae; Nunc scio vere*.<sup>45</sup> However, here and there the Bible is sidestepped entirely. On certain saints' days there is a simple invitation to partake of the joy of the feast: *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino, diem festum celebrantes . . .*, a text which probably comes from St. Gregory the Great, who is said to have written it for the dedication of St. Agatha's in 592.<sup>46</sup> One of the Masses

<sup>43</sup> A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 32; idem., "Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit," *JL*, VII (1927), 1-23.

<sup>44</sup> 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.

<sup>45</sup> In some other instances the pertinent Epistle subsequently went out of use, so that the correspondence is no longer per-

ceptible; see the references in C. Callewaert, "Introitus" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1938), 487.

<sup>46</sup> G. Verbeke, "S. Grégoire et la messe de S. Agathe," *Eph. liturg.*, LII (1938), 67-76.

Cf. also Wagner *Einführung*, I, 68, note 2; P. Pietschmann, *JL*, XII (1934), 108.

Further comments on the choice of Introit antiphons in Card. Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, I, 80-81.



of the Blessed Virgin begins with the happy greeting of the poet Sedulius: *Salve, sancta parens*.

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.<sup>47</sup> Thus on Epiphany we read: *Ecce advenit dominator dominus*, and on the Wednesday of Pentecost week: *Deus dum egredereris*. And in Easter week, the crowd of newly baptized who have entered the Church are greeted on Saturday with: *Eduxit populum suum in exultatione, alleluia, et electos suos in lætitia*, and on Monday: *Introduxit 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.<sup>48</sup> Let us remark here at once that the same rule for the Sundays after Pentecost holds for the other antiphonal chants, offertory and communion, and likewise 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.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>47</sup> E. Flicoteaux, "L'introit de la Messe, II": *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 38 ff.

<sup>48</sup> 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.

<sup>49</sup> Only on the 1st, 7th, 8th and 23rd Sundays do two chants coincide on psalms 5, 46, 47 and 129 respectively.

<sup>50</sup> 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.

SUNDAY	INTROIT FROM PS.	ALLELUIA-VERSE FROM PS.	OFFERTORY FROM PS.	COMMUNION FROM PS.
1	12	5	5	9
2	17	7	6	12
3	24	7	9	(Luke)
4	26	9	12	17
5	26	20	15	26
6	27	30	16	26
7	46	46	(Dan.)	30
8	47	47	17	33
9	53	58	18	(John)
10	54	64	24	50
11	67	80	29	(Prov.)
12	69	87	(Exod.)	103
13	73	89	30	(Wis.)
14	83	94	33	(Matt.)
15	85	94	39	(John)
16	85	97	39	70
17	118	101	(Dan.)	75
18	(Ecclus.)	101	(Exod.)	95
19	(Salus)	104	137	118
20	(Dan.)	107	136	118
21	(Esth.)	113	(Job)	118
22	129	113	(Esth.)	(16)
23	(Jer.)	129	129	(Mark)

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 *Gloria Patri*. That is the arrangement of the *sedes sancti Petri*. Whoever knowingly omits it *non recto ordine offert, sed barbarico*.<sup>51</sup> In the later Middle Ages the rule that the priest had to read the introit at every Mass was transferred also to the solemn Mass in which the choir had already sung it.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Silva-Tarouca, 204 f., 206 f. He is a little less emphatic in making the same demand regarding the Communion chant (*ibid.*, 207).

<sup>52</sup> This rule was already proposed (for the priest and his staff) in the Dominican Mass schema of 1256 (Guerrini, 235); likewise in a Minorite missal of the



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*.<sup>53</sup> 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 accompaniment of the singing of the litany, which had been started while approaching the church, and at the end the pope says an oration.<sup>54</sup>

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 *Lætare* Sunday, or of the *Rorate* 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,<sup>55</sup> 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 ordinaries of the late Middle Ages. Sometimes *In nomine Patris . . .*<sup>56</sup> was used, sometimes the pair of versicles *Adiutorium nostrum* and *Sit nomen Domini*,<sup>57</sup> sometimes both together,<sup>58</sup> or finally some other words were employed.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup>

13th century (Ebner, 312). But the *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians, which belong to the same period, still say: *dicit vel auscultat introitum*; Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 D).

<sup>53</sup> Hesbert, n. 79; 105.

<sup>54</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 474; on the other hand at the station church the introit (*antiphona*) is sung after the litany (but no *Kyrie* follows the introit): *ibid.*, 475.

<sup>55</sup> One of the earliest to testify to this practice is the Carthusian *Statuta antiqua* (13th century): Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 D): *signat se*.

<sup>56</sup> Thus at Salisbury (Sarum; 14th century): Frere, *The use of Sarum*, I, 65, f.—*Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 17.

<sup>57</sup> Examples, *supra*, p. 309, note 74 near the end.

<sup>58</sup> Missal of Evreux-Jumièges: Martène, XXVIII (I, 643 E). *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 37.

<sup>59</sup> According to Bernard of Waging (1462) many in Germany prefixed *Domine labia mea* or *Deus in adiutorium* to the introit; Franz, 574 f. The Augsburg Missal of 1555 contains *Adiutorium nostrum* and *Domine labia mea*; Hoeyneck, 372. Only the latter formula in the Augsburg Mass-*Ordo* of the 15th century; Franz, 752. Sometimes there was combined with this the invocation: *Spiritus Sancti assit nobis gratia*; Beck, 265; Köck, 113. The *Deus in adiutorium* alone begins the introit in the ritual of the Hungarian Hermits of St. Paul; Sawicki, 148.

<sup>60</sup> Ancient Cistercian rite: Schneider (*Cist.-Chron.*, 1926), 282 ff.

Hungarian Mass books: Javór, 114, Sawicki, 147 f.

The introit is read by the priest at the Epistle side of the altar. Just as the bishop during the fore-Mass takes his place at his *cathedra*, so one who does not use a *cathedra* should take his place at the right side of the altar, according to an old rule that goes back to the old Roman station arrangements.<sup>61</sup> Here he should stay till the choir finishes singing the introit, and even for everything which he himself sings or says right up to the Epistle.<sup>62</sup> The exception, which came in only gradually, was the practice of transferring *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and *Dominus vobiscum* to the center of the altar.<sup>63</sup>

## 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

<sup>61</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 22 (PL, LXXVIII, 948 B), regarding the bishop who replaces the pope at the station: *Secundum namque quod non sedet in sede post altare, tertio non dicit orationem post altare, sed in dextro latere altaris*.

<sup>62</sup> The rule that the celebrant should step to the side, *ad dexteram altaris*, after kissing the altar is already found in Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 5 (PL, CV, 1113 A). Cf. Pseudo-Alcuin, *De div. off.* (PL, CI, 1245 B); John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 33 A).

According to Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, CLXII, 549 f.), the priest stands at the right side while the introit is being sung, and at the *Gloria* and the oration, because the priest represents Christ who, according

to Matt. 15: 24, was to look out only for Israel, typified by the right side.

The Carthusian *Statuta antiqua*: Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 D): Introit, *Gloria*, *Dominus vobiscum*—all on the right (the *Kyrie* was not as yet said by the priest); *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 1.

In the later Middle Ages the rule is formulated as follows: The priest is to perform on the right side of the altar everything up to the Epistle (except the intoning of the *Gloria*), and everything after the Communion; Missal of Sarum: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 666 E); *Costumarium* of Sarum (end of the 14th century): Frere, *The use of Sarum*, I, 68.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 60-63.



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 *eleison* taken by itself, with or without vocative, must surely have been very familiar to the early Christians, even from pre-Christian traditions.<sup>1</sup> 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*.<sup>2</sup> Even the formal *κύριε ἐλέησον*, directed to the divinity, is traced to heathen times,<sup>3</sup> and the repetition of the cry a given number of times was also not unknown to antiquity.<sup>4</sup> But no need to appeal to pagan custom; Holy Scripture offered examples in plenty of the cry of *ἐλέησον* directed to God, or, in the Gospels, to Jesus, especially in the book that served as the Church's first prayer book, the Book of Psalms.<sup>5</sup> The Septuagint presented phrases like: *ἐλέησόν με κύριε* (Ps. 6:3, *et al.*), *κύριε ἐλέησόν με* (Ps. 40:5, 11). True, none of these have the precise form of our *Kyrie eleison*, but the divergence was not so great it could not have been bridged by someone in prayer.

The proper history of our petition within Christian worship begins for us about the fourth century.<sup>6</sup> The Gallic pilgrim lady Ætheria tells us, about 390, how at Jerusalem at the end of Vespers one of the deacons read a list of petitions and "as he spoke each of the names, a crowd of boys stood there and answered him each time, *Kyrie eleison*, as we say, Lord have mercy (*miserere Domine*); their cry is without end."<sup>7</sup> Corresponding to the mode of pronunciation already then in vogue, Ætheria gives us the transcription *eleison* instead of the *eleeson* we might have expected. At the other hours the bishop himself prays these petitions<sup>8</sup>; this appears to have been the more ancient practice.<sup>9</sup>

From Antioch at about the same time there comes to us the very wording of such petitions which the deacon spoke when, for instance, after the Gospel of the Mass the catechumens were dismissed. And the explicit rubric is appended: "At each of these petitions which the deacon pronounces, the people should say, *κύριε ἐλέησον*, especially the children."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 60-103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-63.

<sup>3</sup> Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, II, 7; Dölger, 75-77; cf. 80 f.

<sup>4</sup> Dölger, 70 ff., 80 f.

<sup>5</sup> See the general survey in Dölger, 83-86.

Also in Adrian Fortescue, "Kyrie eleison," CE, VIII: 714-716.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 116-136; Eisenhofer, I, 195-201; II, 87-89; Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 77 f., 80-86.

It is therefore hardly possible to justify the specious observation of E. Fiedler,

*Christliche Opferfeier* (Munich, 1937), 38, that by its use of the fateful title of *Kyrios* which was claimed for the Cæsarsun cult, the *Kyrie eleison* had been a "Christian song of defiance" before it was incorporated in the liturgy.

<sup>7</sup> Ætheria *peregrinatio*, c. 24 (CSEL, XXXIX, 72).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. O. Heimig, JL, XIV (1938), 420.

<sup>10</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 6, 9 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 200). The same arrangement of alternating prayer is presumed for the dismiss-

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 *κύριε ἐλέησον* is sometimes retained without alteration, sometimes translated,<sup>11</sup> sometimes expanded<sup>12</sup> 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*.<sup>13</sup>

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 *Ingressa* (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.<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> The translation is also found among the convert Germanic tribes. Thus there is this evidence about the Vandals of North Africa: God is praised also in the language of the barbarians and his mercy sought; even Romans prayed the "Frôja armès": *Domine miserere*. This is found in the *Collatio Pseudo-Augustini cum Pascentio 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*, *imas*), 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 liber ordinum*, 114 f.

<sup>12</sup> See the examples in Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 198-201.

<sup>13</sup> Duchesne, 165 f., and following him P. Alfonso, *Oratio fidelium* (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 Lactantius, *De mort pers.*, 46, 6 (CSEL, XXVII, 226): *Summe deus, te rogamus, sancte deus, te rogamus . . . , summe, sancte deus, preces nostras exaudi, brachia nostra ad te tendimus, exaudi, sancte, summe deus!*

Many of the acclamations that are preserved in the *Acta synodorum habitatum Romæ* 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.*, XII, 403): *Ut fiat, rogamus, (dictum decies): ut scandala amputentur, rogamus (dictum novies): ut ambitus extinguatur, rogamus (dictum duodecies)*. 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).

<sup>14</sup> *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 77-81; likewise thus 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.<sup>15</sup> But from the remarks of St. Gregory the Great<sup>16</sup> 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*.<sup>17</sup> 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*.<sup>18</sup> 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 præfationes et orationes cauto sermone*.<sup>19</sup> 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<sup>20</sup> 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 thorough-going reform of the Mass-liturgy undertaken by Pope Gelasius.<sup>21</sup> Following is the text of this *Deprecatio Gelasii*:

DEPRECATIO QUAM PAPA GELASIUS PRO UNIVERSALI ECCLESIA CONSTITUIT CANENDAM ESSE.

*Dicamus omnes: Domine exaudi et miserere.*<sup>22</sup>

*Patrem Unigeniti et Dei Filium Genitoris ingeniti et Sanctum Deum Spiritum fidelibus animis invocamus — Kyrie eleison.*

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

<sup>15</sup> Can. 3 (Mansi, VIII, 725).

<sup>16</sup> *Infra*, p. 338 f.

<sup>17</sup> Lietzmann, n. 1.

<sup>18</sup> B. Capelle, "Le Kyrie de la messe et le pape Gélase," *Revue Bénéd.*, XLVI (1934), 126-144.

The results are confirmed and exploited by C. Callewaert, "Les étapes de l'histoire

du Kyrie," *Revue d'hist. eccl.*, XXXVIII (1942), 20-45.

<sup>19</sup> Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 255.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 483 f.

<sup>21</sup> V. L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (Rome, 1938), 33-36; cf. C. Mohlberg, *Theol. Revue*, XXXVII (1938), 487-489. The same idea was expressed about this time by B. Capelle, "Le pape Gélase et la messe romaine," *Revue d'hist. eccl.*, XXXV (1939), 22-34.

<sup>22</sup> In place of this word we ought probably

- I. *Pro immaculata Dei vivi ecclesia, per totum orbem constituta divinae bonitatis opulentiam deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- II. *Pro sanctis Dei magni sacerdotibus et ministris sacri altaris cunctisque Deum verum colentibus populis Christum Dominum supplicamus — Kyrie eleison.*
- III. *Pro universis recte tractantibus verbum veritatis multififormem Verbi Dei sapientiam peculiariter obsecramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- IV. *Pro his qui se mente et corpore propter caelorum regna castificant, et spiritalium labore desudant, largitorem spiritalium munerum obsecramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- V. *Pro religiosis principibus omnique militia eorum, qui iustitiam et rectum iudicium diligunt, Domini potentiam obsecramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- VI. *Pro iocunditate serenitatis et opportunitate pluviae atque aurarum vitalium blandimentis ac diversorum temporum prospero cursu rectorem mundi Dominum deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- VII. *Pro his quos prima christiani nominis initiavit agnitio, quos iam desiderium gratiae caelestis accendit, omnipotentis Dei misericordiam obsecramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- VIII. *Pro his quos humanae infirmitatis fragilitas, et quos nequitiae spiritalis invidia, vel varius saeculi error involvit, Redemptoris nostri misericordiam imploramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- IX. *Pro his, quos peregrinationis necessitas, aut iniquae potestatis oppressio vel hostilitatis vexat ærumna, Salvatorem Dominum supplicamus — Kyrie eleison.*
- X. *Pro iudaica falsitate . . . aut haeretica pravitate deceptis vel gentilium superstitione perfusis veritatis Dominum deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- XI. *Pro operariis pietatis et his, qui necessitatibus laborantium fraterna caritate subveniunt, misericordiarum Dominum deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- XII. *Pro omnibus intransitibus in hanc sanctae domus Domini atria, qui religioso corde et supplici devotione convenerunt, Dominum gloriae deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- XIII. *Pro emundatione animarum corporumque nostrorum, et omnium venia peccatorum clementissimum Dominum supplicamus — Kyrie eleison.*
- XIV. *Pro refrigerio fidelium animarum, praecipue sanctorum Domini sacerdotum, qui huic ecclesiae praefuerunt catholicae, Dominum spirituum et universae carnis iudicem deprecamus — Kyrie eleison.*
- XV. *Mortificatam vitiis carnem et viventem fide animam — praesta, Domine, praesta.*
- XVI. *Castum timorem et veram dilectionem — praesta, Domine, praesta.*
- XVII. *Gratum vitae ordinem et probabilem exitum — praesta, Domine, praesta.*
- XVIII. *Angelum pacis et solacia sanctorum — praesta, Domine, praesta. Nosmetipsos et omnia nostra, quae orta quae aucta per Dominum ipso auctore suscipimus, ipso custode retinemus, ipsiusque misericordiae et arbitrio providentiae commendamus — Domine, miserere.*<sup>23</sup>

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 *litanía* or the *supplicatio litaniae id est Kyrie eleison*<sup>24</sup> was part of the ending of every hour,

to follow one of the MSS. by inserting *Kyrie eleison*, that is, the deacon thereby gives the congregation its cue.

<sup>23</sup> Critical text after Capelle, "Le

*Kyrie . . .*" 136-138. There is also a printed text in Migne, PL, CI, 560 f.

<sup>24</sup> *S. Benedicti Regula*, c. 9; cf. c. 12 f., 17.



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.<sup>25</sup> 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 modicum intervallum mox incipiant omnes Kyrie eleison cum litania*.<sup>26</sup> 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 clamantes per plateas urbis Kyrie eleison*.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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*.<sup>29</sup>

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*.<sup>30</sup> Gregory stresses the differences from the Greek manner,

<sup>25</sup> In this sense Callewaert, "Les étapes," 29-32.

<sup>26</sup> I, 20 (Wilson, 22).

<sup>27</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francorum*, X, 1 (PL, LXXI, 529 B).

<sup>28</sup> *Utrique chori* = the double choir composed of priests and people. Cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 106-108.

*Septiformis* is the term applied to the litany because each of the invocations was repeated seven times; Batiffol, 110 f. A *litania septena* is also mentioned for Holy Saturday in later sources, like the *Gregorianum* of Ménard (PL, LXXVIII, 88 C). According to *Ordo Rom. I*, app., n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 964), it was first recited as a *septena*, then as a *quina*, lastly as a *terna*; cf. the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 475) and the Antiphony of Corbie (Hesbert, n. 79 b); similar data for the *litania maior* in the *Ordo Rom. XI*, n. 57 (PL,

LXXVIII, 1048). Even in the 15-16th century there is witness to the *litania septena* in the Franciscan Missal in Martène, 1, 1, 18, XIX (I, 216 B) and even in the beginning of the 18th in de Moléon, 223 f., 430.

According to present-day rubrics, too, there is a doubling of the invocations on Holy Saturday—each invocation and its response sung first by the chanters, then repeated in full. And for all outdoor processions this is also the accepted method of performing the litany, although it is technically almost impossible to expect the people to repeat the longer texts.

<sup>29</sup> For the history of the litany (*litania*), see R. Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," *ZkTh*, LX (1936), 511-554.

<sup>30</sup> Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, IX, 12 (PL, LXXVII, 956): *Kyrie eleison autem nos neque diximus neque dicimus sicut a Græcis dicitur, quia in Græcis omnes*

which must have been very familiar to him from his stay in Byzantium. The differences are chiefly these: Amongst the Greeks all answer *Kyrie eleison* together, both clergy and people, whereas in Rome the clergy sing and then the people respond. Moreover the Greeks have only the invocation *Kyrie eleison* whereas in Rome the *Christe eleison* is also used, being said as often as the *Kyrie*. Finally Gregory remarks that on ordinary days they leave out whatever is usually said besides the *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, in order to linger longer on these two invocations.

What was omitted on ordinary days can only have been the invocations of the litany. On solemn services, therefore, they were still in use, but the manner of rendering included a pre-intonation of the *Kyrie* or *Christe*; the chanters or the *schola* included the *Kyrie* and *Christe* in the invocation, and they were then repeated by the people.<sup>31</sup> In line with this was the practice which lasted far into the Middle Ages—as late as the twelfth century—of omitting the *Kyrie* at Mass on days when the *collecta* with its protracted litany preceded the *statio*.<sup>32</sup> The same thing happened at the major ordinations, since the litany followed.<sup>33</sup> Even at present the litany (with its *Kyrie*) which is said on Holy Saturday counts for the *Kyrie* of the Mass.<sup>34</sup> In all these instances there is a survival of the original form of the *Kyrie* as part of a larger, more complete form of prayer.<sup>35</sup>

A short invocation of this type, using only a word or two to express our beggary, implied, by its very brevity, a tendency to independence and to iteration. This tendency would be all the more pronounced if the *Kyrie eleison* had been known already in pre-Christian antiquity as an independent formula, as a cry repeated many times over, as an acclamation. Actu-

*simul dicunt, apud nos autem a clericis dicitur et a populo respondetur, et totidem vicibus etiam Christe eleison dicitur, quod apud Græcos nullo modo dicitur. In cotidianis autem missis aliqua, quæ dici solent, tacemus, tantummodo Kyrie eleison et Christe eleison dicimus, ut in his deprecationis vocibus paulo diutius occupemur.*

<sup>31</sup> Callewaert, "Les étapes," 36, understands a clericis in this wise, that the *schola* took up melodically the invocation which had been delivered by the deacon or lector, e.g. (n. I): *divinæ bonitatis opulentiam deprecamur*; the *Kyrie* cry would be merely spoken by the people as a response; this partition must have been determinative for Gelasius in designing the text; see *ibid.*, 27. But with Gregory the *Kyrie* was said by the clerics.

<sup>32</sup> *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, 475); *Ordo* for Ash Wednesday (9th century) appended to *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 25 (PL, LXXVIII, 950 A); and even as late as

the twelfth century the rule is still outlined in full form in *Ordo Rom. XI* (c. 1140), n. 35 (PL, LXXVIII, 1039): *Quando efficitur Collecta, ad missam non cantatur Kyrie, quia regionarius dixit in litania*. Cf. *ibid.*, n. 34, 63 (1038 C, 1050 A).

<sup>33</sup> *Ordo Rom. VIII*, n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 1001).

<sup>34</sup> In the same sense we read in the oldest Antiphony MSS.: *ad introitum letania*; then follows: *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. Hesbert, n. 79.

<sup>35</sup> From what has been said it follows that the litany under consideration, an older form of our present-day litany of All Saints, could not have represented the litany from which our *Kyrie* derived. But the close intrinsic kinship that existed between it and the *Deprecatio Gelasii* which we have had in view would have been sufficient to establish such a rule.



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 twelvefold *Kyrie eleison* at the opening of every hour in the Byzantine liturgy, a fortyfold *Kyrie* at the close of every little hour.<sup>36</sup> The fervent *ektene* (ἐκτενής ἱκεσία) after the Gospel in a Byzantine Mass has a threefold *Kyrie eleison* after each invocation.<sup>37</sup> The threefold *Kyrie* also appears elsewhere, especially near the end of the *ektene*,<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> The Lauds of the Milanese liturgy still contains a threefold *Kyrie* and, near the end, a twelvefold *Kyrie*.<sup>40</sup> Likewise our present-day litanies still have a threefold *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison* at the beginning and at the end.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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 until the pope, after saluting the altar and going to his *cathedra*, turns to the east and gives a signal.<sup>43</sup> But not long afterwards—in fact, still in the eighth century—a specified arrangement for this signal is found, as we learn from other *ordines*, which give us further details about the *Kyrie*-chant. The *schola* sings *Kyrie eleison*, which 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

<sup>36</sup> See the list in Dölger, 64, note 2.

<sup>37</sup> Brightman, 373 f.

<sup>38</sup> So in the Greek liturgy of St. James: Brightman, 38; 48.

<sup>39</sup> Aurelian of Arles, *Regula ad monachos* (PL, LXVIII, 393 B).

<sup>40</sup> S. Bäumer, *Geschichte 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.

<sup>41</sup> 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, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiae disciplina* (Lyons, 1706), 520, 524.

<sup>42</sup> F. Cabrol, *DACL*, I, 1229-1246, especially 1234.

<sup>43</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 9 (PL, LXXXVIII, 942): *Schola vero, finita antiphona, imponit Kyrie eleison. Prior vero schola custodit ad pontificem, ut ei annuat, si vult mutare numerum litaniae.*

three times in like manner; then another signal for the triple repetition of the *Kyrie*, and so the end of the chant.<sup>44</sup>

This arrangement based on threes corresponds to a primitive sacral usage, found even in pre-Christian worship, frequent, too, in ancient Rome.<sup>45</sup> 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,<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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 κύριος 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 κύριος 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 κύριε ἐλέησον is indigenous, the whole construction of the various invocations of the deacon makes it more or less clear that the κύριε has reference to Christ.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 258): *annuit pontifex ut dicatur Kyrie eleison. Et dicit schola et repetunt regionarii. . . . Dum repetierunt tertio, iterum annuit pontifex ut dicatur Christe eleison. . . . Et dum compleverint novem vicibus, annuit 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 incurvati contra altare ad orientem adorant dicentes Kyrie eleison prolixè unusquisque chorus per novem vicibus.* (Silva-Tarouca, 205; cf. 196 f.).

<sup>45</sup> Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 95-103.

There is hardly any need to follow Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 461 f., in tracing the plan 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.

<sup>46</sup> Amalar, *De off. eccl.*, III, 6 (PL, CV, 1113 f.).

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 servi*; Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 150. Cf. the *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 33.

<sup>47</sup> 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 (*Analecta hymnica*, 47), p. 45 f., 101, 102, 103 f., etc.

<sup>48</sup> Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, 191 f.

<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup>

Although we find that in Gregory the Great the arrangement for the *Kyrie* is still: *a clericis dicitur 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 scholæ* who has to watch out for the pope's signal to conclude the singing.<sup>61</sup>

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*. Martène, I, 1, 18, VI (I, 184).

In the *Ordo* of St. Amand the litany that is intoned before the stationary 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 of the Stowe Missal (9th century), which reverts to a Græco-Roman model at the end of the 7th century (Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 142 ff.), 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-XXXIV; Gerbert, *Monumenta vet. lit. Alam.*, II, 7 f.; H. Ménard in the notes to the *Gregorianum* (PL, LXXVIII, 386 ff., 485, 530 ff.); J. Mabilon, *Analecta* (PL, CXXXVIII, 885);

Beck, *Kirchliche Studien*, 383-387.

It was during the high tide of the Middle Ages that the textual 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 coelis*, etc. It is curious that this insertion is still wanting in today's litany for the dying, *Rituale 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. Maldonat, *De caeremoniis*, 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*.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 264. f.

The precise 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. Gulden, "Kyrie eleison": *Parochia* (ed. by K. Borgmann, Colmar o. J., 1943), 155 f.

<sup>61</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942): *Schola vero finita antiphona imponit Kyrie eleison. Prior vero scholæ custodit ad pontificem, 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.<sup>62</sup> 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,<sup>63</sup> where *Kyrieleis* 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.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup>

vult mutare numerum litanie. Cf. *Ordo Rom.* II, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 458: *Dicit schola et repetunt regionarii*.

Cf. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 17.

There is mention of two choirs also in the *Capitularie eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 205); cf. note 44 above.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. the decree of Bishop Herard of Tours, *Capitula* (558), circa 16 (Hardouin, V, 451): *Gloria Patri ac Sanctus atque credulitas et Kyrie eleison a cunctis reverenter canatur*. The peculiar sequence in the enumeration awakens the doubt whether it is the *Kyrie* at the beginning of Mass that is being mentioned; cf. the data in Nickl, 17-19.

In processions and the like we continue to find the *Kyrie* sung by the people even later, and also at Mass itself, namely after the sermon, in connection with the ancient Prayer of the Faithful; see on this Honorius Augustod. (12th century),

*Gemma an.*, I, 19 (PL, CLXXII, 550 C); Durandus, IV, 25, 14.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 124, note 120. See Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 96 C; 97 B), for the *clerus* and *chorus* as performers of the *Kyrie*-chants.

Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 19 (PL, CCXVII, 809 C), who speaks of the *chorus*; likewise Durandus, IV, 12, 1.

Even Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272) still proposes the older usage, though not very enthusiastically (Pfeiffer, I, 496): The laity ought to sing this; it would be all the more correct.

<sup>65</sup> *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 80, 1. 31): *Deinde Kyrie eleison per distinctiones, sicut mos est, inter se dividunt*.

<sup>66</sup> M. Daras, "Le Kyrie eleison" (*Cours et Conférences*, VI [Louvain, 1928], 67-79), 78.

<sup>67</sup> *Liber usum O. Cist.*, II, 62 (PL, CLXVI, 1435 f.): only the last *Kyrie* is sung by both choruses together. (The



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.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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): *Kyrie eleison, Domine Pater, miserere; Christe eleison, miserere qui nos redemisti sanguine tuo; Kyrie eleison, Domine, Spiritus Sancte, miserere.*<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> 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 sempiternus; Cunctipotens genitor Deus; Cum iubilo; 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 hexameter.

## 1.

a.	b.	c.
<i>Lux et origo</i> <i>lucis, summe Deus,</i> <i>eleison; Kyrie eleison.</i>	<i>In cuius nutu</i> <i>constant cuncta, clemens</i> <i>eleison; Kyrie eleison.</i>	<i>Qui solus potes</i> <i>misereri, nobis</i> <i>eleison; Kyrie eleison.</i>

Roman *Graduale* prescribes something like this, too.)

<sup>88</sup> According to Durandus, IV, 12, 4, the ninth *Kyrie* in some churches had the form: *Kyrie eleison imas* (κύριε ἑλέησον ἱμάς).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Ursprung, *Die Kath. Kirchenmusik*, 57.

<sup>90</sup> Amalar, *De off. eccl.*, III, 6 (PL, CV, 1113 f.).

<sup>91</sup> Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale, I* (*Analecta hymnica*, 47), p. 43-216.

Cf. Blume, "Poesie des Hochamtes im Mittelalter, Die *Kyrie-tropen*," *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 71 (1906, II), 18-38.

## 2.

a.	b.	c.
<i>O mundi redemptor</i> <i>salus et humana</i> <i>rex pie, Christe,</i> <i>eleison; Christe eleison.</i>	<i>Per crucem redemptis</i> <i>a morte perenni,</i> <i>spes nostra, Christe,</i> <i>eleison; Christe eleison.</i>	<i>Qui es verbum Patris,</i> <i>verbum caro factum,</i> <i>lux vera, Christe,</i> <i>eleison; Christe eleison.</i>

## 3.

a.	b.	c.
<i>Adonai, Domine,</i> <i>Deus, iuste iudex,</i> <i>eleison; Kyrie eleison.</i>	<i>Qui machinam gubernas</i> <i>rerum, alme Pater,</i> <i>eleison; Kyrie eleison.</i>	<i>Quem solum laus et honor</i> <i>debet, nunc et semper</i> <i>eleison; Kyrie eleison.</i> <sup>92</sup>

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.<sup>93</sup> 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 ninefold plea 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).<sup>94</sup> 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*<sup>95</sup>; but a few centuries later the papal chapels also followed the general custom.<sup>96</sup>

For private Mass, on the other hand, even the eighth-century Arch-cantor'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.<sup>97</sup> There is no explicit mention here—nor for some time later<sup>98</sup>—of any par-

<sup>93</sup> Blume, 69 f. In a second text, emphatically stressing the Trinitarian outlook, *ibid.*, 70 f.

<sup>94</sup> Blume-Bannister, p. 92 (on n. 28); 160 (on n. 99).

<sup>95</sup> *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 89, 130).

The same direction in other Mass-Ordines of the late Middle Ages: Martène, I, 4, XIX, XXIII f., XXXVII (I, 605 B, 616 B, 626 E, 681 B).

<sup>96</sup> Brinktrine (*Eph. Liturg.*, 1937), 201.

<sup>97</sup> *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1186 A): cf. *ibid.*, n. 61; 68 (1175 B, 1183 B).

<sup>98</sup> *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 205, 1. 11): *Si autem singulus fuerit sacerdos, novem tantum 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 Kiri'el'er danne singet": then



icipation 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.<sup>69</sup> 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 *Kyries*, the serving cleric the three *Christes*, and the priest the last three *Kyries*.<sup>70</sup>

The priest used often to say the *Kyrie*, as he does the introit, on the Epistle side of the altar.<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup>

## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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

he sings a kyriel. Leitzmann (*Kleine Texte*, 54), 18, 1. 8.

<sup>69</sup> See the passages cited above, note 66.

Cf. also, e.g., the Furtmeyr Missal of 1481 (facsimile of fol. 33 in Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik, frontispiece*), where between introit and *Gloria* of a festal Mass the *Kyrie* is inserted nine times without any further remark.

<sup>70</sup> *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557): Legg, *Tracts*, 58.

The original relationship of chanters and people, and therefore the basic character of the *Kyrie* as a people's prayer is best achieved in the method of distribution mentioned above, p. 341, where the new text invariably falls to the lot of the choir, that is, of the "intoners."

<sup>71</sup> Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 144.

Cf. *supra*, p. 333.

<sup>72</sup> P. J. B. de Herdt, *sacra liturgiæ praxis* (2nd ed., Louvain, 1852), II, 84. Cf. also *infra*, p. 370, note 53, regarding the handling of the conclusion of the oration.

<sup>1</sup> J. Kroll, *Die christliche Hymnodik bis zu Klemens von Alexandria* (Braunschweig: Vorlesungsverzeichnis, 1921 and 1921-2); *idem*, "Hymn" in E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, 296-601.

Eisenhofer, I, 207-210.

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* (trans. A. Baylay; London, 1912), 6-8. Cf. also A. Fortescue, "Gloria in Excelsis Deo", CE, VI: 583-585.

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 *Φῶς ἱλαρόν*, already mentioned by Basil, which is still used in the Byzantine liturgy, the *Te decet 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,<sup>2</sup> 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*.<sup>3</sup>

In the textual tradition of the *Gloria* three principal versions can be distinguished<sup>4</sup>: (1) The Syrian version from the Nestorian liturgy<sup>5</sup>; (2) the Greek version from the *Apostolic Constitutions*<sup>6</sup>; and (3) the Greek version from the Byzantine liturgy, which is found already in the Codex Alexandrinus of the New Testament<sup>7</sup> 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

Glory 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,

### Apost. Const. VII, 47

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ  
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη,  
ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.  
αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, . . . .  
δοξολογοῦμέν σε  
προσκυνοῦμέν σε

<sup>2</sup> To distinguish it from the little doxology, the *Gloria Patri*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. IV Council of Toledo (633), can. 13 (Mansi, X, 622 f.).

For the whole study cf. Cl. Blume, "Der Engelhymnus Gloria in excelsis Deo. Sein Ursprung und seine Entwicklung," *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXIII (1907), 43-62; J. Brinktrine, "Zur Entstehung und Erklärung des Gloria in excelsis Deo," *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXXV (1927), 303-315.

<sup>4</sup> A. Baumstark, *Die Textüberlieferung*

*des Hymnus angelicus: Hundert Jahre Markus-und-Weber-Verlag (Bonn, 1909)*, 83-87.

<sup>5</sup> A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices* (London, 1894), 170-171.

<sup>6</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VII, 47 (Funk, I, 454 f.).

<sup>7</sup> Text and variants in Funk, I, 455, note.

In Athanasius, *De virginitate*, c. 20, our hymn is cited as a morning prayer—unfortunately, however, only the beginning is quoted; see Blume, 59, note 2. Cf. *ibid.*, 55 regarding a questionable citation in Chrysostom.



who alone art holy,  
(and) alone mighty, (and) alone im-  
mortal.

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

The eyes of all men hang on thee,  
Jesus Christ.  
Glory to God thy Father  
and to thee and to the Holy Ghost,  
for ever, Amen.

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,<sup>9</sup> who appears to have obtruded 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,<sup>10</sup> 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 Antiphonary

<sup>9</sup> Thus according to *Cod. Vat.* 2089; see Funk, 456, apparatus. Cf. C. H. Turner, *Journal of theol. studies*, XVI (1915), 56.

διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως,  
σὲ τὸν ὄντα θεόν,  
ἀγέννητον, ἕνα, ἀπρόσιτον, μονον,  
διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν,  
κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε,  
θεὲ πάτερ παντοκράτωρ.  
κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ

τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ  
ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου,

πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν,  
ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ,  
ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἄγιος,  
σὺ μόνος κύριος,  
ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ<sup>9</sup>  
τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης γεννητῆς φύσεως  
τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν,

δεῖ οὐ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας.

<sup>9</sup> Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 13 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 65, 67; cf. 144 ff.

of Bangor, which originated about 690.<sup>11</sup> 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

Bangor

\*Ὑμνος ἑωθινός

Ad Vesperum et ad Matutinam.

1. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς  
εἰρηνῇ, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.
2. Αἰνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε,  
προσκυνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε.
3. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου  
δόξαν, Κύριε, βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε, Θεὲ  
πατὴρ, παντοκράτωρ.
4. Κύριε, υἱὲ μονογενῆ, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ,  
καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.
5. Κύριε, ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ  
υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας  
τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
6. Ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου,  
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν  
ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ  
πατρὸς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
7. Ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἄγιος, σὺ εἶ μόνος  
κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ  
πατρὸς. Ἀμήν.

1. Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax  
hominibus bonæ voluntatis.
2. Laudamus te; benedicimus te; ad-  
oramus te; glorificamus te; magni-  
ficamus te.
3. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam  
misericordiam tuam, Domine, rex cæ-  
lestis, Deus pater, omnipotens.
4. Domine, Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe,  
Sancte Spiritus Dei. Et omnes dici-  
mus Amen.
5. Domine, Fili Dei Patris, agne Dei,  
qui tollis peccatum mundi, miserere  
nobis.
6. Suscipe orationem nostram; qui sedes  
ad dexteram Dei Patris, miserere  
nobis.
7. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus  
Dominus, tu solus gloriosus cum  
Spiritu Sancto in gloria Dei Patris.  
Amen.

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

<sup>11</sup> F. E. Warren, *The antiphonary of Bangor* (HGS, IV; facsimile and transcription; HBS, X: Text and commentary; London, 1892-1895), fol. 33, p. 31; and commentary, pp. 75-80.

The whole version of the present-day text is first found in the Psalter of Abbot Wolfcoz of St. Gall (9th cen-

tury); see Blume, 49; references regarding other MSS. and variants, *ibid.*, 47-51. A certain independence is displayed in the ancient Milanese text (DACL, IV, 1534 f.) and in that of the *Antiphonarium mozarabicum* of León; see G. Prado, "Una nueva recension del himne 'Gloria in excelsis'", *Eph. liturg.* XLVI (1932), 481-486.



word of praise utilizing the first verse of Psalm 112: *Laudate pueri Domini, laudate nomen Domini*.<sup>12</sup> The same verse is used as the opening of the *Te Deum* in the version found in the Antiphonary of Bangor.<sup>13</sup> And in particular this song of the angels was used as an introduction to prayer.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> 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 be seen in the *Te Deum* where the praise of God also ends in address to the Trinity: *Patrem immensae maiestatis, venerandum tuum verum et unicum 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, this is done not so much to acknowledge the three divine Persons themselves, as rather to mark more distinctly the structure of the Christian order of salvation, in which our ascent to God is vouchsafed through Christ in the Holy Spirit. To this notion the construction of the *Gloria* in its present version corresponds in a very extraordinary way, although the musical compositions of the hymn seldom if ever take note of it. We might add that the two main parts of the hymn are in a way allied to the two members of the introductory biblical motto: To God, glory—we join our voices to the angelic choirs in praising God; to men,

<sup>12</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VII, 48 (Funk, I, 456).

<sup>13</sup> Warren, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, 20, with note 27 (reference to the martyrdom of Cyprian and of Justa).

<sup>15</sup> The same trinitarian termination also in the old Milanese text and in the Mozarabic.

The additional *et Sancte Spiritus* also in a missal of 1519 from Aquileia described by W. Weth, *ZkTh*, XXXVI (1912), 418.

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: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνῃ, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. This is the form adopted by Luther and the King James Bible: *den Menschen ein Wohlgefallen*—on earth peace, good will towards men. But from the viewpoint of textual criticism the form εὐδοκία in Luke (2:14) is considered untenable; the reading must be εὐδοκίας. 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. Εὐδοκία is not the good will of men but the good will of God, God's pleasure, God's favor and grace. The ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας are therefore men of God's grace and selection, men to whom the news of God's kingdom has been proclaimed.<sup>16</sup> According to the wording of the text, therefore, there is a limitation in this message of peace: *hominibus bonae 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.<sup>17</sup> 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."<sup>18</sup> 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 sit 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

<sup>16</sup> Father Knox's version: "Glory to God in high heaven, and peace on earth to men that are God's friends."

<sup>17</sup> J. Jeremias, *Ἀνθρώποι εὐδοκίας: Zeit-schrift f. d. neutest. Wissenschaft*, XXVIII (1929), 13-20.

<sup>18</sup> John 17: 4.

Kindred are the shouts of joy at Christ's entry into Jerusalem, especially Luke 19: 38: "Peace on earth, and glory in heaven above." Cf. Brinktrine, *Zur Entstehung*, 304.



the world and the Church beholds, with mingled joy and longing, the approach of the Kingdom of God, the advent, in spite of every obstacle, of the consummation of the great plan: that glory will come to God, and to men of God's choice, peace and salvation.

In the eastern liturgies which do not use the Greater Doxology at Mass, the opening scriptural words at least are often used, either at the start of the celebration,<sup>19</sup> or at the preparation of the offerings,<sup>20</sup> or at the kiss of peace,<sup>21</sup> or before Communion.<sup>22</sup>

The praises of God, which now follow are plain and clear. We simply list them, inadequate as they are: We praise thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee.<sup>23</sup> The parallels in both of the older versions evidence the fact that the accent is not on the precise and distinctive meaning of each word but on the common basic concept of acclaiming and extolling the greatness of God. If we then construe the next clause, *gratias agimus*, in the same fashion, the pendent phrase, *propter magnam gloriam tuam*, is not so surprising. Still it seems better to take the words at their fullest meaning, for we can really thank God "for His great glory." In the new order of the world, built on grace and love, in which God has given us all things along with His Son (Rom. 8:32), God's kingdom has almost become our kingdom, and the revelation of His glory has become for us an overflowing grace and the beginning of our glory.<sup>24</sup> Still this point of grace must not be overstressed. The magnificent thing about the hymn, and the thing that at the same time makes it so liberal, is the fact that it does not pay God tribute in exact ratio to man's indebtedness, nor does it thank Him only in acknowledgement of benefits received. Love does not recognize any scrupulous distinction; with the pardonable pride of children of God, we direct our glance wholly to God's glory, God's grandeur. We are happy to be allowed to praise His glory.<sup>25</sup> For that reason a song such as this has such wonderful power to free men from any egoistic narrowness and to bring them all together on a higher plane.

The list of God's names which comes next also serves to praise God. These titles follow each other in a distinct gradation<sup>26</sup>; Lord, King of

<sup>19</sup> Nestorian Mass: Brightman, 248, 1. 19; 252, 1. 11; likewise in the Byzantine, *ibid.*, 361, 1. 33.

<sup>20</sup> Liturgy of St. James: Brightman, 45, 1. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Ethiopian liturgy: Brightman, 227, 1. 17.

<sup>22</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 13 (Brightman, 24, 1. 25).

<sup>23</sup> This expression already in the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 14, 3: *ὁ αἰνῶ, ὁ εὐλογῶ, ὁ δοξάζω*. Further parallels in Brinktrine, *Zur Entstehung*, 305-310. Regarding echoes of the acclamations with which the Roman Senate greeted the emperor,

cf. Blume, 56. He is right in saying that words like *laudamus, benedicimus, adoramus*, etc., in this hymn should rather be regarded as reflections of the biblical imperatives (*laudate*, etc.).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Did.* 10, 4 (*supra*, p. 12): "Above all, we give thee thanks because thou art mighty." On the other hand, see the wording of the Bangor text, *supra*, p. 349.

<sup>25</sup> For a closer theological study see Gihl, 443-445.

<sup>26</sup> This is especially true if we consider the first *Deus* after *Domine* as purely secondary (see the parallel texts *supra*,

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.<sup>27</sup> At the top of the list is the word "Lord," with the connotation of the Pauline *κύριος*, 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.<sup>28</sup> In the *Euchologion* of Serapion the word *ὁ μονογενής* was often used all by itself as a usual title for Christ.<sup>29</sup> There is a second group of three names, and once again the Kyrios-term *Domine* 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 *Filius 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 naught 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

p. 349), inserted only to differentiate the word *Domine* (which usually means Christ) in the manner of the Old Testament *Lord God=Yahweh Elohim*.

<sup>27</sup> But with an inversion; cf. in the *Credo* of the Mass: *Et in unum Dominum Jesum*

*Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum*.

<sup>28</sup> *ὁ μονογενής υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* the son of God who, unlike us, "stems from Him in a singular way."

<sup>29</sup> I, 1; II, 1, 3; etc. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 49 ff.).



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.<sup>30</sup> 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,"<sup>31</sup> 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."<sup>32</sup> 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 *Gloria*: Let us lay our pleadings in Thy hands, and carry them up before Thy Father's throne!

By means of a spanning *Quoniam*,<sup>33</sup> 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,<sup>34</sup> its many *κύριοι*, and its emperor-worship.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> Taking this as a background there is no need to

<sup>30</sup> See Brinktrine, *Zur Entstehung*, 312 f.

<sup>31</sup> Regarding the text as it appears in the fourth century and the variants, see Blume, 59 f.

<sup>32</sup> The text of an old Milanese Antiphonary which was brought to light by G. Morin here contains an expanded form: . . . *miserere nobis, subveni nobis, dirige nos, conserva nos, munda nos, pacifica nos, libera nos ab inimicis, a tentationibus, ab hæreticis, ab Arianis, a schismaticis, a barbaris; quia tu solus* . . . H. Leclercq, "Doxologies", DACL, IV, 1534 f.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the *ἔτι* at the start of oriental doxologies.

<sup>34</sup> The predicate "holy", *ἅγιος*, *sanctus*, was originally current among the Semites

as an attribute of the gods; in later paganism the use spread elsewhere; F. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen* (3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1931), 110 f., 266; E. Peterson, *Εἰς Θεός*, (Göttingen, 1926), 135 f.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* 4th ed.; Tübingen, 1923), 287-324; K. Prümm, *Der christliche Glaube und die altheidnische Welt* (Leipzig, 1935), I, 214-225.

<sup>36</sup> Even though today the polytheistic background is lacking, it is not therefore necessary to follow L. A. Winterswyl-F. Messerschmid, *Die Gemeindegesänge der hl. Messe* (Würzburg, 1940), 15, who diminish the ancient Christian emphasis of

reflect that the epithets mentioned can also attach to any of the three divine Persons, for if we refer them to Christ, they must also by that very fact be claimed for the triune God.

Next follows, as the final chord of this great hymn, a mighty act of homage to the Trinity; the name of Christ blossoms out into a naming of the three; "Jesus Christ—with the Holy Ghost—in the glory of God the Father." Again there is no question here of a mere roll-call of the divine Persons. The image of the God-man remains—of Him to whom we have raised our pleading, of Him who is exalted and glorified, who lives on eternally in that glory which He had with the Father before the world began (John 17:5).

The hymn started with the praise of God. It ends with the praise of Christ, in whom God's glory is disclosed to us. This praise of Christ employs terms which we also meet elsewhere in the ancient Christian liturgy. When the priest before Communion showed the blessed Body of Christ he cried out *Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, and the people answered *Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς κύριος*, *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρός*.<sup>37</sup> Here the same acclamation is enlarged, and modified to a form of address: "Thou alone art the Holy, Thou alone the Lord," and in our Latin rendering another clause is added to the text, a clause from Psalm 82:19, *tu solus altissimus*, which was likewise understood as referring to Christ.<sup>38</sup>

this text; they suggest a translation "alone thou art holy," etc. Cf. also the theological explanation in Gilhr, 448, note 32.

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.

<sup>37</sup> 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. Holzmeister, *ZkTh*, XXXVIII (1914), 128; Peterson, *op. cit.*, 132; 137. Peterson seeks to prove that the *εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς κύριος* 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 *εἰς* would

be taken as in pre-Christian acclamations wherein any god was designated as *εἰς Θεός* 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 transit to a profession formula understood 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."

<sup>38</sup> Cf. U. Holzmeister, *ZkTh*, XXXVIII (1914), 128.

The Arians wanted to proclaim only the Father as *altissimus*; see *Contra Variandum*, I, 53 (PL, 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*.<sup>39</sup> 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 530 reports Pope Telesphorus (d. 136) as ordering for the nighttime Christmas Mass *ut . . . in ingresso sacrificio missæ hymnus diceretur angelicus*<sup>40</sup>; 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.<sup>41</sup> The rubric in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* matches this; after the *Kyrie* it decrees: *Item dicitur Gloria in excelsis Deo, si episcopus fuerit, tantummodo die dominico sive diebus festis, a presbyteris autem minime dicitur, nisi solo in Pascha*.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> But by the end of the same century the distinction

<sup>39</sup> See *supra*, p. 265. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, I, 63 (PL, LXXI, 762). Further references in Martène, I, 4, 3, 6 (I, 367).

Cf. also the heading in the Antiphony of Bangor: *Ad Vesperum et ad Matutinam*. As in the *Te Deum*, the christological section of the *Gloria* in this antiphony is followed by a series of versicles; Blume, 54 f.; Warren (HBS, X), 31; cf. 78 f.

<sup>40</sup> Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 56; cf. I, 129 f. Since the assignment to Telesphorus is pure fiction, it is enough to admit, with older commentators, that Telesphorus meant only the text of Luke 2: 14, since the entire hymn seemingly came to the West only with Hilary.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 263. In commenting on the prerogative of the bishop to intone the Angelic Hymn, Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 71, points out that a special relationship was seen between angels and bishops; Apoc. 2, 1 ff.; Leo the Great, *Serm.*, 26, 1 (PL, LIV, 213 A).

<sup>42</sup> Lietzmann, 1; cf. *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9 (in the version in Stapper, 20 f.) and

the later supplement *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 25 (PL, LXXVIII, 949 f.).

See also the decree of Stephen III (d. 772) for the suburbicarian bishops: Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 478.

<sup>43</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 471, 477.

<sup>44</sup> Berno of Reichenau, *De quibusdam rebus ad missæ officium pertinentibus*, c. 2 (PL, CXLII, 1058 ff.).

It might be that in the north the restriction of the *Gloria* was to some extent first induced by the stricter rubrics of the *Gregorianum*. For the 8th century *Capitulum eccl. ord.* (and with it the *Breviarium*) observe that the *Gloria* falls out during Lent (Silva-Tarouca, 206, 1. 39). Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, I, 1; III, 40, 44 (PL, CV, 995 f., 1159 B, 1161 B) makes the same remark about Lent, Advent and Masses for the Dead. The *Gloria* was therefore part of the normal course of a priest's Mass.

A certain popularity for the *Gloria* is apparent in the fact that MSS. of the start of the 9th century contain an Old High German translation; E. v. Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1916), 34 f.

between bishop and priest seems to have fallen out,<sup>45</sup> and the present-day rule became universal<sup>46</sup>: The *Gloria* is said in all Masses of a festive character.<sup>47</sup>

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,<sup>48</sup> just as is done nowadays.<sup>49</sup> The priest, when he intoned the *Gloria*, stayed originally in the place he took after kissing the altar, namely at the Epistle side,<sup>50</sup> as the Carthusians still do. It was not till the twelfth century that the intonation was transferred to the center of the altar,<sup>51</sup> and then finally the *Gloria* was said through to the end at the same spot.<sup>52</sup> Two things perhaps brought this about, first, symbolism,<sup>53</sup> and second, the desire to underline the importance of the hymn. On feasts of our Lord in the later Middle Ages the

<sup>45</sup> *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. I*, 8 (PL, CXLIX, 653); Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 2 (PL, CXLIX, 979).

<sup>46</sup> See the careful regulation contained about 1100 in the Missal of St. Vincent of Volturno (Fiala, 200), somewhat expanded in the Pontifical of Durandus: Martène, I, 4, XXIII (I, 621 f.); Andrieu, III, 649-651.

<sup>47</sup> 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, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 273 f.

<sup>48</sup> *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942): *dirigens se pontifex contra populum incipit Gloria in excelsis Deo*. *Ordo* of John the Arch-chanter (Silva-Tarouca, 197). *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 458).

<sup>49</sup> 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. Martène, I, 4, IV; VI, XIII (I, 499, 530, 576).

<sup>50</sup> *Ordinarium* of Laon (13-14th century): Martène, I, 4, XX (I, 607 D).

Cf. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 8 (PL, CV, 1115).

<sup>51</sup> *Speculum de myst. Eccl.*, c. 7 (PL, CLXXVII, 358).

But then the *Gloria* was still said to the very end at the Epistle side of the altar. *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerini, 236); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 90); Missal of Sarum: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 666 B, E); the older Rite of Lyons (Buenger, 244).

The *Ordinarium O.P.* 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 Liège (Volk, 90) is even more detailed: *eleuando et parum extendendo*.

<sup>52</sup> Apparently only since the late Middle Ages. Sölch, 62 f.

<sup>53</sup> Hugh of St. Cher presents as the reason for intoning the *Gloria* in the center (*in medio altaris*) the fact that the angel who appeared at Bethlehem stood *in medio eorum*. 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.<sup>54</sup>

The fact that the bishop when intoning the *Gloria* formerly turned to the people,<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> 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,"<sup>57</sup> 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 Romæ paucae sunt notae.*"<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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 assembled at the service.<sup>60</sup> They either sang the *Gloria* straight through, or alter-

<sup>54</sup> *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 43, 1. 13).

Martène, 1, 4, XX-XXII (I, 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, supplices te rogamus; eia, dic domne (tunc dicat pontifex): Gloria in excelsis Deo.* Similarly in other MSS. since the tenth century.

<sup>55</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> Leitner, *Der gottesdienstliche Volksgesang*, 192.

<sup>57</sup> Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, I, 87.

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 (*Missale mixtum*: PL, LXXXV, 559). Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 28.

<sup>58</sup> Radulph de Rivo, *De can. observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 135). The elaboration of the melodies he attributes to secular singers (*ibid.*)

<sup>59</sup> Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215), *Mitrale*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 97 B): The priest intones the hymn, *quam populus concinendo recipit latibundus*. 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 unus episcopus inchoat et omnis ecclesia resonat laudem Deo.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ordo Rom.* II, 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 971): *Deinde vero totus respondet chorus.*

nately in two semi-choruses, as in the *Kyrie*.<sup>61</sup> At Rome in 1140 the *Gloria* is expressly mentioned as the special concern of the *schola cantorum*,<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> And since the ninth century there appear the farced *Glorias* 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.<sup>64</sup> 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 place—and, until the so-called *secreta*, 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 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

See also *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 33.

Similarly the later commentators; cf. Durandus, IV, 13, 1.

<sup>61</sup> This latter arrangement apparently in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 80): *Conventus . . . per distinctiones exultanter decantet.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ordo Rom.* XI, 18 (PL, LXXVIII, 1033 A).

<sup>63</sup> The elaboration affected even the priest's intonation. The Missal of St. Vincent (circa 1100) contains 13 *Gloria* intonations; Fiala, 188.

<sup>64</sup> 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 Mariæ virginis. . . . Suscipe deprecationem nostram, ad Mariæ gloriam. . . . Quoniam tu solus sanctus, Mariam sanctificans, Tu solus Dominus, Mariam gubernans, Tu solus altissimus, Mariam coronans. . . .* Legg, *Tracts*, 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 missis beatæ Mariæ, 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 missæ: Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Görres, 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,<sup>1</sup> 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 oblata* and the *oratio ad complendum* by being called the *oratio prima*.<sup>2</sup> The term *collecta* or *collectio* was native to the Gallican liturgy.<sup>3</sup> When the interpreters of the Romano-Frankish liturgy employ the word in the meaning of oration,<sup>4</sup> this

As a sample of the *Gloria* tropes let the following non-metrical one serve; it is found in many MSS. since the 10th century, and is distinguished not only by its brevity but by the role its last verse has played (Blume, 282 f.).

*Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*

1. Laus tua, Deus, resonet coram te rex;  
*Laudamus te.*
2. Qui venisti propter nos, rex angelorum, Deus,  
*Benedicimus te.*
3. In sede maiestatis tuæ  
*Adoramus te.*
4. Veneranda Trinitas,  
*Glorificamus te.*
5. Gloriosus es, rex Israel, in throno Patris tui,  
*Gratias agimus tibi . . . Filius Patris.*
6. Domine Deus, Redemptor Israel,  
*Qui tollis . . . deprecationem nostram.*
7. Deus fortis et immortalis,  
*Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis.*
8. Cælestium, terrestrium et infernorum rex,  
*Quoniam tu solus sanctus . . . altissimus.*
9. Regnum tuum solidum permanebit in æternum,  
*Jesu Christe, cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Patris.*

The final verse, *Regnum tuum*, is found re-troped in many troparies, the long

melismatic neum on the word *per* (*manebit*) being broken up into a *prosula*, for which, in its turn, a variety of texts are at hand (26 numbers; Blume, 282-299).

<sup>1</sup> In the *Missale Romanum* of Pius V only in the *Ritus serv.*, XI, 1; in our present missal also a number of times in the *Additones et Variationes*, especially c. VI.

<sup>2</sup> *Ordo Rom.* III, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 979); cf. *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 971); and also *Ordo Rom.* I (ed. Stapper), n. 9 (p. 21, l. 2); cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 120.

<sup>3</sup> B. Capelle, "Collecta", *Revue Bened.*, XLII (1930), 197-204.

See, e.g., the superscription in the *Missale Gothicum*, Muratori, II, 517 ff. The ancient Roman liturgy recognized the word *collecta* as the designation for an assembly, especially for the assembly that preceded the penitential processions in the station services; see R. Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," *ZkTh*, LX (1936), 511-554. But the word did not serve as a term for the priestly oration. The *Gregorianum of Hadrian* (Lietzmann, n. 27) does have the heading *Oratio collecta* for the first oration on Candlemas, but a reference to Lietzmann's apparatus shows that the preferred reading would be *oratio ad collectam*; see *ibid.*, n. 35; 172; cf. Hierzegger, 517-521.

<sup>4</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, IV, 7 (PL, CV, 1183); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio*

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 Walafrid Strabo who says: *Collectas dicimus, quia necessarias earum petitiones compendiosa brevitate colligimus i. e. concludimus*.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> 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 with the *Ite missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino*.<sup>7</sup> It is omitted only when there is question of continuing an activity already started.<sup>8</sup> Obviously the formula which introduces the reading of the Gospel,

(PL, CI, 1249); Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 3 (PL, CLI, 979).

<sup>6</sup> Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, CXIV, 945 D); somewhat less sure in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 3 (PL, CLI, 979 D).

A discussion of the oration as a résumé in Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 131-132. <sup>7</sup> Gehr, 456, finds another reason for the greeting in this, that the priest in the oration performs his office as mediator, and so, after kissing the altar and thus binding himself to the Church celestial, he must turn in greeting to show his relationship with the Church militant on earth.

<sup>8</sup> There is therefore not reason enough for Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 277, note 1 (cf. 86, note 1), to take the latter *Dominus vobiscum* as the conclusion of the post-communion, or to give the same

explanation for the greeting after the oration in the hours of the Office. The *Benedicamus Domino* which marks the close of the hours corresponds exactly, even in form, to the *Oremus*.

Naturally this *Dominus vobiscum*, even without any formula of address following, could be used as a salutation of the people at the beginning of a solemnity or even serve as a dismissal. Thus it is witnessed by Optatus of Mileve, *Contra Parmen.*, VII, 6 (CSEL, XXVI, 179); Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8 (CSEL, XL, 2; p. 611, l. 7); Chrysostom (in Brightman, 476, note 1). Cf. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum* (1930), II, 204; 216. In our own Mass, however, the salutation is never used in this wise.

<sup>9</sup> For this latter reason the salutation is omitted not only before the *Oremus* of a commemoration that may follow but also



*sequentia sancti evangelii*, is intended as an announcement and is therefore preceded by the same greeting.<sup>9</sup> Another gesture is to be noticed in this connection. Aside from the beginning of the preface, when the priest already stands at the gates of the Holy of Holies, and aside from the Gospel, the priest always kisses the altar before he turns to the people with his greeting.<sup>10</sup> In the medieval high Mass the deacon always turned around with the priest.<sup>11</sup>

The *Dominus vobiscum* thus has a clear relation to the action that follows; it serves to focus our attention. We might render its monition somewhat prosaically by the use of the vocative: Brethren in Christ, we are going to pray. Devout Christians, listen to today's Gospel.<sup>12</sup> The *Dominus vobiscum* is then, in the first instance, an address to the people and, without overstressing its content (which of course is more than merely an address), it serves to arouse the attention and to denote, each time, an important moment in the course of the liturgy.<sup>13</sup> Besides, the use of a greeting form enables the congregation to return the greeting, and so, through

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.

<sup>9</sup> In the Greek liturgy of St. James the corresponding formula, which is likewise introduced with a *Εὐχὴν πάντων*, has also the form of an invitation *Ὁρθοὶ ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου* (Brightman, 38, 18); in the liturgy of St. Mark the sequence of greeting and invitation is reversed (Brightman, 119, 8).

<sup>10</sup> Regarding this kissing of the altar see *supra*, p. 316 f.; cf. also Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, (1930, II, 216, who ponders 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 Coutances (Legg, *Tracts*, 58 f.): *vertens se ad populum et signans se ipsum*. Similarly in the later Rite of Sarum: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 666 C, 671 A, B).

<sup>11</sup> Missal of St. Vincent-on-Volturno (Fiala, 200, 202); *Ordo Eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 83, 1. 30).

Martène, I, 4, XXIV; XXXV (I, 626 f., 666 D).

In the monastic rite the practice is still observed today.

<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact some such phrase as this latter is often used to introduce the Gospel in the vernacular.

<sup>13</sup> To this extent the explanation given by Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, 105, 1129 C; cf. 1128 C) is pertinent: *Haec salutatio introitum demonstrat ad aliud officium*. The same thought is expanded by Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 114 A).

The rule for the *Dominus vobiscum* at Mass can be formulated more exactly as follows: It introduces the sacerdotal prayer in each of four main sections: at the opening, at the reading service, at the thanksgiving and in the Communion section. Besides these, it also ushers in both of the proclamations of the deacon, namely the reading of the Gospel and the dismissal. But it is, of course, a matter of only secondary development that it also precedes the oration at the end of the prayers at the foot of the altar, and that it precedes the last Gospel, for both of these are texts audible only to the assistants around the altar.

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.<sup>14</sup> The reply of the reapers to Booz's greeting was: *Benedicat tibi 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.<sup>15</sup> We render its full meaning by saying simply, "And with you too."<sup>16</sup>

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.<sup>17</sup> But it

<sup>14</sup> Luke 1: 28; cf. Judg. 6: 12; 2 Chron. 15: 2; 2 Thess. 3: 16.

<sup>15</sup> 2 Tim. 4: 22 (Vulg.): *Dominus* (J. Chr.) *cum spiritu tuo*; cf. Philem. 25; Gal. 6: 18; also Phil. 4:23.

<sup>16</sup> This is a Semitism: *Spiritus tuus* = your person = you.

Still it is to be remarked that even Chrysostom, *In II. Tim. hom.*, 10, 3 (PG, LXII, 659 f.), had already referred "thy spirit" to the indwelling Holy Spirit. In fact, in his first Whitsun sermon, n. 4 (PG, L, 458 f.) he sees in the word "spirit" in this counter-greeting an allusion to the fact that the bishop performs the sacrifice in the power of the Holy Spirit. That is the reason the *Dominus vobiscum* was even at an early age restricted to those endowed with major orders, bishops, priests and deacons, and not given to subdeacons who were numbered among the higher orders only since the 13th century; cf. Eisenhofer, I, 188 f.

<sup>17</sup> Gavanti explains the altar-kiss that precedes in this sense: *osculatur altare sacerdos salutaturus populum quasi qui accipiat pacem a Christo per altare ut supra significato, ut eandem det populo*. Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 5, 1 (I,

226). He is followed by many later commentators; see, e.g., Gehr, 456, note 14.

It is quite probable that this was the very reason for the introduction, as early as the 13th century, of the custom of kissing the altar each time the people were greeted. At any rate it was about this time that the analogous kiss of the altar, the one preceding the kiss of peace, was taken in this sense, so much, in fact, that often it was not the altar but the sacred Host that received the kiss, so that the peace was drawn from Christ in all reality.

The reference to Christ is employed in a different way in the recent edition of the *Rituale Rom.* (IX, 5, 5) where the *Dominus vobiscum* is omitted between the *Panem de coelo* and the oration that precede the eucharistic benediction. (This had already been ordered by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, June 16, 1663; Gardellini, *Decreta*, n. 2223, 7); the reason that seems to have prevailed was this, that the desire that God might be with his people finds its expression in the eucharistic blessing itself; so Gatterer, *Praxis celebrandi*, 164. However, this principle was not carried through in all instances; cf. *Rituale Rom.* IV, 4, 24-26.



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 before the collect. In the Orient, outside Egypt, this formula has taken the place of the *Dominus vobiscum* since the fourth century.<sup>18</sup> There is early testimony regarding its use in North Africa.<sup>19</sup> In Spain in the sixth century it challenged the position of *Dominus vobiscum*, and was forbidden by the second Synod of Braga (563) even as the greeting of a bishop.<sup>20</sup> However, it became firmly established in the West, but under certain conditions; the bishop was to use *Pax vobis* only as his first greeting of the people,<sup>21</sup> and only on days when the Gloria had been sung,<sup>22</sup> a rule which is still binding.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup>

The greeting is spoken by the bishop in the same way as the priest; at the center of the altar<sup>25</sup> he turns toward the people and stretches out his hands. This gesture, which in its basic form implies great vivacity and a natural pleasure in bodily expression,<sup>26</sup> deepens once more the utterance

For the christological concept in older times compare *Const. Ap.*, VII, 46, 15 (Funk, I, 454). On the other hand Augustine takes the *Dominus* here usually for God; see Rötzer, 236. Likewise Peter Damian, *Opusc. 'Dominus vobiscum'*, c. 3 (PL, CXLV, 234 B). Cf. also Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1248 f.).

<sup>18</sup> Hanssens, III, 194-209. Its form is usually Εἰρήνη πᾶσι. The first Roman *Ordo* introduces the collect with the form *Pax vobis* (PL, 78, 942), the second has the form *Pax vobiscum* (*ibid.*, 971). In the use of the greeting in the course of the Mass there were rather large differences between the various rites.

<sup>19</sup> Optatus of Mileve (c. 370), *Contra Parmen.*, III, 10 (CSEL, XXVI, 95); cf. also Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8, 22 (PL, XLI, 770).

<sup>20</sup> Can. 3 (Mansi, IX, 777); Eisenhofer, I, 188.

<sup>21</sup> *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942); Amalar, *De eccl. off. praeft. alt.*, III, 9 (PL, CV, 992; 1115 f.); cf. Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1249). Amalar, *loc. cit.*, observes that the form at Rome was *Pax vobis*, not

*Pax vobiscum*. The latter form is actually found in the non-Roman *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 971).

<sup>22</sup> Leo VII (d. 939), *Ep. ad Gallos et Germanos* (PL, CXXXII, 1086); Durandus, IV, 14, 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Ceremoniale Episc.*, II, 8, 39; II, 13, 8; II, 18, 25.

<sup>24</sup> Matt. 10: 12 f.; Luke 10: 5.

<sup>25</sup> Apart from the pontifical high Mass. Here the bishop remains at his throne, to which he returns after the incensing of the altar.

In the Middle Ages the salutation of the priest was frequently spoken at the Epistle side; see *supra*, p. 333. Even in the present Dominican rite the priest stays at the Epistle side where he has already said the Gloria from start to finish.

<sup>26</sup> The starting-point of this gesture was not originally the folded hands, which arise only from the Germanic sacral culture. The motion of both hands naturally expresses an intense gravitation towards the one or ones greeted, but the natural movement has been regulated by the rules of the schools of oratory, which dic-

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?<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> We can best understand the *Et cum spiritu tuo* 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 fore-runner 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

tated 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, *Tracts*, 141; cf. *ibid.*, 100. A preliminary step is formed by the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 236).

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

<sup>27</sup> 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 vicar appeared, assent to propositions and resolutions, congratulation, demand and desire. One such is still retained in the consecration of a bishop: *Ad multos annos*. F. Cabrol, "Acclamations," *DACL*, I, 240-265. These shouts often acquired legal significance; cf. E. Peterson, *Elç 066s*, (Göttingen, 1926), 141 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Even in the spacious churches of the 4th century. Cf. Chrysostom, *In s. Pentec. homil.*, 1, 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 salute of the priest should be answered not only by the *clerici et Deo dicati* but by all was also enjoined by several Gallic synods: Orelans (511; Mansi, VIII, 361 f.); Braga (563), c. 3 (Mansi, IX, 777). Even Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 2 (PL, CLI, 979), 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 quibble.<sup>29</sup>

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 δεηθώμεν), "Let us ask the Lord again and again in peace" ("Ἐτι καὶ ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ κυρίου δεηθώμεν),<sup>30</sup> and then the deacon begins the litany. In Egypt the cry is sometimes quite simple: "Pray" (Προσεύξασθε). or "Stand for prayer" ('Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στήθητε),<sup>31</sup> but sometimes the object of the prayer is mentioned: "Pray for the emperor," "Pray for the bishop"<sup>32</sup>; in fact sometimes the object is cited in detailed formulas, particularly at the prayer of the faithful after the Gospel, and in the intercessory prayers which are inserted in the canon.<sup>33</sup> In the West this invitation to prayer was especially amplified in the Gallican liturgy. The formula, called a *præfatio*, precedes various prayers and series of prayers, both within the Mass and without; its form is sometimes reminiscent of a little homily.<sup>34</sup> 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 ἐλέησον, or at least with a single one,<sup>35</sup> and even the more detailed summonses of the deacon are thus answered, and meanwhile the priest begins the oration.<sup>36</sup> 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 ἐλέησον. But sometimes another reply

<sup>29</sup> Cf. in this sense the observations of F. Messerschmid, *Liturgie und Gemeinde* (Würzburg, 1939), 22 f., but also the practical reflections of A. Beil, *Einheit in der Liebe* (Colmar, 1941), 12-14; 16 f.

<sup>30</sup> Byzantine liturgy: Brightman, 359 f., 362, 364, etc.

In the Greek liturgy of St. James the formulas are even more varied; Brightman, 38 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Brightman, 113, 115, 117.

<sup>32</sup> Brightman, 114 f.

<sup>33</sup> Brightman, 119 ff., 159 ff., 165 ff.

<sup>34</sup> *Missale Gothicum*: Muratori, II, 520 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Brightman, 113 ff., 117, 119 f.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 119 f. Corresponding formulas are still in use in the present-day Coptic

liturgy, and in the Greek language, an indication of their great antiquity; *ibid.*, 155, 158 ff., 165 ff. A litany in which the priest takes the lead, *ibid.*, 175. In the Ethiopian liturgy, too, there is a litany at the beginning of the fore-Mass, in which the people respond to each phrase with "Amen, Kyrie eleison, Lord, have mercy on us"; *ibid.* 206 ff. A sacerdotal prayer of several sections, said after the readings, shows an order the reverse of that in the Roman liturgy: first the call "Stand up to pray," answered by the people with "Lord, have mercy on us"; only then does the priest greet the people and receive their greeting in return; *ibid.* 223 ff., 227. This arrangement is probably due to the insistence that the people receive the salutation standing.

is substituted; thus after the offertory procession the final invocations of the litany are answered with Παράσχοις κύριε.<sup>37</sup> 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 Σοὶ κύριε,<sup>38</sup> 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, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos, quos ad presbyterii munus elegit, caelestia dona multiplicet, quibus quod eius dignatione suscipiunt eius exsequantur auxilio. Per.* . . .<sup>39</sup> The later sacramentaries match this.<sup>40</sup>

At the *orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday the invitation is followed by the deacon's imperative, *Flectamus genua*, that is, with the order to kneel 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 face to face with a custom which possessed a much greater importance in the ancient Church, both West<sup>41</sup> 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: Κλίνωμεν τὰ γόνατα—ἀνάστωμεν<sup>42</sup>; this is done, for instance, all through Lent after

<sup>37</sup> Brightman, 381.

<sup>38</sup> Brightman, 363 etc.

<sup>39</sup> Muratori, I, 424.

<sup>40</sup> *Gelasianum* I, 20: 22 (Wilson, 22 f., 26), et al.; *Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 3, 1; 4, 1).

<sup>41</sup> In Cæsarius of Arles the custom is found in full swing. Indeed he bemoans the fact that many pay no attention and that he observes them standing *velut columnas* when the deacon has issued his command; Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 33-36. Later a *Pater noster*, introduced by *Kyrie eleison*, is inserted for this prayer of the congregation; thus within the General Prayer of the Church (see *infra*): Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 190 (PL, CXXXII, 224 f.);

Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* II, 70 (PL, CXL, 638). In our own rite of adult baptism this *Pater* preceding the oration is still circumscribed with *Ora, electe, flecte genua and Leva*; *Rituale Rom.*, II, 4, 16; 18; etc. Cf. Nickl, 35 f.

On the other hand, the substitute for the genuflection at the beginning of the hours—a *Miserere*—mentioned by Peter of Cluny, *Ep.*, I, 28 (PL, LXXXIX, 153 C) does not belong to this compound.

The whole question of the people's silent prayer is discussed in Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 108 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Brightman, 159. The call is repeated three times. The corresponding sacerdotal prayer is no longer extant. We are dealing, therefore, with a fragmentary vestige. Hanssens, III, 233 f.



the Gospel. The practice was not limited in olden times to the Romano-Alexandrian ambit. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (end of the fourth century), which were compiled within the compass of Antioch, the ordinary Mass—apparently, therefore, without restrictions to special occasions—contains the direction for five different calls to prayer (εὐξασθε) right after the readings, addressed respectively to the catechumens, the energumens, the candidates for Baptism, the penitents and the faithful. The context plainly shows that the command meant, Kneel down for prayer.<sup>43</sup>

The question naturally comes up, why this command, which appears here in the ordinary Mass *ordo*, should in the Roman Mass be restricted to certain extraordinary occasions. The most important source for this restriction is mentioned in Canon 20 of the Council of Nicea (325), which ordered that kneeling be omitted during Eastertide and on Sundays.<sup>44</sup> This arrangement for Easter and Sundays very quickly spread to the feasts (which were already on the increase) and even to saints' days<sup>45</sup>; the only days left were the *dies quotidiani*,<sup>46</sup> and finally only the days which had definite penitential character, and even these were further reduced to the merest remnant, with the loss of the entire Lenten season and all days which did not have two proper orations before the Epistle.<sup>47</sup> And even on the days that remained, kneeling was restricted to the prayer before the real start of the Mass. For even the celebration of the Eucharist, which took place for a long time only on Sundays and feast days, seemed to bear an Easter character.

<sup>43</sup> When the deacon, after detailing the contents of the prayer, announces the bishop's prayer, his proclamation in one instance reads as follows: "Stand up, bow down before God through Christ and receive the benediction"; *Const Ap.*, VIII, 9, 6 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 205). For the faithful the first cry reads expressly: "Ὅσοι πιστοὶ κλινόμεν γόνυ, and the second: "Ἐγειρώμεθα. *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 10, 2; 22 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 206, 209).

The people kneeling in this same place also in *Testamentum Domini*, I, 35 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 240). Cf. also the data from Chrysostom in Brightman, 471 ff.  
<sup>44</sup> Mansi, II, 677.

The canon is repeated in *Decretum Gratiani* III, 3, 10 (Friedberg, I, 1355).  
<sup>45</sup> Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 25 (PL, CXIV, 953 A); the prayers are said without kneeling in *dominicus et festis maioribus et Quinquagesima*.

<sup>46</sup> *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 475).

<sup>47</sup> Various older *ordines* 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 missam, etiamsi salutatio praecedat orationem.* Cf. Durandus, VI, 28, 8 ff.; Martène, 4, 17 (III, 162 A B); Martène, *De ant. monach. rit.*, 3, 9, 12 (IV, 316); Missal of Tortosa (1524): Ferreres, 249; cf. *ibid.*, p. LXXXVII. The same procedure still in the Dominican liturgy: *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (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. observantia*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 136

The only problem was to establish just when precisely the Mass really began. A rule of the high Middle Ages fixed this start at the *Gloria*.<sup>48</sup> Thus the orations which preceded the *Gloria*, that is, those which preceded the proper collect, and only those, remained under the law regarding kneeling.<sup>49</sup> Or to put it more exactly, only these were subject to the diminished rules of *Flectamus genua*; for in addition kneeling was prescribed for those assisting in choir, and continues to be so prescribed, at all the orations during Advent, Lent, the Embertides, most of the vigils and the Mass for the Dead.<sup>50</sup>

Thus a new thing had appeared, or rather, a substitution: kneeling not *before* the oration but *during* the oration. This change concurred with the gradual contraction of the pause which the *Flectamus genua* implied. The *Ordo Romanus antiquus* (about 950) offers a transitional aspect; in the introduction to the *orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday it includes the ancient prescription after the *Flectamus genua*, namely, *Et orat diutissime* (whereupon the *Levate* would have followed), but in the text of the orations it indicates a different order: *Oremus. Flectamus genua. Omnipotens aeternus Deus . . . Levate. Per eundem . . .* Thus the pause during which the congregation was to pray was filled by the priest's oration.<sup>51</sup>

f.), still holds for it but observes that the Franciscans omit these *genuflexiones*, *quia in capella Papae non fiunt*. As a matter of fact they were no longer found in the 12th century at the Lateran: *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 28 f.).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Ordo Rom.* XI, n. 63 (PL, LXXVIII, 1050): On the Ember Saturday after Pentecost: *Finito hymno trium puerorum pontifex incipit missam: Gloria in excelsis Deo*. This corresponds to the arrangement in the Mass on Holy Saturday (and analogously on Maundy Thursday) at the present time: organ and bells once more resound with the beginning of the *Gloria*.

<sup>49</sup> This method of reckoning was naturally somewhat arbitrary. In the eastern liturgies the rule for kneeling during prayer was regulated by a different system, namely, the start of the sacrifice itself. Moses bar Kepha (d. 903) expressly excludes this kneeling down during the sacrifice (the *kurobho*) because, he explains, kneeling recalls the fall while the *kurobho* appertains to the resurrection; R. H. Connolly-H. W. Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy* (London, 1913), 43. In the East Syrian Mass, according to the homilies of Narsai (d.

after 503), there was an analogous basis for the rule that genuflection might be permitted up to the epiklesis but not thereafter; Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 23, 127. Thus the East Syrian rule about kneeling is almost directly opposite that which developed in the Roman Mass as the result of eucharistic cult.

<sup>50</sup> *Missale Rom.*, *Rubr. gen.*, XVII, 5.

<sup>51</sup> Hittorp, *De off. eccl.*, 66; cf. 49 b. This *Levate* just before the *Per eundem* also in the *Liber ordinarius* of the Premonstratensians (12th century; Waefelghem, 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*, note 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 hear the name of Jesus in the *Per Dom. n. J.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 litanies of the deacon are still customary, unchanged, even on Easter and on Sundays.<sup>52</sup> We must therefore come to the conclusion that the elimination of the *Flectamus genua* after our *Oremus* did not purport to eliminate the pause for prayer which this command ordinarily signaled, but that at least a moment's quiet meditation was still retained.

But just as the pause after the *Flectamus genua* disappeared, leaving only a simple hurried genuflection, so the same fate was bound to overtake the pause after *Oremus* when no *Flectamus* intervened, and even more quickly. After all, the elimination of the pause could be tolerated here more easily, since in the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria* which preceded the *Oremus* the opportunity for prayer was offered, for, although the people did not perform these, yet the clergy assisting in choir did, even in later times. A small vestige of the olden *Oremus* pause is still to be seen in a little notice of Durandus, who records with some emphasis that the priest spoke the *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.<sup>53</sup> The pause will be seen in full strength and remarkable extent at the *secreta*.

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 *Oremus* of the priest the people were to bow and were to remain in this position (*acclinis*) until the end of the oration.<sup>54</sup> In the Gallican liturgy the practice had already been sev-

<sup>52</sup> The same thing is shown in the parallels in our Office: even on Sundays the oration is preceded by the *preces*. Only on feasts of higher rank (considerably on the increase in recent times) are these *preces* left out.

<sup>53</sup> Durandus, IV, 14, 5; IV, 57, 2. The closing formula *Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum* was also said at the center; *ibid.*, IV, 57, 2. This latter arrangement is still found in the *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1169 B), in Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect. 89, and in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances (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 one 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.

<sup>54</sup> Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CV, 1249 C): *Deinde dicit: Oremus, invitans secum populum, ut simul orent. Quapropter 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, *De synod. causis*, I, 380 (PL, 132, 265): *Ut presbyteri plebibus annuntient, quod in Quadragesima et in ieiunio quattuor temporum tantummodo ad Missarum sollempnia annuntiant Diacono genua flectere debeant. In dominicis e contra diebus vel ceteris*

eral centuries old.<sup>55</sup> And in the choir rules of many monastic groups the custom was retained for some time,<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> In other words, the old regulation of the *Flectamus genua* before the oration has been replaced more and more—at least since the twelfth century—by kneeling during the oration.<sup>59</sup>

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,<sup>60</sup> and originally the faithful, too, stood facing east and with arms lifted up.<sup>61</sup> Although this orientation lost much of its importance, and the posture of the faithful underwent many changes,<sup>62</sup> the priest still remains standing and his hands are still upraised. For after all, this standing posture has a double purport so far as the priest is concerned, since he is the one who leads the congregation in prayer, since he is the *liturgus*.<sup>63</sup>

*festis a Vespere usque in Vesperam non flectant genua, sed stantes incurvati orent.* The same prescription also in Burchard of Worms, *Decretum XIII*, 3 (PL, CXL, 885).

<sup>55</sup> This bowed bearing during the priestly oration is urged, for example, by Cæsar of Arles, *Serm.* 76 f. (Morin, 303, 305; PL, XXXIX, 2284 f.); the same demand especially for the Canon: *Serm.* 73 (Morin, 294; PL, XXXIX, 2277). The bow during the oration which Cæsar 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 *benedictiones* or *missæ* by which they were often called; cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 27-31, especially 30, note 101; *idem*, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 48 f. However the begging character of the orations (*supplices te rogamus*) might also have led to the assumption of this posture.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 241, note 42.

<sup>57</sup> Similarly already in the rules of the Canons of St. Victor (12th century): Martène, *App.* (III, 791 f.).

Cistercian rite of the later Middle Ages: Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 315; cf. *Liber usuum*, II, 53 (PL, CLXVI, 1423 B).

<sup>58</sup> *Supra*, p. 239.

<sup>59</sup> *Ordo eccl. Lateran.*, ed. Fischer, 29, 1. 5 ff. The Pontifical of Durandus prescribes for a bishop attending the Mass of a priest: *Dum collectæ et postcommuniones dicuntur, debet accumbere super faldistorium . . . et iunctis manibus devote accumbens manere.* Andrieu, III, 644; Martène, I, 4, XXIII (I, 619 A).

<sup>60</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 8 f. (with the additions of the later recension: PL, LXXVIII, 942). The same posture at the oration is still demanded in the Pontifical of Durandus for a bishop standing at his throne: Andrieu, III, 639, 1. 2; Martène, I, 4, XXIII (I, 616 E).

<sup>61</sup> *Supra*, p. 239.

<sup>62</sup> *Supra*, p. 240 f.

<sup>63</sup> Kneeling, which since the early Middle Ages made such headway as the preferred posture at prayer, was not thought of for the priest's praying except in certain isolated instances like the prayers at the foot of the altar (cf. *supra*, p. 297) and the intercessory prayers which were inserted (*infra*, vol. II, ch. 3, 3). There is a report from the Japanese mission of the 16th century relating how one of



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.<sup>64</sup> At the same time the apologists perceive in this posture an image of the Crucified<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup> 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 congregation (the orations, the preface, the canon and the *Pater noster*), but not in those prayers which are only the expression of personal piety and which were given him only later, especially as a contribution from the Frankish Church. For these latter prayers the attitude is one derived from Germanic tradition: praying with hands folded.<sup>68</sup> 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

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—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.

<sup>64</sup> Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 17 (CSEL, XX, 190); Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 66 (CSEL,

III, 269 f.). Cf. Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 82-87.

<sup>65</sup> Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. 29, 8 (CSEL, II, 43); Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 14; 29 (CSEL, XX, 189; 200). Cf. Eisenhofer, I, 266 f.

<sup>66</sup> See *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 2, 14.

<sup>67</sup> The rule in force at present is first found in its essentials in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 236): *manuum elevatio sic fieri debet ut altitudinem humerorum sacerdotis non excedat, extensio vero tanta sit ut retro stantibus manus appareant evidenter*. Cf. *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1160 C).

<sup>68</sup> *Supra*, p. 78.

Roman Church completed the transfer from Greek to Latin.<sup>1</sup> The formulation of the prayer material was for long left to the *liturgus*, to extemporize freely perhaps, as he did in his admonitions to the people in the homily, or to recite a text previously fixed and written down by himself or by another. St. Augustine bears witness to both methods of composition. In his booklet on *The First Catechetical Instruction* (*De catechizandis rudibus*) he remarks as an aside that candidates for admission to the catechumenate, if they are well educated or come from schools of rhetoric, ought to be warned not to mock when some bishops or ministers of the Church either fall into barbarisms and solecisms while calling upon almighty God or do not understand or nonsensically separate the words which they are pronouncing; not (he adds) that such faults should not be corrected, so that the people may plainly understand what they are saying "Amen" to, but that at an ecclesiastical *benedictio* the *bona dictio* is not the important thing it is in the forum.<sup>2</sup> But from the territory of the same Augustine we have conciliar resolutions proposing that at divine service only texts which have been approved should be used.<sup>3</sup> Still even in Rome as late as the sixth century some orations show clearly that they were composed for a certain special occasion.<sup>4</sup>

Even for this freely formed prayer, however, a certain style was definitely adopted even from the very beginning of the Latin liturgy. Its external outlines were already conditioned by the laconic spirit of the Roman and his preference for conciseness and clarity. This did not exclude lengthy prayer-formulas. The extended ordination prefaces of the Roman Pontifical (like those for the consecration of bishops and the ordination of priests and deacons) are in substance a part of the most ancient Roman sacramentaries. The Mass-liturgy, too, contains besides the three terse orations which begin with *Oremus* also the rather protracted prayer of thanks introduced with *Gratias agamus*.<sup>5</sup> But when compared with the prayer language of

<sup>1</sup> Pope Cornelius (d. 253) was the first to get a Latin inscription on his grave. Baumstark is inclined to date the *orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday back to about his period. A. Baumstark, "Liturgischer Nachhall der Verfolgungszeit" (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums und der byzantinischen Literatur*, Festgabe A. Ehrhard dargebracht [Bonn, 1922], 53-72), 64-71; idem., *Liturgie comparée*, 84.

<sup>2</sup> Augustine, *De cat. rud.*, c. 9, 13 (PL, XL, 320); cf. J. P. Christopher, *St. Augustine: The First Catechetical Instruction* (Ancient Christian Writers, 2; Westminster, 1946), 33-34.

<sup>3</sup> Synod of Hippo (393), can. 21 (Mansi, III, 922): *quicumque sibi preces aliunde*

*describit non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructoribus fratribus contulerit*. A little later the synod of Mileve, can. 12 (Mansi, IV, 330) speaks of the authorization by a council.

<sup>4</sup> Thus that oration in the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 371) in which God is thanked for having granted us, "freed from the furious foes, to receive the paschal sacrament with peaceful mind", takes us back to the year 538 when the long siege of Vitiges was raised just before Easter; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 137; F. Cabrol, "Léonien (Sacramentaire)", DACL, VIII (1929), 2552 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the essay to classify the prayer materials of the Roman liturgy in P. Alfonso, *L'Eucologia romana antica. Line-*



oriental or even of Gallic liturgies, the Roman character is still distinctly recognizable even in these longer prayer-formulas. Take just the opening address; in the oriental and Gallic liturgies there is usually an accumulation of divine titles and predicates, arranged in solemn groups of positives and negatives,<sup>6</sup> whereas in the Roman there is seldom more than a single, simple term. But it was in the oration that this Roman mode found its perfect outlet. In its few phrases liturgical prayer was reduced to the most succinct formula, and yet within that small compass there was room for the most dignified development and the greatest variety.

These orations have the character of petitions. This is not something self-evident, fundamentally, for according to Origen the normal course of every properly adjusted prayer—and surely this holds most especially for public prayer—should begin by praising God through Christ in the Holy Ghost; should then pass on to thanksgiving and an acknowledgment of our weakness; and only after that would it be fitting to make petitions, and these, petitions “for great and heavenly things”; and lastly it should close with the doxology repeated over again.<sup>7</sup> But the Roman oration is restricted almost wholly to the petition. The other elements are heard only in the address and in the closing formula. Since the very core of the Mass is entirely circumscribed by the prayer of thanksgiving, it seemed to be enough if the close of the three liturgical complexes which are appended to this core should be confined to petition. This is what actually happened in the orations. They consist of a single main clause or at most of a double clause in which the petition is formulated more plainly in a second phrase connected with the first by *et*.<sup>8</sup>

Coming now to details, we have to distinguish two types of Roman orations.<sup>9</sup> The *simple type* contains basically nothing except the barest ingredients of the petition, as when a child asks its father: *Pater, da mihi panem*, Father, give me bread. Thus there is nothing more than the address and the designation of what we want God to do for us. The expression can be either imperative or subjunctive, and the word order can be varied (schematized: *Panem da mihi, pater*; *Da mihi, pater, panem*). This is simple, direct praying, without ornaments or extras. This type is preserved

*amenti stilistici e storici* (Subiaco, 1931).

<sup>6</sup> Thus the beginning of the bishop's oration which concludes the Prayer of the Faithful in the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 11, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 209) reads as follows: Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, ὕψιστε, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν, ἄγιε, ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαύμενε, ἀναρχε, μόναρχε. Cf. the chapter “Sprache und Volksart” in Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (Freiburg, 1923), 78-88, and the study of the “Genius of the Roman Rite” in Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 1-19 (cf.

*supra*, p. 76, note 10).

<sup>7</sup> Origen, *De or.*, c. 33 (PG, XI, 557 f.).

<sup>8</sup> E.g. *Exaudi, Domine, quæsumus, preces nostras et interveniente beato N. . . placatus intende*.

<sup>9</sup> H. Rheinfelder, “Zum Stil der lateinischen Orationen,” *JL*, XI, (1931), 20-34.

A type-classification founded on the initial words is attempted by P. Salmon, “Les protocoles des oraisons du Missel Romain,” *Eph. Liturg.*, XLV (1931), 140-147.

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*<sup>10</sup>: *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.<sup>11</sup> 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 lætificas, 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.<sup>12</sup> Still we must never lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with litur-

<sup>10</sup> E. Norden, “Agnostos Theos,” *Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig, 1913), 168-176.

Rheinfelder, *op. cit.*, 25 f., with good grounds sees in this use of relative predication in Christian cult an effect of the ancient sacral language so well known to the neo-converts.

<sup>11</sup> Thus, e.g., it appears in Lent only on three Sundays and on the two special week-days, Wednesday and Friday, of the fourth week—a week significant because of the baptismal scrutinies; outside of these only on the first Thursday, which

was not provided with a Mass until much later. But then this relative predication appears in nearly all the orations of Holy Week from Wednesday on, thus, e.g., after ten of the twelve prophecies on Holy Saturday; further on all the days of Easter week from Sunday to Friday, and on all the Sundays from Low Sunday to Pentecost inclusive.

<sup>12</sup> Thus, for the former, the collect of St. Jane Frances de Chantal, and for the latter the oration on the feast of our Lady of Sorrows.



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.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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 adiuvemur)

<sup>13</sup> J. Cochez, "La structure rythmique des oraisons," *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 138-150. Cf. M.L., an English Benedictine, "The Collects of the Roman Office," *American Ecclesiastical Rev.*, XXXVII, 537; XXXVIII, 379; XLI, 397.

<sup>14</sup> H. Leclercq, "Cursus," *DACL*, III,

3193-3205; Eisenhofer, I, 204.

<sup>15</sup> F. di Capua, *Il ritmo prosaico nelle lettere dei papi*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1937-1939); idem., "De clausulis a S. Leone M. adhibitibus" in the C. Silva-Tarouca edition of the Letters of Pope Leo (*Textus et documenta, ser. theol.*, XV; Rome, 1934), pp. xxiii-xxxii.

*cursus tardus*: / — — / — — (semper obtineat)

In the collect of the 13th Sunday after Pentecost these three cadences are found, in a row, in the three members of the text:

*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, da nobis fidei, spei et caritatis augmentum,  
 et ut mereamur assequi quod promittis,  
 fac nos amare quod præcipis.*

It is remarkable indeed that, for all the care expended on the style of our orations, the Roman liturgy never once overstepped the line dividing prose from verse.<sup>16</sup> We can detect here something of that seriousness that seizes man when he is face-to-face with the majesty of God. There is no object better calculated to inspire poetry and to glorify art than the revelation of God's grandeur and goodness, and the greatest orations of men are replete with just that burden. But when human speech turns directly to God, any possible play of verse dies on the lips of the petitioner who is conscious of what he is doing. This explains, too, why music, which through the centuries has used its treasures to their utmost on the development of every part of the liturgy, especially the prayer of the people, has yet called a halt at the prayer of the priest. The performance of the priest's text has never gone beyond a more or less solemn recitative, the forms of speech-song.<sup>17</sup>

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

<sup>16</sup> 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*, 76.

<sup>17</sup> Speech-song had already been a practice in the culture of antiquity; see the literary references in O. Casel, *Das Gedächtnis des Herrn in der altchristlichen Liturgie* (Ecclesia Orans, 2; Freiburg, 1918), 14, note 1.

Cf. Wagner, *Einführung*, III, 19 ff.

Efforts to do more, to exaggerate the dramatic elements in the prayers, were suppressed by the Church as occasion demanded. An example in point is found in can. 12 of the synod of Cloveshoe in England (747) which ordered: *ut presbyteri sæcularium poetarum modo in ecclesia non garriunt, ne tragico sono sacrarum verborum compositionem ac distinctionem corrumpant vel confundant, sed simplicem sanctamque melodiam secundum morem Ecclesiæ sectentur; qui vero id non est idoneus assequi, pronuntiantis modo simpliciter legendo dicat atque recitet, quidquid instantis temporis ratio poscit* (Mansi, XII, 399). Similar advice also in Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 12 (PL, CXIV, 932 f.).



by any cadence whatever, which does not suit at least the more festive prayer assemblies.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> For these it was sufficient to use the simpler notation of the so-called *posituræ* or *pausiones*, which indicated for public readers the type of cadence and from which our modern system of sentence punctuation derives.<sup>20</sup> 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 . . . lætificas:  
concede propitius; ut . . .*<sup>21</sup>

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 a 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

<sup>18</sup> For like reasons speech-song (declamation) is also suggested for the leader in the German community Mass; see F. Messerschmid, *Liturgie und Gemeinde* (Würzburg, 1939), 90-93; thus (he says) the sacred word is withdrawn from the whim and fancy of the speaker (91). See also Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 131.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Wagner, *Einführung*, II, 82 ff., 87 f.

<sup>20</sup> 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 continu-

ation; 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.

<sup>21</sup> See the authentic methods in the *Kyriale*, typical edition, Rome, 1905; also in the *Graduale Romanum*, Rome, 1908 (*Toni communes missæ*); cf. D. Johner, *Cantus ecclesiastici iuxta edit. Vaticanum ad usum clericorum* (Regensburg, 1926) or John C. Selner, *Chant at the Altar*.

Since the 16th century these symbols were no longer used consistently and accurately in the Mass books, having been adopted in ordinary literature for grammatical and rhetorical purposes even in merely quiet reading; see Wagner, II, 91, who proposes a reform on this point.

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,<sup>22</sup> 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 sempiternus 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 Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet. Et cum altari assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio*.<sup>23</sup> 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,<sup>24</sup> was kept with-

<sup>22</sup> See in this connection O. Casel, "Beiträge zur römischen Oratorien," *JL*, XI (1931), 35-45. Especially the term *effectus* is, according to Casel, to be rendered not by effect (result) but by efficacy (realization).

Cf. further W. Kahle, "Vom Stil liturgischen Betens," *Liturg. Zeitschrift*, V (1932/1933), 161-172; P. Schorlemmer, *Die Kollektengebete* (Gütersloh, 1928), especially pp. 29-37; B. Capelle, "Pour mieux comprendre les oraisons du Missel," *Cours et Conférences*, V (Louvain, 1926), 135-145.

<sup>23</sup> Can. 21 (Mansi, III, 922) = can. 23 of the III Council of Carthage (397; *ibid.*,

884). Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 150; 198.

<sup>24</sup> 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 *Filium 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, *Disput. de contrav.*, III, 3, 6 (*De sacrific. missæ*, 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—nor, for that matter, one secret or one post-communion—can be found to have infringed this rule.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> In private prayer, in the prayer of the

K. Rahner, “‘Gott’ als erste trinitarische Person im Neuen Testament,” *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 71-88.

<sup>25</sup> Dom Gaspar Lefebvre, O.S.B., *Catholic Liturgy, Its Fundamental 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 is directed to the Holy Ghost. Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. de missa* (Sölch, 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 the answer is hardly compelling, it is kerygmatically correct; in other words, the theoretical possibility of prayers addressed to the Holy Ghost should not be exploited for fear that the basic lines of the order of salvation—leading to God through Christ—might vanish in the consciousness of the petitioner. This is particularly true in regard to the sacrifice which Christ offers to the Father; on this Cardinal Bona, *Rer. lit.*, II, 5, 5 (628) lays great stress. But it also holds true generally for all liturgical prayer; cf. *supra*, p. 80. Besides, the presentation of a distinction in the divine essence should not be encouraged. As a matter of fact orations addressed to the Holy Ghost have gained importance in none of the liturgies save the Armenian; see Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 195, note 27.

<sup>26</sup> This change was made in the spirit of the Gallic liturgical tradition with its strong anti-Arian bias, wherein, in consequence of the struggle against the Arians

who disputed the essential unity of the Son with the Father, the ambiguous *Per Christum* was restricted, and the address to Christ freely exchanged with that to God and thus permitted to appear on a par with it. But even on Frankish soil this change within the Roman liturgy did not go unchallenged; e.g. in the 9th-century collection of Canons ed. by Benedict the Levite, III, 418 (PL, XCVII, 850 f.; cf. also the *Capitulare* often connected with St. Boniface, in Mansi, XII, App. II, 109), the Canon of Hippo reappears; 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 be understood of the Christmas coming of Christ. The same is true of two olden 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, on the feast 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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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,<sup>29</sup> prevails in the whole Christian service till the fourth century.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> The Roman manner, however, which avoids the doxology except at the end of the canon, builds up the thought of Christ’s mediatorship in a different way, which it has retained to the present. Note especially that the *per Christum* does not mean a mere *adiuratio* as some older authors thought, as though we begged a hearing “by Christ,” for His sake, in virtue of His merits.<sup>32</sup> 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 SRC*, n. 423.

<sup>27</sup> A. Klawek, *Das Gebet zu Jesus. Seine Berechtigung und Übung nach den Schriften des N. T.* (Neutest. Abh., VI, 5; Münster, 1921). Regarding his attempt to trace the Christ-payers of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles back to the worship of the primitive Church (111 f.), cf. Jungmann, 147 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. in the latter sense the criticism by Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 90-93.

<sup>29</sup> Rom. 1: 8; 16: 27; 2 Cor. 1: 20; Heb. 12: 15; 1 Pet. 2: 5; 4: 11; Jude 25.

<sup>30</sup> Jungmann, *op. cit.*, 118-151.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 126 ff.

Another development circumscribes the atmosphere of prayer still more by adding “in the Holy Ghost” or “in the holy

Church”. *Ibid.*, 130 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Thus, e.g., Suarez, *De oratione*, I, 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 purum hominem*. For this reason he prefers to take *per Christum* to refer to the mediatorship *per modum merentis*. 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.<sup>33</sup> 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” (Hebr. 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 igitur . . . per Jesum 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.<sup>34</sup>

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.”<sup>35</sup> Just as here 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 both 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

<sup>33</sup> This point is sharply highlighted by P. Bonhomme, O.P., “Par Jésus-Christ Notre Seigneur,” *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 119-137.

<sup>34</sup> Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 184 f.: *per sacerdotem aeternum Filium tuum*. Cf. *ibid.*, 90: *per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, verum pontificem et solum sine peccati macula sacerdotem*.

<sup>35</sup> 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, δι’ οὗ σε καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοι πάντος ἀδελφοὺς ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ προσαγορεύομεν. H. Leclercq, “Lettres chrétiennes,” *DACL*, VIII, 2785 (n. 13); cf. *ibid.*, 2781 (n. 3), 2787 (n. 22).

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.<sup>36</sup> 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,<sup>37</sup> God,<sup>38</sup> world without end.<sup>39</sup>

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”: *quæsumus, rogamus, deprecamur*. However, the Church is included here not only conceptually, but actually. In liturgical prayer there is—

<sup>36</sup> 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 “Through Christ our Lord” in K. Adam, *Christ our Brother*. See also Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 137 ff.

<sup>37</sup> *In unitate 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.

<sup>38</sup> 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 to be 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 superfluousness, especially in

vernacular translation, see the next note.

<sup>39</sup> The expression *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, is a heritage from the service of the primitive Church (cf. Apoc. 1: 6; 5: 13; 7: 12; etc.; Irenæus, *Adv. haer.*, I, 1, 5 [*al.*, I, 3, 1; Harvey, I, 251]) to be found in all the liturgies. It is merely an intensified expression for εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (Hebr. 13: 8) and this in turn an intensified expression for εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Hebr. 5: 6; 7: 24; etc.): forever, till eternity. This intensified form was already in use in the synagogue service: *min ha’olam we’ad ha’olam*, from era to era. The rabbis gave this explanation: at first the formula was simply: into eternity (*ad ha’olam*), but in opposition to those who doubted the resurrection and maintained there was but one era, the formula was amplified (Tosephta, Berachoth, 7, 21); see H. Sasse in Kittel, *Theol. Wörterbuch*, I (1933), 197 ff., 207.

In the context of this closing formula the *per omnia sæcula sæculorum* is referred to the life and reign of Christ; cf. Apoc. 1: 18: *fui mortuus et ecce sum vivens in sæcula sæculorum*.

The English expression “world without end” must be taken to mean “through all eternity” and must not be referred simply to the preceding word “God” which did not belong to the primitive text.



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.<sup>40</sup> The word remains untranslated in all the liturgies. Justin renders it by γένοιτο; so be it,<sup>41</sup> and that is obviously the meaning it has here, 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.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> 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 (*supra*, 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.

<sup>41</sup> Justin, *Apol.*, I, 65; likewise already in the Septuagint. To this correspond the customary translations in Italian (*così sia*) and in French (*ainsi soit-il*). 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 professed 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 con-

tinually interrupt the account of the institution with an *Amen* after each phrase; Brightman, 132 f., 176 f., 232.

Regarding the liturgical use of the *Amen* there are comprehensive studies like F. Cabrol, "Amen," DACL, I, 1554-1573, especially 1556 ff.; J. Cecchetti, *L'Amen nella Bibbia e nella Liturgia* (Reprint from *Bollettino ceciliano*, v. 37; Vatican City, 1942), 14-37; H. Thurston, "Amen," CE, I, 407-409.

<sup>42</sup> 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 each time 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 that found originally in the anamnesis of the West-Syrian Mass (B., 53, 1. 17; 88, 1. 7) and (along with a *Kyrie*) in the intercessory prayer of the same liturgy: Raes, *Introductio*, 90. In the Occident two similar instances are noted by A. Dold, "Die Worte *miserere nobis* als Orationsschluss?" JL, IX (1929), 138; Irish and Glagolitic texts are cited.

The present-day Mass usually has several collects. It was not always thus. The Roman Mass for a thousand years had only one oration. Amalar took the occasion of his visit to Rome in 830 to ask the clerics of St. Peter's about this, and he sets down the results of his inquiry with some emphasis in a special preface to his work.<sup>43</sup> Even in cases (he says) where in the sacramentaries two Mass formularies are stipulated for one and the same day, because a feast coincides with a Sunday or two feasts fall due the same day, they told him that they have only one oration: *unam tantum*. And Amalar tries to assure his readers that this will suffice even where special reasons intervene; if someone wants to pray for the forgiveness of sin, there is opportunity during the offering of gifts; if someone seeks to enlist the cooperation of the angels, the opportunity is found at the end of the preface; if he wishes to plead for peace, the plea is found in the canon (*pacificare digneris*), etc. But for cases where the same priest wants to fulfill two offices, he suggests the possibility of saying a Mass for each one in particular, that is, several Masses on one day. This possibility was often taken advantage of at the time, until for very good reasons it was finally prohibited.<sup>44</sup> There was another solution which many made use of, namely, to append the fore-Mass of one celebration to the fore-Mass of another, and only then to continue with the Mass proper (*missa bifaciata*, resp. *trifaciata*), but since this latter would then contain the corresponding number of formulas for the *secreta* and the post-communion the arrangement was rejected as a *monstruosa mixtura*.<sup>45</sup> However one other way remained open: the *missa sicca*.<sup>46</sup> The text of one Mass was tacked on to the other in this fashion: after the (post-) communion the priest removed the chasuble and then, standing at the Epistle side of the altar, he read the second Mass formulary, starting with the introit, but skipping from the offertory-verse to the communion-verse; and thus coming to a conclusion. Everyone was aware that this was but a *nudum missæ officium*, and for that reason it was plainly separated from the real celebration. It was a commemorative rite, a devotion which later on acquired an independent

<sup>43</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, Præf. altera (PL, CV, 987 f.).

The peculiarity that is found in the older *Gelasianum* and partly also in the *Leonianum*, 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.

<sup>44</sup> *Supra*, p. 221.

<sup>45</sup> Thus in 1198 by Bishop Odo of Paris;

Pinsk (see note following), 101; Franz, 84 ff.

<sup>46</sup> J. Pinsk, "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*); Pinsk, 98 f.



existence, being used on various occasions particularly as an extra-eucharistic service till, after the Council of Trent, it was replaced by the Benediction service.<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> But the *Gregorianum* of Hadrian, in the second Christmas Mass, displays the other expedient, a second oration added for the second theme (St. Anastasia).<sup>50</sup> By the ninth century the second oration appears as an independent formula in many other liturgical texts.<sup>51</sup> 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 should be but one oration—and at the same time it lauds those who, when adding extra orations, but seldom overstep the number seven.<sup>52</sup> It is quite

<sup>47</sup> Pinsk, 101 ff., 117.

The classic example of a "dry Mass" is the one still to be found in the Blessing of Palms on Palm-Sunday. Even the rubric to be found here, not to turn to the people at *Dominus vobiscum*, belongs to this rite.

<sup>48</sup> Inversely in the Byzantine liturgy a commemorative rite has been devised in which it is the readings or at least the Epistle that is added to the reading of the day. Max von Sachsen, *Prælectiones de liturgiis orientalibus*, II (Freiburg, 1913), 226.

<sup>49</sup> III, 95 (Wilson, 303 f.). The first oration reads: *Beati martyris tui (illius), Domine, quæsumus, intercessione nos protege et animam famuli tui (illius) sacerdotis sanctorum tuorum iunge consortiis*.

<sup>50</sup> Lietzmann, n. 7.

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 (I, 20; 99; I, 15; 38) and this, at least

in part, from genuine Roman tradition; cf. also the formulary for the ordinations in the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 422-425) and in the *Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 2-4).

<sup>51</sup> Thus the Mass for penitents in the Pontifical of Poitiers (last third of the 9th century) in J. Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in adm. sacr. poenitentiae* (Antwerp, 1682), App., p. 59 f.

<sup>52</sup> 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. Clun.* 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 Romano-German pontifical of the 10th century (Hittorp, 53-55); cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 76, 78f., 96, 187 f.

possible to see in this trend towards a multiplication of orations the same influence at work that produced the long, wordy prayers of the Gallic liturgies.<sup>53</sup>

As time went on the stress was entirely on this rule, that the number seven should not be exceeded,<sup>54</sup> and that the last should not be an oration *pro defunctis*.<sup>55</sup> Besides there was a new regulation, emphasizing that the number of orations should be uneven—seven or five or three or one.<sup>56</sup> This rule regarding the odd number of orations is still maintained in the present missal for days of lesser rite<sup>57</sup>; 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<sup>58</sup>—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-

<sup>53</sup> Especially the Irish monks, it seems, were accustomed to such multiplications. At the Council of Mâcon (627) we find a trace of an earnest opposition to the practice aimed especially at this group: A monk Agrestinus had made the charge, *Columbanum . . . sacra missarum sollemnia multiplicatione orationum vel collectarum celebrare*. However the charge was rejected and the opinion of the defender endorsed: *Multiplicationem vero orationum in sacris officiis credo omnibus proficere ecclesiis, quia dum Dominus queritur, plus invenitur*. Mansi, X, 588 f.

<sup>54</sup> John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 37; 57 (PL, CCII, 45 f., 51 D).

There is a notable development to be remarked in the series of seven orations in the so-called "golden mess," a votive Mass which appeared since the 13th century; here an invariable antiphon was added each time to each of the orations. Franz, 282-286.

<sup>55</sup> Belet, *ibid.*

Belet adds the enigmatic reason: *quoniam finis ad suum debet retorqueri principium*. This same reason recurs word for word in Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 27 (PL, CCXVII, 815), in Durandus, IV, 15, 16, and even in Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, I, 7, 6 (I 89) in their commentary on the rubric which is still in force at present, *Missale Romanum*,

*Rubr. gen.*, VII, 6 (here with the turn that if the first collect is for the living the last must likewise return to the living).

<sup>56</sup> Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 4 (PL, CLI, 980). These numbers are then given various interpretations in accordance with the medieval number symbolism; see Eisenhofer, II, 97. Seven must be taken as the maximum because it was not exceeded in the petitions of the Lord's Prayer.

As the basis for the unevenness of the number there has been some juggling since Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 37 (PL, CCII, 46 A), and even before him, of a verse from Virgil's *Eclogs*, VIII, 75: *Numero Deus impari gaudet*. This is but an expression of the high regard which even antiquity had for odd numbers which, as Pliny (28, 23) puts it, are *ad omnia vehementiores*; see E. Riess, "Auberglaube", Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie d. class. Altertumswiss.*, I (1894), 49 f.

A moral turn is given the concept by Durandus, IV, 15, 15: the uneven number is to be favored because it means indivisibility and unity: *Deus enim divisionem et discordiam detestatur*.

<sup>57</sup> *Missale Rom.*, *Rubr. gen.*, IX.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 12; *Additiones et variationes*, VI, 6.



appearance of the Prayer of the Faithful and the curtailment of the *Kyrie*-litany, 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.<sup>60</sup> A similar point is made by a regulation we occasionally meet with, according to which the celebrant says only the first oration out loud, the other being recited *secrete*,<sup>61</sup> *tacite*<sup>62</sup>; this method has been revived by some in the conduct of the "dialogue" Mass. The present rubric that the first oration end with its own concluding formula is apparently derived from the same line of thinking.<sup>63</sup>

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.<sup>64</sup> Many divisions of the Mass in Scholastic times take cognizance of this separation.<sup>65</sup> In greater pontifical functions, too, this spot was singled out for the development of those acclamations which, because of their derivation, are called *laudes gallicanæ*. They are still customary at this very place

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 371.

<sup>61</sup> Pontifical of the Roman Curia circa 1200 (Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, II, 374); *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 15; 30; 45; 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1129 C, 1136 A, 1142 B, 1160 D).

<sup>62</sup> Pontifical of Durandus: Andrieu, III, 639.

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 apostolicos* should be spoken, like the other prayers of the Mass, *excelsa voce*; *Acta SS*, Nov. II, 1, p. 86 B.

<sup>63</sup> This prescription is found already in William of Hirsau (d. 1091), *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016 D). Later in the Missal of Sarum: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 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 (I, 655 C).

<sup>64</sup> Can. 14 (Mansi, XII, 365).

<sup>65</sup> *Supra*, p. 114.

On the contrary, the *Missale Upsalense* of 1513, for example, has the section marked *Lectiones* begin with the collect. Yelverton, *The Mass in Sweden*, 13.

even today, above all at the coronation of the pope.<sup>66</sup> In France until modern times they were a constituent part of the pontifical Mass.<sup>67</sup> After the oration, two (or elsewhere six) knights<sup>68</sup> stood forth, or, in their place, an equal number of clerics; they began: *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*. The choir repeated. Then the song became a declaration of fealty and homage: *Summo Pontifici et universali Papæ vita!* and then it became a plea to Christ, *Exaudi Christe*, and to a series of saints, *Sancte Petre . . .*, and after each of the invocations the choir responded: *Tu illum adiuva*. The cry of allegiance to the pope is followed by similar acclamations in honor of the emperor or king, of his wife, of the bishop, of the army, and in each instance the plea *Exaudi Christe* is inserted along with a series of selected saints. If the bishop who was named was present, the whole assembly arose, and the special singers who were chanting the acclamations mounted the steps of his throne, kissed his hand and received his blessing.<sup>69</sup> The *Laudes* closed with a repetition of *Christus vincit*; a doxological ending, calling upon Christ, the victor over all enemies, was often connected with this close, or sometimes a *Kyrie eleison*. In the course of time the acclamations were much altered, place and situation motivating the adaptations.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> C. J. Perl, "Die Krönungsmesse des Papstes . . . am 12. III. 1939," *Liturg. Leben*, VI (1939), 13.

Cf. *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 16; 31; 45 (PL, LXXVIII, 1129 f., 1136, 1142).

<sup>67</sup> Martène, I, 4, 3, 13 (I, 369-371). Further texts from Arles and Reims are printed: PL, CXXXVIII, 889 f., 901 f.; U. Chevalier, *Sacramentaire et Martyrologe de l'abbaye de S. Remy* (Bibliothèque liturgique, 7; Paris, 1900), 132 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.).

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, III, 648 f. The same thing is attested by Bonizo of Sutri (d. c. 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels, Berlin, 1930; 59).

For the history of the acclamations, see H. Leclercq, "Laudes gallicanæ," *DACL*, VIII, 1898-1910 (here also a series of texts); J. Beckmann, "Laudes Hincmari," *LThK*, VI (1934), 410; J. Chr. Natter-

mann, "Die Laudes ausserhalb und innerhalb der hl. Messe," *Theologie u. Glaube*, XXXIII (1941), 147-153; Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich*, 102-111; 157-160; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, 96-101.

A comprehensive study is offered in J. M. Hanssens, "De laudibus carolinis," *Periodica*, XXX (1941), 280-302; XXXI (1942), 31-53. A critical discussion in E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae. A study in liturgical acclamations and medieval ruler worship* (Berkeley, 1946).

<sup>68</sup> Vienne: *militēs*; Lyons, *equites*; see Martène, *loc. cit.* (369 C). These are the noble representatives of the people. At the coronation of the emperor *scriniarii*, *notarii* appear in this capacity; Eichmann, 96 f.

<sup>69</sup> Soissons, Reims; Martène, *loc. cit.* (370 C, 371 B).

<sup>70</sup> Since, in accordance with their origin, the *Laudes* are intended first of all for the ruler, the acclamations for the bishop are not often attested. See, however, besides the examples offered by Martène, in Ebner, 153, note 2; Pontifical of Durandus: Andrieu, III, 649. Also the witness of Bonizo of Sutri, *loc. cit.*, belongs here.



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.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> 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 Moléon, 18. Probably also the *Laudes* known as the "Litany of 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. Hornykevitch, *Die göttliche Liturgie* (2nd ed.; Klosterneuburg, 1935), 47, note 98. On the other hand the Byzantine liturgy of Constantinople offers the bishop the acclamation *Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη δέσποτα* at three different places in the Fore-Mass; Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 536 f.; but see Pl. de Meester, *DACL*, VI, 1636; 1639; 1640.

<sup>71</sup> The transition is discussed by Biehl, 102 f.

## II. The Service of Readings

### 1. Origin and Plan of the Service of Readings

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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Imitatio Christi*, IV, 11: *Quod corpus animæ fideli necessaria. Christi et Sacra Scriptura maxime sint* <sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 11.



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."<sup>3</sup> The lection 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 stipulated 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.<sup>4</sup> The reading of the Law in the Palestinian synagogues was also signalized 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 *haph-tarah*, "conclusion." Added to the readings was a homily. According to the New Testament accounts<sup>5</sup> this followed the prophetic reading, but the customary 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.<sup>6</sup> Every assembly also had a congregational 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."<sup>7</sup> 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*,<sup>8</sup> which was developed after the destruction of Jerusalem, can be traced back prior to this.<sup>9</sup> The assembly was concluded with the blessing of a priest, if there was one present, or else with some corresponding prayer.

<sup>3</sup> E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (4th ed.; Leipzig, 1907), II, 497-544; Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 153-1881 Hanssens, II, 422 f.

<sup>4</sup> I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (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 contrary had a one-year cycle with 54 *parashoth*. There is also question of a three-and-a-half year cycle with 175 *parashoth*.

<sup>5</sup> Luke 4: 16-20; Acts 12: 15 f.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. 6: 4-9; 11: 13-21; Num. 15: 37-41.

<sup>7</sup> Schürer, II, 515; 529; Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 189-249.

<sup>8</sup> *Shemoneh 'esreh* = "Eighteen" (prayer). The text, with emphasis on the portion which is traceable to the first century, in Schürer, II, 539 ff.; cf. Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 211-220.

<sup>9</sup> As the basis of the prayer Schürer, II, 542, note 156, reckons the prayer which in the Hebrew text is appended to Eccles. 51: 12 (in A. Eberharter, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach* [Bonn, 1925] it is intercalated as verse 51: 12<sup>1</sup> to 12<sup>18</sup>). It is a praise of God as protector of Israel; the wording is reminiscent of the great Hallel psalm 135, especially because of the recurring refrain "For His goodness remains forever," which is obviously spoken by the people.

The elements of this arrangement can be found quite unmistakably in the service of the Christian congregations at an early date.<sup>10</sup> 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<sup>11</sup>—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<sup>12</sup> 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 sollemnia* regularly fell into ecstasy, *prout scripturæ leguntur aut psalmi canuntur aut allocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur*<sup>13</sup>; 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-eucharistic service of the Church,<sup>14</sup> the same that is still in use in the Roman Breviary as the second part of every canonical hour. The series is this: reading, responsorial singing of the assembled congregation, prayer.<sup>15</sup> The only thing added to this plan, as occasion demanded, was the homily.

## 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.<sup>1</sup> That besides

<sup>10</sup> Lines of relationship are pointed out by Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 47-50.

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

<sup>11</sup> Justin, *Apol.*, I, 67.

<sup>12</sup> *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 6 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182; Funk, I, 161).

<sup>13</sup> Tertullian, *De an.*, c. 9 (CSEL, XX, 310).

<sup>14</sup> In broad outline also in Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.*; first the catechumens receive instruction, then prayer follows (Dix, 29). The same arrangement in the assembly of the faithful (60 f.).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 268, note 26.

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> Other liturgies have retained at least one Old Testament lection,

Apollonius which belong to the second century (n. 47; *Bibliothek der Kirchen-väter*, XIV, p. 327 f.). Such a practice was legally sanctioned expressly for the Mass by the III Council of Carthage (397), can. 36 (Mansi, III, 924): *Liceat etiam legi passionem martyrum quorum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur*. This is matched by St. Augustine's witness to actual practice: Roetzer, 62 f., 107 f.

For the area of the Gallic liturgy there are found accounts of reading the acts of martyrs at Mass even in the centuries that followed. For Gaul see the *Expositio ant. liturgiæ gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 13 f.) and the Lectionary of Luxeuil (ed. P. Salmon, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil* [Rome, 1944], 27 ff., 181 f.); also Gregory of Tours, *De gloria mart.*, I 86 (PL, LXXI, 781) and *De mirac. s. Martini*, II, 29; 49 (PL, LXXI 954; 963) must be so understood. On the feast-day of the Martyrs of Lyons (June 2) it was the custom at Vienne even circa 1700 to read the pertinent *Passio* from Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* V, 1) between Gradual and Alleluia: de Moléon, 34. For Milan there is the letter of the Regensburg clerics Paul and Gebhart

of the year 1024 (in J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum* [Paris, 1724], 2, p. 97): *gestis sanctorum quæ Missarum celebrationibus apud vos interponi solent, non indigemus*. See also Martène, I, 4, 4, 2 (I, 372 f.).

<sup>2</sup> 1 Thess. 5: 27; Col. 4: 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 5, 11 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 198). Cf. for this Baumstark, *Nicht-evangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends* (LF III; Münster, 1921), 17. The sequence: Law—Prophets—Gospel, receives a deeper significance in Maximus Confessor; it reflects the progression: Flesh—Sense—Reason; or again: Shadow—Image—Presence of the reality. H. U. v. Balthasar, *Die 'Gnostischen Centurien' des Maximus Confessor* (Freiburg, 1941), 64.

<sup>4</sup> Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 15; idem., *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen*, 16-19. Only during Eastertide and on feastdays is the first reading taken from Isaiah, the second from the Acts of the Apostles; cf. Brightman, 256, 1. 2-5.

<sup>5</sup> The three New Testament lessons are taken from the Acts of the Apostles or

besides the two from the New. Thus the Armenian liturgy,<sup>6</sup> which in this continues the older usage of Byzantium.<sup>7</sup> And in the West the ancient Gallican liturgy,<sup>8</sup> along with its sister-forms, the Mozarabic<sup>9</sup> and the older Milanese,<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup> Thus in the Egyptian liturgies we find a fourfold lesson, probably in the beginning an attempt to compromise with readings from both Testaments,<sup>13</sup> but now (in both the Coptic and the Ethiopian liturgies) actually taken from the New Testament only: the Epistle of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles, the Acts and the Gospels.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

The Roman liturgy underwent the same evolution to a degree at least. Here, too, the Mass must once have had three lessons regularly,<sup>16</sup> as it still

the Catholic Epistles, from the letters of St. Paul and from the Gospels. Brightman, 77-70; Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 16; idem., *Nicht-evangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen*, 78 ff., 175 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Brightman, 425.

<sup>7</sup> Chrysostom attests more than once a prophetic, an apostolic and a Gospel lection; see the passages in Brightman, 531, note 5; cf. Rahlfs (below, note 15), 124 f. The prophetic reading is also mentioned in the life of St. Theodore Sykeota (d. 613), n. 16: *Acta SS*, Apr., III, 37.

<sup>8</sup> Evidence from the sources in Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 141, note 13; H. Leclercq, "Gallicane (Liturgie)", *DACL*, VI, 542 f.

<sup>9</sup> G. Morin, *Liber Comicus* (Maredsous, 1892); *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 109 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> It is still attested in the letter (already mentioned) of the Regensburg clerics (note 1 above), in Mabillon, I, 2, 97; cf. Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, 543 note 1. The present-day Milanese liturgy has generally only two lections.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 4. Cf. also in the Roman Breviary the exclusive choice of New Testament readings (Acts, Apocalypse, Catholic Epistles) during the Paschal season.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 239 f. the influence on the posture of the body.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the numerous homilies of Origen on the Old Testament books.

<sup>14</sup> Brightman, 152-155; 212-219.

<sup>15</sup> H. Rahlfs, *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche: Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1915, 123-125 (= Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens, I [Berlin, 1909-1915], 217-219)*. The Greek liturgy of St. James and the Greek liturgy of St. Mark, too, in their oldest traditional form, had only these two lessons; Brightman, 36 ff., 118 f.

<sup>16</sup> A fragmentary Mass book from lower Italy recently printed has, besides other pre-Gregorian vestiges, also three lessons as a rule; A. Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuchfragmente aus der Zeit des ersten Jahrtausends im Bari-Schrifttyp (Texte und Arbeiten, I, 25;*



has on certain of the older liturgical days,<sup>17</sup> and the usual arrangement must have included—in part at least—one reading from the Old Testament and two from the New.<sup>18</sup> 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 Paschaltide 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 fore-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

Beuron, 1934). Of the 20 formularies partially preserved, nine indisputably have the order of lessons: Old Testament, St. Paul, Gospel. Two formularies have only two readings (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 gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung*, 141, who places the omission of the third lesson in the 6th century.

<sup>17</sup> Ember-Wednesday, 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: *Sabbato in duodecim lectionibus*.

<sup>18</sup> This arrangement is retained in the Zurich and Peterling fragments (Dold, *loc. cit.*). Also in the *Comes* of Würzburg (ed. Morin: *Revue Bénéd.*, 27 [1910], 46 ff.; cf. the observations of the editor, p. 72) and similarly in the *Comes* of Murbach (ed. Morin: *Revue Bénéd.*, 30 [1913], 35), in the latter case with the rubric: *Si venerit vigilia vel Natale Domini in dominica leg. apostolum, si autem in alia die, legis prophetam tantum*.

According to Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), *De canonum observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 139), it was still customary in some places at that time to have three readings at the three Christmas Masses and at the Mass of Christmas Eve; in many churches of Italy the Gradual and Alleluia were so apportioned as intermediary chants that the Gradual followed the first lesson, the Alleluia the second. This is also the case in the present-day Dominican liturgy which has three lessons on the days mentioned and in all four instances the first is a reading from Isaias. Cf. also de Moléon, 110; Waefelghem, 152 f., 155.

The African Mass, too,—from what we can learn from Augustine—had three lessons on some days, other times only two. Roetzer, 100.

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.<sup>19</sup> 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 station saint; or they suggest some other association with the peculiarities of the station church.<sup>20</sup>

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

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> H. Grisar, *Das Missale Romanum im Lichte römischer Stadtgeschichte* (Freiburg, 1925).

Hints to the understanding of the

choice of pericopes in general, partly retrenching Grisar's opinions, in the chapter “De keuze van Epistel en Evangelie” in Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 347-378. Callewaert refers, e.g., to the opening and closing words of the pericopes which often contain the main ideas intended (357 ff.).

It seems to have been a peculiarity of the Roman plan which preceded the one which holds at present to have sought as much as possible for some rapport between Epistle and Gospel. In the Masses of Lent this community of theme is still visible in many instances. On Tuesday of the first week of Lent, however, such a connection will be found only if the pericope of the first reading, from Isaias 55: 6-11 (fixed as it is now even in 645) is extended to 56: 7, that is, to include the verse cited in the Gospel. Patently the reading had reached this far at an earlier time and when it was revised and shortened this harmony was no longer so highly prized. B. Capelle, “Note sur le lectionnaire romain de la messe avant s. Grégoire,” *Revue d'hist. eccl.*, XXXIV, (1938), 556-559.



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.<sup>21</sup>

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 *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.<sup>22</sup>

This continuous reading of the Scriptures was broken into, as might have been expected, first of all by the greater feast days.<sup>23</sup> For such days a pertinent pericope was selected. For the feasts of martyrs, too, this was done, as Augustine already testifies.<sup>24</sup> 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 week were always *aptæ diei*.<sup>25</sup> But to the Gallic Church of the fifth century belong the first unmistakable evidences of a system of pericopes.<sup>26</sup> 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. Elsewhere during Holy Week first Job and then Jonas were read, in reference to Christ's suffering and Resurrection.<sup>27</sup> After Easter the reading of the Acts of the Apostles is affirmed quite early in more than one region.<sup>28</sup> So for the Scripture readings of the fore-Mass an arrangement was established much like that which still holds good today in the *scriptura occurrens* of our Roman Breviary.

<sup>21</sup> Regarding the application of Scripture to the present, both in general and in the liturgy, cf. A. Stonner, *Bibellesung mit der katholischen Jugend* (Paderborn, 1933), 191 ff.; A. Miller, "Schriftsinn und liturgischer Sinn," *Bened. Monatschrift*, XVI (1934), 407-413. Cf. also Parsch, *Volksliturgie*, 261, and my remarks in J. Kramp, *Briefe der Kirche* (Münster, 1940), pp. XX ff.

<sup>22</sup> For Augustine see Roetzer, 109.

<sup>23</sup> St. Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen*

*des römischen Messbuches* (Freiburg, 1907), 41 f.; G. Godu, "Epître," DACL, V, 247 f.

For Augustine, see Roetzer, 103-108, for Leo the Great, see Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 26 f.

<sup>24</sup> Roetzer, 102 f.

<sup>25</sup> *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 29; 31; etc.

<sup>26</sup> G. Godu, "Epître," DACL, V, 249.

<sup>27</sup> Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen*, 7.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. Cf. *supra*, p. 394; Roetzer, 103.

In the Orient the continuous reading of certain books has remained the normal form in the Nestorian and the Jacobite liturgies, and even in modern times it is scarcely ever interrupted.<sup>29</sup> In the Byzantine liturgy for the most part the readings, at least for the Gospels, have continued in so-called serials, just as we have them in the *scriptura occurrens* of our breviary; only selected passages of the respective book are read but the readings are so arranged that the selections follow the course of the text. Thus after Pentecost, Matthew is started and continued for seventeen Sundays (with some few pericopes now displaced from their proper order); then sixteen Sundays follow with readings from St. Luke. This division of the Gospels explains the regular use of expressions like *Κυριακή πρώτη τοῦ Ματθαίου*, *κυριακή ἑνδεκάτη τοῦ Λουκᾶ*, etc.<sup>30</sup> There are also shorter series of readings from Mark and John.

Vestiges of such a progressive reading of the Scriptures are also to be found in our Roman liturgy.<sup>31</sup> The Gospels of the last weeks before Easter, for instance, are taken from St. John and the same is true of the Sundays after Easter. True, the pericopes follow the biblical order only in part, but still the original intent peers through.<sup>32</sup> One other point, noteworthy enough, must be stressed, the fact that at least the title of this continuous type of reading has been retained, for every Gospel is announced with *sequentia sancti evangelii*—the continuation of the reading of the Gospel.

More evident and incontestable are the traces in the Epistles.<sup>33</sup> The Epistles of the Sundays after Pentecost still form a series of pericopes in which the Letters of St. Paul are covered with almost no disturbance of the order of the Scripture canon. Because of the many saints' days which have replaced the weekdays, and which have either special readings or readings taken from the *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 *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

<sup>29</sup> Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen*, 173 f.

<sup>30</sup> N. Nilles, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae* (2nd ed.; Innsbruck, 1897), II, 442 ff. The pericopes are comprehensively treated in Beissel, 12. Cf. Salaville, *Eastern Liturgies*, 190-192.

<sup>31</sup> Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 375 f.

<sup>32</sup> The reading of the Gospel according to St. John during the Easter-to-Pentecost

season is an ancient tradition also in the Orient; cf. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 133. In the Byzantine liturgy even today the Johannine prologue is read with great solemnity on Easterday, then the lections continue from St. John; Beissel, 11-15.

<sup>33</sup> G. Godu, DACL, V, 245-344; W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, III. The Roman Epistle-Lectionary (Alcuin Club Collections, 32; Oxford, 1935).



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<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

## SUNDAY EPISTLE

1. Apoc. 4:1-10
2. I John 4:8-21
3. I John 3:13-18
4. I Pet. 5:6-11
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 →
14. Gal. 3:16-22
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

## WEDNESDAY EPISTLE

- Rom. 8:1-6
- I Cor. 10:6-13
- I Cor. 15:39-46
- II Cor. 4:5-10
- II Cor. 6:14-7:1
- Col. 1:12-18
- Col. 2:8-13
- Col. 3:5-11
- Col. 3:12-17
- I Thess. 2:9-13
- II Thess. 2:15-3:5
- II Thess. 3:6-16
- I Tim. 1:5-11
- I Tim. 2:1-7
- I Tim. 6:7-14
- II Tim. 1:8-13

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.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> A. Dold, "Das Donaueschinger Comes-fragment B II 7, ein neuer Textzeuge für die altüberlieferte liturgische Feier der Stationsfasttage Mittwoch und Freitag. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sonn- und Stationsfasttagsperikopen in der Zeit von Pfingsten bis zum Advent," *JL*, VI (1926), 16-53.

<sup>35</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 37.

<sup>36</sup> 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,

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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup>

We also possess a clear idea of the early medieval Roman arrangement for the Gospel.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> Some of the references are as late as the sixteenth century.<sup>43</sup> What is not a little surprising is that this

Codices B and A, in the lists of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Leontius, the 'Sixty Books,' Cassiodorus, John of Damascus, etc." Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Edinburgh-N.Y., 1904), I, 360.

<sup>37</sup> 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.

<sup>38</sup> Rom. 12: 6-16; 12: 16-21; 13: 8-10. It is noteworthy that these pericopes are found also in the Epistle list of the *Codex Fuldensis*, the well-known Vulgate text which stems from the 6th century and from the church of Capua; the first two passages are among the pericopes marked *post epifania* (in Godu, *DACL*, V, 298, n. 16, 22), the third at the start of Lent (lengthened to include up to 14: 4; Godu, n. 33).

In the *Comes* of Alcuin the same three pericopes are somewhat differently apportioned; in addition, Rom. 12: 1-6 is appointed for the first Sunday after Epiphany; Godu, *loc. cit.*, 302, n. 15.

<sup>39</sup> A. Wilmart, "Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 137, note 5.

<sup>40</sup> Th. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, I (LQF, XXVIII; Münster, 1935); St. Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen* (Freiburg, 1907); G. Godu, "Evangelies," *DACL*, V, 852-923; W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, II. The Roman Gospel-Lectionary (Alcuin Club Collections, 30; Oxford, 1934).

<sup>41</sup> 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 ff.

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.

<sup>42</sup> In the Rule of St. Benedict, c. 41, the observance of the stational days named as fast-days is accentuated.

<sup>43</sup> Dold, "Das Donaueschinger Comes-fragment," 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,<sup>44</sup> 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 festive seasons. We have already cited the Sundays after Easter.<sup>45</sup> 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 Epiphany<sup>46</sup> are similarly selected on the basis of a catch-word (especially if we take into account some older Gospel references which no longer obtain): this is the revelation of the wisdom and miraculous might of the God-man who had appeared on earth.<sup>47</sup> In the period from Septuagesima to Easter the theme for both Epistle and Gospel is founded on the prospect of the grand festival and on concern for a proper preparation of the congregation and—to a certain extent—of the candidates for Baptism and the penitents.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> Least satisfactory is the search for a motive in the choice of the Gospels for the Sundays after Pentecost.<sup>50</sup> In some instances the proximity of the feast of a great saint

Missal of 1622; Th. Szomor, *Das Prämonstratenser Missale im Vergleich zum römischen* (unpublished dissertation, Innsbruck, 1936), 4 f., 22.

<sup>44</sup> The only thing that does occur is that on a few occasions the reading is concluded, without a break, on a following day; thus the reading of Luke 16: 19-31 on the 2nd Sunday after Pentecost concludes on the next Friday with Luke 17: 1-10, the reading of Luke 16: 1-9 on the 10th Sunday after Pentecost concludes on the following Wednesday with Luke 16: 10-15, the reading of Matt. 13: 24-30 on the Wednesday after the 19th Sunday after Pentecost is continued on the following Friday with Matt. 13: 31-35. Dold, 42-53.

<sup>45</sup> *Supra*, p. 399.

<sup>46</sup> The Epistles, as was pointed out, follow a definite course of continued reading; see above, p. 401.

<sup>47</sup> J. A. Jungmann, "Die Nachfeier von Epiphanie im Missale Romanum," *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 39-46, especially 41 ff.

The Gospels of the Sundays after

Epiphany (third to sixth) are arranged according to their order in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, but with lacunæ.

<sup>48</sup> Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 136 refers to the relationships to the Oriental plan for the Epistles on the Sundays of Lent, particularly to the operation of a reading of Genesis which was once the rule and is so even at present in the Orient and in the Roman Breviary.

<sup>49</sup> H. Grisar, *Das Missale im Lichte römischer Stadtgeschichte* (Freiburg, 1925), throws much light especially on this portion of the Church year.

<sup>50</sup> Beissel, 195 f. It has been remarked that all the pericopes are taken from the Synoptics.

In some instances we might suppose that the Epistle, fixed (as we have seen) according to a plan of continuous readings, affected the choice of the Gospel; thus on the 7th Sunday after Pentecost (the mention of good and bad fruit). But the whole series of Epistles is shifted by one Sunday in the oldest MSS. or dif-

honored in the Roman Church appears to have influenced the choice.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

When the station days lost their importance and saints' days (with their own readings) began to appear in ever-increasing numbers, the week-day 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.<sup>53</sup> The plan, however, never came up for consideration and so nothing was done.<sup>54</sup>

### 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,<sup>1</sup> a practice which was widespread in the ancient Gal-

ferently assorted, so that it did not originally fit into the same Gospels as we now have; cf. the table in Godu, *DACL*, V, 338 ff.

<sup>51</sup> A. Vogel, S.J., "Der Einfluss von Heiligenfesten auf die Perikopenwahl an den Sonntagen nach Pfingsten," *ZkTh*, LXIX (1947), 100-118. According to this, the pericope of the great catch of fish (Luke 5: 1-11; 4th Sunday) was induced by the feast of the Princes of the Apostles, as Beissel already thought; the pericope of the wise steward (Luke 16: 1-9; 8th Sunday) and the Ephphetha pericope (Mark 7: 31-37; 11th Sunday) by the feast of St. Lawrence, and at least the pericope of the healing of the lame man (Matt. 9: 1-8; 18th Sunday) by the feast of the sainted physicians Cosmas and Damian.

<sup>52</sup> Beissel, 196.

<sup>53</sup> Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die

Reform des Römischen Messbuches" (*Liturg. Leben*, 1939), 55 f.; cf. 34 f. The principle of repeating the Sunday Mass with new lessons was followed even anciently on the Thursday in Pentecost week.

<sup>54</sup> In most recent times R. Guardini, "Die mystagogische Predigt" (*Volksliturgie u. Seelsorge*; Colmar o. J. [1942]), 159, calls the extension and development of the pericope-system a "very pressing desideratum." He suggests a two or three-year system that might serve along with the present one.

<sup>1</sup> Thus on the Wednesday of Passion week the Epistle reading is derived from Lev. 19: 1-2, 11-19, 25. This is often the case in regard to Old Testament readings, as can be seen easily in the new edition of the Roman Missal where the exact citation is noted in each instance.



lican liturgy and led to the custom of centonization<sup>2</sup> and to the harmonization of the Gospel accounts.<sup>3</sup>

From the Church the various pericopes have received their setting. First of all, a title telling the origin of the passage: *Lectio libri . . .*, *Lectio epistolæ . . .*,<sup>4</sup> or announcing whether the passage is the beginning, *Initium*, or a continuation, *Sequentia*,<sup>5</sup> of a certain passage. Then there is an introductory word, either the word of address, *Fratres* (in St. Paul's congregational letters), *Carissime* (in his pastoral letters), *Carissimi* (in the Catholic Epistles), or a phrase suggesting the prophetic character of the reading: *Hæc dicit Dominus*, or a reference to the time of the story, *In diebus illis*, *In illo tempore*, (*dixit Jesus . . .*).<sup>6</sup> Sometimes there is a closing

<sup>2</sup> *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 *Natale 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 an old lectionary ed. by A. Dold, *Das älteste Liturgiebuch der Lateinischen Kirche. Ein altgallikanisches Lektionar des 5.-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 four evangelists, "an original mosaic that is effectively unified". Cf. also in the Bobbio Missal the lesson that is cited as from Colossians: Muratori, II, 914; it is labeled by the editor as a *farrago ex Scripturæ verbis contexta*.

A kindred instance is also to be found in the Roman liturgy: the Epistle *Ecce sacerdos magnus* in the *Commune Confessorum Pontificum* is devised from at least ten texts freely tied together but all taken from the one section of Ecclus. 44:16-45:20. Cf. also the troping of biblical lessons in the Middle Ages; see regarding this Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 286.

<sup>3</sup> 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 (*Sermo* 232, 1; PL, XXXVIII, 1108).

<sup>4</sup> In this connection note that the Canticle of Canticles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom are all uniformly introduced as *lectio libri Sapientie*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sequentia* = continuation. In the Mozarabic liturgy the Epistle lections are also announced thus: *Sequentia epistolæ Pauli apostoli ad Romanos*. As a matter of fact there are to be found here, e.g., after Epiphany, the remains of a continuous reading of the Pauline letters (PL, LXXXV, 241 ff.).

Some medieval interpreters have proposed a different explanation: *Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum Matthæum* = the following reading of the Gospel is taken from (the Gospel) according to Matthew, etc.; see William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 325.

Inadmissible is the explanation offered by Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 104, note 2, who seeks to link *Sequentia* with ἀκολουθία

<sup>6</sup> The ancient Gallican lectionary cited in note 2 above also makes use of other freer phrases, e.g., *Quæ postquam gesta sunt* (Dold, 6). The word *Dominus* is joined to the name of Jesus: *In tempore illo ait Dominus Jesus* (Dold, 55 et al.). In the present-day Roman liturgy, too, there is often found a supplementing of the subject, the addition of a clarifying word; thus in Luke 2: 33 on the Sunday

formula corresponding to this introduction, but in the Mass this has not become the rule as it did, for example, in our Matins.<sup>7</sup> Only at the closing of the reading of the prophecies is there always a regular concluding formula, *dicit Dominus omnipotens*. In some of the readings from St. Paul there is also a tacked-on phrase, the words reminiscent of the very theme of all Pauline concepts: *in Christo Jesu Domino nostro*.<sup>8</sup>

The setting of the holy texts in the oriental liturgies is much the same<sup>9</sup>; it has been especially developed in the Coptic.<sup>10</sup>

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 *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,<sup>11</sup> and in the

within the Christmas octave; or in Jer. 18: 18 on Passion Saturday where instead of *contra Jeremiam* is substituted *contra iustum*. Cf. further Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 355.

<sup>7</sup> *Tu autem Domine miserere nobis*; cf. Eisenhofer, II, 513.

<sup>8</sup> Thus in the first two Christmas Masses (Tit. 2: 15; 3: 7). Other times the words which actually end the piece, *in Christo Jesu*, are extended by the addition of *Domino nostro*, as on the 3rd Sunday of Advent.

<sup>9</sup> Hanssens, III, 178-180; Droosten, "Proems of liturgical lections and gospel," *Journal of Theological Studies*, VI (1906), 99 ff.

Already Chrysostom is witness to various introductory (and concluding) formulae of this type in the liturgical readings; Brightman, 531, note 5. According to Chrysostom, *In Hebr. hom.*, 8, 4 (PG, LXIII, 75), the lector should not only announce what book is being read from but even state the motive behind what is being related (Τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γεγραμμένων).

<sup>10</sup> The first lesson, from the Pauline Epistles, is ushered in with the Apostle's own solemn self-introduction in Rom. 1: 1, and has various closing formulae, e.g., "May grace be with you and peace, Amen, so may it be," whereupon a prayer follows for a right understanding of the Apostle's teaching. The second lesson,

from the Catholic Epistles, begins: "Katholikon. Our father (James): Beloved," and closes with the warning of the Apostle John regarding the world and its transitoriness (1 John 2: 15, 17). The third lesson, from the Acts of the Apostles, opens with "The deeds of our fathers, the Apostles; may their holy blessing be with us," and closes with the benediction composed from Acts 12: 24. "But the word of the Lord should grow and spread wide and become mighty and be firmly established in the Church of God. Amen." Finally the Gospel, preceded by various invocations addressed to the people, is concluded by the reader with the words, "Glory to our God for eternity. Amen". Brightman, 152-156.

Cf. the formulas in the Ethiopian liturgy which are in part identical with these and therefore indicative of their great antiquity, *ibid.*, 212-222. Here the Pauline lection concludes with an expanded version of St. Paul's own words, "Whoever does not love our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema" (1 Cor. 16:22). At the Gospel a special closing statement is formulated, taken from the evangelist in question; thus for Mark there is "Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear!" (Mark 4: 9, 23; 7: 16).

<sup>11</sup> *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 167. After the greeting there is the soft-spoken *Iube Domine benedicere* and the blessing formula: *Apostolica lectio* (with



Mozarabic Mass it is found before each of the three readings<sup>12</sup> and the people answer Amen at the close of each.<sup>13</sup> Similarly in the Orient the corresponding salutation, Εὐρήνη πᾶσιν, whenever it is used before the readings, precedes (in part) the pre-Gospel lesson.<sup>14</sup> In some instances the admonition 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.<sup>15</sup> 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 προκεείμενον precedes the readings<sup>16</sup> in the same way that, in other liturgies (according to ancient tradition), a responsory follows them.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> These prayers are later crea-

the Old Testament reading *Prophetica lectio* sit nobis salutis eruditio.

<sup>12</sup> *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 109 ff.). After the greeting preceding the second lesson another song is inserted (*psallendo*), whereupon the deacon calls for quiet: *Silentium facite*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> 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.).

<sup>15</sup> Greek liturgy of St. Mark (Brightman, 118): Πρόσχωμεν. Notice the parallel to the *Oremus* which in the Roman Mass is likewise preceded by the greeting. In the Byzantine liturgy the Πρόσχωμεν precedes the Pauline lection without the greeting (Brightman, 370 f.).

In the interpretation of the Syrian liturgy written by Pseudo-George of Arbela (9th century), *Explicatio off. 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.

There is also evidence here and there in the West of an admonition to be quiet; G. Godu, "Epîtres," 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 silentio audientes intente!* Gelasianum I, 34 (Wilson, 51).

At the Duomo 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. Luzzatti, "La s. Messa Ambrosiana," *Ambrosius*, VIII (1932), 294; cf. JL, XII (1932), 247 f. See also Archdale A. King, *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies* (London, 1930), 233.

This is in agreement with the custom witnessed to by the *Ordo* of Beroldus (12th century; ed. Magistretti, Milan, 1894, 51).

<sup>16</sup> In the Byzantine Mass the προκεείμενον 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.

<sup>17</sup> The προκεείμενον 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 f. For the whole question see O. Heimig, JL, XI (1931), 298 f.

<sup>18</sup> East Syrian liturgy (Brightman, 225 ff.), West Syrian (78 f.), Ethiopian (212

tions,<sup>19</sup> comparable to the *Munda cor meum* of the Roman liturgy, but this latter prefaces only the Gospel and deals only with the worthiness of the one who is reading.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> Note, too, that sometimes, after the reader has completed his task, he is greeted with the complimentary words, *Pax tibi*.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup> Even in the Roman liturgy (which at a papal Mass has at least a symbolic bilingualism in the readings),<sup>24</sup> a similar change was made, but only in the territory where the Croatian language is spoken. In these places use is made of the "*Schiavetto*," 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.<sup>25</sup> 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

ff.); only in part and with displacement in the Coptic (152 ff.).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Hanssens, III, 177 f., 184 f., 191 f.

<sup>20</sup> The Byzantine Mass also contains a corresponding prayer before the Gospel (Brightman, 371 f.), and it reappears in the Greek liturgy of St. James.

<sup>21</sup> 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.

<sup>22</sup> With these words the pope saluted the deacon after the Gospel, according to *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 11 (PL, LXXXVIII, 943 A); cf. *Ordo* of Johannes Archicantor (Silva-Tarouca, 197). According to Augustine, *Ep.*, 43, 8, 21 (CSEL, XXXIV, 2, p. 102 f.) it was customary among the Donatists for the reader to be

greeted after the Epistle with *Pax tecum*. Roetzer, 99.

In the Byzantine liturgy too the priest greets the reader after the Epistle: Εὐρήνη σοι τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι, and after the Gospel: Εὐρήνη σοι τῷ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ. Brightman, 371 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. D. Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East* (Milwaukee, 1948), 160, 174, 206.

Regarding MSS. of oriental pericopes in two languages, in which (consequently) this transition to the vernacular can be traced, see Kunze, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung*, 79-83.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 444, note 12.

<sup>25</sup> C. Segvic, "Le origini del rito slavolantino in Dalmazia e Croazia," *Eph. liturg.*, LIV (1940), 38-65, especially 41. Thus in the Schiavetto the principle which has been followed in the South-Slavic area since the introduction of Christianity, the principle (which Segvic tries to establish) of the vernacular within the (Roman) liturgy, has once more become operative for the readings.



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.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> Similar arrangements are likewise mentioned in other historical sources.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

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 relig-

<sup>26</sup> 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"). Some of these practices are very old. Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, I, 125 f., offers a number of instances and mentions a collection of Epistles and Gospels in German made in 1210, patently 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.

<sup>27</sup> *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 47 (CSEL, XXXIX, 99).

<sup>28</sup> Here belongs the account from Eusebius, *De mart. Palæst.*, I, 1 (a longer recension ed. by B. Violet, TU, XIV, 4, p. 4; 110; cf. A. Bigelmair, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, 9, p. 275 and in the intro-

duction); the martyr Procopius (d. 303) had done the Church a service in several ways: as lector (reader) and by his translation from the Greek into Aramaic.

The office of translator of lessons and homilies is mentioned in Epiphanius, *Expositio fid.*, c. 21 (PG, XLI, 825). Also in the *Euchologium* of Serapion of Thmuis there is a prayer ὑπὲρ τῶν... ἀναγνώστων καὶ ἐρμηνέων (XI, 4; Quasten, *Mon.*, 57 f.).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. P. Gächter, "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 assembly for worship (186). Thus the ancient practice of the synagogue regarding the Hebrew Bible was continued in the Christian community (171 ff.).

<sup>30</sup> *Supra*, p. 262.

ious instruction, as in many oriental countries.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> They serve especially to signalize the Gospel above the other readings. Augustine makes mention of a *sollemniter legere* for the reading of the Passion on Good Friday.<sup>34</sup> The Epistles, too, were fitted out more richly than the prophetic lessons.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> There is a certain amount of drama in this; the word which comes from God is spoken by a different

<sup>31</sup> Note in this connection that in the most extended compass, that of the Byzantine rite, the whole liturgy is, in the main, understood by the people at least to some extent.

<sup>32</sup> *Supra*, p. 377.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 378.

<sup>34</sup> Augustine, *Serm.* 218, 1 (PL, XXXVIII, 1084).

<sup>35</sup> According to Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 17) the Old Testament lessons resound in *gravem accentum*, those of the New Testament on the contrary in *accentum acutum*.

Cf. Statutes of the Carthusians of the year 1368 (ed. Le Messen, p. 271; cited JL, 1924, 96).

<sup>36</sup> *Ordo Rom.* IX, n. 8; 9 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1008 AB): *in sensu lectionis sicut epistolae Pauli diebus Dominicorum*. Cf. Jungmann, "Der Begriff 'sensus' in frühmittelalterlichen Rubriken," *Eph. liturg.*, XLV (1931), 124-127. For *sensus* with the same meaning see also Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 415, 1, 3 (cf. ZkTh, 1942, 8, note 90) and a sacramentary of the 12th century in Ebner, 194.

<sup>37</sup> *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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> Childish innocence was considered best suited to lift the word of God from the sacred Book and to offer it, unadulterated, to the congregation.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> While in the Orient the position of the lector was not disturbed by this shift,<sup>42</sup> in the West the reading of the Epistle in the Roman station services of the seventh/eighth century had become the work of the subdeacon,<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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 *aliquis lector superpellicio indutus*.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>38</sup> F. Wieland, *Die genetische Entwicklung der sog. Ordines minores* (Rome, 1897), 67-114; Eisenhofer, II, 369 f.; J. Quasten, "Lektor," LThK, VI, 479 f.

<sup>39</sup> For Rome see J. M. Lungkoffler, "Die Vorstufen zu den höheren Weihen nach dem Liber Pontificalis," ZkTh, LXVI (1942), 1-19, especially 12.

<sup>40</sup> E. Peterson, "Das jugendliche Alter der Lectoren," Eph. liturg., XLVIII (1934), 437-442.

<sup>41</sup> See *infra*, p. 443.

<sup>42</sup> Besides the ἀναγνώστης the ὑποδιάκονος is the only degree in the Greek Church corresponding to the minor orders. Reading has continued to be his duty. If no ἀναγνώστης is present in a congregation, the reading of the Epistle becomes the honorary office of a layman.

<sup>43</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 10. Further evidences in Godu, "Epitres," 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 par-

ticular charge. Handing the book to the subdeacon at his ordination was not a general custom till the 13th century; cf. de Puniet, *Das römische Pontifikale*, I, 174.

<sup>44</sup> 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 yet are permitted to wed.

<sup>45</sup> *Supra*, p. 227, note 106.

<sup>46</sup> *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; *Decreta auth. 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

When the reader performed his duty, this was made visible in the older Roman liturgy by the way he wore his official garb. He is now definitely "in service" and should not seem to be hindered by his garments. This vesture was—as with all clerics—the bell-shaped *planeta* or *casula*. But the deacon and subdeacon wore this tucked up in front, so that their hands were free, and the subdeacon's formed a sort of envelope or pocket so that he could pick things up and carry them around not with bare hands but holding them through the garment.<sup>47</sup> So when the deacon got ready to read the Gospel he arranged the *planeta* in such a way that it lay tightly folded over his left shoulder and fell across his breast at an angle. Thus he kept it all through his service till after the Communion. But the subdeacon or other cleric, when getting prepared for the reading, took the *planeta* off.<sup>48</sup> Thus the gradation of office was kept somewhat in a recognizable form. This practice, which appears about the ninth century, is still retained in broad outline at high Masses which take place during Lent or on other days of similar dignity; the deacon and subdeacon make use of the *planeta* (since replaced by dalmatic and tunic), but the deacon, before the reading, substitutes the *stola latior*, and the subdeacon takes off his outer vestment before he reads the Epistle.<sup>49</sup>

For the presentation of the sacred text the reader also chooses a special place. To be better understood he will turn to the listeners, perhaps—if possible—take an elevated place, as Esdras did,<sup>50</sup> and as the Roman Pontifical actually prescribes for the lector.<sup>51</sup> As early as the third and fourth centuries there is mention of an elevated place where the reading-desk stood or where the lector stood even without a desk.<sup>52</sup> Later this was turned into

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 absque manipulo*; decree dated July 5, 1698; *Decreta auth. 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); Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 38 (PL, CCII, 46 A):

<sup>47</sup> Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 166-169; Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 233-239.

<sup>48</sup> Braun, 166.

Cf. *Ordo Rom.* V, n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 985); Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 15 (PL, CV, 1122 f.); *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 51 (PL, LXXVIII, 960).

<sup>49</sup> *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.

<sup>50</sup> Nehem. 8: 4.

<sup>51</sup> *Pontificale Rom.*, *De ord. lectoris*: *Dum legitis, in alto loco ecclesiae stetis, ut ab omnibus audiamini et videamini*.

<sup>52</sup> Cyprian, *Epist.* 38, 2 (CSEL, III, 580 f.); 39, 4 (583 f.): *pulpitum*; Council of Laodicea, can. 15 (Mansi, II, 567); *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182).



an ambo<sup>53</sup> 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: *lectrinum*, *lectionarium*,<sup>54</sup> *analogium*. Frequently it was very richly adorned with mosaics, sculpture and the like.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> and therefore with his back to the people. The deacon who sings the Gospel, should indeed turn *contra altare versus populum*,<sup>57</sup> but the latter direction, *versus populum*, seems to be countermanded by the first, *contra altare*.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The word is derived from the verb *ἀναβαίνειν*, to mount or climb up. It first appears at the Council of Laodicea, can. 15 (Mansi, II, 567).

A. M. Schneider, "Ambo," RAC, I, 363-365.

<sup>54</sup> The word "lectern."

<sup>55</sup> H. Leclercq, "Ambon," DACL, I, 1330-1347. Cf. Caryl Coleman, "Ambo," CE, I: 381-2.

<sup>56</sup> *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, VI, 4: *contra altare*. According to the *Mass-Ordo* 'Indutus planeta' (Legg, *Tracts*, 184) which appeared in Mass books after 1507, 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 ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 90). But the Missal of St. Vincent-on-Volturno (circa 1100) directs: *versus contra altare* (Fiala, 200). Cf. also Durandus, IV, 16, 5.

<sup>57</sup> *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, VI, 5.

<sup>58</sup> Gavanti is right when he declares: *verba rubricæ . . . videntur pugnare invicem*. He therefore settles for a direction halfway between altar 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 used 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).

<sup>59</sup> *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 44: The subdeacon should hold the book *vertens renes non quidem altari, sed versus ipsam partem* (i.e., towards the "Gospel side"; this phraseology was not used till near the end of the Middle Ages) *quæ pro aquilone figuratur*.

Or recourse is had simply to local custom, which is actually diversified.<sup>60</sup>

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,<sup>61</sup> 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. c. 908)<sup>62</sup>; the north, he says, is the region of the devil whom the word of God must contend with. And Ivo of Chartres (d. c. 1117) continues the line of thought,<sup>63</sup> remarking that the Gospel is proclaimed against paganism, which is represented by the northern part of the world, and in which the coldness of unbelief had so long prevailed. And Ivo does not mean merely the direction of the body which the reader assumes in the ambo, but the actual position on the north side of the sanctuary, for he speaks of the passage of the levite or of the priest "to the left side of the church" in order to read the Gospel.<sup>64</sup> And that too has a meaning, for it represents the transfer of preaching from the Jews to the Gentiles.<sup>65</sup> The suspicion is forced upon one that these are but later attempts to explain by allegory a practice which was long in

<sup>60</sup> 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*, 248, note o, 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.; Paderborn, 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.

<sup>61</sup> *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, VI, 1.

Substantially the same direction in the *Mass-Ordo* of Burchard: Legg, *Tracts*, 146; cf. *ibid.*, 145, note 6.

<sup>62</sup> Remigius, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1250 f.). Cf. John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 35 A).

<sup>63</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, CLXII, 550).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 110.



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*,<sup>66</sup> 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,<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup>

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

<sup>66</sup> Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 9 (PL, CLI, 982 f.): *De evangelio in qua parte sit legendum*.

Similarly somewhat later Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 22 (PL, CLXXII, 551).

<sup>67</sup> M. Daras, "La position du diacre durant l'évangile," *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales* (1930), XV, 57 ff. Similarly Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 106 f.

<sup>68</sup> *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 direction means *Ecclesiam ferventem animo in amore Dei*. Likewise in the *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 36, and in the *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1322 f.). It is also admitted in the Missal of St. Vincent (c. 1100; Fiala, 201): *versus ad septentrionem sive meridiem*. The same direction is still mentioned in Durandus, IV, 24, 21.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the anonymous study "Pourquoi ces différents endroits pour la lecture de l'épître et de l'évangile?" *Les Questions liturgiques*, IV (1914), 314-320.

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).<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> 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<sup>72</sup> and by literary documents<sup>73</sup>; 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).<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 4 (PL, LXXVIII, 639): the clergy should take their place in the semicircle of the *presbyterium* in such wise *ut quando pontifex sederit ad eos respiciens episcopos ad dexteram sui, presbyteros vero ad sinistram contueatur*. In those early churches in the Occident which faced west the men and women were also seated in the nave to right and left of the *cathedra*: the women were assigned the north side. This continued to be their side also in the oriented churches; Beissel, *Bilder*, 56 f. For meanwhile the point of view that had become established was the orientation at prayer: as before the men were to be at the right, the women at the left; H. Selhorst, *Die Platzordnung im Gläubigenraum der altchristlichen Kirche*, Diss. (Münster, 1931), 33.

Only later, when the rear wall was built out and the *cathedra* was moved from the vertex of the apse to the side, did the arrangement in the sanctuary (opposite that in the nave) become unintelligible. From the viewpoint of the entrance (or, what is the same, from the viewpoint of prayer-orientation), the Gospel is said at the "left" side—a terminology that continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages (e.g. in the Missal of Westminster, circa 1380; see *Supra*, p. 299, note 10), and allegorical interpretations were employed to explain this fact (*supra*, p. 110; Durandus, IV, 23). Still Durandus him-

self notes in his pontifical that there are great feast-days *quibus pontifex sedet post altare* (Andrieu, III, 648; cf. 641). Paris de Grassis (d. 1528) offers an additional explanation of the matter when he points out that the Gospel side is to the right if viewed from the altar itself, not from the viewpoint of the celebrant, *Nam et crucis et crucifixi super ipso altari stantis dextra ad praedictum cornu evangelii vergit* (PL, LXXVIII, 934 B). The *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* again calls the Epistle side the left (II, 8, 40); cf. *supra*, note 59. The Missale Romanum mentions only a *cornu epistolæ* and a *cornu evangelii*.

<sup>71</sup> In the Roman *Ordines* both the one design and the other are considered. For instance there is an ancient recension of *Ordo Rom. I* which presupposes a basilica facing west (ed. Stapper) and a later recension in which the oriented structure is basic (ed. Mabillon); see the instruction at the *Gloria* (*Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9).

<sup>72</sup> The cathedral of Torcello; F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg, 1896), I, 334; cathedral of Grado: DACL, I, 2657.

<sup>73</sup> *Supra*, p. 414, note 68.

<sup>74</sup> Examples of churches facing west in which the ambo was set according to this sense: St. Peter: Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 192-193; S. Maria Maggiore: H. Grisar, *Geschichte Roms und der Päpste*



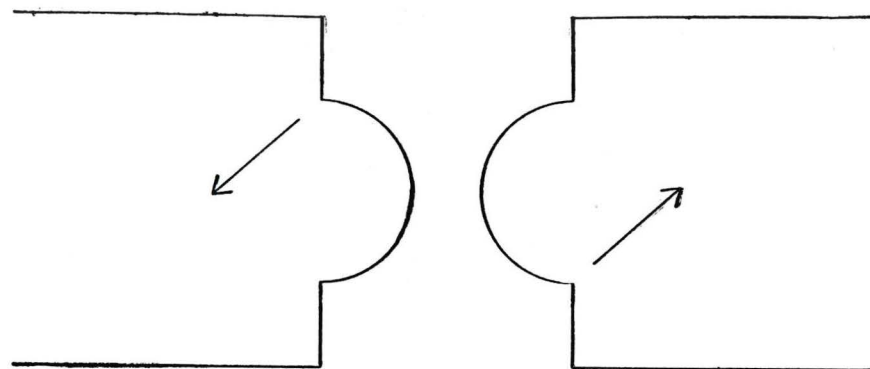


Fig. 1

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 *Cæremoniale 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.<sup>76</sup> But 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

(Freiburg, 1901, I, 344; S. Clemente (Gospel ambo with Easter candle): Th. Gsell Fels, *Rom* (6th ed.; Leipzig, 1906), 364; cf. *Les Questions liturg.*, (1914), IV, 319, Fig. 9.

<sup>76</sup> S. Maria in Cosmedin: R. Stapper, *Katholische Liturgik* (5th ed.; Münster, 1931), p. 48-49; cf. *Les Questions liturg.*, (1914), IV, 319, fig. 10; S. Lorenzo fuori le mura: Gsell Fels, *Rom*, 783 f.

See also Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La messe* (Paris, 1883), III, p. 39, where, in consequence of the position of the Easter candle, this position of the Gospel ambo "*sur la face opposée*" is indicated also in the cathedrals of Salerno and Benevento, Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 201, refers to the minster of Aachen (ambo of the year 1011).

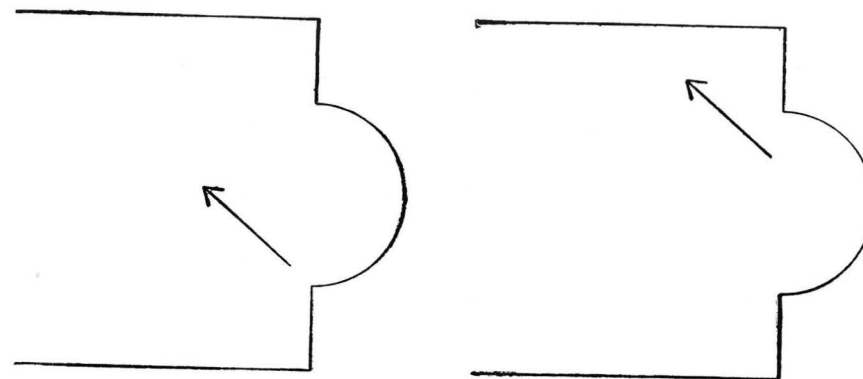


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

direction both at solemn and simple Masses another rule remained in force, that the Gospel should be read at the right side (reckoning from the viewpoint of the bishop's *cathedra*). The opposite side was then the Epistle side, but this only at a comparatively late date. Even in the late eleventh century, at the private monastic Masses at Hirsau, if the priest read the Epistle himself, he did so at the "Gospel side" of the altar,<sup>78</sup> while, on the other hand, according to a Monte Cassino *ordinarium* of about 1100, the Gospel is still read on the "Epistle side."<sup>77</sup> Belet in 1160 objects that the priest generally reads the Gospel at the altar instead of at a special lectern.<sup>78</sup> It appears that up to that time the norm mostly followed was a very practical one, to keep the right side of the altar—our Epistle side—free for the gift-offerings at least from the offertory on.<sup>79</sup>

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 *excellentiore locus* at which the Gospel was read.<sup>80</sup> The *Ordo Romanus II*, which originated in the north in the tenth century, directs the subdeacon

<sup>78</sup> William of Hirsau, *Const.* I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016 D): *lecturus epistolam librum ponit ad sinistram ibique reliqua dicit usque ad communionem*. "Gospel side" therefore means here only the position of the book (probably a complete missal) at the left of the priest, just as now during the sacrificial portion of the Mass. Similarly also *Bernardi Ordo Clun.* (circa 1068), I, 72 (Herrgott, 264), where

nevertheless we read: *lecturus epistolam ad sinistram transit*.

<sup>77</sup> Lebrun, I, 205 f.

<sup>78</sup> John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 37 (PL, CCII, 45 C).

<sup>79</sup> Thus even circa 1100 the Missal of St. Vincent orders at the Offertory: *diaconus . . . ornet altare in dextro latere*; Fiala, 203.

<sup>80</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1126 C).



who reads the Epistle to mount the ambo, *non tamen in superiorem gradum, quem solum solet ascendere qui evangelium lecturus est*,<sup>81</sup> a rule which is often repeated later on.<sup>82</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup>

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.<sup>84</sup> 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,<sup>85</sup> and himself holding the book.<sup>86</sup> Thus the “Epistle side” of the altar was evolved. Ivo of Chartres seems to stipulate some such thing,<sup>87</sup> although in many other places, even at a much later date, there is still no fixed rule.<sup>88</sup> 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,<sup>89</sup> one more ornamental on the Gospel side, the other more modest on the Epistle side.<sup>90</sup> In our modern buildings we sometimes

<sup>81</sup> *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 971); cf. *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1321 C).

On the contrary *Ordo Rom.* XI (a plan for the city of Rome, but originating only circa 1140), n. 40 (PL, LXXVIII, 1040), says without further distinction: *subdiaconus legit epistolam in ambo*.

Martène, I, 4, 4, 3 (I, 373 f.) presents examples from his own time of French churches that followed the one plan as well as some that followed the other.

<sup>82</sup> Durandus, IV, 16, 2.

<sup>83</sup> Durandus, IV, 24, 20. He makes reference to Ps. 17: 11: *et volavit super pennas ventorum*.

Regarding medieval pulpits in the form of an eagle see Eisenhofer, I, 383 f.

<sup>84</sup> *Supra*, p. 413.

<sup>85</sup> It is possible that love for symbolism helped to tip the scales, once the reason for turning to the people had lost its force. According to Durandus, IV, 15, 5, the subdeacon looks towards the altar, which signifies Christ, *quia Johannis praedicatio se et alios dirigebat in Christum*.

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.

<sup>86</sup> 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.

<sup>87</sup> *Supra*, p. 413.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. the expression *contra medium altaris* for the reading of the Epistle, note 58 above.

<sup>89</sup> The study of H. Leclercq, “Ambon,” *DACL*, I, 1330-1347, which covers the period up to the 9th century, maintains that in this time there is nowhere any evidence of two ambos (1339).

<sup>90</sup> 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

see this plan followed, since the regulations in force at the present time<sup>91</sup> leave room for such an arrangement.

## 4. The Epistle

The first of the two readings of the Roman Mass is called simply “the Epistle” although it is not always taken from the Letters of the Apostles. This usage, which the *Missale Romanum* retains,<sup>1</sup> existed even in the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> The reading was also called “*lectio*,” corresponding to the designation by which the title of the book being read is introduced: *lectio Isaiae prophetæ, lectio epistolæ*. . . . Since enough was already said previously about the selection of the Epistle, the choice of a reader and his position in the sanctuary, it is only necessary to state that in our Roman liturgy it seems that the principle of the highest simplicity has been followed in the framing of the Epistle itself at high Mass. Consequently there is no address to the people and no reply on their part, no blessing of the reader (as is customary otherwise even in the Office before the longer readings at Matins<sup>3</sup>) and no prayer by the reader for purification, no solemn escort to the ambo (in recent times only the accompaniment of an acolyte has been allowed<sup>4</sup>). Even the melody to which it is sung is kept much simpler than at the Gospel.<sup>5</sup>

ambo dates from the 8th century; Gsell Fels, *op. cit.*, 784.

<sup>1</sup> *Cæremoniale episc.*, I, 12, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Missale Rom.*, *Rit. serv.*, VI.

<sup>3</sup> John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 38 (PL, CCII, 46 B). The Epistle can be taken from all books of the Scriptures except the Psalms and the Gospels.

<sup>4</sup> All the more surprising then is the practice of having the subdeacon at high Mass, after the reading of the Epistle, bring the book to the celebrant, and kiss his hand and receive his blessing. Thus already in Durandus, IV, 17. According to the Missal of St. Vincent (circa 1100) he gives the book to the thurifer and simply receives the priest's blessing with head bowed (Fiala, 200). It seems, therefore, that the older element is not the return of the book but the reverence and the blessing. Cf. for this also Martène, I, 4, 4, 5 (I, 374). Still the original significance may perhaps be seen in the *Ordo* of the Lateran church (middle of the 12th century); according to this the subdeacon offers the bishop the Epistle *legendam*; only after the latter has read

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 (I, 627 B).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 29 (PL, CCXVII, 816 C). In the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 236) this is done only on Sundays and feasts.

<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> We find also that it was

or, later, by means of French farcings. Blume, *Tropen des Missale*, II (Analecta hymnica, 49), p. 165-207, especially 167 f.; idem., "Epître farcie," LThK, III, 734.  
<sup>6</sup> 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, CXLIX, 716); in the Missal of St. Vincent: Fiala, 200; in the old Cistercian rite: Schneider, (*Cist.-Chron.*, 1926), 315 f.; in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 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 con-

tinued customary; Kramp, "Messgebräuche 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); cf. *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 971). At a pontifical Mass the bishop sits even today and reads the Epistle the while: *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 39; 41.  
<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> F. Cabrol, "Deo gratias," DACL, IV, 649-652; cf. the examples from inscriptions which are there cited by H. Leclercq, *ibid.*, 652-659.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 650.

a part of the Roman liturgy at an early period. At the stationary service in the eighth century when the deacon made the announcement of the next station, right after the Communion of the Pope, the people answered, *Deo gratias*.<sup>10</sup> The sense in which the formula is here used is plain. The only purpose is to express the fact that the hearers have understood the announcement. It is the same situation as that predicated in the rule of St. Benedict where the gate-keeper is told to answer *Deo gratias* whenever anyone knocks at the monastery doors.<sup>11</sup> Surely he is not shouting his gratitude for any benefit received; he is merely indicating that he has heard the summons. But he does use a formula which goes down deep into Christian concepts, a formula which has become so much a part of everyday life that it can serve as a simple signal. It is in this sense that we must understand the *Deo gratias* which is said after the *Ite missa est* and on other occasions in the Roman liturgy,<sup>12</sup> especially after the Epistle and 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 Intervient 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 continuous text to reproduce; the people answered by repeating after each passage the unchanging verse, the refrain or *responsum*.<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>10</sup> *Ordo* of St. Amand: Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 462; cf. *Breviarium eccl. ord.*: Silva-Tarouca, 200.

<sup>11</sup> Rule of St. Benedict, c. 66.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the enumeration in Eisenhofer, I, 192 f.

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks had various designations for

this: ἀκροτελεύτιον, ἀκροστίχιον, ὑπακοή, ἀφύμνιον; the singing itself they called ὑποψάλλειν, ὑπακοῦειν, *succinere*, *respondere*. Leitner, 207 f.

In Spain it was called *subpsalmare*; Férotin, *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, p. XLI f.



text were necessary for the people. This responding of the people was customary both in the singing of the races of the ancient Orient and in the divine service of the Old Covenant.<sup>2</sup> But in the pre-Christian and primitive Christian eras there was in the texts scarcely any distinction between song and prayer, nor was there any definite singing tune for use only in the performance of the psalms, since certain recitatives and even formal melodies were customary also for the other books of the Bible.<sup>3</sup> But responsory itself was to some extent inherent in the very text of the psalms. It was a legacy which the synagogue inherited from the services in the Temple.<sup>4</sup> And thence it passed to the primitive Church where it is found in full practice.

According to the arrangement of the agape outlined by Hippolytus of Rome, the faithful were to say "alleluia" when the psalms were read at the beginning of the agape.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> St. Athanasius on one occasion mentioned the deacon's reciting a psalm before the entire people, while the people responded repeatedly: *Quoniam in æternum misericordia eius*,<sup>7</sup> just as we find it sketched in Psalm 135.

Since the third century, contemporaneous with the vanishing of the vogue of privately composed hymns,<sup>8</sup> the use of the Scriptural psalms became more pronounced. And the opposition to these hymns probably led to a greater stressing of the musical character of the psalms.<sup>9</sup> In the fourth century there is explicit evidence of the use of psalm chant in the reading

<sup>2</sup> Leitner, *Der gottesdienstliche Volksge-sang im jüdischen und christlichen Alter-tum*, 26-93; Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 494 ff. Cf. also Nielsen, *The Earliest Christian Liturgy*, 281-289.

<sup>3</sup> Elbogen, 503 ff. The accent marks of the Masoretic texts contained (as we know) indications also of the method of production. Much information regarding cantillation signs (*ta'amin*) may be obtained from Solomon Rosowsky, "The Music of the Pentateuch," *Proceedings of the Music Association*, XLVIII (1934), 38.

<sup>4</sup> Elbogen, 494 f. The fundamental elements of Hebrew cantillation are thoroughly discussed in Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music* (New York, 1929).

<sup>5</sup> Hippolytus of Rome, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 51 f.; Hennecke, 581); cf. *supra*, p. 13, note 29.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 27; see for this Dekkers, 35.

<sup>7</sup> In this way the Hallel was prayed at

the synagogue service; see Elbogen, 496: The leader began with "halleluja," the congregation repeated it, and after each half-verse chimed in again with "halleluja," in all (as the ancient sources report) 123 times.

In much the same way the alleluia is used as a refrain after a rather lengthy series of verses in the Stowe Missal.

A discussion of the relation of the alleluia to the liturgy of the synagogue in P. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 31.

<sup>7</sup> Athanasius, *De fuga*, c. 24 (PG, XXV, 676 A).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 346.

<sup>9</sup> During the first two hundred years of the Christian era the Psalter appears to have served the Church only as a prayer-book, not as a songbook, just like the other books of the Bible. B. Fischer, *Die Psalmenfrömmigkeit der Märtyrerkirche* (Freiburg, 1949), 3, 10, referring to R. Knopf.

service of the fore-Mass, and its performance followed the method of responsorial song already in vogue.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> And usually the alleluia follows the second-last reading, either immediately<sup>12</sup> or (as in the Roman liturgy too) mediately, so that it looks like a prelude to the Gospel<sup>13</sup>; but sometimes it does not appear till after the last lesson.<sup>14</sup>

In the sermons of St. Augustine we are introduced to the fully developed form of the responsorial psalming as it was done between the lessons. He speaks of a psalm "which we heard sung and to which we responded."<sup>15</sup> Augustine himself was wont to select the psalm. Even lengthier psalms were sung right through without curtailment.<sup>16</sup> 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: *Exaltabo te Domine quoniam suscepisti me nec iucundasti inimicos meos super me*.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> St. Leo the Great, too, makes reference to this community singing of the psalms with the people.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 6 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182): When the reader has finished two readings, another shall psalm the Psalms of David, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστέχια ὑποψαλλέτω.

<sup>11</sup> The only exceptions are the Ethiopic and the Gallican liturgies. Still even in the Ethiopian there is a trace; see Hanssens, III, 187. In the Gallican the *canticum trium puerorum*, which is itself arranged in responsorial fashion, seems to have taken over the role of the alleluia chant.

<sup>12</sup> 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).

<sup>13</sup> Coptic liturgy (Brightman, 156), East Syrian liturgy (*ibid.*, 258 f.).

<sup>14</sup> 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. off.*, 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.

<sup>15</sup> Augustine, *Enarr. in ps. 119*, 1 (PL, XXXVII, 1596). Further texts in Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 81 f. and likewise in Roetzer, 101 f.

<sup>16</sup> Augustine, *Enarr. in ps. 138*, 1 (PL, XXVII, 1784).

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> Chrysostom, *In ps. 117 expos.*, 1 (PG, LV, 328); in *ps. 144*, 1 (464); Leitner, 208 f.

<sup>19</sup> Leo the Great, *Serm.*, 3, 1 (PL, LIV, 145): *Davidicum psalmum . . . consona voce cantavimus*.



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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> The next step in the evolution was to drop most of the psalm at a solemn Office, retaining a few verses which were hymnically 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.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>; amongst the Copts, a triple alleluia after two verses, and a single alleluia after another verse<sup>24</sup>; amongst the West Syrians, a double alleluia precedes, and a single alleluia follows the one verse of the psalm.<sup>25</sup> Similarly in the Byzantine liturgy the variant verse is enclosed between an alleluia at the beginning and one at the end.<sup>26</sup> On Holy Saturday a whole psalm is sung, with alleluia inserted as a response after each verse.<sup>27</sup> But less extended chants which are found within the compass of the lessons display few of the responsorial features<sup>28</sup>; they are, in fact, mere preludes to the later readings rather than echoes of those that went before. Even the alleluia, paralleling this, seems to have been

<sup>20</sup> In folk song responsorial singing was retained and the alleluia, like the *Kyrie eleison*, continued to be used as a refrain in both spiritual and secular songs; see the references in Leitner, 205, Note 6.

<sup>21</sup> This line of progress is described in greater detail by O. Heimig, *Syrische 'Eniânê und griechische Kanones* (LQF, 26; Münster, 1932). Among the psalms which were thus intercalated with new compositions, a special role was played by Ps. 113 ff. and Ps. 148 ff., alleluia-psalms which were from the start suited to the responsorial performance (Heimig, 42).

Andrew of Crete (d. 740) is accounted the first great composer of these canon-poems.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the study in Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 26 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Brightman, 258 f.

<sup>24</sup> Brightman, 156.

<sup>25</sup> Brightman, 79.

Cf. the Armenian liturgy (*ibid.*, 426; Hanssens, III, 188 f.).

<sup>26</sup> Brightman, 371.

<sup>27</sup> Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 92. Cf. Max von Sachsen, *Praelectiones de liturgiis orientalibus* (Freiburg, 1913), II, 239 f.

The alleluia as a response to each verse of a complete psalm is also preserved in the Byzantine burial service, P. Matzerath, *Die Totenfeiern der byzantinischen Kirche* (Paderborn, 1939), 10; 101 f.; 105 f.

<sup>28</sup> Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 92 f.

conceived predominantly as a preparation for the Gospel,<sup>29</sup> 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,<sup>30</sup> as is 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).<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> Similarly in the Milan liturgy the *psalmellus* follows the first of the three readings, and the alleluia chant follows the second.<sup>33</sup> 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 lections, and the alleluia the second.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Hanssens, III, 187-191.

<sup>30</sup> This rule is followed, among others, in the *Commune* formulary *In vigiliis apostolorum*; likewise in the ferial Masses of Advent (see the rubric after the first Sunday of Advent). In Lent there is an exception insofar as the tract *Domine non secundum* comes into question (see below, p. 431, note 66). It is therefore inconsequent if votive Masses, even those which are matched by a violet color, are decked out with gradual and alleluia or tract. Still such inconsequences are found quite early; see, e.g., the Antiphonary of Senlis (9th century): Hesbert, n. 154, compared with n. 121 (vigils of Apostles).

The appearance of a single chant in ferial Masses bears a relationship to the fact that here (aside from Ember week and such) three lessons were not usual. Cf. the outline of lessons as apportioned to various week-days, above, p. 400.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 395.

<sup>32</sup> There is only an apparent exception in the Wednesdays of the 1st and 4th

weeks of Lent, insofar as a tract, in addition to the second gradual, follows the second reading; cf. below, p. 431, note 66. On Good Friday the first lesson is followed nowadays by a tract only, but it was different in the most sacred antiphonaries; Hesbert, n. 78.

<sup>33</sup> The *psalmellus* is a double verse that changes with the Church year, much like our gradual; *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), p. 167 etc. The Gospel, too, is followed by a chant, the *antiphona post evangelium*, but (as the name implies) it has no responsorial character.

<sup>34</sup> A. Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuchfragmente* (see above, p. 395, note 16), p. XXX.

According to Durandus, IV, 19, 2 the gradual was at that time sung before the Epistle in many churches.

<sup>35</sup> This was the arrangement, at any rate, in the closely related liturgy of North Africa. Here the alleluia was in use only in the Easter-to-Pentecost season and on Sundays; Isidore, *De eccl. off.*, I, 13, 2



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.<sup>36</sup>

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.<sup>37</sup> The external beauty of God's house had been enhanced, the service increased in splendor; it was but natural that the music should follow suit. 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*.<sup>38</sup> 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 *responsum* 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 grad-

(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 had its sponsors also within the territory of the Roman liturgy at the time of Gregory the Great, who was reproached *quia Alleluia dici ad missa extra pentecostes tempora fecistis*. 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. Froger, "L'Alle-

luja 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 alleluia belonged especially to the paschal Hallel.

<sup>36</sup> See the results of this interpretation in Durandus, IV, 20.

<sup>37</sup> Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX, 6 f.; X, 33 (CSEL, XXXIII, 208; 263 f.); Cassian, *De coenob. inst.*, II, 2 (CSEL, XVII, 18).

<sup>38</sup> 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 belongs at earliest to the 7th century, it seems better to stretch out this period to the time of Gregory the Great.

ual and alleluia only a single verse instead of the full psalm.<sup>39</sup> 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	2. Responsory at the Little Hours	3. Responsory at Matins
Response intoned	Response intoned	
Response of the choir	Response of the choir	Response of the choir
Verse 1 of the Psalm	Verse	Verse
Response of the choir	Response of the choir	Response of the choir
Verse 2 of the Psalm		
Response of the choir		
.....		
<i>Gloria Patri</i>	<i>Gloria Patri</i>	( <i>Gloria Patri</i> )
Response of the choir	Response of the choir	Response of the choir
	4. Alleluia Chant	5. Gradual
	Response intoned	Response of the choir
	Response of the choir	(Response of the choir)
	Verse	Verse
	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*.<sup>40</sup> 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,<sup>41</sup> is a substitute for the more ancient plan according to which the *responsum* was first preintoned by the precentor and then repeated by all.<sup>42</sup> The further repetition

<sup>39</sup> It can now be easily studied in the editions of the six oldest MSS. (8th and 8-9 centuries), which appear in parallel columns in R. J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935). Cf. *supra*, p. 64.

<sup>40</sup> *Expositio 'Primum in ordine'* (PL, CXXXVIII, 1174): *Et dictum respon-*

*sorium, quod uno cessante hoc ipsum alter respondeat.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ordo* of the Lateran church (middle of the 12th century): Fischer, 81, 1. 19.

<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> As a rule<sup>44</sup> it was at first omitted only in those instances in which another chant, the alleluia or a tract, followed,<sup>45</sup> but in most churches it soon disappeared entirely. In order to avoid an unsatisfactory ending<sup>46</sup> it then became the practice to have the entire choir join in during the closing cadence of the verse,<sup>47</sup> 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 two graduals are retained which even today show several verses instead of the usual one.<sup>48</sup> The repetition of the response after the individual verses which was still customary in the Carolingian period<sup>49</sup> and even later<sup>50</sup> 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, *Hæc*

the *Expositio 'Missa pro multis,'* ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 34; in the *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1321); in the *Ordo Rom. II* (10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXXVIII, 971 B); and also in the late medieval *Ordinarium* of Chalon: Martène, 1, 4, XXIX (I, 646 CD).

<sup>43</sup> Wagner, 87 f.

Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 96 (PL, CLXXII, 575 C); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, III, 3 (PL, CCXIII, 106 A); Ordinal of Exeter (1337), ed. Dalton (HBS, 37), 295. Also, according to the *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (in printed missals between 1495 and 1530), the response *Beata gens*, in the Pentecost Mass which is presented as a paradigm, is repeated after the verse; Legg, *Tracts*, 38.

The repetition after the verse was done on a higher tone: Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 11 (PL, CV, 1120); Sicard, *Mitræle*, III, 3 (PL, CCXIII, 105 f.).

On the other hand in *Ordo Rom. V* (10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXXVIII, 987 C), the repetition is left to the discretion of the bishop, who gives the choir-master a sign if he wants the repetition. Durandus, IV, 19, 9, then makes the general statement that at Mass, differently from the Office, the repetition is not customary. This ties in naturally with the fact that the gradual had become music-

ally much richer than the responsories of the Office.

<sup>44</sup> Every repetition is suppressed in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 145).

<sup>45</sup> Thus, e.g., in the 1312 Ordinal of the Carmelites (Zimmerman, 71).

Cf. Ursprung, *Die Kirchenmusik*, 57.

<sup>46</sup> 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: *Misit Dominus manum suam et tetigit os meum et dixit mihi*; this naturally demands the repetition of the response: *Priusquam*. (If need be we could take the Alleluia-verse as a continuation of the phrase: *Tu puer . . .*)

<sup>47</sup> 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 Coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux* (Bibliothèque liturgique, 8; Paris, 1902), 27.

<sup>48</sup> On Wednesday: *Domine exaudi orationem meam*, with five verses; on Good Friday: *Domine audiui*, with four verses.

<sup>49</sup> Wagner, 89 f.

<sup>50</sup> Robert Paululus (d. circa 1184), *De cæremoniis*, III, 17 (PL, CLXXVII, 449 A).

*dies quam fecit Dominus, exsulemus et lætemur in ea*, long survived.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

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,<sup>53</sup> just as 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.<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup>

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*.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Antiphonal of Mont Blandin (8-9th century): Hesbert, n. 80, with verse 1, 2, 3, 4, 16, 22, 26. Cf. *Ordo Rom. XI*, n. 47 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1044 B): *Duo cantores in pulpito cantant Graduale: Hæc dies quam fecit Dominus. Primicerius cum schola respondet*.

There is evidence also for the feast of the Cathedra of St. Peter of a *responsum* with three verses: PL, LXXXVIII, 655 A.

<sup>52</sup> *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, 25, 6; cf. 31, 2 (CSEL, XXX, 75; 83 f.); Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 166 f.

<sup>53</sup> *Hallelu-yah* = Praise Yahweh.

<sup>54</sup> For this conception cf. A. Eizenhöfer, "Der Allelujagesang vor dem Evangelium," *Eph. liturg.*, XLV (1931), 374-382. According to the explanation which predominated till then, only the word "alleluia" with its *jubilus* was at first used at Mass, and only later on was a verse added as a support; Eisenhofer, II, 108 f. This opinion runs counter to the fact, already established, of the common acceptance, even at Rome (see above, p. 422) of the alleluia in responsorial psalmody; for the essentially responsorial character of the alleluia see H. Eng-

berding, "Alleluja," RAC, I, 293-299, especially 295.

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.

<sup>55</sup> 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 Gühr, 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.

<sup>56</sup> Thus according to the rubric in the *Graduale Romanum* (ed. Vaticana, 1908), *De rit. serv. in cantu Missæ*, IV: *Si Alleluja, alleluja cum versu sunt dicenda, primum Alleluja cantatur ab uno vel a duobus usque ad signum\*. Chorus autem reptetit Alleluja et subiungit neuma, seu iubulum, protrahens syllabam a. Cantores 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,<sup>67</sup> but, excepting the days of lesser solemnity,<sup>68</sup> the tendency was overcome. The nearness of the joyous message of the Gospel probably helped to produce this result.<sup>69</sup>

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 untiring reiteration of the melismatic melodies with their endless rise and fall must have been a wonderful experience for the devout congregation.<sup>60</sup>

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.<sup>61</sup> Musically the distinctive mark is the scantier store of melody.<sup>62</sup> This in fact may possibly be the derivation of the name: *tractus* = εἰρημός, a typical melody, which recurs according to fixed rules in the course of the piece.<sup>63</sup> Medieval interpreters sought the derivation in the "drawn-out" method of singing, a style appointed for penitence and

*versu cantor vel cantores repetunt Alleluja et chorus addit solum neuima.* 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.

<sup>67</sup> *Ordo Rom. V*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 987 C).

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Durandus, IV, 20, 7: *Per hoc vero quod Alleluja cum pneuma repetitur, laus et gaudium ineffabile patriae significatur.*

<sup>61</sup> Even in the ancient Church the alleluia was sung with rich melismas. Pertinent remarks of St. Augustine (who speaks of wordless jubilation) in Roetzer, 233-235. 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.

<sup>62</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 12 (PL, CV, 1121): *Hoc differt inter Responsorium, cui chorus respondet, et Tractum, cui nemo. . .*

<sup>63</sup> 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.

<sup>64</sup> Wagner, I, 99.

grief<sup>64</sup>; but this was hardly the original notion of these chants, for amongst them are found several that begin with *Jubilate, Laudate Dominum*. Wagner has good grounds for his opinion that in the tract we have simply graduals—perhaps we ought to say responsorial chants—of the fourth/fifth century, chants which, in their melodic design and partly in the range of their text, stem from the more ancient period of Roman solo-psalmody and so reflect the condition of the chants before the art of the singer had succeeded in embellishing it and thus led to the shortening of the psalm.<sup>65</sup> This traditionally simpler manner was later used more and more exclusively for fast-day Masses,<sup>66</sup> in which we generally find the older forms retained, especially in the last days of Lent.<sup>67</sup> Later the tract was given a certain animation by being divided amongst the whole choir in alternate fashion, as is the rule now.<sup>68</sup>

It was really an important moment in the liturgy when, at the Roman stationary service of the seventh century, right after the Epistle the singers

<sup>64</sup> Durandus, IV, 21, 1.

Later the name was usually derived from the fact that the tract was sung straight through, "in one strain" (*trac-tim*), without interruption by a refrain; cf., e.g., Gühr, 493.

<sup>65</sup> Wagner, *loc. cit.* Cf. idem, *Geschichte der Messe* (Leipzig, 1913), I, 4, with the hint that in the medieval tract melodies are probably concealed the remains of synagogue song.

<sup>66</sup> Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 100 f.

More in detail we refer to the Sundays from 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 *Domine non secundum peccata*, 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 8th century. Its origin is due to the then prevailing penitential discipline which exacted from public penitents special penitential works on the three *feriae legitimæ* all through *Quadragesima*. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 70 f.

<sup>67</sup> 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 *responsum*. 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, LXVII, 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. off.*, I, 13, 3 (PL, LXXXIII, 750 f.), and perhaps also in Rome. Gregory the Great seems to have banned the alleluia further, from *Septuagesima*; Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri* 650, 652 f. On the part of the Greeks the omission of the alleluia during the Lenten season was for the first time made a matter of complaint and accusation by Leo of Achrida in 1053; A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerularios II* (Paderborn, 1930), 94, note; 124.

<sup>68</sup> *Graduale Romanum* (ed. Vaticana, 1908), *De rit. serv. in cantu Missæ*, IV: *cuius versiculi alternatim cantantur a duabus sibi invicem respondentibus chori partibus, aut a cantoribus et universo choro.*

Reporting from Rouen, de Moléon, 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.<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup> Previous to Gregory the Great these chants were done by deacons,<sup>71</sup> but St. Gregory forbade this<sup>72</sup> since he wanted to avert the possibility of a beautiful voice counting in the promotion to diaconate. So the duty fell to the subdeacon's lot.<sup>73</sup> When the singer mounted the ambo, he was not 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.<sup>74</sup> Hence the chant took the name "*graduale*."<sup>75</sup> And his vesture, too, was that of the reader of the Epistle—that

<sup>69</sup> 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 Illyrica* and in the Mass-*Ordo* of *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).

<sup>70</sup> *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 940). Apparently two different singers are here meant; see Stapper in his edition of the *Ordo Rom. I* (Stapper, 17). The duality is patent in the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 456) and in the *Ordo Rom. III* (11th century), n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 979).

<sup>71</sup> This Office is emphasized more than once in the grave inscriptions, e.g., in that of the archdeacon Deusdedit (5th century):

*Hic levitarum primus in ordine vivens  
Davitici cantor carminis iste fuit.*

(Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 170).

<sup>72</sup> At the Roman Synod of 595 (PL, LXXVII, 1335).

<sup>73</sup> 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.

<sup>74</sup> *Expositio 'Primum in ordine'* (circa 800; PL, CXXXVIII, 1174 C); *Ordo*

*Rom. II*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 971 B); *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 34 f.

Amalar's interpretation of 813-14, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 184, does indeed refer to this rule, but also allows a second step.

<sup>75</sup> The name and the corresponding practice were certainly to be found in the Frankish kingdom towards the end of the 8th century. Antiphonary MSS. of this period, as found in Hesbert, regularly use the superscription *Grad.* or *Resp. Grad.*

But even at Rome, where the older *ordines* simply use the term *Responsorium* for this song, in the *Gregorianum* of Hadrian the designation handed down is uniformly this one, in some form or other: (*sequitur*) *gradale, gradalis, gradalem*; Lietzmann, n. 1.

A suspicion that the term might be traced back to Frankish transcribers is strengthened by an explicit remark of Amalar's, *De ord. antiph.*, prol. (PL, CV, 1245 B), that he had ascertained at Rome *quod dicimus gradale, illi vocant cantatorium*. However this is said about the book.

Gastoué suggests another derivation for the word *graduale* (*gradale*), recalling that the adjective *gradalis* meant "well-ordered, composed with care," and that this adjective was applied to the

is, he first took off the *planeta*.<sup>76</sup>

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*. This he carried along to the desk. Amongst the six oldest manuscripts which give us the Mass chants, only one is devoted entirely to the solo-songs.<sup>77</sup> 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,<sup>78</sup> 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<sup>79</sup>; soon even four were mentioned.<sup>80</sup> 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<sup>81</sup>—an arrangement which must have been car-

*responsorium*; A. Gastoué, *L'art gregorien*, 174.

In English the gradual is sometimes referred to as "grail."

<sup>76</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 15 (PL, CV, 1122 f); cf. also the references given *Supra*, p. 411, note 48.

<sup>77</sup> The 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. Amalar, *De ord. antiph.*, prol. (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 Waesberghe proves, for the *tabula* which Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, 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 Moléon, 54; 284.

<sup>78</sup> 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, LXXVIII, 940 C): *talis de schola cantabit*. (In Stapper's ed. the *de schola* is missing; 18).

<sup>79</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cleric.*, II, 51 (PL, CVII, 363). According to

*Ordo Rom. XI*, n. 20 (PL, LXXVIII, 1033), on festive occasions two *cantores* mount the ambo and together sing gradual and Alleluia. According to the *Ordinarium* of Laon (c. 1300), the gradual was sung by two subdeacons, the Alleluia by two deacons; Martène, I, 4, XX (I, 607 D).  
<sup>80</sup> John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 38 B).

For great feasts: *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 145); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 47, 1. 17).

<sup>81</sup> In the *Expositio ant. liturgiæ gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 12; 14), mention is made of *parvuli* 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 pre-centors; 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, *Mitrale*, 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



ried over into the Roman liturgy only after encountering great opposition.<sup>82</sup>

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.<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> 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: *sederunt principes et adversum me loquebantur*. And on Epiphany the closing sentence of the lesson is simply taken up and amplified: *Omnes de Saba venient*.

the singers, if they are clerics, should, after the alleluia, kiss the knee of the bishop seated at his throne; *si vero extra gradum fuerint, pedibus eius pervolvantur*.<sup>82</sup> Here we might cite the order of the canons of Theodore of Canterbury (II, 1, 10): *Laicus non debet in Ecclesia recitare lectionem nec Alleluja dicere, sed psalmos tantum et responsoria sine Alleluja* (H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche* [Mainz, 1883], 539; Finsterwalder, 313, cf. 243; 268; 283), that is, a layman may not be a precentor, at least for the sacred alleluia. The explanation given by Leitner, 193, is unsatisfactory.

A similar prohibition had already issued from the Council of Laodicea (4th century), without any such restriction; only the *κανονικοι ψάλλεσι* are allowed to sing psalms (can. 15); cf. Leitner, 184. But there was a way out; the boys could be joined to the ranks of the clergy as lectors; cf. *supra*, p. 410. For the performance of the responsorial psalms was, in early times, scarcely distinguished from a reading. For both a lector was required. Thus Augustine, referring to boys whom God had inspired to sing a psalm (which he, Augustine, had not foreseen): *Serm.* 352, 1 (PL, XXXIX, 1550 A): speaks of them in the same way as

*cordi etiam puerili imperavit*, as he speaks of *pueri* who, in *gradu lectorum*, read the Holy Writ: *De cons. evang.*, 9, 15 (PL, XXXIV, 1049). See also Quasten, *Musik und Gesang*, 138 ff.

<sup>83</sup> On the other hand in the gradual itself the response and the verse or verses are taken from the same psalm.

<sup>84</sup> Here we must mention among the texts still used today: gradual and alleluia-verse on the feast of St. John the Evangelist (John 21: 23, 19; 21: 24) and on the Epiphany (Is. 60: 6, 1; Matt. 2: 2); the gradual on the feast of John the Baptist (Jer. 1: 5, 9) and on the Commemoration of St. Paul (Gal. 2: 8 f.); the alleluia-verse on Easter Sunday (1 Cor. 5: 7); Hesbert, n. 14, 18, 80, 119, 123.

<sup>85</sup> While the Mass songbook counted the Sundays right through from Pentecost to Advent, the pericope lists (which differed among themselves) usually started a new Sunday series after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, a list independent of the Easter group. So the chants after the 29th of June combined with different lessons from year to year—much as in the present breviary from August on the lessons of the 2nd and 3rd nocturns fall in with different lessons of the *Scriptura occurrens*.

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.<sup>86</sup>

For the alleluia verse in the Sunday formularies 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.<sup>87</sup> The antiphonaries often contained a list of suitable alleluia verses to be chosen at will.<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup> But the alleluia was the first of the Mass chants to be treated with troping.<sup>91</sup> The alleluia verses which were performed by a soloist were the very first texts of the Mass to be set to multi-voiced compositions.<sup>92</sup> But in general, the stress was put not on the verse but on the alleluia

<sup>86</sup> 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 by a rubric (*Hic mutes sonum* or the like); cf. *Paléographie musicale*, XIV (1931-4), 272; see also the Antiphonary of Senlis in Hesbert, n. 46 a.

<sup>87</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 13 (PL, CV, 1122).

<sup>88</sup> Hesbert, n. 199; cf. the editor's introduction, p. CXIX f. The list of Compiègne contains 78 numbers.

<sup>89</sup> See the samples in Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, n. 199 and p. CXIX f.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 31 (PL, CCXVII, 817): the gradual signifies *poenitentiae lamentum*; therefore it is more correct to sing it not *festivis*

*aut modulationis vocibus* but *quasi cantum gravem et asperum*.

Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 19, 1: *per Graduale conversio de Judæis, per versum conversio de Gentilibus, per Alleluia utriusque in fide lætitia, per sequentiam canticum victoriæ figuratur*. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 19, 4; IV, 20.

<sup>91</sup> Blume, *Tropen des Missale*, II (Analecta hymnica, 49), p. 211: the alleluiaic 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 Responsorium graduale et ad versum Alleluaticum*".

<sup>92</sup> In the Winchester Troper (11th century), ed. Frere (HBS, VIII), of the 100 or so multi-voiced compositions, 54 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 *jubili* or, to follow medieval precedent, *sequentiae*.<sup>98</sup>

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 melodies<sup>94</sup> and at the same time (and perhaps even 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.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup> 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—were not usually paired.<sup>97</sup>

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

<sup>98</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 16 (PL, CV, 1125). Even earlier in the Antiphony of Mont-Blandin (c. 800), in the list of alleluia-verses the note is added to several: *cum sequentia*. Hesbert, n. 199 a; cf. *ibid.*, p. CXIX f.

Cf. also in the *Ordo Rom II*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 971, note d): *sequitur jubilatio quam sequentiam vocant*.

<sup>94</sup> A. Manser, “Sequenz,” LThK, IX (1937), 482-485; here a good bibliography. Wagner, I, 248-276.

On the other hand even in the 12th century the *Speculum de myst. Eccl.* (PL, CLXXVII, 359 C) maintains: *quædam ecclesiæ mystice pneumatizant sequentiam sine verbis*. Cf. Blume-Bannister, *Tropen*, I, p. 12 f.

<sup>95</sup> According to Wagner, I, 253 ff. these richer melodies must have been brought over by oriental monks from the Byzantine music treasury. But Cl. Blume and H. Bannister, *Liturgische Prosen erster Epoche* (Analecta hymnica, 53; Leipzig, 1911), pp. XXI-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 up 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 sequentias* of French MSS, which are based only on part of the Alleluia *jubilus*. In a similar vein also Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 67 ff. Cf. also Anselm Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelæ* (1934), *passim*, and Jacques Handschen, “The Two Winchester Tropers,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1936), 35.

A new and comprehensive study of the whole question in W. v. d. Steinen, “Die Anfänge der Sequenzdichtung,” *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, XL (1946), 190-212, with continuations to XLI (1947), 122-162.

<sup>96</sup> *Supra*, p. 344 f.

<sup>97</sup> 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 manuscripts<sup>98</sup>; 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 1487 has 73 of them, the Augsburg missal of 1555 has 98.<sup>99</sup> But elsewhere, above all in Rome, their reception was very cool,<sup>100</sup> or at least (in line with their origin) they were not used at low Mass.<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup> The Italian tradition and the humanist attitude were probably both at work in bringing this result about.<sup>103</sup>

Of the sequences kept,<sup>104</sup> the Easter sequence, *Victimæ 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.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>98</sup> In the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* ed. by Cl. Blume and G. M. Dreves, the portion given over to “*Sequentiæ ineditæ*” comprises vols. 8, 9, 10, 34, 37, 39, 40, 42, 44. Other sequences are contained in vols. 7, 53, 54, 55; cf. also v. 47, 49.

A selection is presented in G. M. Dreves-Cl. Blume, *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung* (Leipzig, 1909).

<sup>99</sup> 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. Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (London, 1916), 461-496; cf. Ferreres, 109.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 33 (PL, CCXVII, 820 A); Wagner, I, 275 f.

<sup>101</sup> Thus among the Dominicans and the Carmelites; Manser, 484.

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.

<sup>102</sup> See in the index in Ebner.

Cf. also Wagner, I, 276.

Some few other sequences are preserved in the propers of various orders and of some French dioceses; thus, e.g., the sequence *Latabundus exultet* on Christmas and Epiphany in the present-day Dominican rite.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 136.

<sup>104</sup> Data regarding the literary history in Eisenhofer, I, 112-114.

An edifying exposition in Gühr, *Die Sequenzen des römischen Messbuches dogmatisch und asketisch erklärt* (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1900).

<sup>105</sup> Wagner, I, 268.

In the reform under Pius V the 5th strophe was left out; in strophe 4a the *suos* was replaced by *vos*, but the Vatican edition of the *Graduale Romanum* has once more restored the *suos*.



1. *Victimæ paschali laudes*  
*Immolent Christiani.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 2. <i>Agnus redemit oves,<br/>Christus innocens Patri<br/>reconciliavit<br/>peccatores.</i> | 2a. <i>Mors et vita duello<br/>confluxere mirando,<br/>dux vitæ mortuus<br/>regnat vivus.</i>     |
| 3. <i>Dic nobis, Maria,<br/>quid vidisti in via?</i>  | 3a. <i>Angelicos testes,<br/>sudarium et vestes.</i>  |
| 4. <i>Sepulchrum Christi viventis<br/>et gloriam vidi<br/>resurgentis.</i>                  | 4a. <i>Surrexit Christus, spes mea,<br/>præcedit suos in<br/>Galileam.</i>                        |
| 5. <i>Credendum est magis soli<br/>Mariæ veraci<br/>quam Judæorum<br/>turbæ fallaci.</i>    | 5a. <i>Scimus Christum surrexisse<br/>a mortuis vere,<br/>tu nobis, victor<br/>rex, miserere.</i> |

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, a common paen of praise from both. This is really a formal type, often employed especially in oriental church poetry.<sup>106</sup> From the fact that in the first half of the sequence, unlike the second, there is no rhyme but only assonance, it has been argued with some probability that the first part of the hymn must have been in existence already before Wipo.<sup>107</sup>

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).<sup>108</sup> Here the sequence, although built on the alleluia-jubilus, has become an independent hymn. Still the text is tied up with the second alleluia verse, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*<sup>109</sup> 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),

<sup>106</sup> Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 113 f.

<sup>107</sup> A. Arens, "Wipos Oster-Sequenz," *Theologie u. Glaube*, XVIII (1926), 149-154.

<sup>108</sup> G. Morin, *Revue Bénéd.*, XXX (1913), 121; Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 37-45. See also Card. Pitra, *Spicilegium solesmense* (Paris, 1855), III, 130.

Stephen Langton is well-known as a theologian and as the originator of the present system of dividing the Scriptures into chapters.

<sup>109</sup> This itself is of later origin. In its stead in older antiphonaries the verse *Spiritus Domini* or *Hæc dies* was to be found; Hesbert, n. 106.

but appears to be the work of an even more ancient Franciscan; of late St. Bonaventure has been designated as author.<sup>110</sup> At first it was accepted in Mass books only exceptionally,<sup>111</sup> 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 iræ* which put in an appearance at the end of the twelfth century.<sup>112</sup> But the *Dies iræ* has its basis in the liturgy, since it grew out of a rhymed trope added to the responsory *Libera me, Domine*.<sup>113</sup> Besides, various portions of the hymn have been borrowed from older liturgical songs.<sup>114</sup>

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.<sup>115</sup> At the sequence the organ seems to have been used as an accompaniment from the start.<sup>116</sup> Later we hear of a solemn pealing of bells to accompany the sequence.<sup>117</sup> Dramatic art, too, found

<sup>110</sup> A. Manser, "Stabat mater," LThK, IX (1937), 759 f.; cf. M. Grabmann, *Zeitschr. f. Ascese u. Mystik*, 19 - ZkTh, LXVIII (1944), 27.

<sup>111</sup> However see Ebner, 168: a later entry in a Minorite missal of the 13th century.

<sup>112</sup> M. Inguanez, "Il Dies iræ in un codice del secolo XII," *Rivista liturgica*, XVIII (1931), 277-288, called attention to a text—partially variant—of this time; Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 102. As a consequence the ascription to Thomas of Celano (d. circa 1255) can no longer be maintained.

<sup>113</sup> The 9th responsory in the Office for the dead, also used for the *Absolutio ad tumbam*.

Cf. the occurrence in a Burial rite of a Franciscan missal of the 13th century: Ebner, 120.

<sup>114</sup> Eisenhofer, II, 114, after Cl. Blume, "Dies iræ," *Cäcilienvereinsorgan*, XLIX, (1914), 55 ff.

<sup>115</sup> See *supra*, p. 125.

<sup>116</sup> Wagner I, 264 f.

<sup>117</sup> *Liber ordinarius* of the Liège St. James monastery (Volk, 53, 1. 13).

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 Moléon, 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 Maskell, 63. Also a Trier Synod of 1549, can. 9, speaks of a signal of the bell at the Gospel; Mansi, XXXII, 1447.



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 *Victimæ 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 queritis in sepulchro, o Christicolæ*, introduced the introit *Resurrexi*.<sup>118</sup>

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 *Victimæ paschali* the step so important for the development of a German vernacular hymnody 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.<sup>119</sup> 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.<sup>120</sup>

The ancient Pentecost songs, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* and *Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* stand in the same relation to the Whitsun sequence, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*; likewise the *vulgaris prosa* known as *Christ fuer gen Himmel* is linked with the sequence for Ascension, *Summi triumphum*.<sup>121</sup> 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.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>118</sup> K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), I, 201-222.

Ursprung, 77; cf. 79.

<sup>119</sup> W. Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied* (Freiburg, 1883), II, 12, quotes a school plan of Crailsheim, 1480: *Item circa alia festa Resurrectionis, Ascensionis et Corporis Christi habentur plures canciones convenientes cum sequentiis; videlicet in sequentiis 'Victime paschali laudes': 'Christ ist erstanden,' circa quoslibet duos versus, etc., regulariter fit. Vel aliud: 'Surrexit Christus hodie, alleluja, alleluja, humano pro solamine, alleluja', vulgus: 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-*

*quando cani: 'Christ ist erstanden'. Grevling, Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch, 152, note c.*

Bäumker, *op. cit.*, (1886) I, 199, also cites the Mainz Cantual of 1605 and 1627, where German verses within the sequence of great feasts are presupposed.

<sup>120</sup> See the comparison presented by Ursprung, 72, cf. 101. Also printed in P. Gennrich, *Der Gemeindegesang in der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche* (Welt des Gesangbuches, 2; Leipzig o. J.), 27.

Other older forms of the song in Bäumker, I, 502-510.

<sup>121</sup> Bäumker, II, 12.

Cf. also W. Bäumker, *Zur Geschichte der Tonkunst* (Freiburg, 1881), 132 f.

<sup>122</sup> *Graduale Romanum* (ed. Vat., 1908), *De rit. serv. in cantu Missæ*, IV.

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.<sup>123</sup>

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 ordinations (without any fore-Mass) immediately before the start of the Mass proper,<sup>124</sup> 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.*<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup>

In the later Middle Ages it became customary at a high Mass to start the preparation of the offerings during these interposed chants before the Gospel.<sup>127</sup> This custom was then taken over here and there into the less

<sup>123</sup> The latter was the case at the Corpus Christi high Mass as celebrated at Klosterneuburg in the 18th century; Schabes, 171.

For the Premonstratensians of Brabant a provincial chapter of 1620 decreed: Each time, when the conventual Mass *de Venerabili* was celebrated, *Ecce panis* should be sung after the Alleluia, *et sub istis omnibus* (viz., also at the *Tantum ergo* and *Genitori* before and after the service) *venerabile sacramentum a celebrante exhibeatur, acolythi tadas accensas teneant, cymbala pulsent et thuribularius thurificet*. J. E. Steynen, *Capitula provincialia Circariæ Brabantiae* (Supplement to the *Analecta Præm.*, 17-18 [1941-42], 4).

Countless other examples since the 14th century in Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, 150-153.

<sup>124</sup> Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 6).

<sup>125</sup> *Ordo Rom. VIII*, n. 3, 4, 8 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1001-1004); cf. de Puniet, *Das römische Pontifikale*, I, 131 f. Since the 10th century the other orders which were previously 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.

<sup>126</sup> *Pontificale Rom., De ordinibus conferendis*.

<sup>127</sup> 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. Cf. *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 237); *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 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 (*Deus qui humanæ substantiæ or De latere*) at the commingling of the water. Frequently the chalice and paten were then carried to the altar during the *Credo*; Martène, I, 4, 10 (I, 375 f.). Further examples, *ibid.*, I, 4, XXIV, XXIX, XXXVII (I, 627 D, 646 D, 677 D).

Cf. also the Mass-plan *Indutus planeta* (in Mass books since 1507), in Legg, *Tracts*, 184.



solemn Mass.<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup> It is hard to say whether this is the expression of an exaggerated self-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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> The Gospel book alone was permitted

<sup>128</sup> See the rite in the Regensburg Missal of 1500 (Beck, 265).

Elsewhere the priest should here merely see whether chalice and paten are ready for the sacrificial offerings; thus in two Mass-plans in Legg, *Tracts*, 39, 58.

<sup>129</sup> Ebner, 297, 337.

Cf. *supra*, note 69.

See also the account from the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury (d. 1170), who used to say St. Anselm's penitential prayers during the chants of the fore-Mass; Martène, I, 4, 4, 9 (I, 375).

<sup>1</sup> Only in the enumeration of the lessons in Justin, *Apol.*, I, 67, are the "memoirs of the apostles" (= Gospels) named first, and then the prophets; but no argument can be built on the order here outlined.

The oldest attestations for the Gospel as the last lesson will be found in Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentl. Kanons*, II (Erlangen, 1890), 380, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 11 (PL, CV, 1118); Durandus, IV, 16, 2 ff.; Eisenhofer, II, 103.

<sup>3</sup> St. Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1906); H. Leclercq, "Évangélaire," DACL, V, 775-845; F. Cabrol, *Books of the Latin Liturgy* (London, 1933), 144-147.

on the altar which otherwise bore only the Blessed Sacrament, a conception which survives in the Greek Church down to the very present.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> On feast days perhaps the bishop himself read the Gospel<sup>6</sup>; in Jerusalem this was the case every Sunday.<sup>7</sup> In the West the delivery of the Gospel was the deacon's duty from earliest times,<sup>8</sup> 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: *Exiit edictum a Cæsare Augusto*.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> 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

<sup>4</sup> Leclercq, 778.

<sup>5</sup> Thus according to the *Ap. Const.*, II, 57, 7 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182). The deacon is mentioned by Jerome, *Ep.*, 147, 6 (PL, XXII, 1200).

According to Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 19 (PG, LXVII, 1477 A), the Gospel was reserved in his time in many places to the priest, in Alexandria to the arch-deacon, elsewhere to the deacon.

<sup>6</sup> Sozomen, *loc. cit.* In the Byzantine-Slavic rite even at present the celebrant (and therefore, on occasion, the bishop) on Easter Sunday himself reads the Gospel (John 1: 1-17), and does so in this manner: each sentence is repeated by each of the priests and deacons present, and at the finish the bells are rung. A. v. Maltzew, *Fasten- und Blumen-Triodion* (Berlin, 1899), 723-725.

<sup>7</sup> *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 10 (CSEL, XXXIX, 73 f.). In the Syrian liturgies and in the Ethiopian it is still the practice at present for the celebrant always to read the Gospel; Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 93.

<sup>8</sup> *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 942 f.). Jerome, too, speaks of the deacon as reader of the Gospel, *Ep.*, 147, 6

(CSEL, LVI, 322). The deacon also reads the Gospel in the Byzantine and the Armenian liturgies; in the Coptic liturgy the deacon has several readings; Baumstark, 93 f.

<sup>9</sup> In the Roman *ordines* this right is assigned to the emperor only for the pertinent lesson at Matins; *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 67 (PL, LXXVIII, 1182); *Ordo Rom. XV*, n. 9 (1278). But the right was also exercised at Mass, e.g., by Charles IV and by Sigismund; see Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich*, 100 f. Frederick III did the same at Rome in 1468; see the account in Browe, *JL*, XII (1934), 166. The rite included the ceremonial in which the emperor drew his sword and brandished it three times as a sign that he upheld the Gospel. In virtue of his consecration as ruler the emperor was granted the spiritual honors of a canon. By many, in fact, he was considered a deacon or at least a cleric. Biehl, 100 f., 121 ff.; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, 282 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Ordo Rom. VII*, n. 5 (PL, LXXVIII, 997); *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* I, 34 (Wilson, 50-53); P. de Puniet, "Catéchuménat," DACL, II, 2605 ff.



also to hear the Gospel.<sup>11</sup> 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 to be a vital institution for the instruction of candidates for Baptism. The word of the Gospel should resound throughout the world—this idea sometimes found (and finds) a special symbolical expression in the practice of reciting the Gospel-pericope on festive occasions in several languages.<sup>12</sup>

The deportment 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*<sup>13</sup>; the deacon kisses the feet of the pope, who pronounces over him the words: *Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis*.<sup>14</sup> 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).<sup>15</sup> He kisses it and picks it up.<sup>16</sup> As he betakes himself to the ambo, he is accompanied by two acolytes with torches, and by two subdeacons, one of whom carries a *thymiama*.

<sup>11</sup> 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), 60-110, especially 63 ff.

<sup>12</sup> In the Byzantine-Slavic 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.

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. XI*, n. 20; 47 (PL, LXXVII, 1033, 1044), etc. The custom held also for Easter and Pentecost and for the Ember Saturdays; see Kunze, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung*, 105 f.

Similar customs were still in existence at St. Denis about 1700; Martène, I, 3, 2, 10 (I, 281 D). Further accounts, *ibid.*

1, 3, 2, 7 (280 f.). At the coronation of Alexander V at the Council of Pisa (1409) both readings were done in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; Martène, *loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 5; 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 942 f.).

<sup>14</sup> In this short form also in Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ*, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 106).

<sup>15</sup> 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. Sölch, 18).

<sup>16</sup> 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; Sölch, 66.

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 ritual. 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. Sölch, 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> Its center, too, is the Gospel book—if not exclusively, at least predominantly.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup>

As seems plain from what has been said, the carrying of tapers before the Gospel tallies 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.<sup>21</sup> More precisely, however, the practice was palpably an honor paid to the holy book. The Roman *Notitia dignitatum*<sup>22</sup> of the fifth century, amongst the official insignia of the various dignitaries of the Roman State which are there illustrated, shows for the *præfectus prætorio* 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

<sup>17</sup> *Expositio ant. lit. gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 14 f.): *Egreditur processio sancti evangelii velut potentia Christi triumphantis de morte, cum prædictis harmoniis et cum septem candelabris luminis, quæ sunt septem dona Spiritus Sancti . . . ascendens in tribunal analogii velut Christus sedem regni paterni, ut inde intonet dona vitæ clamantibus clericis: Gloria tibi Domine, in specie angelorum qui nascente Domino: Gloria in excelsis Deo, pastoribus apparentibus cecinerunt.* The seven torches (after Apoc. 1: 12, 20) still found in *Ordo Rom. VI* (Germany, 10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 991). On the contrary only at the entry for the start of services in *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 941).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 263.

<sup>19</sup> See above all the rite in the Byzantine liturgy (Brightman, 367). Here, too—apparently about the same time as in Gaul—the reference to the entrance of the Son of God into the world; Hanssens, III, 105.

For the other rites of the Orient, cf. the indications in Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 82. B. sees the prototype of the *μικρὰ εἰσοδος* 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 Aetheriæ*, 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.).

<sup>20</sup> Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orient. collectio*, I (1747), 189\* f. Cf. for the Ethiopian liturgy, Brightman, 220, 1.5.

<sup>21</sup> Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium*, c. 7 (PL, XXIII, 346).

<sup>22</sup> Regarding this remarkable document cf. H. Leclercq, "Notitia dignitatum," DACL, XII, 1711-1715; cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 81, note 3.



emperor on a ground of gold; it is the *liber mandatorum* which contains the powers granted to this official by the emperor.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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,<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

In the later Middle Ages the processional character of this act was emphasized in many places by having a cross-bearer precede the group.<sup>28</sup> The cushion for the book was probably also carried in the procession.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> At Le Mans it was even the custom for the priest to

<sup>23</sup> *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1876), p. 8; 107; cf. E. Böcking, *Über die Notitia dignitatum* (Bonn, 1834), 96 f., 101.

<sup>24</sup> *Supra*, p. 68 f.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Remigus of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1248 A), who says of the Gospel-book in the procession at the beginning of Mass: the Gospel of Christ is surrounded by a grand retinue *tamquam persona præpotentis*.

<sup>26</sup> Thus, e.g., at the Council of Ephesus (431); Cyril of Alexandria, *Apol. ad Imperatorem*, (PG, LXXVI, 472 B).

<sup>27</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 506.

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.

<sup>28</sup> Durandus, IV, 24, 16; Frere, *The use of Sacramentum*, I, 73.

The custom existed among the Premonstratensians and even today is preserved by the Dominicans and in many French churches; Sölch, *Hugh*, 69 f.

<sup>29</sup> Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 41 (PL, CCXVII, 823 B); Durandus, IV, 24, 1. Also at a later period; de Moléon, 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 fact that he must have a knowledge of both 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.

<sup>30</sup> *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (15-16th century): Legg, *Tracts*, 39; *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557), *ibid.*, 58.

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: *ipsemet seu 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 folia interiecto*; Gavanti-

carry the Gospel book to the altar at a high Mass, and only then to turn it over to the deacon.<sup>31</sup>

That Christ Himself is honored in the Gospel book<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> Then he announces the pericope and the cry is heard: *Gloria tibi, Domine*.<sup>34</sup> After the lection the Mass-server answers: *Laus tibi, Christe*.<sup>35</sup> 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*.<sup>36</sup> In some isolated instances the deacon himself, at the end of the reading, is saluted by the celebrant with a *Pax tibi*.<sup>37</sup>

Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 5, 5 (I, 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 transferre Missale?" *Eph. liturg.*, XLVIII (1934), 328-330.

<sup>31</sup> As a practice still circa in de Moléon, 221.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Augustine, *In Joh. tract.*, 30, 1 (PL, XXXV, 1632): *Nos itaque sic audiamus evangelium quasi præsentem Dominum*. Similarly already Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Phil.*, 5, 1: The Gospel is his refuge, "like the flesh of Jesus."

<sup>33</sup> Thus first in the Carolingian *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972).

<sup>34</sup> 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).

Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 f.) is the first to attest 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.

Cf. 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.

According to the *Ordinarium* 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 apparuisti hodie*, etc.; Legg, *Tracts*, 59.

The phrase may ultimately spring from the Orient. In the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 38), the people cry out before the Gospel: *Δόξα σοι κύριε*. In the Coptic liturgy (Br. 156) the choir does this. The Greek form in the Coptic Mass may possibly reach back to the 7th century. Similarly in the Armenian liturgy (Br., 426) where the words "God speaks" are added.

<sup>35</sup> That it is the Mass-server and not the choir that answers ties in with its recent (late Middle Age) origin. Still the Armenian liturgy repeats the acclamation which the clerics spoke before the Gospel: "Glory be to thee, O Lord, our God!" (Brightman, 426).

<sup>36</sup> Sicard, *Mitræle*, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 112 A); the same circa 1300 in Tours: Martène, I, 4, 5, 6 (I, 379 C). The same exclamation is used by the Jacobites after the announcement of the Gospel; Brightman, 79.

According to John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 48 D), all should cry after the Gospel: *Amen*, or *Deo Gratias*. A rule for nuns of about 1115 has the choir answer *Amen*; de Moléon, 110. Other later authors attest the practice: cf. van Dijk, 326. It probably stems from the Rule of St. Benedict (c. 11) according to which all should answer *Amen* when the abbot has finished the reading of the Gospel. Cf. the Mozarabic liturgy (*supra*, p. 406).

This *Amen* was said with hands uplifted, according to Durandus, IV, 24, 30; 34.

<sup>37</sup> *Supra*, p. 407. The practice still ap-



If, in these cries, the clergy answer the message of joy rather than the people, still the faithful also take a part in showing honor to the Gospel, at least by their bodily posture. From ancient times it has been customary to listen to the Gospel *standing*.<sup>38</sup> The practice prevails generally in the Orient, too,<sup>39</sup> and is provable there as far back as the fourth century.<sup>40</sup> In the West also there is early and manifold evidence of standing at the Gospel.<sup>41</sup> The medieval interpreters place a great deal of weight on 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.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile the canes that are used to support oneself<sup>43</sup> are put aside and the people either stand erect (like servants before their Lord)<sup>44</sup> or else slightly bowed.<sup>45</sup> The men are to remove every head covering, even the princely crown.<sup>46</sup> Mention is made, too, of setting

pears in Mass books of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 300, 337. But it is no longer understood even in *Ordo Rom. III* (11th century; Germany), n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 980). In the *Missa Illyrica* all the clerics cry out to the deacon: *Pax tibi*; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 B).

<sup>38</sup> Today it is prescribed as the one exception to the kneeling position at private Mass; *Missale Rom., Rubr. gen.*, XVII, 2.

<sup>39</sup> Hanssens, III, 214.

<sup>40</sup> *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 8 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182); Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 19 (PG, LXVII, 1477 A). Cf. the reading of the law by Esdras: 2 Esdr. 8: 5.

<sup>41</sup> *Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 218): *Hic [Anastasius I] constituit, ut quotiescumque evangelia sancta recitantur, sacerdotes non sederent, sed curvi starent*. This order, which belongs to the oldest portion of the book (dated circa 530 according to the generally accepted norm), is found again in an expanded form (*sacerdotes et ceteri omnes*) in the pseudo-Isidorean Decretals (PL, CXXX, 691), whence it crept into various later canonical collections; for this last see Browe, *Eph. liturg.*, L (1936), 402.

<sup>42</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 C); *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972).

<sup>43</sup> These sticks, later in the form of crutches, usually took the place of pews; Sölch, Hugh of St. Cher, 74. Canes of

this sort are still used for the same purpose by Abyssinian monks.

<sup>44</sup> Amalar, *loc. cit.*

Further illustrations below, note 45 f., and in van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 325; Durandus, IV, 24, 23-25.

<sup>45</sup> Thus according to the ancient canon; see note 41 above. John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 49 B): *erecti . . . aut capite inclinato*. This regulation is still found in the 13th century; see van Dijk, 323: *erecto corpore . . . et capite aliquantulum inclinato*. The folding of the hands (the practice in Spain) was probably inspired by the same reasons which fostered the bowing of the head; see the evidence from a lectionary of the year 1073 in Férotin, *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, p. 904; cf. Ferreres, 112.

<sup>46</sup> *Ordo Rom. II* (10th century), n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972): *Sed et baculi omnium deponuntur de manibus, et in ipsa hora neque corona neque aliud operimentum super capita eorum habetur*. Cf. *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1322).

Similarly most of the later interpreters, e.g. Hildebert of Le Mans (d. 1133) in his poetic exposition of the Mass: *Plebs baculos ponit, stat retegitque caput* (PL, CXI, 1178). Women, however, were to keep their heads covered, *propter pomum vetitum*. In case of necessity the mother should lay a handkerchief on the head of a girl: John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 39 (PL, CII, 49).

aside one's weapons and outer mantle or cloak,<sup>47</sup> as well as gloves.<sup>48</sup> Elsewhere the knights laid their hand on the hilt of their sword, or they drew the sword and held it extended all during the reading<sup>49</sup>—expressions, both, of a willingness to fight for the word of God.

When the Gospel ended it was customary in the Roman stationary services for a subdeacon to take the book (not with bare hands, however, but holding it *super planetam*),<sup>50</sup> and to bring it around to the attending clergy to be kissed<sup>51</sup> before it was returned again to its casket, sealed and brought back to its place of safekeeping.<sup>52</sup>

In countries of the North the people were, for a time, permitted to share in this veneration of the Gospel book.<sup>53</sup> Later the right was limited to *personis inunctis*.<sup>54</sup> And from there on it was usually handed only to clerics

<sup>47</sup> Durandus, *loc. cit.*; mentions *arma* and *chlamys*.

<sup>48</sup> Albert the Great, *De sacrificio missæ*, II, c. 7, 7 (*Opp.*, ed. Borgnet, 38, 56).

<sup>49</sup> Thus above all among the religious orders of knights; Bona, II, 7, 3 (669). This is attested as still the practice of these military orders by J. M. Cavalieri (d. 1757), *Commentaria in authentica SRC decreta*, V (Augsburg, 1764), 31. See 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.

<sup>50</sup> *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943). The subdeacon, like other clerics of the 8th century, wore a bell-shaped chasuble which he therefore rolled up. In like manner the acolyte covered his hands when he picked up the book before the entrance procession and carried it to the altar. *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 5 (PL, LXXVIII, 940); Beissel, *Bilder*, 304 f., 313.

<sup>51</sup> In *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943) it seems at first only a small group were concerned, at least if Batiffol's explanation of the phrase *per ordinem graduum* pertains 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 imag.*, II, *præf.* (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 reverences, 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, 1. 19 f. <sup>52</sup> *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943).

<sup>53</sup> *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 36; *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972 B). According to William of Hirsau (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 Mass-server *et aliis communicare volentibus* 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, *Liturgiarum orient. collectio*, I, 190. Notice the similarity to the practice at Bayeux, note 56 below.

<sup>54</sup> Thus according to a decision of Honorius III, March 8, 1221 (A. Potthast, *Regesta pont. Rom.*, I [Berlin, 1874], p. 573); cf. J. M. Cavalieri, *Commentaria*, V, 31.



to be kissed,<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> Gradually, however, since the thirteenth century, the custom of having the clergy kiss the book disappeared,<sup>57</sup> although it was still to be found in some places as late as the eighteenth century.<sup>58</sup> According to present-day practice even the deacon no longer kisses the book,<sup>59</sup> but only the celebrating priest<sup>60</sup> or (but only in his stead) an attending higher prelate,<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> And traces of the original mean-

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.).

<sup>55</sup> Thus in John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 35 B).

<sup>56</sup> Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract.* (Sölch, 21).

At Bayeux the book was handed to all the priests open, to other clerics closed; Martène, I, 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 of it by parables." Durandus, IV, 24, 32. <sup>57</sup> Durandus, IV, 24, 32, cites it only in the following form: *Postea in quibusdam ecclesiis liber clausus illis qui sunt in choro ostenditur*. However it did endure for a long time in many places in France: Martène, I, 4, XX, 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, I, 4, XXXV (I, 667).

<sup>58</sup> According to Martène, I, 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: *Hæc est lex divina*. Likewise Lebrun reports the custom at Paris: After thethurifer has

incensed each individual, the subdeacon presents the Gospel book to be kissed with the words: *Hæc sunt verba sancta*, whereupon the other answers: *Credo et confiteor*; Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 203 f. Similarly amongst the Premonstratensians in the *Ordinarius* of 1739; Waefelghem, 56, note 2.

<sup>59</sup> The subdeacon often kissed the book as soon as the reading was finished: Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 4 (PL, CCXII, 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 Illyrica*: Martène, I, 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.

<sup>60</sup> The possible exceptions, note 54 above.

<sup>61</sup> *Missale Rom.*, *Rit. serv.*, VI, 2; 5. The same direction in the *Ordo Missæ* of John Burchard; Legg, *Tracts*, 147.

<sup>62</sup> Specially frequent is the formula which appears about 1030 in the *Missa Illyrica*, mostly with slight variations: *Per istos sanctos sermones evangelii Domini nostri Jesu Christi indulgeat nobis Dominus universa peccata nostra*: Martène, I, 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:

ing of reverent and grateful greeting are to be seen in a formula from that early period: *Ave verba sancti evangelii quæ totum mundum replestis*<sup>63</sup>; or in the words found in a more recent arrangement of the private Mass: *Deo gratias, credo et confiteor*.<sup>64</sup>

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,<sup>65</sup> if there was room. In fact a second *thuribulum* was probably employed.<sup>66</sup> 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 blessing of this 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.<sup>67</sup> The practice was curtailed and only the celebrant was incensed, but even then this incensation retained its special meaning (already men-

*ibid.*, 322, 355; Fiala, 202. Cf. Martène I, 4, XIII, XVI (I, 576 D, 596 f.).

In a somewhat exuberant fashion the *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (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 delicta. Amen. Hæc sunt verba sancta. Credo et confiteor*. The formula in use at present I find only one other place, in the Pontifical of Noyon (end of the 15th century); V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* (Paris, 1937), I, 170.

<sup>63</sup> Missal of St. Denis (11th century; cf. Leroquais, I, 142): Martène, I, 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.

<sup>64</sup> Missal of St. Pol de Léon 15th century; cf. Leroquais, III, 230 f.): Martène, I, 4, XXXIV (I, 662 E). 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-

ducing the Gospel, cries out: "We believe and confess." (Brightman, 80, 1. 6).

<sup>65</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, c. 18 (PL, CV, 1126 B); *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 35.

<sup>66</sup> *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXXVIII, 971).

<sup>67</sup> *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 9 (PL, LXXXVIII, 972): *thuribula per altaria portantur et postea ad nares hominum feruntur et per manum fumus ad os trahitur*. Cf. *supra*, p. 449. In part more precise in the *Ordo Rom. V* which likewise belongs to the 10th century, n. 7 (PL, LXXXVIII, 987): *Acolythorum autem gestantium incensoria unus pergat ad altare incensionem exhibere circa illud, necnon et episcopo ac presbyteris atque diaconibus cunctoque clero, alius vero pergat ad populum*.

The connection between incensing and kissing the book is plain in the *Missa Illyrica*, which also has a prayer for each: *Tunc allato incenso simulque evangelio ad salutandum dicant singuli: Per istos sanctos sermones . . .* [see note 62 above] *Quando incensum offertur dicant singuli: Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo, Domine*; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 B). The same connection still existed in the time of Lebrun in some of the churches of France; see note 58 above.



tioned),<sup>68</sup> different from others,<sup>69</sup> until it, too, was gradually lost.<sup>70</sup> The incensing of the book before the start of the reading is mentioned since the eleventh century.<sup>71</sup> This has been retained and was, in fact, at one time even duplicated after the reading—another instance of the new (and yet basically ancient) concept of honoring the Gospel.<sup>72</sup> It is only in the Mass for the Dead that the kissing of book and hand is omitted, and so also this incensing.<sup>73</sup>

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.<sup>74</sup> 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*.<sup>75</sup> About the eleventh century mention is made of forehead,

<sup>68</sup> *Ordo Rom. VI* (10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 A): *episcopus . . . acceperit odore incensi*.

William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam* (ed. van Dijk, 326): *Lecto evangelio liber et thuribulum ad episcopum deferitur . . . et ipse thus adolet*. 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 Liège monastery of St. James (Volk, 91) we read much the same thing at the beginning of the Gospel: *thuriferarius debet diaconum interim incensare et ad finem evangelii similiter faciat*, whereas the celebrant is not incensed.

<sup>69</sup> This special meaning is expressed, to some extent, in the prayer which the celebrant says while putting in the incense: *Odore coelestis inspirationis suae accendat Dominus et impleat corda nostra ad audienda et implenda 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): Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 531 A); in a mid-Italian missal of the 11th century: Ebner, 297 (later examples, *ibid.*, 332,

337, 345); also, with the addition of a second formula of blessing, in the *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 504 f.).

<sup>70</sup> Durandus, IV, 24, 34, is aware only of the incensing of the bishop after the Gospel, and sees in it an invitation to prayer.

<sup>71</sup> John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 35 A); Sicard 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, *Tracts*, 4.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 445 f.

<sup>73</sup> 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 subtrahitur*, but it was applied only in part to the kiss, not as yet to the incensing.

<sup>74</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 D); *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1322 A). Also, according to Remigius of Auxerre (d. circa 908), *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1251 A), the people make the sign of the Cross on their foreheads, the deacon on both forehead and breast.

<sup>75</sup> *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972).

There is mention only of the deacon in the Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 201)

mouth and breast,<sup>76</sup> and since that time also of the signing of the book.<sup>77</sup> At the end of the Gospel it was the custom for all those present to sign themselves with the cross once more.<sup>78</sup> The original idea of this signing of oneself is probably indicated in the scriptural text frequently cited in this connection, the quotation about the wicked enemy who is anxious to take the seed of the word of God away from the hearts of the hearers.<sup>79</sup> This, in any case, makes the sign of the Cross at the close intelligible,<sup>80</sup> since it is practically as ancient as the other at the beginning. This opening act, which alone has continued to exist, indeed has grown somewhat, was at first explained in a similar sense.<sup>81</sup> And it is a "blessing" of oneself,<sup>82</sup> that is true. But another explanation takes over by degrees; an ever-increasing stress

and in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 9 (PL, LI, 983); likewise in Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. super Missam* (ed. Sölch, 20), where besides the crossing of the book comes first. The same ritual in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 91). According to the Regensburg Missal of 1500 (Beck, 265 f.), the priest at a non-solemn Mass stands at the center of the altar and crosses his breast and lips with the words: *Jube Domine benedicere. Dominus sit in corde † meo in labiis † meis, ut . . .*, and thereupon he signs the altar, adding the words: *† Pax tecum. Et cum spiritu meo*. Then he starts the reading of the Gospel with *Dominus vobiscum*, and once more signs the book, his forehead and breast; likewise at the end he signs the book.

<sup>76</sup> William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017); cf. as a preliminary step *Bernardi Ordo Clun.*, I, 72 (Herrgott, 264).

Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 23 (PL, CLXXII, 551); John Belet, *Expositio*, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 4803); Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 43 (PL, CCXVII, 824); *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerini, 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.

<sup>77</sup> John Belet, *loc. cit.*

Alexander of Hales, *Summa de sacrif. 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 *quidam* (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.

<sup>78</sup> Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1251 C); *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972 B); John Belet, *Expositio*, 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; Sölch, *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 iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 26.

<sup>79</sup> Luke 8: 12.

<sup>80</sup> The quotation is connected with this closing sign in Remigius, *loc. cit.*, Belet, *loc. cit.*

Further illustrations in van Dijk, 326.

<sup>81</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 f.).

<sup>82</sup> The Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century) presents a special prayer for this sign of the Cross with the rubric: *Quando se signant*; the prayer is as follows: *Crucis vivificæ signo muni, Domine, omnes sensus meos ad audienda verba sancti evangelii corde credenda et opere complenda*; Martène, I, 4, V (I, 523 A).



is placed on the readiness to acknowledge God's word with courage<sup>83</sup> in the sense of St. Paul's assertion: I am not ashamed of this Gospel.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup>

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 *major benedictio*.<sup>86</sup> The simple word of blessing which, according to the first Roman *Ordo*, the pope pronounces over the deacon,<sup>87</sup> is soon broadened out into formulas that reproduce<sup>88</sup> or resemble the one we use today, for example, *Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis ut nunties competenter evangelium pacis*,<sup>89</sup> or it is replaced or supplemented by other blessing formulas, for instance: *Benedictio Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super te et aperiat Christus os tuum ad pronuntiandum digne idoneeque sanctum evangelium suum*,<sup>90</sup> or: *Corrobores Dominus sensum et labia tua, ut recte pronunties nobis eloquia divina*,<sup>91</sup> or by a biblical phrase *Deus misereatur vestri et benedicat*,<sup>92</sup> or: *Spiritus Domini super te, evangelizare pauperibus*.<sup>93</sup> Then too, the deacon formally begs for the blessing with *Iube, domne, benedicere*.<sup>94</sup> Since the eleventh century there appears, either before or after the

<sup>83</sup> Amalar, *loc. cit.* (1126 A); Beleth, *loc. cit.* (PL, CCII, 48 A); Durandus, IV, 24, 27.

<sup>84</sup> Rom. 1: 16.

<sup>85</sup> This interpretation in its essentials already in Beleth, *loc. cit.* Regarding the history of the sign of the Cross in general, and the various ways of making it, see Eisenhofer, I, 273-281.

The West Syrians have a custom that gives apt expression to the desire to cling to the Gospel; the faithful are wont to murmur the closing word of each phrase along with the reader; thus according to several accounts from Jerusalem, e.g. Chr. Panfoeder, *Das Persönliche in der Liturgie* (Mainz, 1925), 129.

<sup>86</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 D).

<sup>87</sup> *Supra*, p. 444.

<sup>88</sup> Mid-Italian missal of the 11th century: Ebner, 300.

<sup>89</sup> *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 505 A). From then on frequent everywhere, e.g. Sarum Ordinary (14th c.):

Legg, *Tracts*, 4; Hungarian Mass books since the 12th century: Radó, 42; Jávör, 114. Also still in the *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 14.

<sup>90</sup> Missal of Troyes (c. 1050): Martène, 1, 4, VI (I, 531 A); cf. *ibid.*, IV, V, XV f. (I, 505 A, 523 A, 589 E, 596 E). Almost duplicated in mid-Italian Mass books of the 11th century: Ebner, 297, 300, 337.

<sup>91</sup> Mass-*Ordo* of Amiens (9th century), ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 441; Martène, 1, 4, VIII, XXV (I, 539 A, 631 D); Ebner, 325.

<sup>92</sup> *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 716).

<sup>93</sup> Missal from Bobbio (10-11th century): Ebner, 81.

<sup>94</sup> Mid-Italian Mass books of the 11th century: Ebner, 300, cf. 355; *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1161). Already in the 7th century the reader begged a blessing at the table-prayers of Roman monasteries by using this formula:

celebrant pronounces the blessing, another prayer by which the deacon prepares himself, our *Munda cor meum*.<sup>95</sup> 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: *Domine, labia mea aperies et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam*.<sup>96</sup>

In a non-solemn Mass the priest, before starting to read the Gospel, was satisfied with a little petition, *Dominus sit in ore meo*<sup>97</sup> or with Psalm 50:17<sup>98</sup> or with one of the formulas already mentioned (revised with reflexives): *Corrobores Dominus sensum meum et labia mea ut recte pronunciem verba sancti evangelii. Per Christum*,<sup>99</sup> or with the sentence used in the present-day Dominican rite: *Dominus sit in corde meo et in labiis meis ad pronuntiandum sanctum evangelium pacis*.<sup>100</sup> In the *Ordo Missæ* of John Burchard (1502) the *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.<sup>101</sup>

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 Isaiah when the seraph had touched the seer's lips with the glowing coal<sup>102</sup>; 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.

*Ordo* of Johannes Archicantor, *De convivio* (Silva-Tarouca, 213 f.).

*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*.

<sup>95</sup> Ebner, 300, 314, 340, 342; *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1161).

<sup>96</sup> Ps. 50: 17; *Ordo Rom. VI* (10th century), n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 991).

Also Esth. 14: 12 f. (in Old Latin phrasing: *Conforta me rex* . . .) is often found in monastic texts: Fiala, 201; Ebner, 355; De Corswarem, 121; cf. Missal of Hereford (1502): *Da mihi, Domine, sermonem rectum* . . . Maskell, 66.

<sup>97</sup> *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101).

<sup>98</sup> Lyons Mass book of the 13th century: Ebner, 326.

<sup>99</sup> Lyons Missal of 1531: Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 659 A).

<sup>100</sup> *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 18. Similarly already a Hungarian missal of the 13th century: Radó, 61.

<sup>101</sup> Legg, *Tracts*, 146. In the Mass-plan '*Indutus 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-*ordos* direct the priest to kiss the altar while saying the pertinent prayer at private Masses: *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101, 1. 27). Cf. Sarum Ordinary of the 14th century: Legg, *Tracts*, 4.

<sup>102</sup> Is. 6: 6 f.

A similar prayer for purity, based on this passage from Isaiah, 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.



## 7. The Homily

The sermon, which (together with its embellishments) is delivered in the vernacular after the Gospel,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

It stands to reason, therefore, that in Christian worship the homily was similarly joined at the very start to the reading of the Scriptures.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the homily appears almost as an indispensable part of public worship,<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> or those of Hippolytus of Rome or later those of Jerome, and—

<sup>1</sup> 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 acceptam oblationem*; cf. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, 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 serv.*, VI, 6, according to which the

sermon follows the Gospel, was first inserted in 1604 by Clement VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 4: 16 ff.; Mark 1: 21, and parallels.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 13: 15.

<sup>4</sup> Justin, *Apol.*, I, 67; cf. Irenæus as in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 20, 6.

<sup>5</sup> 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. Ernst, *Die Verlesung der Messperikopen in der Volkssprache* (Separate print from *Theol.-prakt. Monatsschrift*, 1899; Passau, 1899), 14-16.

<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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 Alexandria<sup>8</sup>; 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<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 9 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182 f.); *ibid.*, VIII, 5, 12 mentions only the preaching of the bishop.

Likewise the pilgrim lady Aetheria reports regarding Jerusalem that as many of the priests as wanted to preached, but after them came the bishop; *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, 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 Aetheria* (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.

<sup>8</sup> Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 22 (PG, LXVII, 640); Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 19 (PG, LXVII, 1476 f.).

<sup>9</sup> Celestine I, *Ep.*, 21, n. 2 (PL, L, 528-530).

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* (PG, LXVII, 1476).

<sup>11</sup> 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. XV* (circa 1400) the sermon after the Gospel of the papal service is alluded to (PL, LXXVIII, 1274 ff.).

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, Bonizo of Sutri (d. c. 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels, 59), also testifies to the same arrangement.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Batiffol, *Leçons*, 137.

<sup>13</sup> 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. Cæsarius,<sup>14</sup> expressly gave the priests in the city and in the country the right to preach<sup>15</sup>; 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 *homiliæ sanctorum* was practically on a par with the real sermon.<sup>16</sup> 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 rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theoticam quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicuntur*.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> The crest of the Middle Ages, and the appearance of the mendicant Orders,

pel 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.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Vita Cæsarii*, I, 54 (MGH, *Scriptores rer. Merov.*, III, 478 f.).

<sup>15</sup> C. 2 (Mansi, VIII, 727): *placuit ut non solum in civitatibus sed etiam in omnibus parochiis verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem*.

<sup>16</sup> *Expositio ant. lit. gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 15 f.); cf. Duchesne, 197.

<sup>17</sup> 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 remnants preserved in the Old French and Old Slovenian languages.

<sup>18</sup> A. Manser, "Homiliar," LThK, V, 128 f.; E. Hosp, "Il sermonario di Alano di Farfa" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1936), 375 f.; Kunze, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung*, 147-159.

<sup>19</sup> H. v. Schubert, 652-654.

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,<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> To this day, in the ordination of the Lector, his office is still designated as: *legere ei qui prædicat*.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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*,<sup>24</sup> and, as an expression of his authority, he is seated,<sup>25</sup> or else standing on the steps that lead to the *cathedra*.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the extensive and detailed explanation of the "liturgical sermonette" in Parsch, *Volksliturgie*, 423-441; according to Parsch not only Christian instruction (catechetics) but also evening sermons lie outside the compass of the Mass. <sup>21</sup> 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"; Roetzer, 109.

<sup>22</sup> The *Pontificale Romanum* selects this wording in preference to the other: *legere ea quæ prædicat*. 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 prædicat*; 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 *lectores qui verbum Dei prædicant*, but it is to be noted that *prædicare* at that time meant not only "preaching" but also "solemn reading"; see IV Synod of Toledo (633), can. 17 (Mansi, X, 624). Similarly even *Ordo Rom. III*, n. 8 (PL, LXXXVIII, 972 A): *prædicante eo* [sc. *diacono*] *evangelium*.

<sup>23</sup> That the sermon in the liturgy is not an instruction but an initiation, an introduction into the *mysterium*, is stressed by J. Hartog, *The Sacrifice of the Church* (Barrn, 1939), 23 f., 26 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 382 f.; Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, I (1929), 61.

<sup>25</sup> Thus, e.g., Augustine (Roetzer, 111 f.). This corresponds to the archeological findings; H. Leclercq, "Chaire épiscopale," DACL, III, 19-75. Following the custom in the synagogue, our Lord himself spoke while seated (Luke 4: 20).

Regarding the symbolism of this sitting, see Th. Klauser, *Die Cathedra im Totenkult* (LF, IX; Münster, 1927), 11; 179 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8 (CSEL, XL, 2, p. 611, 1. 18; Roetzer, 112).



A preacher like Chrysostom of course mounts the ambo for the convenience of his audience.<sup>27</sup> According to a rule of the Egyptian Church, the bishop—but not the priest—holds the Gospel book in his hand.<sup>28</sup>

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.<sup>29</sup> 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 Lt. *pulpitum*, a platform or scaffold).<sup>30</sup> Its site on the Gospel side still shows its connection with the reading of the Gospel.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> and therefore he praised the custom followed in other places, *in quibusdam ecclesiis transmarinis*, where the people were seated.<sup>34</sup> Cæsarius of Arles permitted the more feeble people to sit during the sermon or the readings, though they probably used the floor for this.<sup>35</sup> Only the clerics were provided quite generally with seats in those early days.<sup>36</sup> The faithful helped themselves with canes on which to lean.<sup>37</sup> Only in modern times in

<sup>27</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 383.

<sup>28</sup> *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 273).

<sup>29</sup> Honorius of Autostodunum and Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215), however, mention the sermon in the course of the Mass. Eisenhofer, II, 120.

<sup>30</sup> G. Gietmann, “Pulpit,” CE, XII: 563-5.

<sup>31</sup> However there is no prescription to this effect.

<sup>32</sup> It might be remarked in this connection that nowadays the “meditations” which are preached at a retreat—suited to the tone of a simple *δμῶν* (“conversation”)—are often given while seated.

The *Cæremoniale 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 *suppedaneum* 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.

<sup>33</sup> Augustine, *De catech. rud.*, I, 13, 19 (PL, XL, 325).

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.*, 78, 1 (Morin, 309; PL, XXXIX, 2319). Cf. *supra*, p. 240.

<sup>36</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 4 (PL, LXXVIII, 939). Cf. *supra*, p. 70.

<sup>37</sup> *Supra*, p. 448.

our countries did the laity obtain pews, perhaps copying the Protestant churches.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> The custom is possibly traceable to the mendicant preachers. It is prescribed in the *Cæremoniale episcoporum*<sup>41</sup> and seems to have been in use for a long time within the Mass.<sup>42</sup> Alongside of the *Ave*, however, the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* or the Lord's Prayer was also permitted.<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup> 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.”

## 8. The Credo

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

<sup>38</sup> Eisenhofer, I, 379 f.; cf. H. Bergner, “Ausstattung, kirchliche,” *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1909), I, 811-813.

<sup>39</sup> Illustrations from Chrysostom, see Brightman, 470, 476 f. Notice there, 470, 1. 37, the doxological ending which was a fixed rule in the ancient Christian sermon as in prayer.

Compare the custom in German-speaking lands, of starting and ending the sermon with “Gelobt sei Jesus Christus” (Praised by Jesus Christ). Or the practice of making the sign of the Cross with the Trinitarian formula before and after the talk.

<sup>40</sup> *Ordo Rom.* XV (c. 1400), n. 43 (PL, LXXVIII, 1295 A).

<sup>41</sup> I, 22, 3.

<sup>42</sup> In France the *Ave* was inserted after the exordium of the sermon; J. Mabillon in the note to *Ordo Rom.* XV, n. 43 (PL, LXXVIII, 1295). J. M. Cavalieri, *Commentaria*, V (1764), 32, still stresses the obligation of this prayer.

<sup>43</sup> Thus Jerome Dungersheim in a writing of his which appeared ab. 1514, *De arte prædicandi*; see R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879), 232.

<sup>44</sup> *Supra*, p. 406 f.

In the later Middle Ages a song (*Ruf* or *Leis*) was sung at the end of the sermon. Regarding German hymns before and after the sermon, see W. Bäumker, *Zur Geschichte der Tonkunst* (Freiburg, 1881), 133.



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 text 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."<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> which concludes with the words *Et in Spiritum Sanctum*—only an anathema 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.<sup>3</sup> The only matter ascribed to the synod at Constantinople is the expansion of the statement regarding the Holy Ghost.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> We can track this draft even a little distance back into the fourth century. We discover it, almost complete, about 374 in Epiphanius,<sup>6</sup> and, in a slightly simpler form, about 350 in Cyril of

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, VI, 957 and again VII, 112 (only two linguistic variants). A different text is offered in the critical edition of E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecum.*, II, 1, 2 (Berlin, 1933), 128, where, among others, the phrases *ὡς ἐκ πατρὸς*, *καὶ παθόντα, κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* and the *ἀγίαν* before the word Church—all these are missing. According to Schwartz it was the insertion of these phrases and words that produced the new formulation of the symbol undertaken by Chalcedon; the older text he thinks can be traced to the Council of Constantinople; see E. Schwartz, "Das Nicænum und das Constantinopolitanum auf der Synode von Chalcedon," *Zeitschrift f. d. neutest. Wissenschaft*, XXV (1926), 38-88. Opposed to both these hypotheses is J. Lebon, "Les anciens symboles dans la définition de Chalcedoine," *Revue d'hist.*

*eccl.*, XXXII (1936), 809-876. Cf. also B. Capelle, "Le Credo," *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 171-184.

<sup>2</sup> Denzinger-Umberg, n. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Lebon, 847 ff. The only name ever used for the creed was "the confession of Nicea," but in various church provinces this creed was enlarged by various additions (Lebon, 837 ff.). One such expanded version was proposed to the Council of 451 by the representatives of the imperial court as the confession "of the 150 holy Fathers" (855 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Lebon, 860, 870.

<sup>5</sup> A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole* (3rd ed., Breslau, 1897); H. Lietzmann, *Symbole der alten Kirche* (4th ed.; *Kleine Texte*, 17-18; Berlin, 1935).

<sup>6</sup> Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, c. 118 (Lietzmann, *Symbole*, 19 f.).

Jerusalem, who explained it to his candidates for Baptism.<sup>7</sup> We may therefore see in this basic text of the Niceno-Constantinopolitanum the ancient baptismal symbol of Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> 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 unum Dominum . . . in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam . . . Confiteor unum baptisma*.<sup>9</sup> 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:

CREDO IN UNUM DEUM, PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM, FACTOREM CÆLI ET TERRÆ,  
VISIBILIUM OMNIUM ET INVISIBILIUM.  
ET IN UNUM DOMINUM JESUM CHRISTUM, FILIUM DEI UNIGENITUM  
ET EX PATRE NATUM ANTE OMNIA SÆCULA,  
Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero,  
genitum non factum,  
consubstantialem Patri,  
PER QUEM OMNIA FACTA SUNT.  
Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de cælis et  
incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine et HOMO FACTUS EST.  
CRUCIFIXUS etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est.

<sup>7</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, VII-XVIII (Lietzmann, *Symbole*, 19).

<sup>8</sup> F. Kattenbusch, *Das Apolostische Symbol* (Leipzig, 1894), I, 233-244.

<sup>9</sup> The Pauline expression "one Spirit" is

wanting in the wording of our symbol, but it is found in its antecedent, the symbol of Jerusalem: *εἰς ἓν ἄγιον πνεῦμα* (Lietzmann, *Symbole*, 19) as well as in the recension which is used in the Syrian liturgy (Hanssens, III, 298).



*Et RESURREXIT TERTIA DIE secundum Scripturas, ET ASCENDIT IN CÆLUM,  
SEDET AD DEXTERAM PATRIS  
ET ITERUM VENTURUS EST CUM GLORIA IUDICARE VIVOS ET MORTUOS, CUIUS  
REGNI  
NON ERIT FINIS.  
Et IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM, dominum et vivificantem,  
qui ex Patre Filioque procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur  
et conglorificatur,  
QUI LOCUTUS EST PER PROPHETAS.  
Et UNAM SANCTAM CATHOLICAM et apostolicam ECCLESIAM.  
Confiteor UNUM BAPTISMA IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM.  
Et expecto RESURRECTIONEM mortuorum ET VITAM venturi sæculi. Amen.<sup>10</sup>*

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 theological and polemical profession aimed at giving orthodoxy a clear exposition.<sup>11</sup> 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, consubstantiali Patri*, words with which the Council of Nicea had countered the heresy of Arius.<sup>12</sup> 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 Cæsarea (d. 340), who for his part was never suspected of having gone too far in any opposition to the Arians.<sup>13</sup> 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).<sup>14</sup>

Even aside from these additions which were first incorporated in opposition to heresy,<sup>15</sup> there still remains in this Mass *Credo*, compared with

<sup>10</sup> The text as found in Epiphanius is printed in small capitals; the parts already attested by Cyril of Jerusalem are in italics.

No account is taken of those additions in Epiphanius or Cyril which have not survived in the received version.

<sup>11</sup> Capelle, *Le Credo*, 173.

<sup>12</sup> Denzinger-Umbert, n. 54.

<sup>13</sup> Lietzmann, *Symbole*, 18; in Eusebius also the phrase: *Deum de Deo*.

<sup>14</sup> Macedonius was already condemned in 360 at a synod in Constantinople.

<sup>15</sup> The form which is basic to all oriental symbols is reconstructed by H. Lietzmann as follows: "I believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty, the Creator of everything visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was born from the Father before all eons, through whom all was made, who for our salvation's sake

the 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> Some of the grandest creations of ecclesiastical music have

became 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, "Apostolikum," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2nd ed.,) (1927), I, 445.

<sup>16</sup> For the expression  $\phi\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \phi\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  cf. Justin, *Dial.*, c. 61 (PG, VI, 616 A).

<sup>17</sup> This genuflection 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: Martène, I, 4, XXV

(I, 632 C); with them, however, even today, the celebrant himself here only kisses the altar: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 18.

A decision of Peter of Cluny (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 usum O. 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 sepultus est*, as is still done at present (Waefelghem, 121, note O). 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 Messiah,<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup>

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.<sup>20</sup> This concept is likewise to be supposed in the basic form of our symbol. That He had already spoken through the prophets<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> This supplement also takes into account His divinity; He is the Lord.<sup>23</sup> He proceeds from the Father and from the Son.<sup>24</sup> Right-

flection therefore obviously originated as early as the 11th century.

<sup>18</sup> The expression *secundum Scripturas*, as well as the words that follow, *qui locutus est per prophetas*, corresponds to the era of the Apologists of the 2-3rd century who were very much concerned to show the agreement between the acts of our Saviour and the prophecies of the Old Testament. Cf. J. Creighton, *Credo* (Hertogenbosch, 1941), 25-27.

<sup>19</sup> Luke 1: 33.

<sup>20</sup> Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 178 f.

<sup>21</sup> This characterization of the Holy Ghost recurs frequently even in the 2nd century, especially in Irenaeus, e.g. *Epid.*, c. 42; J. Brinktrine, "Beiträge zur Entstehung und Geschichte des Credo," *Eph. liturg.*, XLII (1928), 48-58.

<sup>22</sup> The expression *ζωοποιῖς* goes back to John 6: 63; 1 Cor. 15: 45; 2 Cor. 3: 6. It is found early in Egypt (Brinktrine, "Beiträge," 52 f.) and also in Syria. Here is the wording at the bottom of the newly-discovered Catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428): *Καὶ εἰς τὸν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν* (the Church follows);

A. Rücker, *Ritus baptismi et missæ quem descripsit Theodorus ep. Mopsuestenus* (Münster, 1933), 43 f.

<sup>23</sup> The Greek word *κύριον* which corresponds to the Latin *Dominum* seems to be meant as an adjective, like the preceding *ζωοποιόν*. It would then mean something like "divine". Brinktrine, "Beiträge," 51, explains the insertion of the words as resting on the formula *Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς κύριος*. But cf. the phrase in the *Athanasianum*: *Dominus Pater, dominus Filius, dominus Spiritus Sanctus*.

<sup>24</sup> The *Filioque*, which corresponds to a theological confession already discussed in Augustine, was incorporated into the symbol in Spanish territories in the 5th or 6th century. Still there were Latin versions which did not contain this addition, and they were widely circulated. Even Leo III (d. 816) disapproved (for disciplinary reasons) its insertion. The Greeks opposed it since Photius (869), claiming it to be heretical. Since the 11th century, however, it had a firm place in the Latin text of the *Credo*. E. Krebs, "Filioque," *LThK*, III, 1039 f.

fully is He given in the doxology the same adoration and the same honor as the other two.<sup>25</sup> The series of predications seems to have been dictated mainly by certain formal considerations, as the Greek text indicates more clearly.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>; it is catholic, because it stands open to all peoples<sup>28</sup>; it is apostolic, because it rests on the foundation of the Apostles.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> The same historian who

According to W. M. Peitz, *Das vorexephinische Symbol der Papstkanzlei* (Rome, 1939), 46-50, a formula of the confession of the Roman Church which is preserved in the *Liber diurnus* (PL, CV, 57 f.) must have contained the *Filioque* even before 400 (57 A).

It might be noted that Greek Catholics need not insert the phrase in their traditional liturgical symbol.

<sup>25</sup> The *συνδοξαζόμενον* obviously goes back above all to a form of the doxology which gained ground since the middle of the 4th century: (Christus) *μεθ' οὗ οἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτῶν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι*, by which the older *δι' οὗ... ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι* was supplanted. It was directed against the heresy of the Arians and the Macedonians. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 158 f., 162 ff.

<sup>26</sup> First three adjectives, *τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν*, then the fuller statements. Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 113.

<sup>27</sup> This connection is visibly intimated in the older form of the Roman symbol: *Καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν*. Lietzmann, *Symbole*, 10. "Holy" is here the only qualifying word for Church, a word for which there is also other very early evidence.

<sup>28</sup> F. Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol* (Leipzig, 1900), II, 922 ff.

<sup>29</sup> This attribute of the Church is first found in Egypt at the start of the 4th century, apparently confined in the beginning to congregations founded by the Apostles. Brinktrine, "Beiträge," 56.

<sup>30</sup> Luke 24: 47; cf. Acts 2: 38; 10: 43; 13: 38; 26: 18.

<sup>31</sup> Thus still today in the Byzantine liturgy. At Rome too, from the time of the Byzantine ascendancy on, the Niceno-Constantinopolitanum was for a long time used at the Easter baptismal rites, and provision was made for its being recited in both Latin and Greek. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 301.



mentions this<sup>32</sup> also records that Timotheus, the Patriarch of this city (511-517), a man whose thinking was tainted with Monophysitism, was the first to order the symbol recited at every Mass. He did this in order to put his Catholic predecessors to shame and to emphasize his own zeal for the truth.<sup>33</sup> This example was soon aped everywhere in the Orient. Thus the symbol attained a place in every Mass in all the oriental liturgies.<sup>34</sup> Usually it was the Niceno-Constantinopolitan that was thus taken up,<sup>35</sup> but not without a number of rather significant variants.<sup>36</sup> However, it is not placed right after the Gospel,<sup>37</sup> but only after the Prayer of the Faithful and the Great Entry, either before or after the kiss of peace—a location that makes it less a conclusion to the fore-Mass than rather a foundation and start for the sacrifice.<sup>38</sup> Since the symbol was restricted by the *disciplina arcani*, it is not by chance that the dismissal of the catechumens (the formula for which has retained its ancient place in most rites of the East) had to precede.<sup>39</sup>

The symbol is, as a rule, spoken by the people—thus in the Egyptian liturgies and mostly also in the Byzantine.<sup>40</sup> Or it is spoken by a representative of the people.<sup>41</sup> But it is never said by the priest,<sup>42</sup> and it is never sung.<sup>43</sup> In most of the oriental liturgies—but not in all<sup>44</sup>—the communion

<sup>32</sup> Theodorus Lector, *Hist. eccl. Fragm.*, II, 32 (PG, LXXXVI, 201).

<sup>33</sup> The account that, a generation earlier, Petrus Fullo (476-488), Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, had given such an order, is also found in the same historian's book (II, 48; PG, LXXXVI, 209), but appears to be a later interpolation and without historical value; Capelle, *Le Credo*, 174 f. Still it must be observed that Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 3, 7 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 305 f.), talks about the use of the symbol at Mass; it must therefore have been current in Syria at latest about 515.

<sup>34</sup> Hanssens, III, 293-308.

<sup>35</sup> One exception is the East Syrian liturgy which uses an ancient Syrian baptismal symbol, the same as that attested by Theodore of Mopsuestia (cf. note 22 above). Also in the Ethiopian Mass a special symbol is used in part. Hanssens, III, 295 f.

<sup>36</sup> Hanssens, III, 297-299.

<sup>37</sup> Outside the later Armenian liturgy, which is influenced by the Roman; Hanssens, III, 303.

<sup>38</sup> The same place was occupied, it seems by the so-called *Mystagogia*, a symbol-

like outline of the teachings of faith with special emphasis on the Easter mystery. It is handed down in a somewhat different version in Egyptian and Syrian sources, among them the *Testamentum Domini* (I, 28), and was to be said on the highest feast-days after the departure of the catechumens *ante oblationem, ante sanctam liturgiam*. Text with parallels in Quasten, *Monument.*, 242-249.

<sup>39</sup> In the Byzantine Mass the symbol was preceded in addition by a special warning: Τὰς θύρας, τὰς θύρας! Brightman, 383.

<sup>40</sup> Brightman, 162, 226, 383.

<sup>41</sup> Some of the editions of the Byzantine liturgy assign the symbol to the lector. Thus also it is said by a lector in the Byzantine-Slavic liturgy of the uniat Ukrainians. At the court of the Byzantine Patriarchs the Great Logothet was the chief of the laity permitted to recite the symbol during the liturgy. K. Lübeck, *Die Christlichen Kirchen des Orients* (Kempten, 1911), 65.

<sup>42</sup> Outside the Syrian liturgies. Hanssens, III, 294.

<sup>43</sup> Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 174.

<sup>44</sup> Except, that is, in the Byzantine and the Jacobite liturgies. Hanssens, III, 297 f.

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.<sup>45</sup> 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,<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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

<sup>45</sup> C. 2 (Mansi, IX, 993).

This place also in the present Mozarabic Mass of the *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 556 f.). The priest here sings: *Fidem quam corde credimus, ore autem dicamus*, and lifts the Body of the Lord aloft so that it can be seen by all the people. Then the choir begins: *Credimus in unum Deum*. The text shows several variants from ours.

<sup>46</sup> The pertinent decree of Emperor Justin II (d. 578) is transmitted to us by John of Biclaro, *Chron.* (PL, LXXII, 863 B); cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 153, note 64.

<sup>47</sup> Capelle, *Le Credo*, 178 f. But a new translation was used, one which probably

stems from Paulinus of Aquileia. It is more careful than that in the *Missale mixtum*; B. Capelle, "L'origine anti-adoptioniste de notre texte du symbole de la messe," *Recherches de théol. ancienne et médiévale* (1929), I, 7-20. Regarding textual variants see Fiala, 221.

<sup>48</sup> B. Capelle, "Alcuin et l'histoire du symbole de la messe," *Recherches de théol. ancienne et médiévale* (1934), VI, 249-260. Remaining doubts indicated by Th. Klauser, *JL*, XIV (1938), 453 f.

<sup>49</sup> The illustrations in Capelle, *Le Credo*, 180 f. What Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, CXIV, 947), says about the spread of the *Credo* is, to say the least, inexact; Capelle, 178.



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.<sup>50</sup> Still an instruction must have issued from Rome, restricting the *Credo* to Sundays and to those feasts of which mention is made in the symbol.<sup>51</sup> As such the feasts of our Lord from Christmas to Pentecost are named, those of the Blessed Virgin, of the Apostles,<sup>52</sup> of All Saints and the Dedication of a Church.<sup>53</sup> The principle of selection, namely, *quorum in symbolo fit mentio*,<sup>54</sup> recurs regularly in the liturgical commentators of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>55</sup> 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*.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

Our *Credo* was therefore originally a profession of faith at Baptism; one vestige of this, in the draft of the creed as we know it, is the singular in the formula: *credo*. Just as before Baptism, so here, too, it is the individual

<sup>50</sup> As an immediate witness we have Abbot Berno of Reichenau, *De quibusdam rebus ad missae officium spectantibus*, c. 2 (PL, CXLII, 1060 f.): The pope ordered *ut ad publicam missam illud decantarent*. Many have thought that the *Credo* must have belonged to the Mass much earlier; among them Mabillon; more recently F. Probst, *Die abend-ländische Messe* (Münster, 1896), 129; Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 103; cf. also Fortescue, *The Mass*, 288. But this is a misunderstanding; Capelle, *Le Credo*, 180 and note 25. *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 9 (PL, LXXXVIII, 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.

<sup>61</sup> Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 46 (PL, CLI, 1011 f.), and contemporaneously in the Missal of St. Thierry (11th century); Capelle, 181 f.

<sup>62</sup> Because of the *apostolica Ecclesia*; Durandus, IV, 25, 13.

<sup>63</sup> 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).

<sup>64</sup> John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 40 (PL, CCII, 49).

<sup>65</sup> 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 *creatores coeli* were made to do, for Mary Magdalen the fact that she was *apostola apostolorum*; Durandus, IV, 25, 13. Cf. also Radulph de Rivo, *De can. observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 141).

<sup>66</sup> Capelle, *Le Credo*, 183.

<sup>67</sup> Thus today three titles are taken into account as reason for the *Credo*, namely *mysterium*, *doctrina*, *solemnitas*. Gühr, 529-533. For details see Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, I, 11 (I, 111-118).

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 joyous "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<sup>68</sup> while standing at the center of the altar<sup>69</sup>; 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.<sup>70</sup> More unequivocal is a decree of Bishop Walter of Orleans, of the year 871.<sup>71</sup> The Mass commentators of the period also ascribe the *Credo* to the people,<sup>72</sup> and even at a much later time it con-

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>69</sup> 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.

<sup>70</sup> See *supra*, p. 343, note 53.

<sup>71</sup> *Ut Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto et Credo in unum Deum apud omnes in missa decantetur*. Martène, I, 4, 5, 10 (I, 383 A).

<sup>72</sup> Amalar, *Expositio* of 813-14, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 163 (= Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 152): *Postquam Christus locutus est populo suo fas est ut dulcius et intentius profiteatur credulitatem*



tinued in many places to be entrusted to them.<sup>65</sup>

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,<sup>66</sup> but whether or not the vernacular was used is not certain.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> True, *Credo*-songs played a conspicuous role in vernacular singing,<sup>69</sup> but right now we are concerned with the Latin text of the symbol.

*suam. . . Sicque convenit populum post evangelium, quia Christi verba audivit, intentionem credulitatis suae praclaro ore proferre.* The same in *Ecloga* (PL, CV, 1323); cf. also *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 36.

<sup>65</sup> *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 82, 1. 14): *Ab universis sc. clero et populo communiter decantetur.*

In France it is still occasionally sung by all the people, a special melody being used in this case.

<sup>66</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, CLXII, 550 B): *Post evangelium profitetur Ecclesia fidem suam cantando symbolum Apostolicum.* Still the term *Apostolicum* is not unambiguous. In the *Missa Illyrica* it stands for our Mass creed; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 D); cf. Ebner, 80, note. But it is striking that the Apostle's Creed is actually marked with neum signs in certain MSS. (St. Gall, Rheinau, Winchester); it is therefore intended for singing, but the words are in Greek, with Latin letters; Wagner, I, 102, note 5. It therefore belongs obviously in the series of Greek Mass chants which were mentioned *supra*, p. 91, note 79.

<sup>67</sup> As is often done in the Orient; see Raes, *Introductio*, 215, 218.

<sup>68</sup> This cannot be concluded from the oc-

casional use of the word *cantare*, but it does seem inherent in Amalar's *dulcius* (cf. note 62 above), and more especially in the phrase of Walafrid Strabo (*De exord.*, c. 22; see note 49 above) who is patently trying to explain an existing practice by the hypothesis that the Greeks had brought our symbol in *cantilenæ dulcedinem*.

<sup>67</sup> For Germany Berthold of Regensburg (d. 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 gloube an den Vater, ich gloube an den Sun miner frouwen sant Marien, und an den Heiligen Geist. Kyrieleys.* 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. Bäumker, *Das kath. deutsche Kirchenlied*, I (Freiburg, 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); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 113); Durandus, IV, 25, 14. This probably refers to *Credo*-songs which used *Kyrie eleison* as a refrain—in other words, simply *leis*, as they were called.

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.<sup>68</sup> But the choir was then retained even independently of this.<sup>69</sup>

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.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> The Gregorian melodies remained generally plain; the melodies included in the present *Graduale Vaticanum* 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 *praedicatio*, *contestatio* and even ἐξομολόγησις appear as names for this prayer,<sup>72</sup> names which could only be applied to a profession of faith; just as, contrariwise, the profession of faith itself is sometimes designated an εὐχαριστία.<sup>73</sup> And so true is this, that the older formulations of the eucharistic prayer are distinguished in little from a profession of faith.<sup>74</sup> Because the text of the prayer of thanksgiving is kept plain and simple in the Roman Mass, the *Credo* has taken on an even

<sup>68</sup> *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 992): *Sin autem episcopus praedicare noluerit, alta voce incipiat canere: 'Credo in unum Deum,' et ita omnis chorus incipiens 'Patrem omnipotentem' ad finem usque perducatur.*

<sup>69</sup> Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 19 (PL, CLXXII, 550 C): *clerus.*

For Rome: *Ordo Rom. XI* (City of Rome, circa 1140), n. 20 (PL, LXXVIII, 1033): *basilicarii* = clergy of the particular basilica; Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 52 (PL, CCXVII, 830: at the papal high Mass the *subdiacones*, who are distinguished from the *cantores* (= *schola*).

<sup>70</sup> De Moléon, 167. At Sens, for similar reasons, the organ was excluded (*ibid.*). This is expressly ordered in 1583 by the

Synod of Bordeaux (Hardouin, X, 1340 D).

The same is reported of other churches in Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 217 f.

<sup>71</sup> Wagner, I, 105.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *infra*.

<sup>73</sup> Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 3, 7 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 305 f.).

<sup>74</sup> On the intrinsic relationship between the creed 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 Novatian, *De Trinitate*, c. 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.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup> 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

<sup>76</sup> 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. Amen*,

while another skips from *et homo factus est* to *Confiteor unum baptisma*.

<sup>77</sup> The decrees in Eisenhofer, II, 126. Especially SRC 3827 ad II.

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.<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>; 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6</sup> where, according to an estab-

<sup>1</sup> 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 while he was still only an inquirer.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Kirsch, "Arkandisziplin," LThK, I, 652 f.; O. Perler, "Arkandisziplin," RAC, I (1943), 667-676.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 234.

The same reasons are behind the antagonistic reactions of rectors of churches towards photographers at solemn church functions.

<sup>4</sup> Hippolytus of Rome, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 29).

<sup>5</sup> 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 ἀλλότριτοι; only at the

last petitions of the deacon are they also invited to rise and, presumably, to answer with Κύριε ἐλέησον; Chrysostom, *In II Cor. hom.*, 2, 5 (PG, LXI, 399-404). When, on the contrary, prayer was said for the ἐνεργοῦμενοι, this latter invitation was omitted; for it was not fitting (οὐ θέμις), that they should pray with the assembly of the brethren. *De incompr. Dei nat. hom.*, 3, 7 (PG, XLVIII, 727).

In a similar vein Hippolytus of Rome stresses the fact that the kiss which follows the prayer should not be exchanged with catechumens, "for their kiss is not yet pure." (Dix, 29)

<sup>6</sup> 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,



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.<sup>7</sup>

In the prime of the catechumenate at Antioch,<sup>8</sup> 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<sup>9</sup> and the public penitents.<sup>10</sup> 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 (*φωτιζόμενοι*).<sup>11</sup> 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

1. 22), the *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 273 f.) and also the present East Syrian liturgy (Brightman, 267). The old Gallican Mass might also belong to this class; see note 24 below. The simple presence of a repeated warning before the start of the Eucharistic prayer (cf. *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 2) would naturally be no proof that catechumens were actually allowed to remain till this moment.

<sup>7</sup> This is the explanation given by Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 104, for Justin's silence.

<sup>8</sup> For Egypt compare the *Euchologion* of Serapion, n. 3 f. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 51 f.), where the prayer for the catechumens is preceded only by a prayer closing the homily.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 7, 2 (Funk, I, 480 f.; Quasten, *Mon.*, 202): *ἐνεργοῦμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων*, possessed in the widest sense, obviously including specified sicknesses which were thought to be due to Satan's special influence; cf. the paraphrase in Chrysostom, *De incompr. Dei nat hom.*, 4, 4 (PG, XLVIII, 733); he called them *δαίμονωντας καὶ μανία τῇ πονεῖν κατεχομένους*. Regarding the judgment of epilepsy in Christian antiquity and the exclusion of epileptics and possessed from oblation and Communion,

see the studies of F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, IV (1934), 95-137.

<sup>10</sup> Brightman, 471 f., 477 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 6-9 (Funk, I, 478-488; Quasten, *Mon.*, 199-206). Here the first thing is the call to each group for (silent) prayer: *Εὐξασθε οἱ κατηχοῦμενοι*, but the *κύριε ἐλέησον* is here said by the faithful for them. After the oration of benediction by the bishop, the invitation is given each time: *Προέλθετε οἱ κατηχοῦμενοι* etc. Besides the four classes named, and preceding them, the same document also mentions the *ἀκροῶμενοι*. The first call of the deacon reads as follows: *Μή τις τῶν ἀκροῶμένων, μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων* (VIII, 6, 2; cf. 12, 2). The *ἀκροῶμενοι* receive no special act of prayer. They are the non-obligatory audience whose presence was merely tolerated. But that the term had a particular meaning—this despite the remark of Funk, I, 478 f.—can be gathered from the fact that in the organization of the classes of penitents in the Orient the second stage of the full ecclesiastical penitence (i.e. that after the *πρόσκλησις*) in the promotion passed to the degree of the *ἀκροῶμενοι*. E. Schwartz, *Bussstufen und Katechumenatsklassen* (Strassburg, 1911), 37 ff.

to leave: (*Προέλθετε οἱ κατηχοῦμενοι, Ἀπολύσθε οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ*. After all these had been dismissed the doors were closed<sup>12</sup> and the formal Prayer of the Faithful in the narrower sense followed.

However, in the majority of the liturgies with which we are familiar, the third solution was chosen, namely the insertion of a procedure like the above in the place where prayers were usually said for these respective groups.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, outside the Syrian ambit,<sup>14</sup> only catechumens and penitents were taken into consideration already at an earlier period,<sup>15</sup> and in many provinces of the church, even of the East,<sup>16</sup> and almost commonly in the West, only the catechumens came under consideration, since as a rule public penitents (who after all were baptized) were permitted to remain during the sacrifice.<sup>17</sup> True, they were only allowed to remain there as mute spectators, and not till at the end of Mass was a blessing (at least for a time) devoted to them.

The rite of this dismissal was of a form similar to the one at Antioch, although it did not always possess such solemn pageantry as there. It was essential that a blessing with prayer be imparted to the group concerned; this was often done by the celebrant's laying his hands on each one individually.<sup>18</sup> With this was conjoined the deacon's cry for dismissal: Go,

<sup>12</sup> Brightman, 316, 1. 7; 478; 1. 6; 531, 1. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 106 f.

<sup>14</sup> For Syria there is evidence in Chrysostom (p. 476 *supra*), as well as in Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. 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.

<sup>15</sup> Thus in Asia Minor, according to a decree of the Council of Laodicea (4th century); Brightman, 518.

<sup>16</sup> Only a dismissal of catechumens is attested by the *Euchologion* of Serapion, n. 3 f. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 51 f.) and in the Pilgrimage of Aethria, c. 24 ff. (CSEL, XXXIX, 71 ff.).

<sup>17</sup> H. Koch, "Die Büsserentlassung in der alten abendländischen Kirche," *Theol. Quartalschr.*, LXXXII (1900), 481-534; Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 7 f.

There is one exception to take into account, namely can. 29 of Epaoon (517; Mansi, VIII, 562), according to which penitents were to leave with the catechumens.

It is possible, too, that the prayer for penitents which the Spanish *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 307 A) indicates

before the Offertory at the ferial Masses of Lent might be the remnant of such a dismissal of penitents; cf. Borella (see note 22 below), 85, 89. Regarding the formula transmitted by St. Gregory the Great: *Si quis non communicat, det locum*, which most (e.g. Batiffol, Borella) interpret as prime evidence for the exclusion of penitents at the start of the sacrifice even at Rome, cf. below, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 8.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Council of Laodicea, can. 19 (Brightman, 518, 1. 34): After prayer has been offered for them, the catechumens go to the celebrant *ὑπὸ χεῖρα*.

Jacob of Edessa depicts the same rite, but notes that about that time, 703, it was already a thing of the past (in Brightman, 490): "[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 presbyter, 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*.<sup>19</sup>

With the disappearance of the catechumens 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 four-fold phrase!<sup>20</sup>—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.<sup>21</sup>

Elsewhere corresponding forms survived somewhat longer.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> The

group of penitents that they are *sub manus impositione*; cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinische Bussriten*, 308 and in the index s.v. "Handauflegung."

<sup>19</sup> For the expression see Jungmann, *Ge-wordene Liturgie*, 38; cf. *supra*, p. 261, note 1.

<sup>20</sup> Ὅσοι κατηχοῦμενοι προέλθετε· οἱ κατηχοῦμενοι προέλθετε· ὅσοι κατηχοῦμενοι προέλθετε· μήτις τῶν κατηχομένων! Brightman, 375.

Before the *Credo* the call of the deacon resounds once more: τὰς θύρας, τὰς θύρας! Brightman, 383, 1. 3. 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.

<sup>21</sup> 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 II (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 orationi non modo fidelium sed ne catechumenorum (quidem) 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.

<sup>22</sup> P. Borella, "La 'missa' o 'dimissio catechumenorum' nelle liturgie occidentali," *Eph. liturg.*, LIII (1939), 60-110.

<sup>23</sup> Borella, 63-67.

<sup>24</sup> *Expositio ant. lit. gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 16 f.): *Caticumini ergo diaconus ideo calmat iuxta antiquum Ecclesiae ritum ut tam Judæi quam hæretici vel pagani instructi . . . audirent consilium Veteris et Novi Testamenti, postea deprecarent pro illis levitæ, diceret sacerdos collectam post precem, exirent postea foris*. An *ostiarium* 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.

Upper-Italian churches had a similar rite for dismissing the catechumens with prayer. It was employed with certain individual acts of preparation for Baptism. That it was also used at the end of Mass we know to be true only about Milan, where the twelfth-century documents still prescribe the rite for the Sundays in Lent.<sup>25</sup>

Even in the various acts of preparation for Baptism, Rome did not have any such solemn dismissal. The scrutinies which the candidates for Baptism had to undergo during the course of Lent did indeed contain exorcisms, layings-on of hands, and priestly blessings. But even (for instance) after the solemn sharing of Gospel, symbol and Our Father, in the great scrutiny of the *aurium apertio*, the conclusion did not contain any further blessing, but simply the cry of the deacon: *Catechumeni recedant. Si quis catechumenus est recedat. Omnes catechumeni exeant foras*.<sup>26</sup> This manner of dismissal was used in cathedrals along with the complete rite of the scrutinies until the very end of the Middle Ages<sup>27</sup>; within the Mass on the days during Lent it occurred at first before the Gospel<sup>28</sup> then, from the great scrutiny on, after it, but only on the few occasions which were kept for this.<sup>29</sup> For it seems that according to Roman regulations the catechumens, as a closed group, did not appear regularly at the usual divine service even in more ancient times. Formulas similar to the previously mentioned Roman ones were also used in other churches in requesting withdrawal.<sup>30</sup>

A somewhat enlarged cry for dismissal was customary on solemn occasions in various parts of Italy. It was used not only on Holy Saturday before the consecration of the baptismal water, but also (at least in Milan, it would seem) within the Mass, namely, when the bishop confided the *Credo* to the candidates for Baptism, after the Gospel on the evening before Palm Sunday.<sup>31</sup> In this case it is meant for the sacred text of the symbol which came under the *disciplina arcani*. The six-fold cry of the deacon, which was solemnly sung like our *Ite missa est*<sup>32</sup> and the individual phrases of which were repeated by a second deacon or a subdeacon, was as follows:

<sup>25</sup> Borella, 90 ff.; cf. 71. The candidates for Baptism receive the following call for silent prayer: *Orate competentes, cervicem 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, 1904), II, 123 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Ordo Rom. VII*, n. 6; (PL, LXXXVIII, 998 f.) and the parallels.

<sup>27</sup> Eisenhofer, II, 255; see the examples in Martène, I, 1, 12 (I, 89 ff.).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. p. 443, *supra*.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> Borella, 96 f.

Isidore, *Etymol.*, VI, 19 (PL, LXXXII, 252) reports the formula: *Si quis catechumenus remansit, exeat foras*. It was used before the beginning of the sacrifice.

<sup>31</sup> Borella, 104.

<sup>32</sup> Editions of the traditional melodies are noted in Borella, 107, note 166.



*Si quis catechumenus est, procedat!*  
*Si quis hæreticus est, procedat!*  
*Si quis Judæus est, procedat!*  
*Si quis paganus est, procedat!*  
*Si quis Arianus est, procedat!*  
*Cuius cura non est, procedat!*<sup>33</sup>

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.”<sup>1</sup> 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.”<sup>2</sup> Prayer “after the delivery of the homily” is a common term in the third and fourth century in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> 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<sup>4</sup>; besides, Cyprian clearly refers to it when he speaks of the *Communis oratio*.<sup>5</sup> In Augustine’s time a large number of sermons ended with the

<sup>33</sup> Borella, 98 ff. First published by J. M. Tommasi; see Tommasi-Vezzosi, *Opp.*, VII, 9 ff.

When at Milan and elsewhere on the occasion mentioned this formula was used to dismiss those catechumens who were not yet *competentes*, these latter had to have a special dismissal within the Mass itself, after the *traditio symboli*. This was done after a prayer of benediction, the formula being a repeated and somewhat varied *Competentes secedant*. Borella, 103 f.

*Ibid.*, 103; 105 f. are found vastly enlarged variants of the formula of dismissal given above, among them one from Aquileia of nine members which

were spoken by priest and deacon together; each time there followed a response from the choir which affirmed: *Nec quis Arianus est*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Justin, *Apol.* I, 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Euchologion* of Serapion, n. 2. Further citations in Quasten, *Mon.*, 50, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 393, note 14.

<sup>5</sup> Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 8 (CSEL, III, 271). Cf. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon*, 13. Further information from Cyprian in Fortescue, *The Mass*, 45.

The expression *communis oratio* for the prayer under consideration is certain in Augustine, *Ep.*, 55, 18, 34 (CSEL, XXXIV, 209; cf. Roetzer, 115).

formula: *Conversi ad Dominum*,<sup>6</sup> that is to say, common prayer followed upon the sermon, and during it, as was always customary, the congregation turned towards the East.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> Then as time went on, the deacon, who at first only announced short directions, began to take a more prominent place in most liturgies.<sup>9</sup> 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*<sup>10</sup> or *synapte*),<sup>11</sup> and to which the congregation answered with the *Kyrie eleison* or some other similar invocation; only then did the celebrant start to pray.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup> It is a well-grounded hypothesis that in these Good Friday prayers, whose echo goes back to the first century,<sup>14</sup> we have

<sup>6</sup> See the passages in Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 331, note 4 f.

Further illustrations from Augustine for the prayer at this part of the Mass in Roetzer, 113-115.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> Baumstark, 100 f. Here you will find many details regarding the development which we can only briefly hint at in the following sketch.

<sup>9</sup> In Rome and Egypt: *Flectamus genua. Levate*, 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 *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 24, where the deacon appears as leader in prayer only at Vespers, but not yet at Mass.

<sup>10</sup> From *ἐκτενής* = “extended, stretched out,” with the undertone: intent, earnest.

<sup>11</sup> *συνάπτειν* = joined, united.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 366 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 28 (PL, LXXVIII, 950). The *orationes sollemnes*, as they

are here 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.

<sup>14</sup> 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 and our peace, so that we may be protected by thy strong hand and guarded against every sin by thy mighty arm, and save us from those who hate us groundlessly. 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.<sup>15</sup> 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 unhindered the authority with 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, "Kyrle eleison," *Downside Review*, XVIII (1899), 294-303, but Bishop's view is hardly sustained.

<sup>15</sup> 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 *Indiculus*, 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. Cappeluyens, *Revue Bénéd.*, 1929, 156-170). Here, in c. 11 (PL, L, 535; Denziger-Umbert, *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 congemiscente* 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.

on more general terms. They follow the pattern of invocations spoken by deacon and people, but bunch several of them together and thus give the course of the prayer its divisions. Usually three such parts are noticed. In Egypt the ending of the general prayer said after the dismissal of the catechumens, "the Prayer of the Faithful"—the only portion that has survived—still retains the name of "the three," αἱ τρεῖς; in it prayer is offered for the peace of the Church, for the bishop and clergy, for the entire Church and for the worshippers present.<sup>16</sup> Opposed to this, the Byzantine liturgy distinguishes only a first and a second prayer of the faithful, the contents of which very early underwent quite a process of change.<sup>17</sup>

In the other eastern liturgies, the retrogressive evolution ended up with only one such prayer form, made up of the diaconal litany and the celebrant's prayer,<sup>18</sup> similar in structure to the type handed down from older times, though with richer developments.<sup>19</sup> Finally, the East also has the one instance to prove that almost the last trace of the former general prayer of the Church has disappeared.<sup>20</sup>

This is also the case in our Roman Mass as we know it since the sixth century. After the Gospel or the *Credo*, it is true, the priest addresses himself to the congregation with the usual greeting, and adds the invitation to pray: *Oremus*. But he himself then reads out of the missal the text of the offertory which the choir immediately begins. Nor is any form of prayer anywhere indicated for the congregation.<sup>21</sup> In the oldest sacramentaries and *ordos*, which hand down this isolated invocation, no other prayer follows except the *oratio super oblata*, our *secretæ*. There is nothing to keep us from recognizing in the secret the corresponding prayer of the priest. For the *oratio super oblata* was at that time spoken, as we shall see, in a loud voice just like the other orations. Likewise it is patterned as a prayer

<sup>16</sup> Brightman, 121 f., 160 f., 223 ff.

"Three prayers" of the faithful were appointed by the Synod of Laodicea, can. 19, of which the first was spoken διὰ σιωπῆς, the second and third διὰ προσηνήσεως, that is, in the second and third, but not in the first, the deacon was to "call out" to the people the individual prayers in the manner of the *ektenes*. Brightman, 519 f.

The North-African liturgy of Augustine also appoints the prayer in three members: for the unbelievers, for the catechumens, for the faithful; Roetzer, 113-115.

<sup>17</sup> Brightman, 316 f., 375 f. The prayers of the celebrant in the 9th century have both times as object the worthy service at the altar; the related short synapte of the deacon, on the other hand, prays in

a general way for "protection, help, mercy and shelter." One is forced to conclude that in the homogeneous εὐχή τῆς προσκομιδῆς, which follows (Brightman, 319 f., 380 f.), in reality εὐχή πιστῶν γ' is to be found, all the more since the litany expressly enters as a continuation of what precedes: πληρώσωμεν τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν.  
<sup>18</sup> Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 38-40) and Armenian liturgy (*ibid.*, 428-430).

<sup>19</sup> Liturgy of the West Syrian Jacobites (Brightman, 80 f.); cf. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 107.

<sup>20</sup> *Const. Ap.* VIII, 10 f.

<sup>21</sup> The silent prayers 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 *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.<sup>22</sup> That is the explanation for the lone *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 *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 "first" and the "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 *ekmene* 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 *Kyrie*-litany which begins to emerge at the start of the Mass simultaneously with the disappearance of the prayer of the Church.<sup>23</sup> 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 *Oremus*,<sup>24</sup> and correspondingly also the content of the oration was newly devised. What preceded was at last naturally dropped.<sup>25</sup>

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 Leonine—has an addition to the present-day pattern of one oration (our collect) preceding the *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.<sup>26</sup> We will be nearest to the truth if we assume that the sec-

<sup>22</sup> See *supra*, p. 368.

<sup>23</sup> See *supra*, p. 336 ff.

<sup>24</sup> The consciousness of this still survives in Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 114 B): While among the Greeks prayer follows at this spot, amongst us the *oblato* of the people precedes (*praecedit*).

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.

<sup>25</sup> In some instances the *Oremus* was omitted; it is missing in the Wolfenbüttel MS. of *Ordo Rom. I* (Stapper, 22) and in *Ordo Rom. III*, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 980).

<sup>26</sup> According to Baumstark, *Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten* (JL, 1927), 6 f., and *Missale Romanum*, 29, these two

ond oration was to be said after the Gospel, and if we see in it a parallel with the *oratio super sindonem*, which follows the Gospel in the Milanese Mass.<sup>27</sup> Even in the earlier Roman liturgy we occasionally find examples of an *oratio post evangelium*,<sup>28</sup> innovations such as could arise at a time which no longer coupled the secret with the *Oremus*, but which had a living realization that a real closing prayer should follow the readings. Still such an intermediary oration did not survive. The secret in the Roman Missal remained the only formula in which, in place of the former general prayer of the Church between readings and sacrifice, the priest takes up the prayer according to the style and language of the orations. And when in it the *preces populi* are often explicitly mentioned alongside of the *oblato*es which are presented to God, we can see here the traces of the prayer of the faithful which formed a lower level over which was laid the thought of the offertory.

Besides all this we still have to dwell on a special evolution of the old prayer of the faithful, a development in the territory of the early Gallican liturgy, within the frame of the Roman Mass, though not in the Roman Missal. Gallican traditions here proved very tenacious.

In the year 517 a council of Lyons mentions the *oratio plebis*.<sup>29</sup> What this was we learn more precisely when the exposition of the Gallican Mass in the seventh century speaks of *preces* after the homily which the Levites

orations correspond to the two pre-Gospel readings. Similarly P. Alfonso, *L'Euchologia 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 *Missale Romanum*, among them those on the Ember Wednesdays, do not represent the original arrangement and plan; Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio" (ZkTh, 1936), 520 f.

<sup>27</sup> Thus, among others, Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary* (1894), p. LXXIV, note 1; A. Wilmart in his new edition of E. Bishop, *Le génie de Rit Romain* (Paris, 1920).

In the Milanese liturgy each Mass has, besides the orations corresponding to our collect, secret and post-communion, a proper oration *super sindonem*; it is preceded, as is the *oratio super oblata* (= secret) by the *Dominus vobiscum*. The designation *super sindonem* is derived from the moment in which it is said; cf. the "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 f. Regarding the function of the *oratio super sindonem* there is little clarity; see Borella (*Eph. 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 *oratio fidelium*.

A different view is taken by V. L. Kennedy: "The two collects of the Gelasian," *Miscellanea Mohlberg* (1948), I, 183-188.

<sup>28</sup> In the Mass book fragments from lower Italy edited by A. Dold (see *supra*, p. 395, note 16) the Mass formularies regularly have, between Gospel and Offertory, an *oratio post evangelium*; see Dold, p. XXX f. It is obviously of secondary development; cf. the remarks on this in ZkTh, LIX (1935), 320.

Within the *Ordo Missae* in a mid-Italian sacramentary of the 11th century there is an *oratio post evangelium*, but its contents have taken over the thoughts regarding the oblation and remind one of the *apologia*; Ebner, 298.

<sup>29</sup> Can. 6 (Mansi, VIII, 370).



solemnly recited for the people and in which the priests made intercession for the sins of the people.<sup>30</sup> There is reference here apparently to a single litany spoken by the deacon or deacons with a collect following *post preces*. Under this name, the contemporary Gothic Missal also actually contained a corresponding formula for the priest for Christmas and Easter services.<sup>31</sup> 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,<sup>32</sup> where each of the petitions is followed, after the Gallican manner, by the people's response, *Oremus te, Domine, exaudi et miserere* or *præsta, Domine, præsta*,<sup>33</sup> and in the Freiburg Pontifical of the ninth century,<sup>34</sup> 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,<sup>35</sup> was unclear already in the height of the Middle Ages. The people repeated the cry of *Kyrie*, not only after the clergy had recited the symbol but even during its recitation, and it was explained as signifying among other things a praise of God for the faith received.<sup>36</sup> Then here and there the *Kyrie* turned into a *Leis*, the German hymn which is

<sup>30</sup> *Expositio* (ed. Quasten, 16): *Preces vero psallere levitas pro populo ab origine libri Mosiaci duxit exordium ut . . . levitæ pro populo deprecantur et sacerdotes prostrati ante Dominum pro peccatis populi intercedant*. There follows the prayer act for the catechumens; see *supra*, p. 478 f.

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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, 1. 31; cf. 210 f. and resp. 150 f.

<sup>33</sup> Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 12 f.

<sup>34</sup> Metzger, *Zwei karolingische Pontifikalien vom Oberrhein*, p. 68\*-70\*. The introductory rubric says: *tempore ieiunii aut in aliis statutis diebus recitantur quando missa celebratur*. Within the Mass at this time the only spot that could be considered is after the readings.

<sup>35</sup> *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.

<sup>36</sup> Durandus, IV, 25, 14.

Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 19 (PL, CLXXII, 550 C), interprets as a promise to observe the teaching of the Gospel the *Kyrie eleison* which the people

to be found in many places since the twelfth century at the close of the sermon.<sup>37</sup> 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 feast 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup>

In many French-speaking dioceses the tradition of Regino has been preserved to this day with remarkable purity in the so-called *prières du prône*. Their wording, while keeping to the basic structure, varies in different places. A form very widespread today has the following outline<sup>40</sup>: After

sing at the same time that the clergy say the *Credo*; cf. *supra*, p. 472, note 67. The fact that this *Kyrie* accompanies the creed (*symbolo cantato ante et dum cantatur*) is also attested by Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ*, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 113 D).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. A. Linsenmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland* (Munich, 1886), 142 f.

<sup>38</sup> Regino of Prüm, *De syno. causis*, c. 190 (PL, CXXXII, 224 f.): . . . in quibus singillatim precibus plebs orationem Dominicam sub silentio dicat, sacerdos vero orationes ad hoc pertinentes per singulas admonitiones sollemniter expleat. Post hæc sacra celebretur 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 genua* (see *supra*, p. 369 f.). The oration 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.

<sup>39</sup> F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford, 1883), 207 f. In this Mass book

(9-10th century), from either Lotharingia or the Rhine, there is, outside a Mass formula and without any special designation (being thrown in among various formularies), 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 familiaribus* (a prayer for benefactors, relatives, for those recommended to our prayers, *vel qui nobis eleemosinarum suarum redditus erogaverunt*), *Oratio pro omni populo catholico* (for the king and his family, for believers and unbelievers), *Oratio generalis pro omni populo* (for all princes and leaders, for the clergy and the monasteries, 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 quarum nomina commendata sunt nobis*, with several further specifications).

<sup>40</sup> According to the text in G. Lefebvre, O.S.B., *Missel-Vespéral romain* (Lophem-lez-Bruges, 1923), 77-79. Here, to correspond to actual use, there is reference to the text of the "prône" between Gospel and *Credo* in the *Ordo Missæ* (p. 100).

The word "prône" is translated in many modern Latin texts as *pronaos*, ante-chamber, but this is incorrect. The word



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.<sup>41</sup> Then follows a second invitation to prayer, this time for the departed. Psalm 129 is recited, the *Requiem æternam*, and again the corresponding oration.<sup>42</sup> Then follow the announcements for the coming week.

A formula prescribed for a church in Paris shortly before 1300 shows exactly the same design.<sup>43</sup> 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,<sup>44</sup> where-

derives from *præconium*; cf. A. Gastoué, *Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, 12 (1927), 243. The "Announcements" continue to play a great role in the *prône*; cf. the chapter "Du prosne" in G. Grimaud, *La liturgie sacrée* (Paris, 1678), II, 52-58; de Moléon, 418 f.

<sup>41</sup> The oration for the 22nd Sunday after Pentecost (*Deus noster refugium*) is used.

<sup>42</sup> *Deus veniæ largitor*. In both cases only the invitation to prayer is in the vernacular, as this already seems to be assumed in Regino of Prüm.

The same arrangement is found as a formula *prona singulis Dominicis legenda* in the *Rituale Parisiense* (Paris, 1839), 433-441, but with a greater extension of the invitation and of the intentions of the first part.

At the present time, when the liturgical movement in France has grown apace, attention has been drawn to this venerable piece of liturgical tradition; cf., e.g., *Études de Pastorale liturgique* (Paris, 1944), 279 (G. Chevrot); Pastoral-liturgical Congress of St. Flour: *La Maison-Dieu*, IV (1945), 39 f. (A. M. Roguet and H. Ch. Chery).

<sup>43</sup> The prayer for the living is introduced by a formula of 18 members, each beginning: *Nous prions Dieu pour*; thereupon follows Ps. 122, with *Kyrie*, *Pater*, versicles and threefold oration. After a later invitation in the vernacular there follows a prayer for the dead, *Pater*

*noster*, and Ps. 129 (obviously a secondary re-arrangement) with versicle and two orations. A. Gastoué, "Les prières du prône à Paris au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* (1927), XII, 240-249.

<sup>44</sup> Manuscript evidence apparently starts only in 1405; see the four texts (bidding prayer, n. II-V) which are reprinted in Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 64-80. They start with the Latin formula: *Deprecemur Deum Patrem omnipotentem pro pace* (or *pro statu*) *et stabilitate sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ (et pro pace terræ)*. Then in three of the four pieces (the fourth, p. 74, shows a condensed, secondary form) there follows a threefold prayer-act: the English exhortation to pray closes each time with the invitation, a *Pater* and an *Ave* (in the second member in two instances: five *Aves*). At the end of the first member, for spiritual and secular authorities, for benefactors of the Church, etc. (remarkable is the naming of those who build roads and bridges, as well as pregnant women), Ps. 66, and after the *Kyrie*, *Pater noster* and several versicles, three orations. At the end of the second member, begging for the intercession of the Mother of God (and in part other intentions), a Marian hymn and after several versicles a Marian oration. At the end of the third member, again for the dead, Ps. 129, and after *Kyrie*, *Pater noster* and versicle the oration *Fidelium*.

as a British text of the "bidding prayer" just prior to the conquest shows a different form.<sup>45</sup>

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."<sup>46</sup> But for the rest the practice we find from this time on,<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> But this too faded out.<sup>50</sup> Towards the end of the Middle Ages we note the practice of inviting the faithful to recite an *Ave*,<sup>51</sup> or a *Pater* and *Ave* after each part.<sup>52</sup> Later a single *Pater* and *Ave* was recited

<sup>45</sup> *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 mention of 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.

<sup>46</sup> Linsmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt*, 143, 145, 146. The term *Ruf* probably refers to songs in the vernacular which developed out of the *Kyrie-eleison*; see *supra*, p. 342 f. and also 472, note 67.

<sup>47</sup> Honorius Augustod. *Speculum Ecclesiæ* (PL, CLXXII, 827-830), produces 13 members, of which each closes with an *Amen* that was probably spoken by the leader. The "Homiliary of the Bishop of Prague" ed. by F. Hecht (Prague, 1863), p. 17, presents a much shorter series which is not so clearly divided. The text in both instances is Latin.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the examples from Regensburg mentioned in note 52 below. A more care-

ful study would note distinction in type and typical form-elements. One recurrent introduction is, e.g., this one from the Regensburg *Obsequiale* of 1570 (Beck, 354): ". . . help me diligently to invoke and pray God the almighty."

<sup>49</sup> Honorius Augustod., *Speculum Eccl.* (PL, CLXXII, 830): After the preacher has announced the intentions for prayer, he exhorts the faithful: *Nunc, carissimi, corda vestra et manus ad Deum levate, ut pro his omnibus dignetur vos clementer exaudire. . . . Eia nunc preces vestras alta voce ferte ad coelum et cantate in laude Dei: Kyrie eleison.*

<sup>50</sup> In the homiliary 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 manus et invocate. . . .* But no mention is made of any formula by which the people could answer. Hecht, 17

<sup>51</sup> According to one MS. from St. Florian about 1480, the petitions were announced in 21 sections, each followed by an *Ave*. K. Eder, *Das Land ob der Enns vor der Glaubensspaltung* (Linz, 1933), 249 f.

<sup>52</sup> In the "Announcement" from Brandenburg, of 1380, ed. by A. Schönfelder



at the end,<sup>53</sup> or once more all noticeable prayer activity of the faithful drops out.<sup>54</sup>

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.<sup>55</sup> 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,<sup>56</sup> and in places, in fact, it has for a long time been said within the Mass itself.<sup>57</sup>

## 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").<sup>1</sup>

(*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.

<sup>53</sup> Thus, after a long list of intentions, according to the Basle parish priest John Ulrich Surgant, *Manuale curatorum*

*predicandi prebens modum* (Strassburg, 1508), fol. 78-79.

<sup>54</sup> Thus in the plan which R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879), 224 f., presents as the usual phraseology.

<sup>55</sup> P. F. Saft, "Das 'Allgemeine Gebet' des h. Petrus Kanisius im Wandel der Zeiten," *Zeitschrift f. Ascese u. Mystik*, XIII (1938), 215-223, with a presentation of five different recensions. The original form, published by Canisius in 1560, was still in use in the diocese of Brixen in 1900.

<sup>56</sup> Thus, e.g., in my own parish of Taufer in Pustertal. From such public use it spread also to private use at night prayer.

<sup>57</sup> 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. Gülden, "Fürbittgebete": *Parochia*, ed. by K. Borgmann, 387-408.

<sup>1</sup> R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, 221 ff. The development was in the direction of order and

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 Embertide 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.<sup>2</sup> The practice during the late Middle Ages was much the same, detailed explanation being given of the sanctoral calendar for the week following.<sup>3</sup> Indeed the custom is still maintained to a great extent at the present.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> These formulas had to be explained or at least recited with the people.<sup>6</sup> Often in the course of the Middle Ages the prescription was inculcated anew.<sup>7</sup> Later, from the

design, so that the many different formulae 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 Hail Mary. Cruel, 222-225; Linsenmayer, 140 f. Already by the 12th century the creed and *culpa* had been reduced to a single formula. For a different order see note 9 below.

<sup>2</sup> 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 occur the following day and invites all to the basilica of Faustus (Roetzer, 112 f.; further examples here).

Cf. in the later *Gelasianum* (Mohlbach, n. 1460 f.) the formula of the *demonstratio natalicii unius martyris*.

In an earlier period these announcements took place at Rome just before the Communion of the faithful, therefore before the non-communicants had departed; see below, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 8.

<sup>3</sup> See two formulas from Regensburg in Beck, 274, 353. One from Brandenburg (1380) in A. Schönfelder, "Die 'Verkündigung' im mittelalterlichen Gottesdienst," *Liturg. Zeitschrift*, 1 (1929), 58-62.

Cf. Cruel, 227-230, regarding a custom very extended in the 15th century: the village priest would free himself from the duty of preaching a real sermon by making a little announcement about the feast of the saint, filling it out with examples from the legends.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Schubert, "Die 'Verkündigung'," *Theologie u. Glaube*, XXIV (1932), 736-750, who bemoans the present-day style of announcements, curt as a telegram, and suggests a return to an earlier sacral type especially for the announcements regarding feasts and festival seasons.

<sup>5</sup> The directions appeared in various capitularies and in episcopal synodal writings; see also Synod of Frankfurt (794), c. 33 (MGH, Cp. I, 77).

P. Göbl, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom Verfall des Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Kempten, 1880), 78 f., 82-84.

<sup>6</sup> Such an explanation is connected with the Our Father, but not with the symbol in Honorius Augustod., *Speculum Eccl.* (PL, CLXXII, 819-824); likewise in the contemporaneous homiliary of the Bishop of Prague (Hecht, 60 f.).

<sup>7</sup> Göbl, 82-97.

K. Schrems, *Die religiöse Volks- und Jugendunterweisung in der Diözese Regensburg vom Ausgang des 15. Jh. bis gegen Ende des 18. Jh.* (Munich, 1929),



thirteenth century on, the Ave Maria and the Ten Commandments were added to the materials for catechism,<sup>8</sup> 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,<sup>9</sup> and finally "Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity"<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup> At first (since the ninth century) they served patently

24 ff., *et al.* (see the Index). Examples from Silesia (13-15th century) in J. Klapper, "Religiöse Volkskunde im gesamtschlesischen Raum," *Volk und Volksstum*, I (Munich, 1936), 75, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> 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 eight beautitudes, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven sacraments, the seven deadly sins, the six works of mercy, the five senses, the four sins "crying to heaven for vengeance," the six sins against the Holy Ghost. The same schema in the Brandenburg "Announcement" of 1380, ed. by Schönfelder (*Liturg. Zeitschrift*, 1929), 61 f. Other examples in J. Geffcken, *Der Bilder-catechismus des 15. Jh. und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther* (Leipzig, 1855), 21 f.

<sup>10</sup> For private prayer there are formulas of the theological virtues already in the *Manuale catholicorum* of St. Peter Canisius (1587); see A. Schrott, "Das Gebetbuch" (*ZkTh*, 1937), 215.

By the 17th and 18th centuries they already play a great part in catechisms; J. Hofinger, *Geschichte des Katechismus in Österreich von Canisius bis zur Gegenwart* (Innsbruck, 1937), 195 f, with note; 232 f.

Benedict XIII and Benedict XIV granted indulgences for their use; F. Beringer, *Die Ablässe*, (14th 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 sollempnia*.

<sup>11</sup> Twice a year the *prières du prône* 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 epitome of doctrine should follow the *prône*.

<sup>12</sup> The more ancient texts, traceable to the 10th century, marked "Beichten" (Confessions) in E. v. Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1916), 309-364.

for the sacramental confession of individuals.<sup>13</sup> 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<sup>14</sup> 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*<sup>15</sup>—to which the *Misereatur* was soon prefixed.<sup>16</sup>

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.<sup>17</sup> 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),<sup>18</sup> and it was no longer performed with sacramental intent.<sup>19</sup> It is even practiced today to some extent,<sup>20</sup> 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

<sup>13</sup> Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 180.

<sup>14</sup> A German collection of sermons from the 12th century is satisfied with Communion days: *si sit festivitas quod ad corpus Domini aliqui accedere velint*. Linsenmayer, 144.

<sup>15</sup> Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 275-295 (General absolutions), especially 279 ff.

<sup>16</sup> In the examples of Steinmeyer, 345-349, it is possible to visualize the following reconstruction: act of faith (creed), followed by a confession of guilt, both in the vernacular. Then *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam*. Then, again in the vernacular, a series of intentions for prayer. Cf. Steinmeyer, 357-361; Also the *Confiteor* and the *allocutio* which follows (a freely worded form of absolution) in the homiliary of the Bishop of Prague (Hecht, 60).

<sup>17</sup> Honorius Augustod., *Speculum Eccl.* (RL, CLXXII; 826 f.; cf. 829 B).

<sup>18</sup> In the Regensburg "Announcement" (*supra*, 489, note 52), at the end of the *culpa* the preacher grants the absolution (*Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam*), then he imposes a penance, to be said during Mass, five *Paters* and seven *Aves*. Beck, 277-281. Similarly at Ingolstadt; see Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 214 f. Pastor Surgant (LXXXV) indicates the same order, but remarks that other preachers (whose practice he opposes) give out the penance before the *Misereatur*.

<sup>19</sup> *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam* are designated as mere blessings in Ph. Hartmann, *Repertorium rituum* (11th ed., Paderborn, 1908), 402.

<sup>20</sup> In the Diocese of Brixen even today the *Offene Schuld* after the Sunday sermon as well as in the introduction to service for the dead, is always concluded with *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam*. The



as the twelfth century,<sup>21</sup> 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,<sup>22</sup> and the formula of blessing is superadded to that of absolution.<sup>23</sup>

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 *Confiteor* and the prayers accompanying it. Thus an idea which had once been realized in the primitive Church<sup>24</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> Even in Rome itself; see the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 82): After the homily *confessio a diacono fit populo. Et episcopus dicit: Misereatur vestri. Cf. Ordo Rom. XI, n. 20 (PL, LXXVIII, 1033 C): benedicat.*

<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 30: after the homily the deacon sings the *Confiteor*; 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 virginis . . . 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, I, 4, 5, 8 (I, 381); cf. also *Ordo Rom. XIV, n. 53; 72 (PL, LXXVIII, 1294 D).*

In the *Cærem. episc.*, I, 25, 2, when the rite is first described, the *Indulgentiam* is omitted, thus emphasizing the character of blessing. According to *Cærem. 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.

<sup>24</sup> *Supra*, p. 51.



A change will be made to the Ordinary  
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