

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

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## Part IV

# THE MASS CEREMONIES IN DETAIL THE SACRIFICE

## I. The Offertory

### 1. The Offertory Procession of the Faithful

WHEN THE LESSONS HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED WITH THE PRAYER of those assembled, and when all who are not fully competent members of the congregation have departed, it is possible to proceed to the main event in the celebration, the renewal of Christ's institution. The Master had inaugurated the eucharistic mystery under the tokens of bread and wine—bread, such as was to be found on the table of the Last Supper, and the cup which stood before Him, these He took and changed into the heavenly gift. Bread and wine must therefore be ready at hand when the celebration of the Mass is to begin.

This readying of bread and wine need not, of course, be a ritual action. It might be taken care of, some way or other, by anyone before the beginning of the ceremonies. In the most ancient accounts, in fact, we find no traces of a special stressing of this preparatory activity. As long as the Eucharist was joined to the fraternal meal there was scarcely any occasion for such special stress, because the gifts were already on the table. Even in Justin's description the matter is recounted simply and impersonally: bread is brought in, and wine and water. No particular formalities are observed, no symbolism introduced into the movement. This ties in with the strict aloofness which the nascent Church in the first two centuries showed towards material matters, preferring to emphasize, in opposition to pagan and Jewish sacrificial customs, the spiritual character of Christian cult.<sup>1</sup> Passing over the earthly bread and wine, the Church's attention focused on the spiritual, not to say heavenly, gift which proceeds from her *Eucharistia*, and on the thanksgiving which pours out heavenward from the hearts of men—a worship which is indeed “in spirit and in truth.”

But near the end of the second century we begin to see a trend away from this severe attitude. To oppose the repudiation of matter, which was a doctrine of the growing Hellenistic Gnosis, it was necessary to stress the value of the earthly creation, even in divine worship. The peril then no

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, p. 26 f.

longer lay in the materialism of heathen sacrificial practices, but in the spiritualism of a doctrine that hovered just on the borderline of Christianity.

So the Eucharist also appeared in a new light. The heavenly gift had an earthly origin; it was from the "firstlings of creation" that it proceeded. In Irenæus, as we saw, this point was emphasized for the first time. The approach towards God, this movement in which the Lord's body and blood was offered up, begins to include the presentation of material gifts which were thus drawn into the liturgical activity. In Tertullian we see the faithful bringing their gifts, and their action is described as an *offerre* directed to God.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in Hippolytus of Rome not only are the bread and wine (brought in by the deacons before the *eucharistia* of the bishop) called *oblatio*,<sup>3</sup> but the consecrated gifts are designated *oblatio sanctæ Ecclesiæ*.<sup>4</sup> In another place, describing the liturgy of Baptism, we see that the faithful—at least the newly baptized—"offer up" their gifts for the Eucharist.<sup>5</sup>

By the time we reach Cyprian it has already become a general rule that the faithful should present gifts at the eucharistic solemnity. This is evident from Cyprian's scolding a rich woman for her lack of charity: *dominicum celebrare te credis . . . quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quæ*

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, *De exhort. cast.*, c. 11 (CSEL LXX, 146 f.): [he is addressing a man who had married a second time, in reference to his first wife] . . . *pro qua oblationes annuas reddis. Stabis ergo ad Dominum cum tot uxoribus, quot in oratione commemores? Et offeres pro duabus, et commendabis illas duas per sacerdotem . . . et ascendet sacrificium tuum libera fronte?* Cf. for this Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 294 f.

<sup>3</sup> Dix, 6: *illi [sc. episcopo] vero offerant diacones oblationem.* The word *offerant* does not here mean an oblation to almighty God.

<sup>4</sup> Dix, 9. Cf. *supra*, I, 29.

Also in a prayer at the consecration of a bishop, there is a plea that the newly consecrated may προσφέρειν σοι τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἀγίας σου Ἐκκλησίας (Dix, 5).

<sup>5</sup> These should "bring along no other vessel but that for the Eucharist; for it is fitting for each then to bring his gift (προσφορά)." Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 32; cf. Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, 579: ". . . for it is fitting for what has been worthily accomplished then to offer up." We are dealing here with a text to be derived from divergent oriental trans-

lations). Besides, the terms *oblatio* and *offerre* or their oriental equivalents are often used in the "Apostolic Tradition" in a wider sense. The agape as a unit is called *oblatio*. Likewise within the plan of the agape the blessing of the cup by the individuals is designated as *offerre* (Dix, 46: *calicem singuli offerant*), and also the blessing of the bread at the beginning by the presiding cleric seems to be identified with an *offerre* (Dix, 48: all should receive the *benedictio* from his hands; cf. Dix, 46: *qui offert* should remember the host). Obviously the word is used here to signify that these objects are hallowed by the prayer of benediction and so in a way dedicated to God. It is possible, too, that in addition an offering was actually put into words, as in the following case: When the first-fruits are brought to the bishop (again the word *offerre*, προσενεγκεῖν) is used to express the idea; incidentally there is no connection here with the celebration of the Eucharist), the latter should offer them up (*offerre*) and for this purpose a formula is submitted: *Gratias tibi agimus, Deus, et offerimus tibi primitias fructuum . . .* (Dix, 53 f.; also preserved in Greek: προσφέρμεν). But this *offerre* also has ref-

*partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit sumis*.<sup>6</sup> Apparently, then, the individual worshiper was bound not only to contribute to the community poor box (*corban*) but also to make an offering for the altar, and from Cyprian's words it is quite clear that this offering was nothing more nor less than the bread and wine of the sacrifice.

The evolution must have been such that the offerings which had always been made for the needs of the Church and the poor were gradually drawn more closely into the liturgical pattern. The tie-in with the eucharistic celebration was all the easier since it had been customary to think of every gift to the Church and the poor as a gift to God, or even to designate it as an offering, an oblation.<sup>7</sup> Thus, such gifts of Christian charity were joined to the offering of the Eucharist.<sup>8</sup> It was, then, but a step to connect the offering made by the faithful with the ritual preparation of the gifts for the eucharistic sacrifice—a step which would be taken naturally in an age which was liturgically alive.<sup>9</sup> Thus we find in almost all the liturgies

erence to the blessing of the fruit, as the continuation of the text shows: *Benedicuntur quidem fructus, id est . . .* (the enumeration follows; Dix, 54). Furthermore the fact that these firstlings are brought to the bishop already implies a certain hallowing of the gifts, just as in the offering of bread and wine before the eucharistic prayer, so that even this *offerre* acquires a religious coloring.

Cf. J. Coppens, *Les prières de l'offertoire* (Cours et Conférences, VI; Louvain, 1928), 189-192; but the author does not pursue the connection between blessing and *oblatio*.

<sup>6</sup> Cyprian, *De opere et eleemos.*, c. 15 (CSEL, III, 384). The same idea later in Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.* 13 (Morin, 63; PL, XXXIX, 2238). A detailed evaluation of the many references to the oblation in Cæsarius is presented in a work (still in manuscript) on Cæsarius as a liturgico-historical source, written by Dr. Karl Berg (Salzburg); I was able to look into and utilize this work.

The actual offertory procession is attested by the beginning of the 4th century by the synods of Elvira and Nicea; see *infra*, p. 20, note 108.

<sup>7</sup> Phil. 4:18. Cf. E. Peterson, *Apostel und Zeuge Christi* (Freiburg, 1940), 38 f.: The Church gets support not in the form of taxes but in the form of a gift to God, "a sacrifice that breathes out fragrance."

In Hermas, *Pastor*, Simul. V, 3, 8, an

alms combined with fasting is called a θυσία and a λειτουργία pleasing to God.

The word *operari* (*opus, operatio*), which in the language of pagan worship was used in the sense of *sacris operari = sacrificari*, and from which comes the German word *opfern*, "to offer (up)" (the word must have been borrowed already at the beginning of the period of Roman missionizing, some time in the sixth century, as the sound-shaft indicates), was employed in the Latin of the Christians since Tertullian's time for the Christian work of mercy; cf. the title of Cyprian's tract cited in the previous note. However, *offerre* (*oblatio*)—whence the Old English *offrian* > *offer*—was also used in the same sense. Both expressions are found together in Tertullian, *De idolol.*, c. 22 (CSEL, XX, 55). But it must be admitted that with regard to *operari* the basic meaning of *opus bonum* had a distinct influence; H. Janssens, *Kultur und Sprache. Zur Geschichte der alten Kirche im Spiegel der Sprachentwicklung von Tertullian bis Cyprian* (Nijmegen, 1938), 217-224; cf. 104-110.

<sup>8</sup> Irenæus, *Adv. her.*, IV, 31, 5 (Harvey, II, 209); cf. Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 28 (CSEL, XX, 198 f.); *Ad uxor.*, II, 8 (CSEL, LXX, 124).

From a later period, Augustine, *Enchiridion*, c. 110 (PL, XL, 283): For the dead *sacrificia sive altaris sive quarumcumque eleemosynarum* were offered up.

<sup>9</sup> G. P. Wetter, *Altchristliche Liturgien, II. Das christliche Opfer* (Forschungen zur

since the fourth century an offering (in some form or other) of gifts directed towards the Eucharist. As a passing custom it was practically universal in the Church. In the Orient, it is true, only fragmentary vestiges have survived.<sup>10</sup> There the connection with the gift-offering at Mass was not very close. At any rate this holds true of the Antiochene-Byzantine area.

The offerings could be made, for instance, before the beginning of the service, being placed in a side-room specially designated for this pur-

Religion u. Literatur des A. und N. T., N. F., 17; Göttingen, 1922), turns the whole process of development topsy-turvy. Without further proof Wetter considers the offering of natural gifts made to God directly—his material is gathered in the main from the offertory prayers of early medieval texts—as a remnant from the customs of the primitive Church, where the faithful brought contributions for the agape connected with the Eucharist. From this offering, which (according to him) was conceived as a sacrifice in the full sense of the word, the idea of an offering was taken over into the Eucharist. Cf. the critical examination of the question by J. Coppens, "L'offrande des fidèles dans la liturgie eucharistique ancienne," *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1927), 99-123, along with the same author's continuation of the study, "Les prières de l'offertoire et le rite de l'offrande," *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1927), 185-196; A. Arnold, *Der Ursprung des christlichen Abendmahles*, 84-100, who describes Wetter's wild methods thoroughly (p. 95 ff.); still his reliance on Wetter's results within the limitation presented, p. 100, is not sufficiently well founded.

<sup>10</sup> So far there has been no comprehensive investigation of the offering of gifts by the faithful in the Orient. An enumeration of the sources to be considered in Hanssens, III, 279-282, who is himself inclined to think that in the Orient there was no offertory procession of the faithful, at least in the narrower sense of a presentation of bread and wine at the start of each individual celebration. E. Bishop, in his addendum to Connelly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 116 f., is less negative in his judgment.—In Egypt an offering of gifts by the people, related in some way to the Eucharist, must have persisted for a long

time. The eucharistic prayer of Serapion includes a plea for the offerers (Quasten, *Mon.*, 64). In the 6th century the term εὐχαριστήριον here meant an offering (of the people) for the dead; see E. Peterson, "Die alexandrinische Liturgie bei Kosmas Indikopleustes," *Eph. liturg.*, 46 (1932), 66-74.—There is evidence that among the Copts the practice of the faithful bringing bread and wine for the Eucharist to church continued into modern times; J. Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service* (London, 1908), 133; Cl. Kopp, *Glaube und Sakramente der koptischen Kirche* (Orientalia christiana, 75; Rome, 1932), 120.

As regards Syria, the Testamentum Domini in the 5th century furnishes evidence of offerings by the faithful; a special room was set aside for them (I, 19; see the following note); candidates for Baptism were not to bring anything along *praeter unum panem ad eucharistiam* (II, 8; Rahmani, 127); the bread of the catechumens was not to be accepted (I, 23; Rahmani, 37). Cf. further Jacob of Batnā (James of Sarugh, d. 521), *Poem on the Mass for the Dead* (BKV, 6 [1919], 305-315); he speaks about bread and wine which the faithful carry in procession to the altar.

Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 17 (PG, LXXXII, 1236 CD) tells of the offertory procession of the Emperor Theodosius, who for this purpose entered the sanctuary; true, this took place in Milan, but it presupposes a similar custom in Constantinople (ὡς περ εἰώθει). Similarly Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.*, 43, 52 (PG, XXXVI, 564 A), tells of an offering of gifts by the Emperor Valens (but see the critical remarks of Bishop, *op. cit.*, 116, and also the defense by Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 123, note 3). Cf. also the Trullan Synod (692), c. 69 (Mansi, XI, 973).

pose.<sup>11</sup> Thence the things necessary for the Eucharist were transferred to the altar at the beginning of the sacrifice. The ceremonial accompanying this transfer, first seen in the work of pseudo-Dionysius,<sup>12</sup> expanded gradually into the Great Entrance which takes the place of our offertory and is a climax in the Byzantine liturgy. Preceded by torches and incense, the deacon and priest carry the host and the chalice, reverently covered, from the *prothesis*<sup>13</sup> through the nave of the church and back into the sanctuary. Meanwhile, in the procession the King of all, surrounded by hosts of angels unseen, is greeted and honored in song.<sup>14</sup> Similar forms of a ceremonial transfer of the sacrificial gifts are to be found in other liturgies of this cycle, or at least they can be reconstructed from the vestiges that remain.<sup>15</sup>

In the Gallo-Frankish Church the same had been in use for a long time in a fully-developed form.<sup>16</sup> Obviously, with an elaborate form such as this, an offering on the part of the people within the Mass itself was entirely out of the question. But this does not mean that they made no offering at all. By no means.

For it is precisely from the Gallic Church of this period that we have clear evidence of the part the people took in this, among other things a directive of the National Council of Macon (585), in which the offering of the faithful—consisting of bread and wine—is re-emphasized, with

<sup>11</sup> Thus the direction in the Testamentum Domini, I, 19 (Rahmani, 23; Quasten, *Mon.*, 237): *Diaconicon sit a dextera ingressus qui a dexteris est, ut eucharistiae sive oblationes quae offeruntur possint cerni.* This *diaconicon* corresponds to one of the two *προσθήρια* mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions, II, 57 (Quasten, 181), although here the rooms have already been transferred to the vicinity of the sanctuary. <sup>12</sup> Ps.-Dionysius, *Eccl. hierarch.*, III, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 294).

<sup>13</sup> The Prothesis, that is, the place for the preparation of the oblation gifts, is at present generally found next to the sanctuary or else is a table actually in the sanctuary, to the north of the altar. Brightman, 586.

<sup>14</sup> The Patriarch Eutychius (d. 565), *De Pasch.*, c. 8 (PG, LXXXVI, 2400 f.), had already expressed doubts about this proleptic veneration of bread and wine; others after him did the same. Hanssens, III, 286-289. It is possible to suggest that this veneration was originally directed to Christ as represented by the consecrated priest; but the sources give no hint of such a thing. A different explanation in Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 284 f.

<sup>15</sup> Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*,

112; Hanssens, III, 272-277; 285-293.—In the Syrian area the thought that Christ thus makes His entry in order to suffer or to be offered up (*προέρχεται σαργιασθῆναι*) puts in an early appearance; Hanssens, III, 291 f.

Only in Egypt was there question here rather of a procession around the altar; this took place at the start of the fore-Mass and therefore did not necessarily involve a special place distinct from the altar for the preparation of the gifts; cf. Hanssens, III, 31-33.

<sup>16</sup> The oldest account comes from Gregory of Tours, *De gloria mart.*, c. 86 (PL, LXXI, 781 f.). The offertory procession is next mentioned in the *Expositio* of the ancient Gallican Mass (ed. Quasten, 17 f.). It is also found in the pseudo-Roman Mass of the 8th century, see *Capitulare eccl. ord.* and its monastic parallels (Silva-Tarouca, 206): After the reading the offerings are carried by the priest and the deacon in turret-shaped vessels (called *turres*) and in the chalice from the *sacrarium* to the altar. Here the offerings are called *oblationes*, whereas the sources mentioned previously speak proleptically of the body of the Lord. During the transfer to the altar

special reference to the fact that the usage was traditional.<sup>17</sup> The faithful made their offering before the beginning of the service in the place set aside for this purpose.<sup>18</sup> Similar arrangements must be presupposed in the Orient, too, wherever there is mention of offerings by the people.<sup>19</sup>

In the ancient Milanese<sup>20</sup> and Roman liturgies, and probably also in the North African, the offering of the faithful was very closely bound up with the eucharistic sacrifice. From the last of these, the North African liturgy, we get our oldest accounts of the offering of the faithful, and the customs connected with it are quite fully expounded, especially in St. Augustine.<sup>21</sup> In Africa it was possible to bring one's offerings to the altar day after day, as Monica was wont to do.<sup>22</sup> The priest himself received what was offered by the people, and in turn he offered these things to God.<sup>23</sup> Thus the offering and the oblation of the gifts was built into the very structure of the Mass. This is also certified by the report of the singing of psalms which was introduced at this time *ante oblationem* as well as at the communion.<sup>24</sup>

How the offertory was conducted at the papal stationary service in seventh century Rome, we know in fullest detail.<sup>25</sup> Here the gifts were not

the so-called *sonus* was sung. For an explanation of the data, in part previously misunderstood, see Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 37-42.

<sup>17</sup> Can. 4 (Mansi, IX, 951): . . . *Propterea decernimus ut omnibus dominicis diebus altaris oblatio ab omnibus viris et mulieribus offeratur, tam panis quam vini.*—Cf. Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.* 13 (Morin, 63; PL, XXXIX, 2238): *Oblationes quæ in altario consecrentur offerte. Erubescere debet homo idoneus, si de aliena oblatione communicaverit.*

<sup>18</sup> Nickl, 36 ff. For this Nickl cites a story in Gregory of Tours, *De gloria confess.*, c. 65 (PL, LXXI, 875 C): For a whole year a widow had Mass said daily for her deceased husband and each time offered for this purpose a sixth of the best wine; however, the subdeacon who accepted the gifts cheated her, substituting cheap wine and keeping the good for himself, until one day the lady unexpectedly communicated and so discovered the fraud. It would hardly have been possible to perpetrate such a deception except in the *sacrarium*, a room apart, from which the oblation would be carried to the altar.

<sup>19</sup> For Syria cf. *supra*, note 11. The side-room which was designated for the reception of the offerings of the faithful has become general throughout the Orient since the second half of the 6th century; Baum-

stark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 109 f. <sup>20</sup> Ambrose, *In ps.* 118, prol. 2 (CSEL, LXII, 4); cf. *infra*, p. 20, note 112.

<sup>21</sup> Clear evidence of the gifts of the faithful on the altar is given by Optatus of Mileve, *Contra Parmen.*, VI, 1 (CSEL, XXVI, 142): The Donatists overturned altars *in quibus et vota populi et membra Christi portata sunt.* Victor of Vita, *Hist. pers. Afric.*, II, 51 (CSEL, VII, 44), tells of one individual instance of this.

<sup>22</sup> Augustine, *Confessiones*, 5, 9 (CSEL, XXXIII, 104); cf. *Ep.*, 111, 8: The ladies and virgins who had fallen into the hands of the barbarians could no longer *ferre oblationem ad altare Dei vel invenire ibi sacerdotem, per quem offerant Deo* (CSEL, XXXIV, 655). The first phrase must refer to the offertory procession (*ferre oblationem*) at a public celebration, the second to a votive Mass requested privately; cf. *supra*, I, 219 f.

<sup>23</sup> Augustine, *Enarr. in ps.*, 129, 7 (PL, XXXVII, 1701).—Cf. also Roetzer, 116.

<sup>24</sup> See *infra*, p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 13-15 (PL, LXXVIII, 943 f.). Cf. the later revision of this text in *Ordo Rom. III*, n. 12-14 (PL, LXXVIII, 980 f.). A dissertation studying this text and its bearing on modern practice, G. J. Booth, *The Offertory Procession in the Ordo Romanus Primus* (Washington, 1948), contributes little of

brought by the people to the altar, but were collected by the celebrant and his retinue. After the Gospel the pope and his assistants first approached the nobility and received from them, according to their rank, their offerings of bread, while the archdeacon who followed accepted the wine (which was presented in special flasks or cruets<sup>26</sup> and poured it into a large chalice which was held by a subdeacon who, in turn, emptied this into a still larger vessel (*scyphus*). In the same manner the pope handed the breads to a subdeacon accompanying him, who laid them in a large cloth (perhaps a linen sack) held by two acolytes. One of the bishops, assisted by a deacon, then took over and continued to collect the offerings. Meanwhile, the pope left the men's side, and moved to the *confessio* where on feast days he received the offerings of the higher court officials; then he proceeded to the women's side to receive the gifts of the ladies of the nobility. It was then the duty of the archdeacon to prepare the bread offerings on the altar, with the help of subdeacons who handed him the breads which had been collected. He laid out as much as seemed to be needed for the Communion of the people. After this was done the pope himself took up the bread gifts of the assisting clergy and laid on the altar his own offering, which consisted of two breads<sup>27</sup> which the *subdiaconus oblationarius*<sup>28</sup> had brought along. For the chalice, only the offering presented by the pope himself and his group was used, or perhaps a little was taken out of the large vessel containing the wine offered by the people, and this was poured into the *calix sanctus*.<sup>29</sup> After the water, offered by the singing-boys, was commingled with the wine, the chalice was placed on the altar, to the right of the bread offered by the pope.

The general outlines of this oblation rite are still to be discerned some five hundred years later.<sup>30</sup>

Of the many gifts which were thus gathered, we can readily understand that only a small portion could be used for the altar. What was done with the rest? Where, first of all, was it kept during the service? Amongst the gold and silver objects which the Lateran basilica acquired from Con-

value, but reprints the pertinent passages.—Note that there is no documentary evidence of an "offertory procession" at Rome. See V. L. Kennedy, "The Offertory Rite," (*Orate Fratres*, 12 [1937-8], 193-198), 198.

<sup>26</sup> Drawing of *amulæ* in Beissel, *Bilder*, 317 f. These are special little flasks, ornamented with religious pictures, made for this particular purpose.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding the number two, cf. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1130 D): *unam [oblationem] pro se et alteram pro diacono.*

<sup>28</sup> Regarding this office, see Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, II, 246.

<sup>29</sup> In pouring the wine from the larger vessel into the sacred chalice a special colander or strainer was used. Thus, *inter alia*, the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, 460); a more detailed description in *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 992).—This *colatorium*—also called *colum*, *sia* ("strainer") or *cochlear* (from its ladle shape)—is mentioned in general as long as the practice of the people offering wine continued. Further details regarding the liturgical strainer in Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 448-454. Illustration of a *colatorium* in Beissel, 318.

<sup>30</sup> *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 82): As soon as the offertory chant is started the

stantine, the *Liber pontificalis* lists *altaria septem ex argento purissimo*.<sup>31</sup> There was but one altar in any one church, as we know full well. These, then, must have been tables to hold the offertory gifts. The fact that they were seven coincides with the fact that there were seven deacons who were called upon "to bestow their care upon tables" as once the deacons did in Jerusalem.<sup>32</sup> On these tables, which were set up somewhere in the forepart of the basilica,<sup>33</sup> the gifts of bread and wine were laid as an oblation to God.<sup>34</sup> Then, in so far as the needs of the clergy did not require them, they were set aside primarily for the poor, whose care was amongst the chief duties of the deacons.<sup>35</sup>

bishop goes *ad accipiendam oblationem in consueto loco, mansionario ante eum præcedente*. No further details are given regarding this acceptance of the offering, but immediately afterwards the paten prepared *cum hostia* is handed to the bishop at the altar.—However, the rite must have disappeared within the next few decades, for no mention is made of it in the commentary of Innocent III. True, offerings are mentioned for Christmas in *Ordo Rom.* XIV and XV, but they no longer disturb the course of the papal Mass; cf. *infra*, note 35.

<sup>31</sup> Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 172.

<sup>32</sup> Acts 6: 2.—In accordance with this number seven for the deacons—which was also retained in other episcopal cities—Rome was divided into seven regions for the care of the poor. If further assistance was required, it was ready at hand in the institution of subdeacons.

<sup>33</sup> Th. Klauser, "Die konstantinischen Altäre in der Lateranbasilika," *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 43 (1935), 179-186, gives it as his opinion that there is a connection between this and the origin of the transepts in the Constantinian basilicas. Room had to be made for setting up each table. Cf., on the other hand, J. P. Kirsch, "Das Querschiff in den stadtrömischen christlichen Basiliken des Altertums," *Pisciculi, F. J. Dölger dargeboten* (Münster, 1939), 148-156.

<sup>34</sup> This harmonizes with the fact that the formulas of the *oratio super oblata* in the *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, as well as in our own missal, for that matter, repeatedly mention a plurality of altars on which the offerings of the people are laid: *tua, Domine, muneribus altaria cumulamus* (Muratori, I, 324). On the other hand, in the

formulas of the post-communion the *mensa* is referred to exclusively in the singular. Klauser, 185 f.

<sup>35</sup> Here again we see the close connection between the notion of alms and the offering; cf. *supra*, p. 2.—With the disappearance, *resp.* the transformation, of the offerings in the Middle Ages this meaning seems to have vanished; the thought of the poor recedes completely into the shade; cf. Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 468 b (register). From the *Ordo ecclesie Lateranensis* (Fischer, 141, 1. 2) we learn that in the twelfth century at the start of the night office on the titular feast June 24) a liberal drink (*defertur potus honorifice et sufficienter*) was to be served *de oblatione altaris maioris* to the assisting clergy, to be handed to them by those *qui oblationem altaris custodiunt* (*ibid.*, 140, 1. 3). Now the offerings were connected with a particular place, a particular altar, and a distinction was made between those which were to go *sub altari* and those which were to go *desuper* (Fischer, 52, 95 f.); the distribution to the clergy was made according to this distinction.—Even a late *Ordo* like that of Petrus Amelii (d. 1403) = *Ordo Rom.* XV., n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 1278 D) contains this regulation for the papal service: *quidquid offertur sive ad manus papæ vel pedes vel super altare, capellanorum commensalium est, excepto pane et vino, quod acolythorum est, et quidquid venit per totam missam super altare*. Cf. *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 70 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 1184, 1187). Therefore, besides the gifts which the pope receives in person, there are those gifts which may be laid down anywhere in the church during the further course of the Mass—the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer,

In other churches of the West,<sup>36</sup> and more especially in the Roman liturgy after it was transplanted to Frankish countries, the oblation<sup>37</sup> was metamorphosed into an offertory procession of the faithful. After the *Credo* a line was formed, which wended its way to the altar. First came the men, then the women; the priests and deacons joined in after them, with the archdeacon bringing up the rear. Frankish interpreters compared the procession to the parade of the multitude that went out to meet and acclaim our Lord on Palm Sunday.<sup>38</sup>

Here, too, bread and wine form the offertory gift of the faithful.<sup>39</sup> The English Synod of Cealychythe (Chelsea, 787) stresses the prescription that the offering should be bread, not cake.<sup>40</sup> As a rule the bread was carried to the altar in a little white cloth;<sup>41</sup> but mention is made also of woven baskets.<sup>42</sup> The celebrant and his assistants went down to meet the offerers at the spot dictated by custom.<sup>43</sup> We learn that the gifts were placed on a large paten carried by an acolyte.<sup>44</sup> But even when they were offered up at the altar they were no longer set down on the altar itself, but *post altare*.<sup>45</sup> For even when they still consisted of bread and wine, they were no longer intended for consecration.<sup>46</sup> The reception of Communion had sunk to such

95 f.) also mentions offerings made during Rogation processions; to all appearances such offerings were laid principally on the mensa of a side altar. All these offerings apparently fell under the designation *ad pedes*; cf. Acts 4: 35, 37; 5: 2; Durandus, IV, 30, 38. The offerings of bread and wine, which had lost their importance, fell to the lot of the acolytes.

<sup>36</sup> For Aquileia cf. *infra*, p. 10.

<sup>37</sup> Here it was insisted on from the start; see Synod of Mainz (813), can. 44 (Mansi, XIV, 74).

<sup>38</sup> Amalar, *Expositio* of 813-814 (Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 152 f.); *Expositio "Missa pro multis,"* ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 36 f.; *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1128 B, 129 D). This analogy to Palm Sunday recurs in later commentators, for example Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 26 (PL, CLXXII, 553), and Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ*, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 114 B, 116 A).

<sup>39</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1129 D).

<sup>40</sup> Can. 10 (Mansi, XII, 942).

<sup>41</sup> *Expositio "Missa pro multis,"* ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 38; *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1324); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973); *cum fanonibus candidis*. Similarly in the monasteries: *Udalrici Consuetud. Clun.*, III, 12 (PL, CIL,

756 A).

<sup>42</sup> Christian of Stablo, *In Matth.* (after 865), c. 35 (PL, CVI, 1393 A).

<sup>43</sup> According to Herard of Tours, *Capitula* (from the year 858), c. 82 (Hardouin, V, 455), laics were not permitted to enter the sanctuary and the offerings therefore had to be received *foris septa*. Similarly the collection of capitularies of Benedictus Levita (dated about 850), I, 371 (PL, XCVII, 750); and so also, at an earlier date, the II Synod of Braga (563), can. 13 (Mansi, IX, 778).—On the other hand, Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), *Capitulare*, I, c. 6 (PL, CV, 193 f.), excludes only women from the sanctuary. For this praxis there is also later evidence: Martène, I, 4, 6, 7 (I, 387 f.); cf. 1, 3, 9, 8-10 (I, 341-344).—At present wherever the offertory procession is customary, no distinction, so far as I know, is made for women.

<sup>44</sup> *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 C): *patena*. This *patena* was apparently a large plate. Such plates were still in use in France up to very recent times; Corblet, II, 229.

<sup>45</sup> Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 62 (PL, CXXXII, 204).

<sup>46</sup> They were turned over to the *custos ecclesie* [the sexton] *ad observandum*; so *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 993 A). Cf. *supra*, note 35.—A portion of

a minimum that the bread offered by the faithful was superfluous. Besides, usually only unleavened bread was used for the altar, and this was generally procured in some other way;<sup>47</sup> in the years to follow, special regulations were made regarding its preparation.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the offertory procession survived for quite some time, or rather, to put it more correctly, an outgrowth and development of it now put in an appearance almost everywhere.

Granting the principle that, besides the Eucharist, material gifts also could be presented to God, it was not long before the offerings consisted of objects other than bread and wine.<sup>49</sup> From the era of Constantine we have the mosaic from the floor of the large double church excavated at Aquileia; here is the representation of an offertory procession in which men and women are bringing not only bread and wine, but also grapes, flowers, and a bird.<sup>50</sup> For that reason, it became necessary from early times to make regulations specifying in what manner these offerings could be made. A synod of Hippo in 393 says categorically: "At the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ nothing is to be offered except bread and wine mixed with water."<sup>51</sup> About the same time the Apostolic Canons stipulate: "When a bishop or priest, contrary to the institutions of the Lord about the sacrifice at the altar, offers up something else: honey or milk, or, in place of [the right kind], wine turned to vinegar, or fowl, or any type of beast or vegetable, in opposition to the mandate, he should be deposed. Aside from ears of wheat and grapes in season and oil for the lamps and incense, nothing should be brought to the altar at the time of the sacrifice. All other fruits should (as firstlings) be sent to the bishop or the priests at their home and not to the altar; it is clear that the bishop and priests distribute these too among the deacons and the other clergy."<sup>52</sup> These ordinances were repeated and expanded also in the West during the ensuing centuries.<sup>53</sup> Amongst the objects meriting the honor of being

the bread was blessed and distributed after the service; see the pertinent visitation questions in Regino, I, inquis. 61 (PL, CXXXII, 190 A): *Si de oblationibus, quæ a populo offeruntur, die dominico et in diebus festis expleta missa eulogias plebi tribuat.*—More details regarding the eulogiæ, *infra*, p. 452.

<sup>47</sup> *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 f.), still makes reference to bread offered by the faithful (cf. the argument for washing the hands, which follows), but on the altar is placed only what is needed from the offerings of the clerics and from the *oblata a nullo immolata* (ibid.).

<sup>48</sup> In the charters we find the obligation of supplying the *annona missalis* for the house of God. Examples since the 13th century

in K. J. Merk, *Abriss einer liturgiegeschichtlichen Darstellung des Mess-Stipendiums* (Stuttgart, 1928), 12, note 23.

<sup>49</sup> See *supra* 2 f.

<sup>50</sup> See the account in *JL*, 2 (1922), 156 f.; illustration in Righetti, *Manuale*, II, 29.

<sup>51</sup> Can. 23 (Mansi, III, 922); an exception continues to be made for milk and honey at the Easter Baptism Mass (cf. *supra*, I, 15) and for the *primitiæ* of grapes and grain.—The distinction which Augustine, *Ep.* 149, 16 (CSEL, 44, 362) makes appears to correspond to this: *voventur autem omnia, quæ offeruntur Deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio.*

<sup>52</sup> *Canones Apostolorum*, 2 - 4 = *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 47, 2-4 (Funk, I, 564).

<sup>53</sup> They are still found in Regino of Prüm,

allowed to be brought to the altar, there appear, in addition to the oil for the lamps,<sup>54</sup> especially wax and candles.<sup>55</sup> Even at the present time, during the Mass of ordination, the newly ordained bring the bishop a lighted candle, which is presented to him.

Next we hear that in many churches *pretiosa ecclesiæ utensilia* destined for the church were laid on the altar at the offertory procession on great feasts.<sup>56</sup> Even the transfer of immovable property was often executed by handing over a deed or voucher at the offertory.<sup>57</sup> From the eleventh century on, the offering of money began to come to the fore.<sup>58</sup> Peter Damian tells, as something still out of the ordinary, that two prominent ladies offered goldpieces at his Mass.<sup>59</sup> But more and more the offering of bread and wine was made by the clerics alone,<sup>60</sup> and in monastic churches by

*De synod. causis*, I, 63-65 (PL, CXXXII, 204), and therefore they cannot be looked upon here as simply an expression of contemporary praxis, as Netzer, 226, considers them.

<sup>54</sup> At Rome even the oil which was consecrated on Maundy Thursday was taken from the offerings; *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, ed. Lietzmann, n. 77, 4: *levantur de ampullis quæ offerunt populi.*

<sup>55</sup> Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.* 13 (Morin, 13; PL, XXXIX, 2238), makes mention of wax and oil, but without stressing the point that they were conveyed to the altar.—On an Exultet roll from Gaeta there is a miniature which goes back to a much earlier design that illustrated the Exultet text in the earlier Gelasianum; it presents an offertory procession in which one of the front figures hands a small bottle of wine to the deacon who carries the chalice, while the other figure offers the bishop two rings of wax, apparently for the Easter candle; Th. Klausner, "Eine rätselhafte Exultetillustration aus Gaeta," *Corolla*, L. Curtius zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht (Stuttgart, 1937), 168-176 (with illustration; also in L. A. Winterwyl, *Gestaltungswandel der Caritas* [Freiburg, 1939], 12-13). Klausner refers to an Exultet text in a Florence missal (10th c.) which includes a petition for the offerer: *cereum, Domine, quod tibi offert famulus tuus ille*; Ebner, 27.—A loaf and a candle also appear as the customary offering in the twelfth century in the legend of the buried miner who was saved from death by the weekly Mass at which his wife made an offering; Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 8 f. The legend, in turn,

was a leading factor in the production of a change in the offertory gifts. Cf. also the section on candles and wax as offerings in E. Wohlhaupter, *Die Kerze im Recht* (Forschungen zum deutschen Recht, IV, 1 [Weimar, 1940]), 29-35.—The offering of bread and a candle was so much a part of English parochial practice that it was revived in the time of Queen Mary; see Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England*, 158.

<sup>56</sup> John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 41 (PL, CCII, 50 D). According to a decree of the Congregation of Rites published on Jan. 26, 1658, it is still permitted to take up *oblaciones intortitorum et calicis* at the offertory: *Decreta auth.*, SRC, n. 1052.

<sup>57</sup> Martène, I, 4, 6, 2 (I, 385 C).—One Christmas, after presenting a precious chalice at the midnight Mass, Emperor Henry II made a further gift at the high Mass when, during the offertory, he laid on the altar a gift certificate for the property of Erwitte; *Vita* of Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn (d. 1036), n. 182 (MGH, Scriptorum, XI, 149).—Regarding this practice of making gifts by laying them on the altar, and the forms observed in so doing, see Bona, II, 8, 8 (703-706).

<sup>58</sup> Merk, *Abriss*, 92 f.; *ibid.*, 11, note 22, a charter from Vendôme dated 1046-49, in which someone transfers his own private church and along with it *nummorum etiam offerende medietatem*.—In Spain money offerings played a part already in the 7th century; see *infra*, p. 16.

<sup>59</sup> Petrus Damiani, *Ep.*, V, 13 (PL, CXLIV, 359 D): *byzanteos obtulerunt.*

<sup>60</sup> Thus Ivo of Chartres, *De conven.* (PL, CLXII, 550 C): *hostiam* [later identified

the monks.<sup>61</sup> Only in unusual circumstances was the presentation of the bread and wine by lay people continued, as, for instance, at the coronation of Kings,<sup>62</sup> or at the consecration of virgins,<sup>63</sup> perhaps also on certain great feasts<sup>64</sup> and, in some instances, at the burial services for the

as bread and wine for the consecration] *accipit a ministris et diversi generis oblationem a populis.*—The Mass-ordo of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 248 A) generally mentions only the *oblationes offerentium presbyterorum et diaconorum.*

<sup>61</sup> Gradually this was restricted to a procession with the hosts. With a gold or silver spoon the sacristan lifted the hosts one by one from a large plate and handed them to each monk, who received them in a little cloth. A second sacristan poured wine into each one's cup. Priest-monks were permitted to pour the wine themselves into the large altar chalice. Whatever was not needed for the consecration was set aside as eulogia and distributed later in the refectory. William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 84; II, 30 (PL, CL, 1011, 1014 f., 1083 f.), and the analogous ordinances in other monasteries; see St. Hilpisch, "Der Opfergang in den Benediktinerklöstern des Mittelalters," *Studien u. Mitteilungen z. Geschichte des Benediktinerordens*, 59 (1941-2), 86-95, esp. 91 f.—In many Franciscan convents similar practices existed as late as the 18th century. In St. Vaast near Arras at the conventual Mass each day bread on a paten and wine in a chalice were offered by the superior in the name of the community. After the *Oremus* he was greeted by the celebrant with a *Pax tecum, reverende Pater* as he approached the altar with these offerings, kissed the maniple which was held out to him, and placed the bread on the altar paten and poured the wine into the altar chalice. Elsewhere, as at Cluny, only the communicants, each in turn, placed a host on the priest's paten; Hilpisch, 94 f. Cf. also de Moléon, 149, 239; Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 252 f.

<sup>62</sup> Cod. Ratoldi (10th cent.; PL, LXXVIII, 260 C).—E. S. Dewick, *The coronation book of Charles V of France* (HBS, 16; London, 1899), 43: *debet offerre panem unum, vinum in urceo argenteo, tresdecim bisantos aureos.*—W. Maskell, *Monumenta ritualia ecclesiae Anglicanae*, III, (London,

1847), 42: The king offers bread and wine, and then *marcam auri* (a late Middle Age direction).—According to the 12th century *Ordo* for the coronation of the emperor (Ordo C) the emperor offers at the throne of the pope *panem simul et cereos et aurum, singillatim vero imperator vinum, imperatrix aquam, de quibus debet ea die fieri sacrificium*; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland*, I, 178; cf. 215. According to Ordo D which was in use since the 13th century and goes back to Innocent III, the emperor offers only *aurum quantum sibi placuerit*; Eichmann, I, 264; cf. 285; II, 273 f. This last arrangement is also prescribed in the *Pontificale Romanum* I, *De bened. et cor. regis.*

<sup>63</sup> So in England even around 1500: Each of the virgins had her hands covered with a cloth. In the right she carried a paten with a host and in the left a cruet with wine for the altar. She slipped the host onto the paten which the deacon held, the cruet she handed to the bishop, whose hand she kissed. The wine was put into a chalice and administered after the Communion. W. Maskell, *Monumenta*, II (London, 1846), 326 f.—The same rite was used for the dedication of oblate boys, in the customs of the Piedmontese monastery of Frutuaria (11th c.): Albers, *Consuetudines*, IV, 154. The precedents for this usage are already in St. Benedict's Rule, ch. 59.—The *Pontificale Romanum* I, *De bened. et consecr. virginum*, recognizes only the offering of a burning candle.

<sup>64</sup> Regarding the offering of bread and wine at a papal Mass, cf. *supra*, note 30. According to the *Ordinarium* of Nantes of the year 1263 *luminarii* were offered at the first Mass on Christmas, bread at the second and money at the third; E. Martène, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiae disciplina* (Lyons, 1706), 90. Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 30, 40, mentions an offering of bread by the people on Christmas.—There is a comparatively late reference to an unrestricted offering of bread and wine in the cession of a church to the monastery

dead.<sup>65</sup> So, since the twelfth century, in explaining the offertory, the enumeration of offerings usually begins with gold: Some offer gold, like the Wise Men from the East, others silver, like the widow in the Temple, still others *de alia substantia*; only after that are bread and wine mentioned<sup>66</sup> as gifts of the clerics, who have always formed the last in the ranks of offerers. In later writings, there is no mention at all of bread and wine in this connection. Only at an episcopal consecration does the Roman liturgy still contain a vestige of this practice: the newly consecrated bishop presents two altar breads, two small casks of wine, and two candles.<sup>67</sup> And at a papal Mass, on the occasion of a solemn canonization, an offering is made of two breads, two barrels of wine and water, five

of St. Denis in the year 1180; the former owner hands over, amongst others, *omnia ad altare pertinentia cum offerenda panis et vini, lini, canapi et candele*; Merk, *Abriss*, 13, note 27; cf. 87, note 11. A contemporary record from Tours mentions *panis, vinum, denarius, candela* as the usual offertory materials.

<sup>65</sup> In Champagne even as late as the first half of the 19th century it was still a custom at a burial service for the next of kin to offer up a loaf on a serviette, and wine in a special flagon, along with a candle; by 1860-70 instead of wine only an empty canister and money were presented. The rest of the ladies offered bread and candle, the men money. This information comes from the youthful memories of A. Loisy, as recorded in Wetter, *Altchristliche Liturgien*, II (*supra*, note 9) 77 f.—The same custom is reported in the beginning of the 18th century in Orleans: de Moléon, 215 f.; there is also the example of a parish where on All Souls Day 50 to 60 ladies took part in his offertory procession; *ibid.*; cf. also 239, 408, 409, 410.—De Moléon, 173, 187, 427, also describes another procession, still current at that time in certain cathedrals, where the canons at a solemn service for the dead formed a procession with paten and chalice. Corblet, I, 225, witnesses to the custom, still in vogue in Normandy in his day (1885), where the respective family at a service for the dead presented a flask of wine and a loaf of bread which were then offered up by two altar boys at the offertory.—Regarding the offering of bread or meal which in present-day Bavarian parishes is deposited on the altar-rail before a funeral Mass, and also regarding the custom of

alms bread, cf. V. Thalhofer-L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, II (Freiburg, 1912), 121, note 3. I have been told about a Regensburg country parish where a tin cup is placed on the tumba and formerly a loaf of bread was set beside it (L. Schlosser, 1931). Another account comes to me from Kessen in the Lower Inn valley; here it is still the custom at solemn funeral services to set up a pan of alms and three tin pitchers which are filled after the Mass with gifts for the priest (P. Werner).—The rapport with the Mass is less close in other accounts of an offering of bread for the poor after a funeral service; such practices were customary even in our own century in places like my native South Tyrol.

<sup>66</sup> Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 27 (PL, CLXXII, 553); cf. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ*, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 115); Durandus, IV, 30, 34. Another enumeration of the Mass offerings usual in the 12th century reads: *Panis, vinum, denarius et candela*; Martène, I, 4, 6, 6 (I, 387A).

<sup>67</sup> *Pontificale Rom.*, *De consecr. ep.*; similarly at the Blessing of an Abbot. Likewise in the Roman Pontifical of the 13th century and (also at the consecration of cardinal priests and deacons) in that of the 12th century; Andrieu, II, 349, 364 f.; I, 137, 151 f.—Even at present at the cathedral of Lyons the first two priests on each side of the choir bring bread and wine to the altar on the ferias of Lent; J. Baudot, *Le Missel Romain* (Paris, 1912), 101. Cf. de Moléon, 246. As late as 1700 the canons of Angers still conducted an offertory procession; *ibid.*, 89.

candles, and three cages containing pigeons, turtle-doves, and other birds.<sup>68</sup>

Shortly after this it was pointed out that clerics do not generally have an obligation to make an offering.<sup>69</sup> Other means had long since been devised of procuring the elements of bread and wine, while in the offertory procession the chief concern was a domestic one, to obtain support for the clergy. This offering served, as they said, *ut inde sibi victum habeant sacerdotes*.<sup>70</sup> And since money gradually superseded almost all other gifts, and since many objects were already excluded from the offertory proper because of the holiness of the place, there was soon no distinction at all, in intent and disposition, between free-will offerings and those made according to strict ecclesiastical prescription. And inversely, the latter offerings were all the more consciously drawn into the offertory procession and all the more plainly considered as gifts made to God. Even the presentation of the tithes was designated as an *offerre*.<sup>71</sup> Under the concept of oblation were listed all the products of rural industry and all objects of ecclesiastical and domestic use; and in regard to all of these, in so far as it was practicable, an effort was made to integrate them, in some way, with the offertory procession.<sup>72</sup>

Besides, one of the features of the older Gallican rite recurs again—offering up all sorts of things for the altar *before* the services. Because of the richness of such gifts, it so happened that—especially when the churches were privately owned—the landlord would lay hands on the offerings and even demand the majority for himself, claiming that he was already taking care of the church and its priests. As early as 572 the Synod of Braga had ordained that no bishop was to consecrate a church which

<sup>68</sup> J. Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 54-56. The first evidence of this offertory procession at a canonization is in 1391; see Th. Klauser, "Die Liturgie der Heiligsprechung," *Heilige Überlieferung* (Münster, 1938), 212-233; esp. 223 ff. The allegorical intent in the choice of the gifts is explained in H. Chirat, "Psomia diaphora," *Mélanges E. Podechard* (Lyons, 1945), 121-126.

<sup>69</sup> *Ordo Rom.* VI (10th c.), n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 993 A; Hittorp, 8): *quos non tam patrum instituta iubent quam proprium arbitrium immolare suadet*. John Beleh, *Explicatio*, c. 41 (PL, CCII, 59): *Clerici enim non offerunt nisi in exequiis mortuorum et in nova celebratione sacerdotis. Nam inhumanum videretur, si ii offerre tenerentur, qui ex oblationibus vivunt aliorum*.—Durandus, IV, 30, 36, appends to the exceptions: *et in quibusdam præcipuis sollempnitatibus*, and extends the exemption to *monachi*.

<sup>70</sup> John Beleh, *Explicatio*, c. 17 (PL,

CCII, 30). In the same sense Durandus, IV, 30, 9, distinguishes between *donum* and *sacrificium*; he says: *donum dicitur quicquid auro vel argento vel qualibet alia specie offertur*, while *sacrificium* is what serves for the consecration.

<sup>71</sup> G. Schreiber, *Untersuchungen zum Sprachgebrauch des mittelalterlichen Oblationswesens* (Wörishofen, 1913), 19 f. Schreiber tells about a spiritualizing that set in regarding the discharge of tithes.

<sup>72</sup> At a First Mass in the diocese of Eichstätt during the 15th century it was customary for all the people to take part in an offertory procession in which they presented not only money and natural products but also all sorts of household goods like cooking utensils and bedding as an endowment for the new priest; J. B. Götz, *Die Primizianten des Bistums Eichstätt aus den Jahren 1493-1557* (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 63; Münster, 1934), 18.—In certain parishes in the lower Alpine region of Bavaria it

some landlord had built in order to snatch half the oblations.<sup>73</sup> The struggle against these and similar claims went on for centuries.<sup>74</sup> It even affected the altar oblation proper, which was now grounded on a much wider basis and whose ecclesiastical disposition, in its more ancient modest range, had hardly been imperiled.<sup>75</sup>

In the interval during which the ancient offering of bread and wine was being displaced by the other objects at the offertory procession—the ninth and the tenth centuries—the effort was made to establish a strict distinction between the former offering and the latter. Only bread and wine are to be offered up according to the traditional form at the offertory of the Mass, while candles and the rest are to be presented before Mass or be-

was customary on specified feast days, right down to modern times, to make offerings of flax and sheaves of wheat in church, while other products were brought to the churchyard. In one parish on Martinmas (Nov. 11) every farmer "offered" a goose, later (till 1903) a hen; the animals were kept in a cage near the cemetery during the church services and afterwards were auctioned off for the benefit of the parish treasury. G. Rückert, "Alte kirchliche Opfergebräuche im westlichen bayerischen Voralpenland," *Volk und Volkstum*, I (1936), 263-269.—We hear of similar practices at present among Slovenes of Carinthia. In the Gail valley at a wedding service natural products are offered, like the wine which is blessed and handed to the married couple. At St. Jacob in Neuhaus there is a special room next to the sacristy where on Sundays the offertory gifts which are presented before Mass are kept; after services they are auctioned off by the church treasurer. Few are the Sundays on which nothing—lamb, shoats or fowl—is forthcoming. In some churches where these customs prevail the offerer walks around the altar to symbolize that his gift is made to God. (From a notation by a former pupil of mine, chaplain Christian Srienc.)

<sup>73</sup> Can. 6 (Mansi, IX, 840); cf. III Synod of Toledo (589), c. 19 (*ibid.*, 998).

<sup>74</sup> Jonas of Orleans (d. 843), *De inst. laicali*, II, 19 (PL, CVI, 204 f.); Synod of Ingelheim (948), can. 8 (Mansi, XVIII, 421); *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 10 (Friedberg, I, 1296).—In the course of a transfer of churches to monasteries and bishops, as we ascertain from source docu-

ments (deeds and charters) since the 9th century, the rights ceded often included the *oblaciones*, *offerentia* or *offerendæ* (the last especially is a regular designation for altar offerings; see Schreiber, *Untersuchungen*, 24 ff.; cf. French "of-frande"), frequently with the stipulation that a specified number of the clergymen who went with the transfer must be retained. Examples in Merk, *Abriss*, 48 ff.; G. Schreiber, "Mittelalterliche Segnungen und Abgaben" (*Zeitschrift d. Savigny-Stiftung*, 63 [1943], 191-299), 245 f., 280 f., 283, 289 note. (= Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 247 f., etc.; see *ibid.*, 467 f., Index s.v. "Oblationen").—Exact settlements between the canons and the priest-canons who worked in the church are continued, e.g., in the *Liber ordinarius* of the capitular church of Essen (14th c.), ed. by F. Arens (Paderborn, 1908), 126-128; cf. 200-204.

<sup>75</sup> In the *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 31 (Funk, I, 532 f.) there is a clue to how the "Blessing" left over at the mysteries (τὰς περισσευούσας ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις εὐλογίας) was to be distributed among the ranks of the clergy. Manifestly bread and wine are meant. Further instances from the Orient in Funk, *loc. cit.*—Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, IV, 55 (PL, LXXVII, 417 B), tells about a priest to whom someone wanted to give *duas oblationem coronas*, which are thereafter labeled *panis sanctus*. Cf. also *supra*, p. 8, note 34.—The allotment to bishop, clergy, church buildings and the poor—frequently mentioned since the 5th century—refers to the distribution of the church revenues as a whole, and not directly to the altar offerings.

fore the Gospel.<sup>76</sup> As a matter of fact, the ensuing years witness a great deal of hesitancy regarding the proper place for this remodeled offertory procession. In Bavarian country parishes an offertory procession before the Gospel has survived right down to the present.<sup>77</sup> An offertory procession at the *Kyrie eleison* was also a common practice which continued<sup>78</sup> for a long time.<sup>79</sup> In Spain it was customary, even in earlier times, to offer money at the Communion procession,<sup>80</sup> a custom which also existed elsewhere or was formed anew.<sup>81</sup> And again there was repeated occasion for sharp prohibitions against simoniacal dealings.<sup>82</sup> Later, in Spain, we meet with an offertory procession inserted between the priest's offering of bread and wine and the washing of his hands. This is done in the Mozarabic liturgy,<sup>83</sup> and even in the Roman liturgy this addition is admitted to a certain

<sup>76</sup> Hincmar of Reims, *Capitula*, I, c. 16 (PL, CXXV, 777 f.). Similarly Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis, inquis.* 72 f. (PL, CXXXII, 190 C).

<sup>77</sup> Thalhofer-Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, II, 121, note 3. Besides this offertory procession right after the collects, there is generally a second one at funeral services, after the Gospel. At both money is offered.—This dual procession at services for the dead also in Ingolstadt in the 16th century; Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 83, 113 f., 118, note 1. The same custom also obtained at that time in Biberach; Schreiber *Untersuchungen*, 15, note 1, following A. Schiller (Freiburg Diocesan Archives, 1887).

<sup>78</sup> So according to a commentary in a 15th century Stuttgart MS.; Franz, *Die Messe*, 704 f.

<sup>79</sup> It was still mentioned in 1909 as a contemporary custom at a wedding Mass; L. von Hörmann, *Tiroler Volksleben* (Stuttgart, 1909), 371. But I myself have had no acquaintance with the practice.

<sup>80</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Ep. ad Leudefredum*, n. 12 (PL, LXXXIII, 896).—Synod of Merida (666), can. 14 (Mansi, XI, 83): *communicationis tempore a fidelibus pecuniam novimus poni*. Cf. the remarks of A. Lesley regarding the *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 537 f.).

<sup>81</sup> E. G. about 1400 in Rome: *Ordo Rom.* XV, n. 85 (PL, LXXVIII, 1332 C). In the memoranda of the Mainz parish priest Florentius Diel (1491-1518), ed. by F. Falk, (*Erläuterungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, IV, 3

[Freiburg, 1904], 15, 46), it is opposed as an abuse: The faithful ought not to lay the money on the Communion cloth.

<sup>82</sup> Synod of Trullo (692), can. 23 (Mansi, XI, 953); synod of Worcester (1240), can. 29 (Mansi, XXIII, 536): *parochianos suos, cum communicant, offerre compellunt, propter quod simul communicant et offerunt, per quod venalis videtur . . . hostia pretiosa*. Further examples in Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter*, 136 f.—What led to this practice was the desire, quite understandable, to lessen the disturbance caused by the repeated comings and goings, by combining the offertory and Communion processions.—There is a possible connection between the fact that even in modern times the traditional offertory processions are conducted after the Communion, and the ordinance of Joseph II, of June 24, 1785, which sought to do away with the commotion caused by the offertory procession during Mass. This ordinance placed the procession before Mass, and enjoined only money and no burning candles; *K.k. Verordnungen welche über Gegenstände in Materis publico-ecclesiasticis 1784 u. 1785 sind erlassen worden* (Augsburg, 1786), 22.—Regarding the custom in Vorarlberg, see L. Jochum, "Religiöses und kirchliches Brauchtum in Vorarlberg," *Montfort*, 1 (Bregenz, 1946), 263 ff., especially 271.

<sup>83</sup> *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 537). According to the rubric for the first Sunday of Advent, the incensing of the altar and the *Aduvate me fratres* also come before the procession.

extent.<sup>84</sup> The author of the *Micrologus* denounces this arrangement as inverted.<sup>85</sup> As a rule, the offertory, even in its new dress, assumes its old place after the *Oremus*, while the *offertorium* is being sung, its glad some tone spurring one on to joyful giving.<sup>86</sup> It is presupposed as taking place in this spot in the Mass *ordo* of Burchard of Strassburg, printed in 1502,<sup>87</sup> and here, too, it is to be found wherever the old custom still survives.<sup>88</sup>

Burchard's *ordo*, which always notes the rubrics with great exactness, also describes the rite for the priest in these circumstances. After he has read the offertory from the missal, he goes to the Epistle side, takes the maniple from his arm and extends it to each of the offerers to be kissed, at the same time blessing them with a special formula.<sup>89</sup> The same rite is presupposed in Spanish Mass books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>90</sup> In Spain the rite is an ancient tradition,<sup>91</sup> and here, too, it has survived to this day, with the exception of the blessing which had to be sacrificed in 1881 as the result of a decree of the Congregation of Sacred Rites.<sup>92</sup> The main outlines of the rite are also to be found elsewhere up to

<sup>84</sup> For France see the numerous instances from the 11th to the 18th centuries in Lebrun, I, 254 f.—For England see the instruction regarding Mass in the Vernon MS. (about 1375), in Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 142.—The rubric in the 1547 Missal of Vich also seems to assert the same; Ferreres, 121.

<sup>85</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 10 (PL, CLI, 983 C).

<sup>86</sup> Alexander of Hales, *Summa theol.*, p. IV, 10, 5, 2, and following him William of Melitona, *Opusculum super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 327.

<sup>87</sup> Legg, *Tracts*, 149.

<sup>88</sup> For Spain see Ferreres, 121 f.—B. Gavanti, too, thinks it appropriate that the offertory procession which is sometimes performed at present should be inserted here; Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 5 (I, 260).—As a matter of fact, however, the procession which is still in vogue in country churches often begins a bit later, and then, if there are many offerers, it frequently lasts during the whole Mass, with just a short break at the consecration.

<sup>89</sup> Legg, *Tracts*, 149: *dicto offertorio, si sint volentes offerre, celebrans accedit ad cornu epistolæ, ubi stans detecto capite, latere suo sinistro altari verso, deponit manipulum de brachio sinistro, et accipiens illud in manum dextram porrigit summitatem eius singulis offerentibus osculandum dicens singulis: Acceptabile sit sacrificium tuum omnipotenti Deo, vel:*

*Centuplum accipias et vitam æternam possideas*. Also in Franz, *Die Messe*, 614, note 1.—According to two Mass books from the neighborhood of Monte Cassino (11-12th cent.), after the priest has taken up the *oblaciones singulorum*, he recites the words: *Suscipe s. Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offert famulus tuus, et præsta ut in conspectum tuum tibi placens ascendat*; Ebner, 309, 340; cf. 346. The same formula, and probably for the same purpose, found already in the first half of the 11th century in the *Missa Illyrica* and the missal of Troyes: Martène, I, 4, IV; VI (I, 508 D, 532 C), and at the other end still occurs in the Missal of St. Lambrecht (Köck, 120), written in 1336.—The blessing: *Acceptabilis sit omnipotenti Deo oblatio tua*, appears also in the *Missa Illyrica*, but is said by the bishop when he receives the *oblata* for the Eucharist, and similarly by the deacon; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 508); cf. Mass *ordo* of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 248 A).

<sup>90</sup> Ferreres, 120 f.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 529 A): The priest says to each: *Centuplum accipias et vitam æternam possideas in regno Dei. Amen*.

<sup>92</sup> Decision of Dec. 30, 1881; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3535, 1. Still the blessing has not disappeared entirely; see Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II), 362.—Either the maniple or the stole or

very recent times.<sup>93</sup> In many places, instead of the maniple or the stole,<sup>94</sup> the offerer (after handing over his gift)<sup>95</sup> kissed the hand of the celebrant,<sup>96</sup> or, in other places, the corporal<sup>97</sup> or even an extended paten.<sup>98</sup> Sometimes the offerer accompanied his gift with a word of blessing.<sup>99</sup> According to a Mass *ordo* of the fifteenth century the priest was finally to bless the peo-

(before 1881) a particle of the True Cross was presented to be kissed. In the diocese of Urgel the blessing was worded: *Oblatio tua accepta sit Deo*. After renewed representations the kissing of the stole was permitted also at a funeral Mass: June 15, 1883; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3579. Ferreres, 121 f.—Cf. G. Martínez de An-toñana, *Manual de liturgia sagrada*, I (5th ed., Madrid, 1938), 496 f.; here is a rubric book that takes the offertory procession into consideration.

<sup>93</sup> In Vorarlberg the priest stood at the epistle side during the offertory procession. However, only a vestige was left of the older practice of presenting the maniple to be kissed: as each gift was offered the priest merely waved his maniple and pronounced a blessing, e.g., *Pax tecum*; Jochum (see *supra*, note 82), 272.—In St. Gall nearby a synod of 1690 determined that only the men should kiss the maniple, while it was laid on the heads of the women. K. Steiger, *JL*, 2 (1922), 176. Cf. the note following.

<sup>94</sup> Ferreres, 121 f. Each of the canonesses at the capitular church in Essen, upon handing the oblation to the priest (who came to the choir with a whole retinue of assistants according to a fixed order), kiss his stole; Arens, *The Liber ordinarius*, 18, 200 f.—According to the parish book of Biberach, about 1530, ed. by A. Schilling, *Freiburger Diözesanarchiv*, 1887, the priest presented the stole to the nobles to be kissed, but merely placed it on the heads of others; Schreiber, *Untersuchungen*, 15 note 1.

<sup>95</sup> The references are to offerings made *ad altare, ad librum, ad stolam, ad manum*; Merk, *Abrisz*, 33 f.; cf. 34, note 4, an Obendorf Mass foundation of 1474: "the offering is thus placed on the altar or given and laid in his [the chaplain's] hand or book."—John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 41 (PL, CCII, 50 D), objects to the priest's holding a *pyxis* or something of the sort in his hand, on the ground that it could

easily give the impression of avariciousness.—Durandus, IV, 30, 38, pretends to know that except at Masses for the dead the pope always received *ad manum* only the oblation of bread, while all else was laid *ad pedes*; cf. *supra*, note 35. So, too, the oblations which were offered *ad manum episcopi* were accepted by the subdeacon because the bishop was not supposed to busy himself with his own hands in worldly matters.

<sup>96</sup> Durandus, IV, 30, 35.

<sup>97</sup> According to a report from Lübeck dated about 1350: P. Browe, *Hist. Jahrbuch*, 49 (1929), 481.

<sup>98</sup> The custom was forbidden by Pius V; likewise in Milan it was prohibited by the provincial synod of 1574. At Rouen, however, it was continued at least for great feasts; de Moléon, 366. In Belgium kissing the paten, at Masses for the dead, continued to be practiced even to the present; Kramp, *op. cit.*, 358.—C. M. Merati proposes a crucifix or some other image in place of the paten; Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 5, XXI (I, 263).—In Upper Silesia it is (or was) the custom to kiss the foot of a large crucifix while marching around the altar (which was generally part of the offertory procession); A. Stasch, S.J., 1947.

<sup>99</sup> In the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 508 B) the offerer says the words: *Tibi Domino creatori meo offero hostiam pro remissione omnium peccatorum meorum et cunctorum fidelium tuorum vivorum ac defunctorum*. Two other formulas which voice a special intention, *ibid.* It stands to reason that phrases such as these would be expected generally only from the clergy. In the Mass *ordo* of Séz (PL, LXXVII, 248 A) it is actually designated only for the priest and deacon; similarly in later MSS. in Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 598) and in Ebner, *Quellen*, 346. Also in the missal of Troyes (about 1050), where a second formula follows: *Hanc oblationem, clementissime Pater, defero ad manus sacer-*

ple with the words: *Centuplum accipiatis et vitam æternam possideatis, in nomine Patris . . .*<sup>100</sup>

A very festive rite of offertory procession is still in use at the solemn papal Mass which is celebrated on the occasion of a canonization. The offerers step up to the pope's throne in three groups, each led by a cardinal. In each group two noblemen precede the cardinal and two other people follow—the four gift-bearers. The gifts borne by the nobles, two heavy candles, two breads, two cruets of wine and water, are handed to the Holy Father by the respective cardinal; in doing so he kisses the pope's hand and stole, and his Holiness in turn blesses the gifts and turns them over to his master of ceremonies. The other gifts (candles, cages with birds) are handed over by the bearers to the cardinal procurator; the latter holds them out to the pope for his blessing.<sup>101</sup>

However, the general attitude of the later Roman liturgy towards the offertory procession, the attitude of reserve and even avoidance, has led to the very singular result that the celebrant as a rule takes no notice of the procession even when it still occurs.<sup>102</sup> This conduct is to be found even earlier in the declining years of the Middle Ages.<sup>103</sup> In such cases the people brought their gifts and laid them in a plate or box standing near the altar. In other instances two places were set apart—perhaps for two different purposes—one on the Gospel side, the other on the Epistle; the faithful presented part of their gift at the first location, circled the altar (where this was possible), and then made their second offering at the second place.<sup>104</sup>

Since the third century, then, it very quickly became a fixed rule that the faithful should offer their gifts at a common eucharistic celebration, but because of the close connection with the performance of the sacred mystery it was from the very start recognized as a right restricted to those who were full members of the Church, just like the reception of the Sacrament. In the Syrian Didascalia there is a long discussion outlining the duty of the bishops and deacons to watch out from whom they accept a

*dotis tui, ut offerat eam tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti pro cunctis peccatis meis et pro totius populi delictis. Amen.* Martène, 1, 4, VI (I, 532 C).—The Sacramentary of Fonte Avellana (PL, CLI, 886), which could not have been written much before 1325, still introduces the first formula with the rubric: *Quando quis offert oblationem presbytero dicat.*

<sup>100</sup> Pontifical of Noyons: V. Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux*, I (Paris, 1937), 170.

<sup>101</sup> Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 55 f. Cf. *supra*, p. 13.—A similarly solemn cortege accompanied the king of France when he made his offering on coronation day; see Corblet, I, 223.

<sup>102</sup> But even as cautious a rubricist as B. Gavanti thinks that the present rubrics do not require so narrow an interpretation; where it is the custom the priest could present his hand to be kissed (except at Masses for the dead); therefore he could at least pause. But Gavanti debars the practice sometimes seen at First Masses where the neo-priest was wont *circuire ecclesiam ad oblationem*. Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 5 q. (I, 260 f.).

<sup>103</sup> This was understood, of course, when the procession started at the beginning of Mass; see *supra*, p. 15.

<sup>104</sup> Thus often in Alpine countries; see, e.g., the account in the *Korrespondenzblatt*

gift;<sup>105</sup> the gifts of all who openly lived in sin were to be refused, whether they were the unchaste or thieves or usurers or even Roman officials who had stained their hands with blood. Similar regulations recur more than once in the ensuing years in both the East and the West.<sup>106</sup> At the beginning of the sixth century the *Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua*, which stem from the neighborhood of Arles, insist that nothing is to be accepted from dissenting brethren, whether in *sacrario* or in *gazophylacio*.<sup>107</sup> Penitents, too, were deprived of this right,<sup>108</sup> and it was not restored to them until their reconciliation.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, the gifts of those Christians who lived at enmity were refused.<sup>110</sup> As late as the fifteenth century a preacher, Gottschalk Hollen, made principles of this sort his own.<sup>111</sup>

On the other hand, the congregation was expected to make an offering every Sunday,<sup>112</sup> and the wish for even a daily oblation found utterance.<sup>113</sup> In monasteries, after the reform of Benedict of Aniane (d. 821), a daily offering was actually incorporated into the order of service.<sup>114</sup> But

*für den katholischen Klerus*, 54 (Vienna, 1935), 73.

<sup>106</sup> *Didascalia*, IV, 5-8 (Funk, I, 222-228). To be sure, the chief argument proposed for prompting such action is that the widows supported by the donations could pray for obdurate sinners. But at the same time the gifts were also, at least in theory, linked with the altar; cf. IV, 7, 1, 3; IV, 5, 1, and the heading over the last of these passages in the parallel Greek text of the *Apostolic Const.*: "With what care the Sunday contributions are to be received" (Funô, 222).

<sup>107</sup> See a whole series of references in Funk, 224, note on IV, 6, 1; Bona, II, 8, 5 (693 f.); Corblet, I, 218 f.

<sup>108</sup> Can. 93, al. 49 (PL, LVI, 834): *Oblationes discordantium fratrum neque in sacrario neque in gazophylacio recipiantur*. Those gifts which were destined for the altar were deposited in the *sacrarium*.

<sup>109</sup> Council of Nicea (325), can. 11 (Mansi, II, 673); Felix III, *Ep.* 7, al. 13 (PL, LVIII, 926 A; Thiel, 263).—The possessed (in a wide sense) were also excluded: Council of Elvira, can. 29 (Mansi, II, 10). Cf. Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 4 (1933), 110-137.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. in the Spanish *Liber ordinum* (Férotin, 98) the prayer at the reconciliation: *ut liceat deinceps sacrificia laudum per manus sacerdotum tuorum sincera mente offerre et ad cibum mensae tuae caelestis accedere*.

<sup>111</sup> XI Synod of Toledo (675), can. 4

(Mansi, XI, 139). On the other hand, Gregory the Great, *Ep.* VI, 43 (PL, LXXVII, 831 B), mentions his admonition to a bishop that he should not accept a gift from an opponent of his merely on account of a dispute. <sup>112</sup> Franz, 22.

<sup>113</sup> Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitulare*, I, c. 24 (PL, CV, 198): *Concurrendum est* [on Sunday] *etiam cum oblationibus ad missarum sollempnia*. — Benedictus Levita, *Capitularium collectio* (9th c.), I, 371 (PL, XCVII, 750): *Et hoc populo nuntietur, quod per omnes dies dominicos oblationes Deo offerant et ut ipsa oblatio foris septa altaris recipiatur*. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 170 (PL, XCVII, 768). As a matter of fact, in the 8th and 9th centuries even neo-converts were expected to participate in the offertory procession; see Pirminius, *Scarapsus*, c. 30 (G. Jecker, *Die Heimat des hl. Firman* [Münster, 1927] 69); J. M. Heer, *Ein karolingischer Missionskatechismus* (Freiburg, 1911), 81, 94.

<sup>114</sup> Benedictus Levita, *Capitularium Collectio*, II, 170 (PL, XCVII, 768). In such cases the regulations had in mind principally the offerings of those for whose intention the Mass was being celebrated; cf. *infra*, p. 22 f. The German Queen Mathilda (d. 968) had such an offertory procession every day: *quotidie sacerdoti ad Missam praesentare oblationem panis et vini*; *Vita*, c. 19 (MGH, SS, IV, 296).

<sup>115</sup> *Capitula monachorum ad Augiam directa* (Albers, *Consuetudines*, III, 105; cf. p. XX): *sunt equidem cottidie sex per*

the Sunday offering was an ancient custom, and is still kept up here and there even at the present.<sup>115</sup>

After the change from natural goods to money had set in, and the obvious symbolism of the offering of bread and wine had given way before more practical economic considerations, the Sunday oblation seems to have lost favor. In fact it could be pointed out that the necessary income of the Church was assured for the most part by fixed possessions and by taxes which were definitely prescribed. Still, it did seem right that the symbolic activity of the offertory procession should be kept up, at least within modest limits. The Roman reform synod of 1059 deplored the neglect of the oblations (understood here in a somewhat wider sense) and threatened the refusal of Communion.<sup>116</sup> In 1078 Pope Gregory VII reaffirmed the old obligation: *ut omnis Christianus procuret ad missarum sollempnia aliquid Deo offerre*,<sup>117</sup> pointing to Exodus 23:15 and ancient

*brevev deputati fratres sacram offerentes oblationem*. Further evidence for the zeal with which the oblation was made in these circles is found in the rules for recluses of Grimlaich, *Reg.* (9th c.), c. 16 (PL, CIII, 594 B): The cell of the anchorite should be so designed that the priest can receive the oblation through the window. Under the influence of Cluny a custom grew up, lasting into the 12th and 13th centuries, that at the early Mass on ferial days all should make an offering, and at the principal Mass each half of the choir alternately; of those who made the offering at the principal Mass a certain number were allowed to go to Communion. On feast days the superior alone made the offering. *Consuetudines monasteriorum Germ.*, n. 33; 43 (Albers, V, 28; 47); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, II, 30 (PL, CL, 1083); cf. Hilpisch, "Der Opfergang" (*Studien u. Mitteilungen*, 1941-42), 88 ff. More detailed regulations determining when one, when two, or when half of the brethren or all (as on All Souls) should make the offering, found in the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (11th c.): Albers, I, see register, p. LVI. At Masses for the dead it was everywhere customary for all the monks to take part in the offertory procession, probably to intensify the power of the intercession; Hilpisch, 90; 93. At a private Mass, according to William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017), the server or someone else, *si iste non vult communicare*, should make the offering. In all these cases it is commonly the offering of hosts and

wine that is meant; cf. *supra*, note 61.

<sup>116</sup> Through my own occasional inquiries I have found that the Sunday offertory procession, in which the whole congregation takes part, is still customary along the northern borders of the Alps, especially in many parishes of Vorarlberg and Upper Bavaria, but also in the vicinity of Schneidemühl. The proceeds belong to the church. In certain country parishes in the neighborhood of Freising (and likewise, I am told, in both the German and the Polish parts of Upper Silesia) an offertory procession is also customary on weekdays; one of the members of the family for which the Mass is being celebrated starts the procession, the others follow, in the order and degree of relationship.—I have also heard of such processions being held on Sundays about twice a month in the rural parishes of the diocese of Zips in Slovakia, but here they are for a special purpose or under the auspices of a particular society (the Rosary confraternity) whose members march around the altar with burning candles.—Krampe, *op. cit.*, 361, gives accounts of Sunday offertory processions in Spanish dioceses; in some places there the practice has undergone a certain change, in that only the village or city officials take part each Sunday. A similar custom of having the superiors represent the community was to be found here and there in monasteries and convents even in modern times; Hilpisch, 93 f.

<sup>117</sup> Can. 6 (Mansi, XIX, 908 f.).

<sup>118</sup> Can. 12 (Mansi, XX, 510). Schreiber,

tradition as his endorsement.<sup>118</sup> But no special day was mentioned. Actually, since the eleventh century it had become more and more customary to hold the offertory procession on certain specified feast days, and even to regard it as obligatory on such days. The number of these days fluctuated at first.<sup>119</sup> In the later Middle Ages they were usually the greater feasts, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, to which was added All Saints<sup>120</sup> or the Assumption, or the feast of the dedication of the church, or the church's patronal feast. In the many source documents in which arrangements are made for the proper carrying out of the offering, frequent reference is therefore made to the offering of the *quattuor* or *quinque festivitates*, of the four-time offering or simply the *quattuor offertoria*.<sup>121</sup> Even in the course of the Catholic Reform during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an effort was made to retain these offertory processions or to revive them.<sup>122</sup> But they seem to have disappeared more completely, even, than the old Sunday offerings.<sup>123</sup> Why these efforts at restoration miscarried is not easy to understand; the main reason, perhaps, lay in the opposition to feast day offertory processions which had become entangled in the financial overgrowths of the late Middle Ages, an opposition which, after the Council of Trent, outweighed the desire to restore the ancient symbolical rite.<sup>124</sup>

*Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 306-322, offers a commentary on this legislation.

<sup>118</sup> This rule found also in the *Corpus Juris Canonici, Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 69 (Friedburg, I, 1312 f.)—Durandus, IV, 30, 32 f., stresses the obligation with great emphasis, citing many Old Testament passages.—As many later synods pointed out in more detail, the obligation embraced all those who had reached the *anni discretionis* or who had completed their 14th year or who had received their First Communion; Merk, *Abriss*, 6, note 14.  
<sup>119</sup> Examples since the 11th century with three to seven feast days, in Merk, *Abriss*, 18 ff.—*Ibid.*, 14 (with note 28), a statement of Bishop Manasses of Troyes, of the year 1185, which takes for granted that the Sunday oblations are still held in many churches.

<sup>120</sup> The obligation is already restricted to these four days in John Beleth (d. about 1165), *Explicatio*, c. 17 (PL, CCLII, 30).

<sup>121</sup> Schreiber, *Untersuchungen*, 7; 12 f.; 38; Merk, *Abriss*, 18-21. A larger number of feast days is still mentioned in 1364 in an enactment of the bishop of Ermland, in Merk, 104 f.

<sup>122</sup> Synod of Arras (1570), *Statuta prædec.* 9 (Hartzheim, VIII, 255 f.). The synod

makes a reference to the wording of those secret prayers which commend to God the *oblationes populi*. Cf., *inter alia*, also the synod of Cologne, 1549 (Hartzheim, VI, 557), and even Constance, 1609 (*ibid.*, VIII, 912 f.).

<sup>123</sup> E. Martène, around 1700, still knows of offertory processions being held on certain days in French churches here and there, but they were, in part at least, restricted either to communicants or to the clergy; Martène, I, 4, 6, 9 (I, 388 f.). Cf. Corblet, I, 222-225.—A well-known instance of the offertory procession is that which still survives at the cathedral of Milan, in a manner stately if somewhat formal: two men and two women from the *Scuolo di Sant' Ambrogio*, dressed in special attire, march to the entrance of the choir, holding in their right hand wafers or hosts, in their left a caster of wine; the celebrant accepts both. Righetti, *Manuale*, III, 253. Similarly in the 12th century, but then the men went up to the altar; M. Magistretti, *Beroldus* (Milan, 1894), 52.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des römischen Meszbuches" (*Liturg. Zeitschrift*, 1939), 59.—In the Age of Enlightenment, too, the only things

But in addition to the prescribed processions of the great feast days, the Middle Ages introduced numerous free-will oblations on those occasions when certain specific groups gathered at the Mass: at funeral Masses and the succeeding memorial Masses for the dead, at weddings, at the departure of pilgrims, and the anniversary feasts of guilds and fraternities.<sup>125</sup> It is precisely on such occasions that the offertory procession is often retained in country places right down to the present.<sup>126</sup> Of even greater import were the oblations at Votive Masses which an individual or a family ordered to be celebrated for special intentions: for the sick, for friends, for a good harvest, in honor of a saint, in manifold dangers.<sup>127</sup> Generally the persons concerned made an offering, as the *secreta* and the special *Hanc igitur* formulas in many cases indicate. Besides, the faithful who might be present could always bring their oblation to the altar and thus join more closely in the sacrifice. In this way arose the *oblationes cotidianæ fidelium* of which medieval documents make mention.<sup>128</sup>

But then it was here precisely that the close connection between participation and presentation broke down—between a sharing in the sacri-

that seemed to be noticed in the offertory procession were the abuses; see Vierbach, 228-233; cf. *supra*, note 82.

<sup>125</sup> At the beginning of the 16th century, for example, it was the custom in Ingolstadt for the members of the Hatmakers' Guild, along with their wives and servants, to form an offertory procession on the feast of St. Barbara, their patron. At academic services it was the duty of the rector of the university to see that all the prominent members of the university, the doctors, licentiates, masters and noble students, took part in the offertory procession; if they were absent he had to impose a fine of two groats. Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 115 ff., 168.

<sup>126</sup> Even in the dominion of Joseph II, who forbade processions precisely of this type (in the ordinance cited *supra*, note 82). Unfortunately there is no survey of present-day usages. Some instances are found in J. Kramp, "Meszgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit" (*StZ*, 1926, II), 216; 219; *idem.*, "Meszgebräuche der Gläubigen in den auszerdeutschen Ländern" (*ibid.*, 1927, II), 357 g.; 261 f. The offertory procession at services for the dead seems to be customary wherever German is the native tongue; it also exists in Holland, Belgium and Spain.—At weddings it still survives in the eastern portion of Germany, especially in upper

Silesia; R. Adamsky, in *Seelsorger*, 6 (Vienna, 1929-30), 381. Likewise in Vorarlberg, where the whole bridal party marches around the altar; Jochum (see *supra*, note 82), 266. It is also found among the Carinthian Slovenes, where the groomsman takes the lead (according to Srienec; see *supra*, note 72). In some places, as in my own native parish of Taufers in South Tyrol, it is a traditional custom to celebrate the feasts of the various trades unions with an offertory procession; the head of the union leads the procession; the offering represents the annual contribution to the church.—Elsewhere, too, the designation of a particular person to head the procession appears to be part of the offertory procession rite; cf. L. A. Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1936), 96, where we read the following regarding a present-day custom: "In Swabia at the Herd-Mass which is celebrated before the cattle are driven out to pasture, the whole congregation parades around the altar with the herd's boy in the lead."

<sup>127</sup> Examples from the 14th century in Merk, 28 f., with notes 55, 56; 108.—For modern times see the account regarding Freising, *supra*, note 115.

<sup>128</sup> Merk, 22 f. According to Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 307, they

fice and the offering of gifts during that sacrifice. Just as had long been the case in regard to foundations whereby, through the gift of a larger sum, the repeated celebration of Mass was guaranteed for a period of time,<sup>129</sup> so now, even for individual Masses, the custom grew of quietly handing the priest a gift beforehand,<sup>130</sup> without thereby prejudicing the right of other offerers. The latter could still, as ever, take part at the regular offertory procession or even, for their part, secure a special share in the Mass by their own private gifts.<sup>131</sup> At the same time, however, the Mass stipend properly so-called makes its appearance—an honorarium paid in advance to obligate the priest to celebrate exclusively for the intention of the donor.<sup>132</sup> For this negotiation the ordinary term employed was *comparatio missæ, missam comparare*.<sup>133</sup> But the system of stipends was not adopted wholeheartedly at once, for as long as the notions were not made clear and precise enough, scrupulous hesitation and opposition were not wanting.<sup>134</sup>

were also called *oblaciones peculiares* to distinguish them from the *oblaciones communes* of Sundays and feasts.

<sup>129</sup> Examples of large Mass-foundations since the 11th century in Merk, 37 ff. Further discussion in Bridgett, 123-140. Early examples of the establishment of Mass-foundations in E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), 368.

<sup>130</sup> This is the *occulte offerre*, the *denarius secretalis*. Examples from the 14th century in Merk, 35 f. The same procedure is presupposed even earlier in two documents of 1176 and 1268 which treat of gifts *promissis* which are donated in the church *vel extra*; Merk 40 f.; notes 15, 16.

<sup>131</sup> These latter represent the *recommenda-tiones missæ* which make an appearance since the 12th century; to these *recommenda-tiones* was frequently coupled an obligation for the priest to make mention of the name in the *Memento* or to insert a special oration. Merk, 45 f., 74, 88 f.

<sup>132</sup> It would be difficult to set an exact date for the first appearance of the Mass stipend. If a money gift is the essential in the notion of a stipend, then that essential can be discovered already in such cases as that mentioned by St. Augustine (*supra*, note 22), cases that must have been duplicated long before. Further, there is the account found in Epiphanius, *Adv. her.*, XXX, 6 (PG, XLI, 413), where someone gives the bishop who had just baptized him a sum of money with the request: *πρόσφερε ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ*. — However,

the Mass stipend grew enormously in importance near the end of the Middle Ages, when the number of priests increased, and with them the number of private Masses; cf. *supra*, I, 223 ff. Thus it became possible more and more for an individual to secure the celebration of Mass for his own intention by handing the priest a present.—So far no one has written a satisfactory history of the development of the Mass stipend system. As an introduction see Merk, *Abriss*, especially his summary, p. 91 ff. This book, which is so valuable for the documentary materials it supplies, is not always trustworthy in its historical exposition or its conclusions. A wealth of material is also gathered in Fr. de Berleendis, *De oblationibus ad altare* (Venice, 1743).

<sup>133</sup> Evidence since the 13th century in Merk; see the index under *comparatio*. But the word *comparare* in the Latin of the period had also the meaning "to buy."—The technical word in German at the time was "*Messe vruemen*" (that is, *frumen* or *frommen*), which signifies nothing more than to engage or order; the word does not seem to have been given the meaning "to acquire an advantage or gain" (Merk, 96); cf. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, IV, 1 (1878), 246 f.; J. B. Schoepf, *Tirolisches Idiotikon* (Innsbruck, 1866), 157.

<sup>134</sup> At Würzburg in 1342 a Magister Konrad Heger, who had impugned the "*Messe frumen*" as simoniacal, was forced to

At the Council of Trent, where one of the chief concerns was the removal of abuses regarding ecclesiastical monetary matters, this question of stipends came to the fore. But in the end the Council did nothing more than issue a general admonition to the bishops,<sup>135</sup> and this in turn was amplified by subsequent canonical legislation. In this later amplification the rift between gift and oblation was obviously made even wider, for according to more recent decisions it is no longer forbidden to accept a stipend from non-Catholics, even from heathens who can in no wise become offerers of the oblation of the Church.<sup>136</sup> Of course this does not prevent at least the stipend of the faithful—viewed in the light of ecclesiastical tradition—from continuing to be the gift to God which, like the bread and wine, is directed immediately to the sacrifice of the New Covenant. The priest accepts it with the obligation (*ratione rei detentæ*) of consummating the sacrifice for the benefit of the donor, and with the right to use for his own support whatever money is not required for the expense of celebration.<sup>137</sup> The faithful, however, were always to be aware of the priesthood that is theirs through baptism and confirmation, and were therefore to regard their offering of the stipend as only the start of their participation in the sacrifice, much as the Christians of an earlier era did when they not only brought their gifts to the altar but also continued to follow the celebration and partook of the Body of the Lord as a return gift.<sup>138</sup>

The ancient offering of the faithful survives also in another metamorphosis, the offertory collection.<sup>139</sup> There is no reason why this should

swear *quod actus "messefrumen" seu misse comparatio ex sui natura est oblatio . . . item quod . . . non est "messekaufen" seu misse emptio*, and so was allowed. The text in Merk, 98-100.—Others opposed Mass stipends without calling their lawfulness into question; thus Heinrich von Pflummern of Biberach (d. 1531); L. A. Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1936), 211. The Society of Jesus originally accepted no Mass stipends; *Constitutiones S.J.*, VI, 2, 7 (Institutum S.J., II [Florence, 1893], 96).—The Franciscans were even stricter; from the start they did not permit even *oblaciones manuales*; Salimbene, *Chronik* (MGH, SS, 32, p. 422; 425).

<sup>135</sup> *Conc. Trid.*, sessio XXII, decretum de observandis: in particular the bishops were to severely forbid *importunas atque illiberales eleemosynarum exactiones potius quam postulationes*.

<sup>136</sup> Roman decisions in this sense since 1848, in Hanssens, *Institutiones*, II, 64 f. Hanssens considers that from the 16th

century on there came into being a new concept of the Mass stipend, by virtue of which the donor of the stipend is no longer necessarily a *missæ oblator*.—Still it seems to me we are doing justice to the facts if, with M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of the Faith*, II (transl., Archpriest Jos. Carroll; London & New York, 1950), 292 f., we view these decisions as treating certain borderline cases where the Mass stipend in its true concept as a contractual engagement is not under consideration at all, but simply an alms which is accepted and in view of which a promise is made to offer the sacrifice for the intentions expressed.

<sup>137</sup> M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith and Human Opinion* (London, 1934), 81-197; 221-223. Other discussions of stipends can be found in the works of the canonists; e.g. Ch. F. Keller, *Mass Stipends* (Catholic University dissertation 27, Washington, 1925).

<sup>138</sup> Cf. *supra*, 2 f. and note 17 f.

<sup>139</sup> In Germany the so-called *Klingelbeutel*

not be permitted to serve a more than merely utilitarian purpose, no reason why it should not be given a deeper spirit and a more vivid form than it ordinarily presents—a spirit, by harking back to the living roots of this contribution which is primarily intended as a gift to God and which is destined for the earthly recipient only through and over the altar; a form, by confining the collection to the time of the offertory and clothing the activity with dignified and appropriate ceremonial.<sup>100</sup> Even though this is a collection and not an offertory procession, the basic idea of a genuine oblation is not excluded any more than it was at the rite in vogue in the station services of the city of Rome.

## 2. The Offertory Chant

The entrance of the clergy at the start of Mass was made to the accompaniment of the introit sung by the *schola cantorum*. It was then but a natural application of the same principle that suggested that the “procession” of the people at the offertory and communion—both interruptions during the audible part of the Mass—should be enlivened and enriched by psalmodic song.

That this was the meaning and purpose of the offertory chant was well understood all during the Middle Ages. The chanting was called by the same name that was given to the presentation of the oblation gifts: *offertorium*,<sup>1</sup> *offerenda*.<sup>2</sup> Even in the Middle Ages the commentators stressed

or offertory basket is passed around only on certain occasions to receive the voluntary money contributions of the faithful, but in North America (the United States and Canada particularly) the collection is part and parcel of every Sunday and feast-day Mass, since the needs of the church are provided for almost exclusively in this fashion.—Regarding the criticisms leveled against the use of the collection basket in the era of the Enlightenment, see Vierbach, 232 f.

<sup>100</sup> One Paris pastor has the servers take up a collection on twelve collection plates which they then hold in their hands on either side of the altar during the recitation of the *secreta*. G. Chevrot, “Restauration de la Grand’ messe dans une paroisse de Paris,” *Etudes de Pastorale liturgique* (*Lex orandi*, I; Paris, 1944), 269-292, esp. 286 f. A discussion by Jos P. Donovan, C.M., of a similar ceremony in one of the U. S. churches, in *Homiletic & Pastoral Review*, 47 (1946), 221-222. A private response of the SRC outlawing two other such American innovations is printed in G. J. Booth, *The Offertory Rite*

in the *Ordo Romanus Primus* (Washington, 1948), 48.

<sup>1</sup> The name *offertorium* for the chant appears regularly even in the earliest MSS. of the Mass chant books, so that it goes back at least to the 17th century; see Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*. The full title, *antiphona ad offertorium*, is less frequent; cf. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 107, 121; III, 418. In the first place the word *offertorium* designated the rite of *offerre*, that is, the presentation of the offertory gifts by people and clergy; thus in the description of the course of the Mass in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 1) and in the *Ordo Romanus* I, n. 16 (PL, LXXVIII, 944); cf. the paraphrase in the Maundy Thursday rite in the older Gelasianum, I, 39 (Wilson, 67): *Post hac offert plebs*. Transferred to the chant, the term appears first in Isidore of Seville, *De eccl. off.*, I, 14 (PL, LXXXIII, 751): *De offertorius*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in the MS redacted by G. M. Tommasi (Tommasi-Vezzosi, V, 3 ff.); see also Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL,

this connection: the chant (they said in substance) should signify the jubilation of heart with which the faithful proffer their gifts, for (as they quoted) “God loves the cheerful giver.”<sup>3</sup>

When all the gifts had been presented, a signal was given the singers to conclude their chanting.<sup>4</sup> And whenever the *oratio super oblata* was not immediately pronounced aloud—as had been customary in the early Middle Ages—complete quiet set in, a conscious silence which foreshadowed the beginning of the priestly activity of oblation,<sup>5</sup> although only preparatory actions immediately followed—actions like washing the hands, incensing, silent prayer. This silence was also made the object of special commentary and explanation.<sup>6</sup> Not till the turn of the medieval epoch, when an understanding of this silence vanished, and when in addition—as the result of the disappearance of even the feast-day procession—the chant was reduced to the antiphon as we have it at present, only then did the masters of polyphony turn their attention on greater feasts to this song—in contrast to introit and communion—and by their art they lengthened and extended it to cover the other rites which are at present comprehended under the term offertory; thus the offertory song became a connecting link with the preface.

The earliest accounts of an offertory chant come from North Africa. It seems to have been introduced there in the time of St. Augustine, first at Carthage, later at Hippo through Augustine’s own efforts. In a review of his own literary activity the saint mentions that he wrote a work, now lost, taking issue with a certain Hilarius who had opposed the practice, then recently introduced, of singing psalms during the offering of the gifts and at the communion.<sup>7</sup> At Rome, too, the practice must have gained an entry very early, perhaps about the same time.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, on Holy Saturday the offertory chant is missing, as are the other chants of the *schola*, for this Mass retains the features of a more ancient usage. How-

CV, 1126 D); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1251 D) Pontificale of Poitiers: Martène, 4, 22, 5 (III, 300 C).—The expression appears principally in the French area and then as a designation of the offertory procession; cf. Schreiber, *Untersuchungen*, 21 ff. It survives in the French word “offrande,”<sup>3</sup> II Cor. 9: 7.—Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 53 (PL, CCXVII, 831); Durandus, IV, 27, 5.—Cf. *supra*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 15 (PL, LXXVIII, 944); cf. *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973), where the signal is given before the *Orate*.

<sup>5</sup> It is significant that in William of Melitona, *Opusculum*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph.*

*liturg.*, 1939), 327, the offertory procession and the offertory chant, being purely preparatory, are still attached to the first part of the Mass; see *supra*, I, 114.

<sup>6</sup> Innocent III, *op. cit.*, II, 54 (PL, CCXVII, 831): *De silentio post offertorium*.—Cf. *supra*, I, 108 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Augustine, *Retractiones*, II, 37 (CSEL, 36, 144): *ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmodum libro sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribuaretur populo, quod fuisset oblatum*.

<sup>8</sup> But J. Brinktrine, “De origine offertorii in missa Romana,” *Eph. liturg.*, 40 (1926), 15-20; *idem.*, *Die hl. Messe*, 125 f., thinks differently. However, the grounds alleged by Brinktrine for a late origin of the Roman offertorium (8th c.), especially the

ever, to all appearances Rome had but a modest store of offertory chants even in the sixth century, as we can gauge from the Milanese Mass, which has preserved its antique form to the present, and in which the offertory chants give every indication of having been borrowed from Rome. In the Roman Mass itself, however, this modest store was later richly augmented by Gregory the Great and his successors.<sup>9</sup>

At first the offertory chant probably had the same antiphonal design as the chant at the introit: the *schola*, divided into two choirs, sang a psalm alternately, with an antiphon as prelude.<sup>10</sup> The psalm varied from celebration to celebration, taking into account, as far as possible, the church year with its festivals and seasons.

It is a striking fact that at a very early period the antiphonal performance of the offertory was abandoned and a responsorial style substituted for it. Even the ancient substructure of Roman offertories preserved at Milan, as mentioned above, had this responsorial design. Among these, for instance, is the offertory which the present Roman Missal assigns to the eleventh Sunday after Pentecost (also used on Ash Wednesday); in the oldest sources it has the following form:

*Exaltabo te, Domine, quoniam suscepisti me, nec delectasti inimicos meos super me. [Refrain:] Domine clamavi ad te et sanasti me.*

V. *Domine abstraxisti ab inferis animam meam, salvasti me a descendentibus in lacum. [Refrain:] Domine clamavi ad te et sanasti me.*

V. *Ego autem dixi in mea abundantia: non movebor in aeternum. Domine in voluntate tua praestitisti decori meo virtutem. [Refrain:] Domine, clamavi [ad te et sanasti me].*<sup>11</sup>

Here, just as in the chants interpolated before the Gospel, a refrain is repeated several times.<sup>12</sup> In line with this, the verse (as found in the oldest manuscripts with neums) is treated as a solo and consequently provided

recurrence of the same text in various formularies, rather support an earlier introduction.

<sup>9</sup> O. Heiming, "Vorgregorianisch-römische Offertorien in der mailändischen Liturgie," *Liturg. Leben*, 5 (1938), 152-159.

<sup>10</sup> The designation that occasionally appears in the sources, *antiphona ad offertorium* (see note 1 above), points to this.

<sup>11</sup> Antiphony of Compiègne (Hesbert, n. 37 b; cf. n. 183).—The words in brackets are filled out in conformity with Heiming, 156. To justify this expansion we point to the fact that only the second half of the first verse is repeated at the end.—The Milanese liturgy employs this offertory chant, using the verse and the refrain on one Sunday, the second verse and the

refrain on another Sunday; the refrain in each case is set to the same melody. Heiming, 156.—The responsorial character of the offertories is marked with special clarity in the MS of Compiègne: Hesbert, n. 3 ff.

<sup>12</sup> In the offertories, even in the oldest texts, there is still another notable repetition that appears: within the text itself individual words or phrases are sung twice, three times or more, and they are sometimes so written even in MSS without neums. Thus in the antiphony of Senlis the fourth verse of the 21st Sunday after Pentecost begins: *Quoniam, quoniam, quoniam non revertetur*; Hesbert, n. 196 a. There is no explanation for this exceptional usage. The Vatican *Graduale* has retained the texts thus shaped as long as they are traditional. Wagner, I, 109-111.

with the greatest melodic richness.<sup>13</sup> A few of the manuscripts devoted to the solo chants therefore contain the verse of the offertory while merely indicating the texts that pertain to the choir, namely, the initial section and the refrain.<sup>14</sup> Apparently the *Gloria Patri* was not appended to these verses.

And now we may well ask how this remarkable development came about. It is almost certain that the main consideration was to give the offertory chant a certain lengthiness, in view (obviously) of the people's procession. True, this extra length could also have been achieved by having the psalm sung antiphonally right down to the end, and then repeating the antiphon which stands at the start. Perhaps the responsorial form was chosen to make it easier for the singers to take part in the offertory procession.<sup>15</sup> Besides, the main point in singing at all was not so much to render the text of a complete psalm, but rather to achieve a festive mood, which could be done more readily by musical means. This resulted, therefore, in a shortening of the psalm, along with a corresponding compensation both by the enrichment of the melody of the verse sung as a solo, and by the repetition of the antiphon or a part thereof, after the manner of a refrain. This refrain could, of course, have been turned over to the people, but by this time there was obviously little interest in such participation of the people in responsorial chanting, at least in the greater stationary services. We already noted in the history of the intervenient chants how early the art of the special singers preponderated even in responsorial song.<sup>16</sup> So the refrain at the offertory was from the very start reserved to the singing choir.

It is in this responsorial form that the offertory chant regularly appears in the choral books of the early Middle Ages. The number of psalm verses fluctuates between one and four.<sup>17</sup> That is patently more than in the other Mass chants. The extension must be explained, as already indicated, by the length of the offertory procession.<sup>18</sup> Whereas at the introit only a single group, the clergy, wended through the church, and whereas the reception of Communion, for which the communion chant was intended, had become since the close of the ancient era nearly everywhere a rare and slight affair, the whole congregation continued to take part in the offertory procession Sunday after Sunday till at least the year 1000. Not till the eleventh century was there any noticeable drop in the regularity of this procession; after that it was gradually limited to the greater festivals. And, as a matter of fact, it is in the eleventh century that the offertory verses begin to disappear from many manuscripts. By the following century this omission has become a general rule, although exceptions are to

<sup>13</sup> Wagner, I, 108. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Thus Wagner, I, 108. However, for the procedure in this offertory rite cf. *supra*, I, 71-72. <sup>16</sup> *Supra*, I, 425 f.

<sup>17</sup> For particulars see Wagner, I, 111.

<sup>18</sup> For this connection see, about 1080, *Udabrics Consuet. Clun.*, I, 6 (PL, CIL, 652): the *praecantor* should intone one verse or all of them, as he sees fit, *maxime propter offerentes.*

be found till the very end of the Middle Ages.<sup>19</sup> The portion which had originally been the antiphon was considered sufficient. In the Missal of Pius V only the Mass for the Dead retained a verse, and with it a refrain: *Hostias et preces* and *Quam olim Abraham*; this fits in once again with the fact that it was precisely at the Requiem that the offertory procession continued in use. On the other hand, the Milanese Mass has retained the offertory verse even to the present, and similarly the Mozarabic Mass.<sup>20</sup>

As already pointed out, the offertory was always performed by a choral group.<sup>21</sup> And because their singing prevented the choristers from personally taking part in the offertory procession, their place was taken by one of the members; at Rome it was the *archiparaphonista* whose duty it was to offer the water.<sup>22</sup> Since in the churches of the later Middle Ages the singing choir usually represented a part of the clerical choir, it was really only a nominal difference when sometimes the *clerus*<sup>23</sup> was mentioned and sometimes the *chorus*.<sup>24</sup> A reminiscence of the fact that the offertory was a chant sung by the choir survived in some of the Mass *ordos* of the Middle Ages where the texts were appointed to be recited at the high Mass, not only by the celebrant alone, but by the deacon and subdeacon along with him.<sup>25</sup>

As for the texts of the offertory, they are taken as a rule from Holy Scripture; for the most part, in fact, from the Psalms, as the psalmic origin of the chant would naturally imply. One would expect that the texts chosen would be expressive of the idea of oblation and so suggest the meaning of the offertory procession. But actually this is only the exceptional case: examples of this sort are found in the offertory of the Dedication of a Church: *Domine Deus, in simplicitate cordis mei lætus obtuli universa*; on Epiphany: *Reges Tharsis et insulæ munera offerent*; on Pentecost: . . . *tibi offerent reges munera*; on Corpus Christi: *Sacerdotes Domini incensum et panes offerunt Deo*. The offertory of the Mass for the Dead also belongs to this class; notice the verse: *Hostias et preces tibi Domine laudis offerimus*.<sup>26</sup> But most of the texts have a very general character or dwell on the theme of the feast being celebrated. This is true

<sup>19</sup> Wagner, I, 112.—*Ibid.*, 112, note 2, citing two MSS from the 15-16th centuries which still have offertory verses for the Christmas Mass; cf. *supra*, p. 22. The Sarum missal of the last years of the Middle Ages still presents two verses for the offertory in several Masses, but according to an adjoining rubric only one verse was then used on week-days in Advent and after Septuagesima; Ferreres, 118.—Even Durandus, IV, 27, 4, for his part, has this to say of the verses: *hodie plerisque locis omittuntur*.

<sup>20</sup> Here the chant is called *sacrificium: Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 536 A).

<sup>21</sup> *Supra*, p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 14 (PL, LXXVIII, 944); Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1131 C); Ps.-Alcuin, *De div. off.* (PL, CI, 1246 A).

<sup>23</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33 (PL, CVII, 322).

<sup>24</sup> *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 C); Durandus, IV, 27, 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 92; Mass-*ordo* of York (ab. 1425): Simmons, 98; so also in the present rite of the Dominicans: *Missale O.P.* (1889), 27; see also the apparatus in Volk, *loc. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> Because of the language it uses to de-

also of the verses which once were appended here; they regularly belonged to the same psalm or the same scriptural text as the initial verse. As a matter of fact, a reference to what was happening at the offertory procession was superfluous so long as the practice itself was alive. The chief purpose then was not, as it is in our present-day Mass chants, to explain what was already plain enough in itself; the chief thing was to give it a religious dedication.

### 3. The Matter for the Sacrifice

The vicissitudes which befell the offertory procession were dependent, to a large extent, on the requirements regarding the condition of the elements for the sacrifice. There can be little doubt that the bread used by Christ our Lord at the Last Supper was the unleavened bread prescribed for the paschal meal, a bread made of fine wheat flour. But the very way the accounts read readily indicates that no importance was attached to the particular paschal practice of using unleavened bread;

scribe the state of the souls departed, this offertory has been the object of much discussion; see the survey of the main solutions in Gühr, 542 f. New attempts are to be found also in *Eph. liturg.*, 50 (1936), 140-147; in the *Theol. prakt. Quartalschrift*, 91 (1938), 335-337.—One thing is sure, namely, that ideas of the hereafter are depicted here which have not had the benefit of thorough theological clarification and which, in particular, fail to distinguish plainly between hell and purgatory. Things are said about the deliverance of the departed that could easily be understood to refer to deliverance from hell. To come to details, critics point out, with disapproval, that the offertory presents the ancient and yet Christian picture of the passage of the soul through the skyey realm where the good and the bad angels battle for it; J. Stiglmayr, "Das Offertorium in der Requiemmesse und der 'Seelendurchgang,'" *Der Katholik*, 93 (1913), I, 248-255. That St. Michael plays a role in this struggle is an inference from biblical data. St. Michael frequently appears in Coptic sepulchre art; he weighs the merits of the dead, and is also the one who leads them to light (cf. *signifer sanctus Michael repræsentet eas in lucem*

*sanctam*). A Coptic grave inscription of the year 409 prays for rest for the soul of a deceased person διὰ τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ φωταγωγοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ.

—Cf. also, from the article by H. Leclercq, "Anges," *DACL*, I, 2080-2161, the section on "Les Anges psychagogues" and "Les Anges psychopompes," esp. col. 2137 ff.—Our offertory originated in Gallic territory. Various elements of the text appear here in the 8th to 10th centuries; see R. Po-devijn, "Het Offertorium der Doodennis," *Tijdschrift voor Liturgie*, 2 (1920), 338-349; 3 (L921), 249-252; reviewed in *JL*, 2 (1922), 147. Cf. the additional bibliographical references in *JL*, 15 (1941), 364.—For the phrase *de profundo lacu*, etc., cf. H. Rahner, "Antenna crucis," II (*ZkTh*, 1942), 98, plus note 77; 113, note 175. Franz, *Die Messe*, 222, draws upon medieval representations of purgatory as a means of clarification.—Among the matters proposed as *abusus missæ* at the Council of Trent, our offertory was one of the things pointed out as requiring alteration: *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Goerres, VIII, 917. A detailed interpretation of this offertory, reconciling the wording with Catholic dogma, in Eisenhofer, II, 138 f. A study of the whole matter, sum-

what our Lord took into his hands is simply called ἀρτος, a word which could designate not only the unleavened bread used at the paschal feast but also the leavened kind which was otherwise in use among Jews as well as pagans.<sup>1</sup> The latter kind was therefore from earliest times considered at least licit for the Eucharist. Thus it was all the less difficult for the faithful to be able to make an offering of the bread for the altar; they just took bread from their domestic supply and brought it for divine service.<sup>2</sup> Both literary accounts and pictorial illustrations show us that the shape of the eucharistic bread did not differ from the shape of bread used for domestic purposes.<sup>3</sup> The only distinction, if distinction it was, consisted in this, that the finest and best formed loaves were selected, as was only natural. In two mosaics at Ravenna, in which the eucharistic altar is shown, the bread appears in the form of a chaplet or crown, that is, twisted like a braid and then wound into a circlet about four inches across.<sup>4</sup> This is the *corona* referred to by St. Gregory the Great;<sup>5</sup> being an out-

marizing all the above, is found in B. M. Serpelli, *L'offertorio della Messa dei defunti* (Rome, 1946); see the review in *Eph. liturg.*, 61 (1947), 245-252.

<sup>1</sup> Gossens, *Les origines*, 117.—Present usage requires bread made of wheaten flour, and therefore flour ground from rye, oats, barley or maize—though these are all classified as grain (*frumentum*)—is invalid. R. Butin, "The Bread of the Bible," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, 59 (1918), 113-125, concludes that nothing definite can be deduced from the scriptural narratives of the Last Supper, for although ἀρτος was generally used in classical Greek for wheaten bread, it is probably here only a translation of the Hebrew *lehem* (or rather the Aramaic *lahma*), which referred to any kind of bread. An uninterrupted tradition, however, has always favored wheaten bread.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the accounts *supra*, p. 2 ff. Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, IV, 4 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 158), is quite unmistakable when he puts these words upon his hearer's lips: *meus panis est usitatus*, that is, the bread I have received in Communion is the bread I am accustomed to use every day.—It is recounted of the Egyptian monk and Monophysite bishop, Peter the Iberian (d. 487), that for the Eucharist he had a bakery produce loaves that were beautiful and white and fit for the sacrifice, and very small in circumference; these he let harden—they were therefore leavened bread—and thus he used them from time to time

as he celebrated the holy sacrifice. Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 33 f.; further references, *ibid.*, 34 ff.—The story in John the Deacon, *Vita s. Gregorii*, II, 41 (PL, LXXV, 103), about the lady who recognized in the particle given her at Communion the same bread she had herself baked and brought along, and who thereupon laughed and received a reprimand for so doing, is probably only a legend of the 9th century, as the formula for distribution shows (see *infra*).

In the West the XVI Synod of Toledo (693) demanded that the host-bread be prepared specially; can. 6 (Mansi, XII, 73 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 1-46: "Heathen and Christian bread stamp with religious symbols," esp. 33 ff. R. M. Wooley, *The Bread of the Eucharist* (Alcuin Club Tracts, 10; London, 1913).

<sup>4</sup> San Vitale: illustration in Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, plate 6; Sant' Apollinare in Classe: illustration in Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), plate 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra*, p. 15, note 75.—The *Liber pontificalis* (under Zephyrinus: Duchesne, I, 139), mentions the *corona consecrata* that is distributed for Communion. In the *Ordo* of St. Amand (9th c.), too, the host is once referred to as *corona*; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 461.—The host-breads on the ivory tablet in Frankfort are also in the form of a crown; illustration, DACL,

standing product of the baker's skill, it is known to us since the third century.<sup>6</sup> Or sometimes the center hole of the crown was filled in, and so the bread had the form of a disk.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the form most frequently used was a round loaf divided into four parts by a cross-notch (*panis quadratus*, *panis decussatus*);<sup>8</sup> its form easily lent itself to a Christian explanation, and so was even considered indispensable,<sup>9</sup> although the shape had been developed merely for a very practical reason—easier breaking—and for precisely this reason had been in common use even in pre-Christian culture.<sup>10</sup> Along with this there was a practice, already known in ancient times, of stamping the bread with a symbol or inscription. A breadstamp from the fourth or fifth century shows a superimposed XP symbol;<sup>11</sup> however, there is no proof that a bread so inscribed was intended precisely for the Eucharist. Still, in the years that followed, many of the Oriental rites formed the practice of using just such stamps or irons, although their use for leavened bread (which was less firm) was not a matter of course.<sup>12</sup> In most of these instances the stamp consisted of a repetition of the Cross in various patterns. In the eucharistic stamp of the Byzantine rite the somewhat larger round bread is impressed with a square which is divided into four fields by the Cross, and on these are distributed the symbols of the inscription: 'Ι (ἡσούς) Χ (ριστός) νικᾷ.

In the West, various ordinances appeared from the ninth century on, all demanding the exclusive use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist.<sup>13</sup> A growing solicitude for the Blessed Sacrament and a desire to employ only

III, 2476-77; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, plate 6.

<sup>6</sup> Dölger, 37, note 152.

<sup>7</sup> Thus one of the two loaves in the representation of the altar at Sant' Apollinare; a cross is depicted in the center. Cf. *supra*, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> A. de Waal, "Hostie," in Kraus, *Realencyclopädie*, I (Freiburg, 1882), 672. The shape and size were about like those of a hot-cross bun.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, I, 11 (PL, LXXVII, 212).

<sup>10</sup> Dölger, 39-43. In one ancient representation of the Last Supper is seen a loaf divided into three sections by three ray-like gashes starting at the center (*panis trifidus*), the type which Paulinus of Nola describes as usual in his neighborhood, and which he interprets in terms of the Trinity; Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 44 f.; 6 (1940), 67.

<sup>11</sup> Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 17-20, with plate 9.—Similarly a bread stamp of the 6th century from Carthage, which bears, in addition, the inscription:

*Hic est flos campi et lilium*; H. Leclercq, *DACL*, V, 1367.

<sup>12</sup> Dölger, 21-29, along with the illustrations on plate 3-8.—The host-breads of the Orientals, excepting perhaps the East Syrians, are somewhat larger than our own large hosts and, because of the yeast, thicker, about the thickness of a finger (except in the Byzantine rite); Hanssens, II, 174-178. Thus they can always be broken.

<sup>13</sup> Alcuin, *Ep.* 69 (*alias* 90; PL, C, 289): *panis, qui corpus Christi consecratur, absque fermento ullius alterius infectionis debet esse mundissimus*. However, the point directly insisted on here is that there be no admixture (*fermentum*) of salt.—Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 31 (PL, CVII, 318 D): *panem infermentatum*.—The oft-cited quotation from Venerable Bede is not relevant; for this and other supposed references see J. R. Geiselman, *Die Abendmahllehre an der Wende der christlichen Spätantike*, 21-36. Nevertheless Geiselman grants that the use of unleavened bread was recognized towards

the best and whitest bread,<sup>14</sup> along with various scriptural considerations<sup>15</sup>—all favored this development.<sup>16</sup> Still, the new custom did not come into exclusive vogue until the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>17</sup> Particularly in Rome it was not universally accepted till after the general infiltration of various usages from the North. In the Orient there were few objections to this usage during olden times.<sup>18</sup> Not till the discussions that led to the schism of 1054 did it become one of the chief objections against the Latins.<sup>19</sup> At the Council of Florence (1439), however, it was definitely established that the Sacrament could be confectioned *in azymo sive fermentato pane*.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, as we well know, the various groups of Orientals who are united with Rome continue to use the type of bread traditional among them.

Reverence for the Blessed Sacrament, however, soon took a new turn both in the East and in the West, namely, in the effort to remove the bread destined for the altar farther and farther from the sphere of the merely profane. In the Orient the making of the breads was committed

the end of the 8th century. A. Michel, *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, 36 (1936), 119 f., assigns a substantially greater antiquity for unleavened bread in the West.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. XVI Synod of Toledo (693), can. 6 (Mansi, XII, 73 f.); cf. also note 2, *supra*, the example of Peter the Iberian.

<sup>15</sup> Contributing factors included, besides the consideration of our Lord's own example at the Last Supper, the interpretation of leaven as an ignoble admixture (esp. I Cor. 5: 7 f.). In addition, the early Middle Ages grew increasingly conscious of the importance of Old Testament prescriptions (Lev. 2: 4, 11; 6: 16 f., etc.; cf. also Mal. 1: 11).

<sup>16</sup> F. Cabrol, "Azymes," *DACL*, I, 3254-3260.—The opinion put forward by J. Mabillon, *Dissertatio de pane eucharistico* (Paris, 1674; = PL, CXLIII, 1219-1278), in his answer to the Jesuit J. Sirmont, *Disquisitio de azymo* (Paris, 1651), namely, that in the West it was always the practice to use only unleavened bread, is no longer tenable.

<sup>17</sup> J. Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre*, 38 ff.—The three little breads twisted into the form of a crown which are seen lying before the celebrant on the ivory tablet in the Frankfort municipal library (9-10th century; cf. *supra*, note 5), obviously represent leavened bread.

<sup>18</sup> A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarius*, II

(Paderborn, 1930), 112 ff., especially 117 f., 122.—The Armenians used unleavened bread as early as the 6th century, and both dissidents and Catholics have continued to adhere to the practice. However, the Council of Trullo (692), which occupied itself repeatedly with the peculiarities of the Armenians, makes no mention of this; Hanssens, II, 156 f. Among the Syrians, too, unleavened bread appears to have received the preference already in the 5th century; this practice is strictly followed by the Maronites at present; it has certainly been the custom since the plenary synod of 1736, but whether as an uninterrupted tradition from olden times is uncertain. For the rest, however, leavened bread became the rule in the Orient; Hanssens, II, 134 ff. For a thorough discussion of all the prescriptions and controversies in the oriental rites, see *ibid.*, II, 121-217. For the East Syrians (Chaldeans), see D. de Vries, *Sakramententheologie bei den Nestorianern* (Orientalia Christ. anan. 133; Rome, 1947), 193 ff.

<sup>19</sup> The *ἄζυμα* are properly *ἄψυχα* and imply a denial of Christ's soul; they are a relapse into the Old Testament; Christ Himself used only leavened bread. Therefore a Eucharist with unleavened bread is invalid. Geiselmann, 42 ff. Later the criticism again became less severe.

<sup>20</sup> Denzinger-Umberg, n. 693.

as a rule only to clerics; in any case—according to present practice—women are excluded. The baking is done in a church building to the accompaniment of prayer, and as far as possible on the day of the celebration itself.<sup>21</sup> Among the East Syrians there is a special rite, divided into two parts: the preparation of the dough, and the baking, both encircled with many prayers and psalms; this rite is considered a portion of the Mass-liturgy.<sup>22</sup> Among the Abyssinians each church has for the same purpose a little side building called *beth-lechem* ("House of Bread"), from which three freshly-baked breads are borne to the altar in solemn procession at the beginning of service.<sup>23</sup>

In the West, too, the making of bread was for a time given a liturgical form, particularly within the ambit of the Cluniac reform movement. According to the customs of the monastery of Hirsau in the Black Forest (eleventh century), the wheat had to be selected kernel for kernel; the mill on which it was to be ground had to be cleaned, then hung about with curtains; the monk who supervised the milling had to don alb and humeral. The same vesture was worn by the four monks to whom the baking of the hosts was confided; at least three of these monks were to be in deacon's orders or even higher rank. While working they were to keep strict silence, so that their breath might not touch the bread.<sup>24</sup> According to the instructions in other monasteries, on the other hand, the monks were to combine their work with the singing of psalms according to a precise plan.<sup>25</sup> It might be added that such a solemn act did not take place every day, but only a few times in the year.<sup>26</sup> Recalling the instructions regarding the Old Testament bread of proposition,<sup>27</sup> the desire was expressed that even outside the monasteries only the priest should prepare and bake the host;<sup>28</sup> in France this order was in many instances faithfully

<sup>21</sup> Hanssens, II, 206-217.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 208 f.; Brightman, 247-249.

<sup>23</sup> Hanssens, II, 210 f. For the Mass itself only one of the three breads is selected.

<sup>24</sup> Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 53 (Herrgott, *Vetus disciplina monastica*, 249); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, II, 32 (PL, CL, 1086 f.). Cf. Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, III, 13 (PL, CIL, 757 f.), and the description of the Evesham customs in Bridgett, *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, 76-77.

<sup>25</sup> *Consuetudines of Fruttuaria* (11th c.; Albers, *Consuetudines*, IV, 138); Lanfranc (d. 1089), *Decreta pro O.S.B.*, c. 6 (PL, CL, 488 f.). Further references in Corblet, I, 176 f.

<sup>26</sup> William of Hirsau, *Const.*, II, 32 (PL, CL, 1087 A): there was no regulation *quot vicibus in anno*; cf. Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 53 (Herrgott, 249): especially

before Christmas and Easter.

<sup>27</sup> I Par. 9: 32.

<sup>28</sup> Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrato*, III, 6 (PL, CCXIII, 119 A). Even the accompanying *melodia psalmodum* is mentioned as a general regulation; Humbert of Silva Candida, *Adv. Græcorum calumnias*, n. 21 (PL, CXLIII, 946; C. Will, *Acta et scripta de controversiis ecclesie græcæ et latinæ s. XI* [Leipzig, 1861], 104).—Already in the canons of Theodore of Canterbury, II, 7, 4 (Finsterwalder, 322), it is expressly stated that according to Roman practice—it was different with the Greeks—the host-bread was not allowed to be prepared by women. In Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), *Capitulare*, I, c. 5 (PL, CV, 193), the preparation is reserved to priests or at least clerics: *Panes, quos Deo in sacrificium offertis, aut a vobis aut a vestris pueris coram vobis nitide ac studiose fiant.*

followed even as late as the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Elsewhere, at an earlier period, it was thought sufficient if there was some guarantee that the pertinent ecclesiastical prescriptions were fully carried out by the persons entrusted with the operation.<sup>30</sup> As a result, the preparation of the hosts was done mostly in the houses of religious, more especially in convents of women.

The drift away from selecting the bread destined for the altar just from the gifts of the faithful, and towards providing for it carefully in some other way is to be noticed occasionally even at an early period.<sup>31</sup> But with the substitution of unleavened bread the exclusion of the faithful became a matter of course. At first the thin disks of the unleavened wheat bread were made in a larger size and were brought thus to the altar where they were broken up for the Communion of the people.<sup>32</sup> But since this Communion came under consideration almost only on the greatest feast days, it soon became the practice, even in the twelfth century, to shape the priest's host in the more modest size it has today, *in modum denarii*.<sup>33</sup> This form was then retained even on Communion days, and in order to avoid breaking up the species the custom grew of preparing the "particles"<sup>34</sup> for the Communion of the faithful ahead of time. And since the thin cakes from which the hosts were cut had to be baked in a metal form, the altar-bread irons,<sup>35</sup> it was not hard to impress at least the large hosts with some sort of decorative stamp. At first this was simply the traditional Cross; soon this became the figure of the Crucified or some other image of Christ,<sup>36</sup> and since there was never any general regulation in this re-

<sup>29</sup> Eisenhofer, II, 132; Corblet, I, 177 f.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 14. Venantius Fortunatus recounts how the holy queen Radegundis (d. 587) baked host-bread every year during Lent and distributed it to the churches: *Vita*, n. 16 (MGH, *Scriptores Merov.*, II, 369 f.).—Further data in Merk, *Abrisz*, 3, note 7.

<sup>32</sup> Humbert of Silva Candida (d. 1061), *Adv. Græcorum calumnias*, n. 33 (PL, CXLIII, 952 B): *tenuis oblatas ex similia præparatas integras et sanas sacris altari-bus nos quoque superponimus, et ex ipsis post consecrationem fractis cum populo communicamus*. Cf. *ibid.*, n. 32 (951 B). This explains Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, III, 12 (PL, CIL, 755 D), where he tells us how even on Sundays when quite a few went to Communion, only five *hostiæ* were placed on the altar. Even as late as 1140 it was customary at the Lateran basilica to consecrate *integræ oblatæ*, which were then broken; *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 48, 11, 2, 21).

<sup>33</sup> Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 35; 66 (PL, CLXXII, 555; 564).—Ernulf of Rochester (d. 1124), *Ep. ad Lambertum* (d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, 2nd ed. III, 471): *in forma nummi*.—Cf. F. de Berlandis, *De oblationibus ad altare* (Venice, 1743), 22 f.

<sup>34</sup> Similar designations were, of course, as ancient as Christianity itself; see E. Peterson, "Μερίδες. Hostienpartikel und Opferanteil," *Eph. liturg.*, 61 (1947), 3-12; Chr. Mohrmann, *Vigiliæ christianæ*, 1 (1947), 247 f.

<sup>35</sup> First mentioned in the *Miracula s. Wandregisili* (9th c.), n. 53; J. Braun, "Hostieneisen," *LThK*, V, 157. Also in Bishop Idelfons (c. 845), *Revelatio* (PL, CVI, 889). The Latin term for this mold is *ferrum* or *ferramentum*; the older English term was "bult" or "singing-iron" (the latter a name never satisfactorily explained).

<sup>36</sup> Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 35 (PL, CLXXII, 555): *imago Domini cum litteris*.

gard, many other representations made their appearance in later years, not to mention various inscriptions and legends which are found quite early.<sup>37</sup>

The term we now employ for the wafers destined for the Eucharist is the proleptic expression "hosts."<sup>38</sup> The word *hostia* was originally used only for a living thing, the sacrificial victim that was "slaughtered" (*hostio* = *ferio*, I strike, I kill). It could therefore be understood in the first instance only of Christ, who had become for us a *hostia* (cf. Eph. 5:2), a sacrificial Lamb. More ancient is the use of the word *oblata* for the bread offered up.<sup>39</sup> In other liturgies, too, we find for the still unconsecrated elements a similar use of names which signify the offering, the sacrifice.<sup>40</sup> The exact parallel to the transfer of meaning which we have in the word "host" is found in the Byzantine liturgy where the piece of bread selected in the *proskomide* and destined for the consecration is called "Lamb."<sup>41</sup>

In regard to the second element, the wine, there are also a number of questions that had to find their solution in the course of history. But only in small part do they concern the constitution of the wine itself. In the Orient, red wine was preferred, and occasionally this was also the case in the West since thus any accidental confusion with the water was more surely avoided.<sup>42</sup> But there was at no time any regulation that was uni-

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Idelfons, *Revelatio* (PL, CVI, 883 f., 888 f.).—These marks include the IHC or the Alpha-Omega, and the like.

<sup>38</sup> Instances of *hostia* in this sense since the 13th century in Du Cange-Favre, IV, 243 f. Examples from the 11th century on, in Ebner, 296, 298, 300, etc. Further references in Eisenhofer, II, 130. Perhaps we ought to cite in this connection Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, Præfatio altera (PL, CV, 990 B): *sacerdos componit hostiam in altari*.—On the other hand, cf. the more ancient meaning of the word in our canon of the Mass, where it embraces also the body and blood of Christ: *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam*.

<sup>39</sup> See e.g., *supra*, note 32. But even in *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 13-15 (PL, LXXVIII, 943 f.), the words *oblatio* and *oblata* are already used. Cf. also XVI Synod of Toledo (693), can. 6 (Mansi, XII, 74 A): not large loaves of bread, *sed modica tantum oblata* are to be brought to the altar.—The medieval English terms, used down to the Reformation, were derived from these: "oblete," from Latin *oblata*; and "obley" ("oble" or "uble"), from the French *oublie* and the low Latin *oblea*.

<sup>40</sup> Brightman, 571 f.

<sup>41</sup> Brightman, 571: ἀμύβος. The Copts, too, call the host "Lamb," Arabic *alhamal*. The designation appears in the Egyptian area in the *Canones Basilii*, c. 98 (Riedel, 275 f.), where the paschal lamb is introduced as a figure of the stainlessness of the offertory bread.—Among the Syrians the host is called "the first-born"; Brightman, 571 f. Because of the marks stamped on the bread, the host was also named "seal"; thus among the Greeks (σφραγίς) and the West Syrians. The consecrated host is called by the Syrians "(glowing coal)." The same expression (ἄθραξ) in the region of Antioch as early as the fourth century; J. E. Eschenbach, *Die Auffassung der Stelle Is. 6: 6, 7 bei den Kirchenvätern und ihre Verwendung in der Liturgie* (Würzburger theol. Preisaufgabe: Würzburg, 1927), esp. 34 ff.—The designation μαργαρίτης, *margarita*, "pearl" is also used in the same sense by Syrians and Greeks, and in the Byzantine liturgy, especially for the consecrated particles distributed to the faithful; Brightman, 585, s.v. "Pearl." The designation is traceable to early Christian tradition; Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 46, note 3.

<sup>42</sup> A Paris synodal decree (ab. 1210) found

versally obligatory. When, later on, the use of the purificator became general, that is, since the sixteenth century, white wine has been commonly preferred because it leaves fewer traces in the linen.<sup>43</sup>

In some few districts of the Orient where wine is hard to get—especially among the Copts and Abyssinians—a substitute was and is created by softening dried grapes (raisins, that is) in water and then pressing them out; this process is permitted even among Catholics, with the proviso that at least the start of fermentation is awaited.<sup>44</sup>

Much more profound were the discussions regarding the mixture of the wine. According to ancient rule some water must be mingled with the wine. This was not, indeed, a native Palestinian custom, but a Greek practice which was observed in Palestine in Christ's time.<sup>45</sup> As early as the second century this admixture for the Eucharist is expressly mentioned.<sup>46</sup> Later, under pressure of Gnostic circles that rejected all wine-drinking, there was a trend here and there to replace the wine entirely by water.<sup>47</sup> In one of his detailed writings Cyprian repudiated such a procedure which was practiced by some ignorant people, declaring it contrary to the institution of Jesus.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, it was he who emphasized the symbolic sense of the commingling. Just as the wine receives the water

among the *Præcepta synodalia* of Bishop Odo, n. 28 (Mansi, XXII, 682 E); Synod of Clermont (1268), c. 6 (*ibid.*, XXIII, 1190 E). Cf. also Corblet, I, 200 f.—William de Waddington is quoted as saying "E le vin vermeil ou blanc"; see *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, F. J. Furnivall, ed. (EETS, OS, 119 [1901], 7301.—There can be no doubt that tradition has always required a grape wine (*vinum de vite*).

<sup>43</sup> So the I Provincial Synod of Milan (1565), II, 5 (Hardouin, X, 650 f.); the synods of America (1595) and Majorca (1639), in Corblet, I, 200.

<sup>44</sup> Hanssens, II, 217 f.—The Council of Winchester, 1076, under Lanfranc, took the precaution to legislate lest through ignorance priests should attempt to celebrate either with water alone, or with beer as a substitute for wine: *Quod sacrificium de cerevisia, vel sola aqua non fiat; sed solum modo aqua vino mixto* (Mansi, XX, 459).

<sup>45</sup> Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 613 f.; cf. 61 f., 72; G. Beer, *Pesachim* (Giessen, 1912), 71 f., 106.—The dilution of wine with water is specially noted at the Passover supper, so there is no doubt that our Lord actually used a mixed chalice. Origen alone seems to deny this, for symbolic

reasons; *Hom. in Jerem.*, 12, 2 (PG, XIII, 380-381).—Although the Gospels do not expressly mention this mixing of water and wine, the oriental anaphoras in their account of the institution as a rule do; see *infra*.

<sup>46</sup> Justin, *Apol.*, I, 65; 67 (*supra*, I, 22 f); Irenæus, *Adv. hæc.*, V, 1; 2 (Harvey, II, 316; 319 f); Inscription of Abercius (Quasten, *Mon.*, 24): *κέρασμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου*.

<sup>47</sup> The material is gathered in A. Harnack, *Brod und Wasser* (TU, 7, 2, [Leipzig, 1891], p. 115-144).—Among the heretical sects using only water were the Ebionites mentioned by Irenæus (see note 49 below) and the Aquarii mentioned by Augustine (PL, XLII, 42). A eucharist with water appears in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (2nd cent.), and still survives in certain monkish circles in the 5th century (Theodoret, *Hæreticarum fabularum comp.*, I, 20). For an answer to Harnack's thesis that in the early Church water and wine were both considered as equally licit, see C. Ruch, "Messe," II, 6: DThC, X, 947-955.

<sup>48</sup> Cyprian, *Ep.*, 63, ad Cæcilium (CSEL, 3, 701-717).

in itself, so has Christ taken to Himself us and our sins. Therefore, the mixing of the water with the wine symbolizes the intimate union of the faithful with Him to whom they have bound themselves in faith; and this union is so firm that nothing can sever it, just as the water can no longer be separated from the wine. From this, Cyprian concludes: "When someone offers only wine, then the blood of Christ begins to exist without us; but when it is only water, then the people begin to exist without Christ."<sup>49</sup> These words were often repeated and extended all through the Middle Ages.<sup>50</sup> Along with this symbolism, another made an early appearance—the reference to the blood and water which flowed from Christ's side on Calvary.<sup>51</sup> But in the foreground was always the symbolism of Christ's union with His Church. This was intensified by the statement in the Apocalypse (17:15), that in the water the peoples are represented.<sup>52</sup> The jubilant nations, who are represented by the singers, offer it up. As a picture of the people who still need expiation, it is blessed, while the wine as a rule is not.<sup>53</sup> In the course of the Middle Ages the little ceremony was made the basis for theological reflections: the commingling of the water shows pointedly that in the Mass not only is Christ offered up, but the Church too; still this can be done only by the priest who is not separated from the Church.<sup>54</sup> Precisely because of this symbolism, wherein he perceived the handiwork of God being belittled by human admixture, Luther declared the commingling of the water unfitting inasmuch as it was indicative of our oneness with Christ.<sup>55</sup> Therefore the Council of Trent explicitly defended the practice and threatened its rejection with an anathema.<sup>56</sup>

In the Orient, too, there were some stubborn battles over the droplet of water. Behind the reference to the blood and water from Christ's side,

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 13 (CSEL, 3, 711). A symbolism tending in this direction is already hinted at in Irenæus, *Adv. hæc.*, V, 3 (Harvey, II, 316): The Ebionites, who do not believe in Christ's divinity, "reject the mixture of the heavenly wine and prefer to be only earthly water, by not admitting God into the admixture with themselves."—Cf. also Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.*, II, 2 (PG, VIII, 409 f.).

<sup>50</sup> See the references in F. Holböck, *Der eucharistische und der mystische Leib Christi*, 200 f.

<sup>51</sup> John 19: 35. This last connection is found already in Ambrose, *De sacr.*, V, 1, 4 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 164). Ambrose makes an additional reference to the water which came from the rock that was Christ (I Cor. 10. 4). Both concepts also in Eusebius Gallicanus (5th c.), *Hom.*, 16 (PL, LXVII, 1055 A; ascribed to Cæsa-

rius, but cf. ed. Morin, 925: *Magnitudo*).—Only the symbolism of blood and water is stressed in the Carolingian examination questions, *Loca episcopi*, in Franz, 343, note 1; further references in Holböck, 201 f.

<sup>52</sup> According to various early scholastic authors the water which flowed along with the blood from Christ's side also refers to the people whom Christ had redeemed; Holböck, 202.—Cf. also the Council of Trent, sess. XXII, c. 7.

<sup>53</sup> For exceptions, see *infra*, p. 65 ff.

<sup>54</sup> Lepin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la messe*, 96 f., 142 f.

<sup>55</sup> M. Luther, *Formula missæ et communionis*, n. 16 (Kleine Texte, 36, p. 15).

<sup>56</sup> *Concilium Tridentinum*, sess. XXII, c. 7 (Denzinger-Umberg, n. 945); can. 9 (n. 956).

which was also the usual conception here, the Orientals found a theological symbolism that took a somewhat different turn. Matching the acuteness of the christological strife in the Orient, the wine and water were made to represent the divine and human natures in Christ. The Armenians, whose ranks were penetrated by a radical Monophysitism (which taught that after the Incarnation there could be question of only one nature in Christ, namely, the divine), eliminated the admixture of water as early as the sixth century, at any rate surely before 632. In spite of some waverings, they held to their position, even though, in their repeated efforts to unite with Byzantium and with Rome, this point always formed a block.<sup>57</sup>

The exclusion of leaven, too, was given a similar theological signification by the Armenians. "The Chalcedonian error of the two natures" and the practice of "tainting [the Sacrament] by the fermenting of the bread and by [the admixture of] water" are occasionally mentioned in Armenian sources in one and the same breath.<sup>58</sup> Because of this theological background the Catholic Armenians have taken up the use of water with the wine.

In the Roman liturgy of today the water that is added is only a small amount in comparison with the wine, but in the liturgies of the Orient it forms, and has formed, a goodly portion of the contents of the chalice.<sup>59</sup> Amongst the Syrian Jacobites it has been the practice from olden times to add an equal quantity of water to the wine,<sup>60</sup> and this practice corresponds to what was customary in the surroundings of the nascent Church.<sup>61</sup> But in the Occident, too, there is the instance of the synod of Tribur (895), which required that the chalice contain two-thirds wine and one-third water,<sup>62</sup> and even in the thirteenth century it was considered sufficient to insist that more wine be taken than water.<sup>63</sup> But after that there is a definite shrinking of the minimum required by the symbolism, and at the

<sup>57</sup> Hanssens, II, 250-271. Even as late as the 14th century, this Monophysite argument is much in evidence among the Armenians; Hanssens, II, 261. The Armenian use of undiluted wine was formally condemned at the Trullanum (692), can. 32 (Mansi, XI, 956 f.). The dissident Armenians are the only group of ancient Christians who do not use the "mixed chalice"; Catholics, of course, follow the Roman usage.

<sup>58</sup> So the Armenian historian Stephen Asoghik (ab. 1025), who thus describes the principal object of an Armenian synod of the year 726; Hanssens, II, 163.

<sup>59</sup> Hanssens, II, 242-250.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 244, 248.—This regulation, which already appears in a West-Syrian source

in 538, is repeated in a Nestorian ruling about 900; the latter, however, declares that even up to three-fourths water is still permissible; *ibid.*, 248 f.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 58; 614. With Sharon wine it was the rule to take one-third wine and two-thirds water.

<sup>62</sup> Can. 19 (Mansi, XVIII, 142). A similar rule was in force at Rouen even in 1700; de Moléon, 366.

<sup>63</sup> Durandus, IV, 30, 21. Still even William of Melitona (d. 1260), *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 328, following his somewhat earlier Franciscan model, demands that the water be added only in *modica quantitate*, because (he says) we are as nothing in comparison with Christ.

same time the spoon appears, to make it easier to avoid exceeding the minimum.<sup>64</sup>

## 4. Laying the Offerings on the Altar. The Accompanying Prayers

When the offerings of bread and wine are ready as required, there is still the problem of fitting them into a richly developed liturgy, there is still the question of how and by whom they are to be deposited on the altar, how they are to be disposed there, and particularly whether and how, in these moments before the ancient traditional *Eucharistia*, they are to be drawn by word and gesture into the sacrificial action.

The older Roman liturgy provided only for the well-regulated external activity,<sup>1</sup> and for the single prayer, the *oratio super oblata*, which, however, was said in the name of the whole assembly in a loud voice. When transferred to Frankish territory the external action was soon modified in several ways (principally by being coupled with the offertory procession, which itself was altered through the years), and was enriched by other preparatory acts, like the incensation and the washing of the hands. In addition, each step of the activity was joined by a significant word, spoken by the *liturgus* not aloud, but only softly to himself. Even the prayer itself acquired further addition. This showed the same half-private character and tried especially to connect individual desires with the offering. Moreover, all this liturgical growth in the Frankish realm was not regulated from one appointed center, but emanated rather from different points and criss-crossed in the most diverse ways over all the lands of Christendom. As a result the Mass books of the later Middle Ages contain at the oblation a veritable jungle of new prayers and texts. The diversity and multiplicity of these formulas and their grouping is so great that a

<sup>64</sup> *Ordo Rom.* XV, n. 81 (PL, LXXVIII, 1325 D): *post aquæ benedictionem ponit cum cochleari tres guttas aquæ*. The *tres guttæ* were already required at the Synod of Brixen in 1318; see J. Baur, "Die Brixner von 1318" (in the *Festschrift zur Feier des 200 jährigen Bestandes des Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, Vienna, 1949). Cf. *Cod. Iur. Can.*, can. 814: *modicissima aqua*. This formulation appears first in the Decretum pro Armenis (Denzinger-Umberg, n. 698).—The little spoon (*cochlear*)—and with it obviously the idea of a small amount of water, which underlies its use—appears towards the end of the 13th century in northern France; Braun, *Des christliche Altargarät*, 446 f.

The spoon is not mentioned in the Roman missal, but its use was approved by the SRC, Feb. 6, 1858 (n. 3064 ad 4). It is commonly used in Spain and Ireland; but elsewhere, e.g., Italy, is even at present entirely unknown.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, I, 71-2.—For a better understanding of this chapter, it is necessary to distinguish two purposes in the offertory ceremonies: (1) the provision of the elements of bread and wine, and (2) a ritual presentation of these elements at the sacrifice, arranging them on the altar and commending them to God. Cf. Alan Clark, "The Function of the Offertory Rite in the Mass," *Eph. liturg.*, 64 (1950), 309-344.

classification appears well-nigh impossible.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, if we want to get a closer understanding of the form of the oblation rite as it appears in the Roman Missal—comparatively scant though it be—we may not by-pass this jungle entirely.

The point of view which prevails today, in which the worth and importance of the *Eucharistia* is once more discovered and which is swayed but little by the novel medieval customs, makes it appear that the *offertorium* grew out of the fact that the offertory procession had vanished in the course of the Middle Ages and the vacancy which thus arose had to be filled out by these ceremonies and prayers. Besides, according to this conception, these prayers are ascribed in the first instance to the private Masses which were then coming to the fore, and which seemed to be especially adapted to such an enrichment. These are the two assertions that are repeated even by great authorities;<sup>3</sup> but these opinions are in urgent need of investigation. We shall therefore try to follow, in rough outline at least, the development of the forms from their beginnings.

The first thing we notice—right within the framework of the old Roman oblation scheme—is the quiet praying of the celebrant, even before he says the *secretæ*. The eighth-century Frankish recensions of the *ordo* of John the Arch-chanter prescribe that at a solemn high Mass, after the offerings of the faithful and the clergy have been arranged on the altar, the celebrant take his own offering in hand and lifts hands and eyes to God in silent prayer.<sup>4</sup> This is also indicated in the other Roman *ordines*. The fact that the celebrant turned to the surrounding clergy to ask for their prayers is also mentioned here.<sup>5</sup>

The first brief wording of such an offering prayer is presented in the Sacramentary of Amiens. The heart of this prayer appears to be the humble offering of the gifts already prepared, which are designated as offerings of the faithful<sup>6</sup> and therefore presuppose an offertory procession.

<sup>2</sup> Eisenhofer, II, 141.

<sup>3</sup> Eisenhofer, II, 139. The derivation from private Mass, in Batiffol, *Leçons*, 21; 144. The void left by the disappearance of the procession, in Fortescue, 305.

<sup>4</sup> *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 198): *Ipse vero pontifex novissime suas proprias duas [oblationes] accipiens in manus sua[s], elevans [read: elevatis] oculis et manibus cum ipsis ad cælum, orat ad Deum secreta, et completa oratione ponit eas super altare.* Thereupon the archdeacon arranges the chalice, and the bishop, bowing low, pronounces the *oratio super oblata*.—Similarly the parallel monastic text of the *Breviarium* (ibid.), where the same rite is repeated with the chalice: *similiter offerat et vinum.*

<sup>5</sup> *Breviarium* (loc. cit.): *Tunc vero sacerdos dextera lævaque aliis sacerdotibus postulat pro se orare.*—As the bad Latin reveals, these sources bring us back before the Carolingian reform, in the middle of the 8th century (Silva-Tarouca, 180 f.; but see M. Andrieu's new study, which dates the *Breviarium* and the *Capitulare* towards the end of the 8th century).

<sup>6</sup> The two-part prayer reads: *Hanc oblationem, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, placatus accipe, et omnium offerentium et eorum, pro quibus tibi offertur, peccata indulge. Et in spiritu humilitatis . . . Domine Deus* (Dan. 3: 39 f., nearly as at present). Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, 39 f. The whole Mass-*ordo* edited by the same author, *Eph. liturg.*, 1927, 441.—The

The next thing we specially note in these more ancient oblation prayers and the practices connected with them, is that about the year 1000 they have grown tremendously, and that they are especially extended at the start of the oblation, before the chalice is brought to the altar. They have an essentially intercessory character; the offering is done "for" (*pro*) certain specified purposes and persons. This is evidently the consequence of recollections of the Gallican liturgy.<sup>7</sup> The trend can be traced even in Amalar. In his explanation of the *offerenda* he cites Old Testament requirements and then names a series of requests *pro quibus offerre debeamus sacrificia*:<sup>8</sup> for the fulfillment of vows which were made in affliction, for the expiation of our sins, for the royal house, for the ecclesiastical estates, for peace. His younger contemporary, Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), feels compelled to combat the opinion that a special offering and a special petition must be made for each intention, and that it was not possible to beg *una petitione pro multis*.<sup>9</sup> Along with this another factor, reverence for certain mysteries of faith, found expression both in the prayers themselves<sup>10</sup> and in the manner in which the oblations were distributed on the altar. Indeed we encounter this trend about the same time in the East as well as in the West. While in the older Roman *ordines* little importance was attached to the manner of composing the oblations on the altar,<sup>11</sup> in the Carolingian territory we hear of two crosses which the priest is to build *de oblata* and place next to the chalice.<sup>12</sup> Even as late as 1100 some missals from the orbit of Monte Cassino demand that the oblations be arranged *in modum crucis*.<sup>13</sup> In Spain, around 845, a Bishop Ildefons gives even more detailed directions: whereas on ordinary days only one bread is laid out, on Sundays five breads are to be taken and arranged crosswise; on Christmas and some other feast days seventeen breads, of which five are to form a cross, the other twelve a circle around the chalice; on Easter and Whitsunday forty-five breads, for which a combined cross-

first formula (*Hanc . . . indulge. Per.*) is also found later similarly employed: Leroquais, I, 126; 155, 211; II, 25; 34 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the texts below for the Memento of the Living.

<sup>8</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1127).

<sup>9</sup> Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, CXIV, 948). Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, inquis. 73 (PL, CXXXII, 190), also insists that only one *oblata* be offered for all intentions.

<sup>10</sup> See *infra*, p. 46 ff.

<sup>11</sup> The *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 14) PL, LXXXVIII, 944), merely says of the archdeacon: *componit altare.* Only the *Ordo of St. Amand* directs him to take the *oblata* and

form three or five *ordines* on the altar (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 460).—In the mosaic of San Vitale in Ravenna two breads are placed symmetrically to the right and left of the chalice; Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, plate 6. Likewise in the mosaic of Sant' Apollinare, where Melchisedech, represented as the celebrant, holds a third bread in his hands; Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), table 10. <sup>12</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33, additio (PL, CVII, 324 D). Illustrations in the Stuttgarter Bilder-Psalter (Stuttgart illuminated psalter) of the 9th century; Fiala, 190.

<sup>13</sup> Ebner, 309; Fiala, 203. Clearly there is question here of hosts for the Communion of the monks.

form is sketched.<sup>14</sup> Even in the eleventh century the Trier *Liber officiorum* takes a stand against those who insist that, for the sake of the number three, three *oblatae* are always to be consecrated.<sup>15</sup> Besides a regard for the Communion of the faithful, such efforts indicate also the tendency to give symbolical expression to certain offertory-motifs or at least to give prominence to symbolic numbers.<sup>16</sup>

If we turn our glance to the contemporaneous development of the Byzantine Mass, we find that it has gone even a step farther in the same direction. In its arrangement of the bread-oblation there are at work not only the effort to indicate symbolically certain mysteries of faith, but also the most important petitions. While the other oriental liturgies have no further prescriptions in this matter, and even on Communion days merely use and consecrate a correspondingly larger bread,<sup>17</sup> in the Byzantine Mass it has gradually become a rule since about the year 1000 that in the *proskomide* five breads are to be laid out, of which, however, only certain particles are to be selected for the altar and there to be arranged in a fixed manner. From the first bread the "Lamb" is cut; from the second, a particle (the "All-holy") in honor of the Blessed Virgin; from the third nine particles in honor of specified saints who are named; from the fourth, an arbitrary number for the living who are to be recommended

<sup>14</sup> Ildefons, *Revelatio* (PL, CVI, 883-890; also in Martène, I, 4, 6, 10 [I, 389]). Similar directions in Irish sources, but apparently only since the 11th century; see the references in K. Burdach, *Der Gral* (Stuttgart, 1938), 206.—This formation of certain figures is also found in the Old Spanish Mass (as we will see later) at the *fractio*, even at an earlier date.

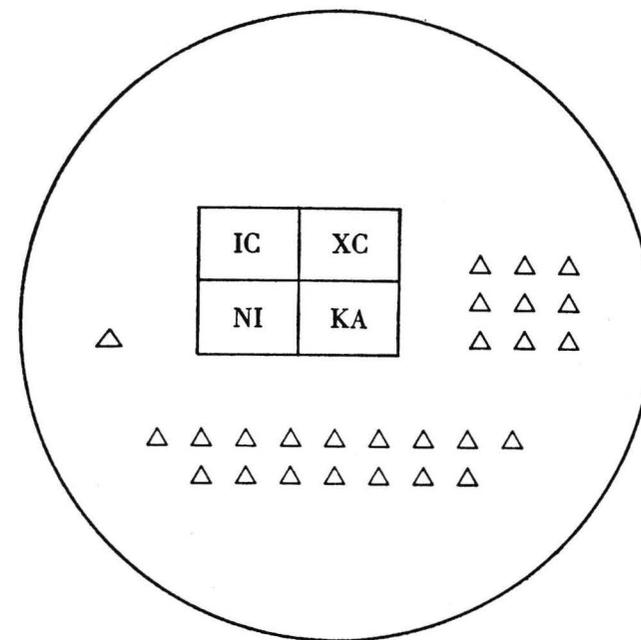
<sup>15</sup> Franz, 374.—This use of the number three is traditional; cf. the mosaic of Sant' Apollinare (*supra*, note 11). According to *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 48 (PL, LXXVIII, 958), the archdeacon hands *oblatae tres* to each of the cardinal priests who concelebrate with the pope on great feasts.—Since the late Middle Ages it has been the practice at solemn papal Mass to bring three hosts to the altar, of which two, however, are immediately consumed by the *episcopus sacrista*, just as he also tastes the wine and water; *facit probam*, as the *Ordo Rom.* XV (about 1400), n. 81 (PL, LXXVIII, 1325 D), puts it; cf. Martène, I, 4, XXXVII (I, 681 E). This is what we today call the *præ gustatio*, a survival from those perilous days when poison played a part in public life. Cf. Martène, I, 4, 6, 14 (I, 391 f.); Brink-

trine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 19 f. Details regarding this darksome background in Corblet, I, 381.—Provision is still made for the *præ gustatio* in the *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 60 f.; cf. II, 8, 11; I, 11. In Narbonne, about 1700, it was still observed day after day; de Moléon, 255.

<sup>16</sup> At any rate, odd numbers still play a role (cf. *supra*, I, 387). According to the *Canones Basilii*, c. 99 (Riedel, 277), there should be one bread or three; according to the *Ordo* of the Lateran basilica (Fischer, 81), one or three or five. At Cluny there were, as a rule, three or five *oblatae*; in making the prescribed crosses, etc., the priest was to use the center one; Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 718 B); cf. I, 6, 8 (652 f.); III, 12 (755 f.).

<sup>17</sup> Hanssens, II, 185. It is only among the Armenians, the Maronites and the Malabar Christians that special smaller breads are added for the Communion of the faithful.—In former years there were many discussions in the various rites regarding the number of the host-breads, and different odd numbers were decided upon. But the practical viewpoint proved an obstacle. One West Syrian bishop in early times

to God; and from the fifth, similarly, a number for the dead.<sup>18</sup> These all have their proper position and arrangement on the *discos*, the large paten on which they are carried to the altar and on which they remain lying to the left of the chalice. The portions cut from the first three breads form a



row in the middle of which lies the "Lamb," the portions for the living form a second row, those for the dead a third.<sup>19</sup>

Amongst the Russians it is—or was—possible for the faithful also to contribute a particle to the second or third row, a portion of the bread

directed the deacon to add one loaf for every ten communicants. Hanssens, II, 196-200.

<sup>18</sup> Brightman, 356-359; Hanssens, II, 182-185; *ibid.*, 185-196, the historical presentation of the practice. The typikon of the Empress Irene (about 1100) orders that seven breads are to be used; of these the fourth is offered for the emperor, the fifth for the deceased monks, the sixth for the dead of the imperial family, the seventh for the living of that family. Hanssens, II, 188 f.

<sup>19</sup> This sketch patterned after Mercenier-Paris, *La prière des églises de rite byzantin*, I, 216.—In the dissident churches these particles are not consecrated with the "Lamb," but as a rule are put into the chalice before the Communion of the people and, thus moistened with the Precious Blood, are removed by means of the little spoon and given in Communion; Hanssens, II, 200-206. The particles of host-breads that remain are dispensed to the faithful after Mass as *antidoron*. Among the uniate Ruthenians the regulations regarding the

they had presented before Mass being used for this purpose; thus they would be drawn closer to the sacrifice.

In the Occident such a symbolic commemoration for stipulated intentions was never carried through. But for that very reason these latter have stretched to greater proportions in the prayers. Around the same year 1000 we see the bishop at a solemn high Mass stepping to the altar after the offertory procession of the people and clerics, and pronouncing a whole series, more or less long, of offertory prayers in which the most important requests are set forth. And all are formed according to one scheme that plainly displays Gallican features, though previously there were some tentative efforts to model them more or less strictly on the pattern of prayer in the Roman canon.<sup>20</sup> They begin with the phrase *Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offero pro . . .*; then the request is named and continued with an *ut*-clause; the conclusion can be either Gallican or Roman.<sup>21</sup> The formula is met as early as the ninth century in Northern France, either as a single prayer<sup>22</sup> or as a series of prayers in multiple variation.<sup>23</sup> In the Mass *ordines* of the succeeding years it appears in use for the most diverse purposes; for the celebrant himself, for the congregation and its benefactors, for the King and the Christian people,

particles have more recently been greatly modified; *ibid.*, 183 f.

<sup>20</sup> See *supra*, note 6, the formula *Hanc oblationem*. It is obviously modeled on the *Hanc igitur oblationem* of the canon, which is meant for the naming of intentions. The same formula in the 11th century in the sacramentaries of Limoges (Leroquais, I, 155) and Moissac (Martène, 1, 4, VIII [I, 539 A]); in Limoges still as principal oblation prayer in the Missal of 1438: Martène, 1, 4, 6, 16 (I, 393 D). The formula is also in the Mozarabic *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 536 C). — Other echoes of the canon formularies are to be seen in the terms of address, e.g., *clementissime Pater*: Sacramentary of Angers (10th c.): Leroquais, I, 71.—For the present-day *Suscipe sancte Pater*, see *infra*, p. 57.

<sup>21</sup> Besides the Roman *Per Christum* the Gallican *Qui vivis* is often found, and occasionally also *Per te Jesu Christe* (thus in a Dominican missal of the 13th century: Sölch, 77, note 152) and *Quod ipse prestare dignetur* (missal of Fécamp: Martène, 1, 4, XXVI f. [I, 637; 640]). For the Gallican origin of these closing formulas, see Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 84 f., 88, 105, note, 43 f.):—The address, *sancta Trinitas*, is also Gallic. It

is totally unknown in the older Roman liturgy. *Ibid.*, 80, 91, 109; cf. 193 ff.

<sup>22</sup> As a *memoria Imperatoris* in the Sacramentary of Sens (L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires* [Paris, 1886], 107): *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus pro Imperatore nostro illo et sua venerabili prole et statu regni Francorum, pro omni populo christiano et pro elemosinariis nostris et pro his qui nostri memoriam in suis continuis orationibus habent, ut hic veniam recipiant peccatorum et in futuro præmia consequi mereantur æterna*.—In the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald (ed. Felican Ninguarda, Ingolstadt, 1583, p. 112 f.) it is turned, with only tiny modifications, into a prayer for laymen, *Oratio quando offertis ad missam pro propriis peccatis et pro animabus amicorum*. It begins: *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas atque indivisa unitas, hanc oblationem quam tibi offero per manus sacerdotis tui, pro me . . . ut . . .*; then follows Psalm 115: 12 f., slightly altered, and the continuation as a prayer for the dead.—Further examples in sacramentaries of the 9th and 10th centuries in Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, 52; 59; 63; 71; 76.

<sup>23</sup> Two sacramentaries of S. Thierry near Reims (second half of the 9th and end of the 10th century; see Leroquais, I, 21 f.,

for various persons amongst the living, for the sick, for the dead. At the top is usually the formula which has been retained till now and which, in imitation of the canon of the Mass, presents as the first intention of the offertory the remembrance of the mystery of redemption,<sup>24</sup> with which is linked the commemoration of the saints.<sup>25</sup>

In some Mass books since the eleventh century as many as thirteen formulas of this type are found one after the other.<sup>26</sup> They were appointed to be said by the celebrant when, after the offertory procession,<sup>27</sup> the

91 f.) agree in having the present-day formula (*in memoriam*) along with three others: for the king, for the priest himself, and for the dead; Martène, 1, 4, IX; X (I, 545; 548 f.). So, too, the Sacramentary of S. Amand (end of the 9th c.): Leroquais, I, 56; similarly that of Corbie (without the formula for the priest): *ibid.*, 27.—The Sacramentary of Amiens, which originated in the second half of the 9th century, contains the prayer cited in note 6 above, followed by *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, with five divergent clauses (the four already mentioned, plus a formula for the Christian people); Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 441 f.—Various later versions are brought together in F. Cabrol, “Diptyques: XII,” *DACL*, IV, 1081-1083.

<sup>24</sup> Sometimes a phrase is added that implies a kind of apology for having included so many intentions: *Suscipe, sancte Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam offero imprimis, ut iustum est, in memoriam . . .* Thus, e.g., in the Mass-ordo of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 248 B).

<sup>25</sup> Related in content to this formula is the last oblation formula which is found in the Stowe missal (ed. Werner [HBS, 32], 9), inserted by Moelcaich (9th cent.) immediately before the *Sursum corda*. It reads: *Grata sit tibi hæc oblatio plebis tuæ, quam tibi offerimus in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et in commemorationem beatorum apostolorum tuorum ac martyrum tuorum et confessorum, quorum hic reliquias specialiter recolimus n. et eorum quorum festivitas hodie celebratur et pro animabus . . . et pœnitentium nostrorum, cunctis proficiat ad salutem. P. D.*

<sup>26</sup> Thirteen formulas in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 509 f.),—The missal of St. Lawrence in Liège (Martène, 1, 4, XV [I, 590 f.]) has seven; the Mass-

*ordo* of Gregorienmünster (*ibid.*, XVI [I, 598 f.]) has six; an 11th century missal from S. Denis (*ibid.*, V [I, 524 f.]) has four; likewise the missal of Troyes (*ibid.*, VI [I, 533]) of the same period, and the Mass formulary originating in Séz (PL, LXXVII, 248).—For the most part, therefore, these are all Mass books from the so-called Séz group (*supra*, I, 93 f.).—Italian examples from the 11th century in Ebner, 171; 304 f., 337 f. Several formulas having the same content but with a different form of address in a Milanese Mass-ordo of the 11th century: *Codex sacramentorum Bergomensis* (Solesmes, 1900), p. 91, note 1.

<sup>27</sup> A series of Mass-ordos, all of this period but of different provenience, plainly indicates that there was an offertory procession in which at least the clergy participated; thus in the Missa Illyrica (Martène, 1, 4, IV [I, 508 B]) a rubric precedes: *Tunc convertat se suscipere oblationes presbyterorum aliorumque*. After receiving the offering of bread properly so called, he recites this series of oblation prayers.—Similarly (but without *aliorumque*) the Mass formulary of Séz: PL, LXXVIII, 248 A; missal of Monte Cassino (11-12th c.): Ebner, 309, cf. *ibid.*, 346; missal of St. Lambrecht (1336): Köck, 120.—Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 10 f. (PL, CLI, 983 f.) is equally clear; he mentions first the procession, then the arrangement of the gifts on the altar, then the prayers *Veni sanctificator* and *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* which are to be said *composita autem oblatione in altari*.—It is possible that the older arrangement was for the celebrant to say these prayers when the altar was being readied after the procession of the people and before he received the gifts of the clerics; cf. *Ordo*

bread-oblation had been arranged on the altar by the deacon,<sup>28</sup> and very likely after his own oblation was added,<sup>29</sup> but before the chalice was brought to the altar.

But soon other influences began to be felt, influences that resulted from the transformation of the offertory procession. The offertory procession survived above all at the great feast day high Masses which the rubrics of the Mass books usually spoke of, but the offerings made at it were no longer brought to the altar. The bread-oblation consisted mostly of just the thin host which the priest himself offered as his own gift. Therefore, before starting these prayers the celebrant had to await this gift. And in view of its smallness, it is quite understandable that he would also wait till the chalice was prepared; this, as we shall see in a moment, was usually handed to the celebrant along with the paten. The series of offertory prayers therefore moves back to a later position. In fact there must even have been some question whether the prayers were not actually to be postponed till after all the other preparatory activities, which had meanwhile often gained a place in this spot—the hand-washing, the incensation—and so inserted immediately before the petition for prayer (*Orate fratres*) which had long since found a secure place; it would thus serve as the last personal concurrence in the official priestly act, the sacrificial work of the canon of the Mass, which was then usually thought of as starting with the *secreta*.<sup>30</sup>

About the same time another trend was to be noticed, a trend towards limiting the number of these prayers. Bernold of Constance (d. 1100) appears as advocate for this limitation, praising, as he does, those who were content with a single formula in which they commended to God both living and dead.<sup>31</sup> The formula which he means, and which he suggests the priest should say *inclinatus ante altare*, follows the traditional type:

Rom. II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973 B):  
*orat . . . et suscipit oblatas de manu presbyterorum.*

<sup>28</sup> Mass formulary of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 248 C): *Tunc puro corde offerat Domino oblatas altari superpositas dicens.*

<sup>29</sup> In the Missa Illyrica the rubric before this series of prayers states that these are to be spoken *cum oblationes offeruntur*; however, the whole series is introduced between the first and the second formulas with which the bishop offers up the oblation which he holds in his hands: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 508 E-510 E). Both the Mass-ordo of Troyes and that of Gregorimünster presupposes that at least at the start the celebrant holds in his hands and lifts up his own bread-oblation: *ibid.*, I, 4, VI, XVI (I, 532 C; 598 B). Cf. *supra*, note 26. Elsewhere a bow was prescribed,

and this implies that the celebrant's gift already lay on the altar.

<sup>30</sup> See *infra*, p. 82 f. — Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 105 ff.—An indication that a certain need was felt for preparatory prayers is the fact that here and there we come across the prayer *Aperi Domine os meum* which at present is found, slightly modified, at the beginning of the breviary. Sacramentary of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, I, 4, V (I, 526 B); Spanish missals of the 15th century: Ferreres, 130.

<sup>31</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 11 (PL, CLI, 984): *Quæ utique oratio a diligentioribus ordinis et comprobata consuetudinibus observatoribus tam pro defunctis quam pro vivis sola frequentatur.*—Amalar, too, had already taken a stand against the multiplication of prayers; see *supra*, I, 385.

*Suscipe sancta Trinitas*. It is the prayer we still recite with bowed head just before the *Orate fratres*,<sup>32</sup> therefore at the later spot as indicated above; formerly this prayer was found at the very top of the list of formulas.

In this place, just before the *Orate fratres*, and said by itself in this bowed attitude,<sup>33</sup> the prayer is to be found even in an earlier period,<sup>34</sup> and in Italy itself,<sup>35</sup> as a component part of the Roman offertory plan there developing.<sup>36</sup> Not till later does it appear at the same place in various countries outside Italy.<sup>37</sup>

In contrast to the present-day wording, the formula regularly showed two expansions, particularly in the older texts. The list of redemptive mysteries commemorated—a list transferred from the canon: Passion, Resurrection, Ascension—was usually enlarged to read: *in memoriam in-*

<sup>28</sup> Bernold, *loc. cit.*, quotes merely the introductory words (and preceding them, the *Veni sanctificator*, which was not presented as an offertory prayer). But he gives the full text later, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992 f.): *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi et in honorem sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, sancti Petri et sancti Pauli et istorum atque omnium sanctorum tuorum, ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem, et illi pro nobis dignentur intercedere, quorum memoriam agimus in terris. Per Christum.* William of Hirsau (d. 1091), Const., I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017), also suggests that the same invariable formula, *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, be always used. The inclusion of the dead, as Bernold recommends, was expressly inserted, among others, in the version which was used in the ancient Cistercian rite: . . . *ut eam acceptare digneris pro nobis peccatoribus et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum.* Bona, II, 9, 2 (710 f.). Cf. also *infra*, note 42.

<sup>29</sup> The parallel formula for the dead remained connected with it the longest. Thus it is found before the *Orate fratres* in the Sacramentary of Modena (after 1174): Muratori, I, 92; in a missal from lower Italy about 1200: Ebner, 322; in two Hungarian Mass books, one about 1195, the other the 13th century: Radó, 43 (n. 17); 62.—Both formulas are found in their original place before the offering of the chalice in the Sacramentary of Limoges (11th c.): Leroquais, I, 155. This pair of formulas

is still found in Franciscan Mass books in the 15th century: Martène, I, 4, XXVI ff. (I, 637; 640; 644); cf. *ibid.*, I, 4, 6, 16 (I, 393 A). Still it seems that the second formula was used only in Masses for the dead.—A third formula for the living survived in a Salzburg missal about 1200: Köck, 124.—The Milan oblation rite has retained to the present day two formulas of our *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* type for ordinary days, and three for Sundays and feasts; they are recited with arms outstretched. Preceding these is another formula of the same kind, but with a modified form of address; this prayer is said bowed and follows at once after the double offering. *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 168.

<sup>34</sup> The oldest example appears to be the “ninth or tenth century” supplement in the St. Gall. MS. 348 of the Frankish *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, ed. Mohlberg, p. 247; cf. XCIX.

<sup>35</sup> Examples from the 11-13th century in Italian books, especially in the region of Monte Cassino, in Ebner, 298; 301; 310; 322; 326; 337; Fiala, 205 f. Here, it seems, we have an innovation which spread from the North, following the Cluniac reform; cf., for the bowing, the sacramentary from the Cluniac monastery of Moissac (11th c.): Martène, I, 4, VIII (I, 539 A).

<sup>36</sup> Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 60 (PL, CCXVII, 834 C) does not cite the formula, but notes that the priest says a prayer with bowed head.

<sup>37</sup> For Lyons, see Ebner, 326 (Cod. XII, 2); Martène, I, 4, XXXIII (I, 659). For south Germany, Köck, 119 ff.; Beck, 328;

*carnationis, nativitatis, passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionis D. n. J. C.* The mention of saints was made, as a rule, according to the formula: *et in honore<sup>38</sup> sanctorum tuorum, qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi, et eorum quorum hodie festiuitas celebratur et quorum nomina hic et reliquiae habentur.*<sup>39</sup> In one group of texts, however, the first expansion was soon dropped. In the second expansion, other additions were made; here and there even in the eleventh century the name of the Blessed Virgin was added; a little later, and at first outside Rome, the names of the Princes of the Apostles were inserted;<sup>40</sup> lastly, the Baptist. In place of this comprehensive expansion, however, a simple *istorum* was inserted, especially in the later Mass books.<sup>41</sup>

As for the other contents of the formula, there seems to have been but little concern over the *ut*-clause in which the prayer is continued, and this corresponds exactly with its origin as a formula of commemoration. The clause appears to have been appended only to round out the form: May the sacrifice bring honor to the saints, and to us salvation

308; Hoeyneck, 373 f.; cf. Martène, 1, 4, XXXII (I, 656).

<sup>38</sup> Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 315-317, points out that most medieval texts and even the older editions of the Missal of Pius V have the reading *in honore* in our formula: "in honoring," "on the day when we honor" (similar in meaning to the *in ueneratione B.V.M.* of the Marian preface); not *in honorem*, "in honor," "to honor," because in conjunction with the phrase that follows, *ut illis proficiat ad honorem*, such a wording would be essentially tautological. In some churches, in fact, the oration was said only on feast days: *ibid.*, 317. However the Congregation of Rites, on May 25, 1877, decided in favor of *in honorem*: *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3421, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Both amplifications already in the oldest texts: Sacramentary of S. Thierry (9-10th cent.): Martène, 1, 4, IX; X (I, 545 B; 548 E).—The present-day wording (without *Johannes Baptista*) appears in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (note 32 *supra*).—Material from many manuscripts is assembled and studied in P. Salmon, O. S. B., "Le 'Suscipe sancta Trinitas' dans l'Ordinaire de la messe," *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 217-227.

<sup>40</sup> Mass-ordo of Gregorienmünster: Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 598 C). Further references in Salmon, 222; but the *Micro-*

*logus* (see previous note) is not taken into account.—Some few Mass-books contain a special formula of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* in honor of all the saints, with corresponding expansions: Sacramentary of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 524 f.).

<sup>41</sup> *Supra*, note 32; Salmon, 223. This *istorum* is also found in the Ordo of the papal chapel about 1290; ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 203.—Probably the original idea of this *istorum* was to indicate that the priest should insert saints' names of his own choosing—like the later "N." Cf. the enumeration of various saints in the second part of the *Confiteor* in the Augsburg *Ordinarium*, as found in the commentary "Messe singen oder lesen," which was printed several times since 1481; here we read: . . . *s. Katharinam, istos sanctos et omnes electos Dei*, and the commentator advises what names are to be included. Franz, 751. In cases like this, the older Roman liturgy generally used the word *ille*; see *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 940 C), and *infra*, the discussion of the Memento formulas.—In Salmon, *loc. cit.*, a discussion of some purely linguistic variants of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*.—In place of the present *offerimus* the more ancient texts have mostly *offero*. So also the Dominican rite; see Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), 186.

and the efficacy of their intercession. The function of the formula as a substitute for all other versions and as an epitome of all other offertory intentions is thus only imperfectly expressed.<sup>42</sup>

Elsewhere an oration of the same type, *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, continued to be connected with the presentations of the offerings, while before the *Orate fratres* another prayer appeared, spoken likewise in the bowed posture of these oblation prayers; the prayer is that of Azarias (Dan. 3:39 f.): *In spiritu humilitatis*. This formula appeared quite early as a rival to formulas of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* type.<sup>43</sup> In the Norman-English liturgy it actually won out and appears there as the concluding oblation prayer just before *Orate fratres*.<sup>44</sup> This is true likewise in the liturgies of many religious orders,<sup>45</sup> whereas in the Roman-Italian plan it is found very early, to be sure, but usually it appears as in today's design, immediately after the offering of the chalice.<sup>46</sup> Thus we have in our present-day arrangement two prayers which, even by the bodily posture

<sup>42</sup> Here and there attempts were made to render the formula complete. Thus the Regensburg missal of 1485 inserts: (. . . *ad salutem*) *et omnibus fidelibus defunctis ad requiem* (Beck, 238); similarly the Freising missal of 1520 (Beck, 308) and the Missal of Upsala of 1513 (Yelverton, 15). In the present-day arrangement of the offertory prayers the mention of the dead already occurs in the first oblation prayer. And so Batiffol, *Leçons*, 23, had grounds for thinking the Missal of Pope Pius V could just as well have omitted our formula.

<sup>43</sup> See *supra*, p. 42, note 6. Further sources, presumably from the 9th to the 11th centuries, in Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 284. That northern France is the point of origin and spread is confirmed by the Sacramentary of S. Denis (middle of the 11th c.); here, too, there is the rubric: *inclinatus ante altare dicat*; Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 526 C).

<sup>44</sup> For Normandy see examples in Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI f. (I, 673 C, 678 A); Legg, *Tracts*, 42; 60. For England examples in Legg, *Tracts*, 5; 221; Maskell, 94 f. For Sweden see Yelverton, 15. Likewise in Spain; see Ebner, 342; Ferreres, 130 (n. 520).

<sup>45</sup> For the Cistercians, see Franz, 587. For the Carthusians, see Legg, *Tracts*, 101; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20. For the Dominicans, Sölch, *Hugo*, 82; Bonni-

well, *op. cit.*, 186. Also in the widespread Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 92.

<sup>46</sup> A third formula, of like import and purpose, originally destined (to judge from its wording) to be said right after the preparation of the chalice, disappeared in the course of time. It read as follows: *Domine Jesu Christe, qui in cruce passionis tuæ de latere tuo sanguinem et aquam, unde tibi Ecclesiam consecrastes, manare uoluisti, suscipe hoc sacrificium altari superpositum et concede, clementissime, ut pro redemptione nostra et etiam totius mundi in conspectum diuinæ maiestatis tuæ cum odore suauitatis ascendat. Qui uivis.* In the Missa Illyrica it follows immediately after the chalice is set on the altar: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 511 B); so, too, in the Mass-ordo of Séez (PL, LXXVIII, 249 A) and in central Italian Mass formularies of the 11th-12th centuries (Ebner, 298; 313; Fiala, 204; Muratori, I, 90 f); also in a Missal of 1336 from St. Lambrecht (Köck, 121). In the Missal of St. Lawrence in Liège it accompanies the raising of the chalice: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 591 D). But at the same time in some central Italian formularies of the 11th-12th centuries it appears immediately before the *Orate fratres*, in one instance marked as exchangeable with the formula *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* (Ebner, 301) and with the rubric: *Tunc inclinet se sacerdos ante altare et dicat* (*ibid.*, cf. Ebner, 296; 341).

with which they are said, give an indication that they are meant to anticipate the oblation prayers of the canon.<sup>47</sup>

Another point to remark in this connection is that even in the more recent texts where these prayers are employed as accompaniment to the external act of offering, yet the endeavor is made to join the bowed posture with the gesture of offering. With a demeanor that is quite courteous—forms of social intercourse do recur often enough in divine worship—the gifts are presented to the Almighty while *In spiritu humilitatis*<sup>48</sup> or *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* is said.<sup>49</sup>

Not much later in origin is a second rank of text elements, but these are much more intimately connected with the external rite and essentially directed to the purpose of explaining the visible activity.<sup>50</sup> We can therefore understand them best if we combine our study of them with an exposition of the outer activity itself.

First of all, the altar has to be readied. At a high Mass even today, immediately before the offertory—or during the *Credo* if there is one—the corporal enclosed in the burse is carried by the deacon to the altar and there spread out, while otherwise the priest carries it to the altar when he comes in, and spreads it out before Mass. This corporal is nowadays reduced to a very modest size; only at a solemn papal Mass does it cover the entire width of the altar, and in this case it is laid out over the altar by a (Cardinal) deacon and the subdeacon at the start of the offering of gifts.<sup>51</sup> This was the practice already in the Roman services of the

<sup>47</sup> Both formulas as at present in the Mass formulary of the 11th century from Monte Cassino: Ebner, 340 (Cod. C 32); cf. 309 f. But generally the use of both formulas is infrequent in Italy till the *Missale Romanæ Curie* became common and the Franciscans put in their appearance (cf. Ebner, 314). However, cf. for Lyons, starting only in the 13th century: Ebner, 316; Martène, I, 4, XXXIII (I, 659); for the south German area, Beck, 237 f.; Köck, 122.

<sup>48</sup> The commentary of William de Gouda which first appeared in 1486, *Expositio mysteriorum missæ*, has this to say: *Elevato igitur calice, parum suspiciens, devote affectans, humili corde pronus, genibus parum flexis, ut ille dignissimus dignetur aspiciere: In spiritu humilitatis*. Quoted in M. Smits van Waesberghe, “Die Misverklaring van Meester Simon van Wenlo” (*Ons geestelijk Erf*, 1941), 303. This refers to the double offering of chalice and paten, as it occurred according to Netherland formularies; cf. *ibid.*, 325-327.

<sup>49</sup> Camaldolese Sacramentary of the 13th century: *patenam cum oblatis accipit et inclinans se ad altare suppliciter dicit hanc orationem: Suscipe sancta Trinitas*; Ebner, 355.—Similar was the custom in England about the same period: The priest picks up the chalice and the paten, *et inclinatus parum elevet calicem, utraque manu offerens Domino sacrificium . . . : Suscipe sancta Trinitas*; Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, 75. As late as 1617 the Cistercian missal orders: *elevatis patena cum pane et calice et genuflectens dicat*; Schneider (Cist.-Chr., 1926), 349.

<sup>50</sup> The principle that every action should be embellished by an accompanying statement is noticeable, for example, in the penitential discipline as early as the 9th century and becomes more and more operative with time; Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Buszriten*, 91 ff., 212 f. The formulas of absolution have their origin here.

<sup>51</sup> Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 18.—In the Roman stationary Masses of the 7th century (see *supra*, I, 71) two deacons

stretched the long corporal over the altar from end to end. The deacon's ritual spreading of the corporal at the *Credo* must be viewed as a trace of that more ample ceremony of the early Middle Ages; see Lebbe, *The Mass: A Historical Commentary* (Westminster, 1949), 54-55.

When the altar is ready, the gifts can be brought to the altar and properly arranged. For this, too, there was a well-balanced plan in the Roman stationary services: the archdeacon, assisted by the subdeacons, selects the oblation from amongst the gifts offered by the people and disposes it on the altar; the pope puts the bread-offering of the clerics and his own next to it; the archdeacon then places the chalice beside the bread offering of the pope.<sup>52</sup> All this without a word being spoken. But such silence was intolerable to the Frankish liturgical concept. In the rite as we find it in the North about the year 1000, a rite developed upon the groundwork of the Roman arrangement as adapted in the Frankish realm, we see how fully this supposed deficiency was provided for. The greatest wealth is supplied in the so-called *Missa Illyrica*,<sup>53</sup> even if we take no account of the overgrowth of apologiæ which we here encounter both at the start of the offering and again in the course of it.<sup>54</sup>

stretched the long corporal over the altar from end to end. The deacon's ritual spreading of the corporal at the *Credo* must be viewed as a trace of that more ample ceremony of the early Middle Ages; see Lebbe, *The Mass: A Historical Commentary* (Westminster, 1949), 54-55.

<sup>52</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 12 (PL, LXXVIII, 943); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 PL, LXXVIII, 972 C). Whereas in the early centuries only the altar coverings made of precious stuffs—from which our antependium derives—remained on the altar outside divine service, by the 7th century it was customary to leave cloths made of linen on the altar continually. A trace of the more ancient practice is to be seen even today on Good Friday when the altar cloths are put on the altar only at the start of service. Among these was the *palla corporalis* (so called because it came into contact with the body of Christ), our present-day corporal; it was so folded that after the host-breads and the chalice were set on the altar it could be used as a covering over them. But since the later Middle Ages a special pall for the chalice was prepared. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 184-192; 205-212; Eisenhofer, I, 353-360. In some countries two corporals were—and are—employed, Ferreres, 126, n. 499 f. Even today the Carthusians still use only a corporal folded over the chalice; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20.

<sup>53</sup> Central Italian Mass books of the 12th century order the priest to say Ps. 67: 29 f. (*Confirma hoc . . . munera*) and to add: *In tuo conspectu Domine hæc munera nostra sit placita, ut nos tibi placere valeamus*. Per. Ebner, 333; cf. 337, 340; Fiala, 203. Another formula (*Per hoc sacrificium salutare*) in a Florentine missal of the 11th century; Ebner, 300.—The formula *In tuo conspectu* also in the Mass-ordo of the papal chapel about 1290; ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 201; and with the rubric: *Ad corporalia displicanda*, in Spanish Mass-books even of the 15th-16th centuries, Ferreres, 126.

<sup>54</sup> *Supra*, I, 71-72.—The practice of placing the chalice to the right, the host to the left continued into the later Middle Ages. However, according to the Mass rubrics of the Dominicans proposed by Humbert in 1256 the host was placed in front of the chalice, as is done now in the Roman Mass. See Wm. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (N.Y., 1944), 125 and note 5.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 79; 94.

<sup>56</sup> Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 508-512); the *apologia*, pp. 506 ff., 509 CD).—*Apologia* were also inserted at the hand-washing: *ibid.*, i, 4, V (I, 525 f.).—A prayer in the *apologia* style is already mentioned for this location by Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III (PL, CV, 1130 C), when he says that the priest, before receiving the gifts of the clergy,

Even at the presentation of the gifts during the offertory procession, each of the donors is to pronounce a little phrase, the recipient responding each time with a counter-phrase.<sup>57</sup> Then when the deacon accepts from the subdeacon the bread-oblation intended for the celebrating bishop, this act is to be accompanied by a blessing: *Acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo et omnibus sanctis eius sacrificium tuum*.<sup>58</sup> When he hands it to the bishop, the latter receives it with a similar blessing, and the deacon meanwhile in his turn pronounces a blessing, and with it offers up the gift to God.<sup>59</sup> Then the bishop himself offers up the gift to God, either with a similar blessing, which comprises approximately the first half of our present-day *Suscipe sancte Pater*,<sup>60</sup> or with some other suitable formula;<sup>61</sup> and then follows the long series of oblation prayers which were spoken of in a previous paragraph.

Similar is the procedure when this series of prayers is finished and the chalice is brought over to the celebrant.<sup>62</sup> As a rule this is a chalice already filled, at least with wine.<sup>63</sup> The deacon hands it to the celebrant with a

prays *pro suis propriis delictis remissionem, ut dignus sit accedere ad altare et ad tactum oblatarum*.<sup>57</sup> *Supra*, n. 18.

<sup>58</sup> Later also in amplified form. A Spanish missal of the 15th century appoints for the deacon *ad hostiam ponendam* the prayer: *Grata sit tibi hæc oblatio, quam tibi offerimus pro nostris delictis et Ecclesia tua sancta catholica*. After J. Serra di Vilario: *JL*, 10 (1930), 392.—Cf. Ferreres, p. LX, LXIX, LXXX, CV, CXI, 126, where, however, it is no longer appropriated to the deacon.

<sup>59</sup> *Suscipe, Domine, sancte Pater, hanc oblationem et hoc sacrificium laudis in honorem nominis tui, ut cum suavitate ascendat ad aures pietatis tuæ. Per. L. c.*, 508 D.

<sup>60</sup> The bread is therefore reckoned as the oblation of all through whose hands it passed: subdeacon, deacon, bishop. The formula with which the celebrant makes his offering to God is only a personal prayer, not a priestly one; this is plain from the fact that the formula is used, practically unchanged, for the lay people when they make their offering. Thus in a sacramentary from upper Italy, 12th century (Ebner, 306): *Tibi Domino creatori meo*; cf. *supra*, p. 18, note 99. The deacon, too, often uses this formula when he hands the priest the paten with the host; thus in an Italian pontifical of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 312; in the Sacramentary of Modena (before 1174): Muratori, I, 90.

<sup>61</sup> In the Italian pontifical just cited the priest is told to recite Ps. 19: 2-4; see Ebner, 312.

<sup>62</sup> As a rule, only one chalice was brought to the altar. But there were exceptions, as was to be expected in view of the Communion of the people *sub utraque specie*. Thus at Monte Cassino even in the 11th century there were seven chalices; Martène, I, 4, 6, 11 (I, 390). St. Boniface asked Rome concerning this, but received the answer that it was not seemly *duos vel tres calices in altario ponere*: Gregory II to Boniface (726) (MGH, Ep. Merow. et Karol. ævi, I, 276).—In the Eastern liturgies, too, several chalices on the altar are mentioned: *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 3 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 212, 1. 21); Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 62, 1. 17; 28); East Syrian liturgy (*ibid.*, 295, 1. 18; Greek liturgy of St. Mark (*ibid.*, 124, 1. 8; 134, 1. 10). Cf. Andrieu, *Immixtio et consecratio*, 240-243.

<sup>63</sup> It is the deacon who sees to the pouring of the wine; thus, e.g., in the Missal of Troyes (about 050): *Diaconus vergens libamen in calicem dicat: Acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo sacrificium istud*; Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 532 D). Elsewhere the deacon recites the same phrase when he sets the chalice upon the altar; central Italian Mass books of the 11-12th century in Ebner, 328, 337; Fiala, 204; Sacramentary of Besançon (11th c.): Leroquais, I, 139.

prayer composed of several combined psalm verses.<sup>64</sup> Thereupon the celebrant offers it up with the oblation prayer that is customary today, *Offerimus*,<sup>65</sup> or with some like formula. Still, even here there are early examples where the celebrant simply accepts the chalice with a psalm verse<sup>66</sup> or even—as a parallel to the host—with a blessing as a response.<sup>67</sup>

Later on, the procedure was compressed more tightly or more plainly coordinated. After the bread-oblation began to consist mostly of the thin host of the priest (a change which is matched by the change in the size of the paten—now small and flattened), it became more and more the custom for the deacon to bring over the entire offering as a unit:<sup>68</sup> the chalice with the wine, and lying upon it the paten with the host.<sup>69</sup> In this more recent, more developed rite, the deacon addresses the celebrant with the psalm verse (49:14): *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua*. The celebrant answers him with a different psalm verse (115:4 [13]): *Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo*.<sup>70</sup> However,

<sup>64</sup> *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota. Sit Dominus adiutor tuus, mundum te faciat, et dum oraveris ad eum exaudiat te* (Pss. 49: 14, 27: 7; 90: 15). Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511 A); *Mass-ordo* of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 249 A) and certain related Mass arrangements (among others Ebner, 301, 309; Fiala, 203).

<sup>65</sup> Missa Illyrica, *loc. cit.*

<sup>66</sup> With Ps. 115: 3 (12) f. (*Quid retribuam*), which is placed before the *Immola* of the previous note; both Sacramentaries of S. Thierry (9 and 10th c.): Martène, I, 4, IX f. (I, 545 D, 549 B); *Mass-ordo* of Gregorienmünster (11th c.), *ibid.*, XVI (I, 599 B).—With Ps. 115: 4 (13) (*Calicem salutaris*): *Mass-arrangement* of St. Peter's (beginning of 12th c.), Ebner, 333.

<sup>67</sup> *Mass-arrangement* of St. Peter's (previous note): *Acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo sacrificium istud*. Cf. *supra*, note 63.

<sup>68</sup> Otherwise in the Missal of St. Vincenton-Volturno, wherein (about 1100) the Communion of the whole convent is still presupposed; here the subdeacon carries the chalice in his left hand, and in his right *patenam cum oblati*; Fiala, 203, 216.—Since about the year 1000 the paten has been the small circular plate it now is, slightly depressed to fit the *cuppa* of the chalice; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 211. Regarding this gradual reduction of the size of the paten, see *infra*, p. 306 ff.

<sup>69</sup> Among the Cluniacs at a private Mass

this carrying of both chalice and paten (with host) was customary already in the 11th century. William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1015 D; cf. Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 724 B). Medieval allegory, taking up and expanding certain Greek suggestions, looked upon the chalice as a symbol of Christ's tomb, the paten as the stone. Upon it lay the host with the folded corporal—Christ's body and the burial cloths. A popular verse incorporating these ideas is found in Sicard, *Mitrale*, III, 9 (PL, CCXIII, 146). Here too we might mention the designation of the corporal as *sendon* (Ebner, 328; Fiala, 204).—In the Regensburg missal about 1500 (Beck, 267; cf. 266) the pall is described as the gravestone: *Accipe lapidem et pone super calicem*. Likewise in a Brixen missal printed in 1493, p. 130v: *Hic ponitur lapis super calicem*.—According to the *Mass-ordo* of Liège (16th c.), the priest should say, while covering the chalice: *In pace factus est locus eius . . . Smits van Waesberghe (Ous geestelijk Erf, 1941), 326. The same phrase in a similar connection in a Hungarian missal of the 14th century: Radó, 68. The same reference to the repose of the grave in the missal of Riga (15th c.): v. Bruiningk, 81. <sup>70</sup> *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 239); cf. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), 124; Legg, *Tracts*, 78. This is still done in the present-day Dominican rite, but*

other formulas were also in use.<sup>71</sup> Then the priest lifts chalice and paten just as they were handed to him and pronounces a brief oblation for both together. In the Dominican liturgy it is a version of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, short but enriched as to contents;<sup>72</sup> similarly for the most part in England,<sup>73</sup> often also in France, where the same oblation rite had a wide influence.<sup>74</sup>

now the priest's response begins with *Quid retribuam*: *Missale O.P.* (1889), 18, 27; the deacon's phrase is dropped at a simple Mass; *ibid.*, 18. Similarly in Tongern about 1413; de Coswarem, 126.—According to the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, the deacon's phrase is transferred to the priest, who continues with *Quid retribuam* (Volk, 92). Likewise in a Sacramentary of the 12th century from Camaldoli (Ebner, 296). Consistently, then, the priest says: *Immolo . . . et reddam*; thus in the Rhenish missal (13th c.) described by F. Rödel (*JL*, 1924, 84); cf. missal of Riga: v. Bruiningk, 81.—Without the deacon's phrase frequently in many later Mass arrangements: Martène, 1, 4, 6, 16 (I, 393, B.D.); *ibid.*, 1, 4, XVII; XXXIII (I, 600 E; 659 B); Legg, *Tracts*, 41; 59.—A Premonstratensian missal of 1539 has expanded the formula with reference to the paten: *Panem caelestem et calicem salutaris accipiam*; Waefelghem, 60, note 1.—According to the Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century (and likewise as late as 1514) the priest started the offertory with *In nomine Patris . . . Quid retribuam*; then the oblation prayers followed; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222; cf. *ibid.*, 227. Similarly in the Cistercian rite of the 15th century (Franz, 587) and in the rite of St. Pol-de Léon (Martène, 1, 4, XXXIV [I, 662 E]).

<sup>71</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992): *Cum sacerdos accipit oblationem, dicit: Acceptabile sit omnipotenti Deo sacrificium nostrum*. Likewise the Missal of Fécamp (about 1400): Martène, 1, 4, XXVII (I, 640 B); Augsberg missal of 1386 (Hoeynck, 373); cf. the Styrian missals: Köck, 119; 122; 125. Also in Riga: v. Bruiningk, 81.—According to a Pontifical of the 11-12th century in Naples (Ebner, 312), the priest responds to the *Immola* with the Roman penitential oration: *Præveniat*.—An early collection of short oblation formulas in

the Hungarian Sacramentary of Boldau (about 1195): Radó, 43 (pertinent here especially n. 8; 10, 13, 14).

<sup>72</sup> *Missale O.P.* (1889), 18 f.; *Suscipe sancte Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offero in memoriam passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et præsta ut in conspectu tuo tibi placens ascendat et meam et omnium fidelium salutem operetur æternam*. Likewise in the Dominican liturgy of the 13th century: Legg, *Tracts*, 78; Sölch, *Hugo*, 77 f. with note 152; this Dominican *Suscipe* is identical with that of the rite of Hereford; cf. Bonniwell (*supra*, note 70), 187. The Premonstratensians also followed a similar rite till 1622; Sölch, 78; Waefelghem, 63, note 1.—The shorter form of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* which we saw used for receiving the offerings of the faithful (*supra*, p. 54, note 59), is also employed for this single offering: Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 650 f.); cf. Ebner, 326.

<sup>73</sup> Sarum Ordinary (13th c.; Legg, *Tracts*, 220): *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam ego miser et indignus offero in honore tuo et beatæ Mariæ perpetuæ virginis et omnium sanctorum tuorum pro peccatis meis et pro salute vivorum et requie omnium fidelium defunctorum. Qui vivis*. Cf. Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667 A); Maskell, 82 f.; Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 98 f.—The Westminster missal (about 1380), ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 500, has a different formula: *Offerimus tibi, Domine, calicem et hostiam salutaris tuam clementiam deprecantes . . . ascendant. In nomine Patris*.

<sup>74</sup> *Ordinarium* of Coutances: Legg, *Tracts*, 59; cf. the *Alphabetum sacerdotum*, oft-printed in France (*ibid.*, 41).—The same rite, but with other oblation prayers, in missals of the 15-16th century in Tours and Limoges: Martène, 1, 4, 6, 16 (I, 393).—The Carthusians retain this single offering rite to this day, but employ as the prayer the words: *In spiritu humilitatis*;

But in other places the oblation rite was soon broken up further. At first, indeed, the paten and host were regularly laid on the chalice. Sometimes a blessing was pronounced over them.<sup>75</sup> Then, however, the priest took first the paten<sup>76</sup> and, with an accompanying prayer, offered up the host; only then did he offer up the chalice, unless this was still committed to the deacon to do.<sup>77</sup>

For such a double oblation there were already a number of precedents in the earlier stage of the offertory rite, when the chalice was still handed to the celebrant separately. In the *Missa Illyrica* there is even the beginning of the late Roman formula for the offering of the paten: *Suscipe sancte Pater*,<sup>78</sup> and the complete formula for the chalice: *Offerimus*,<sup>79</sup> both enchased by other texts.<sup>80</sup> Still, even this double accompaniment did not seem to have had the import of a real prayer, at least not that of a priestly oration.<sup>81</sup> Especially with the chalice a simple and brief blessing was frequently thought sufficient.<sup>82</sup> But little by little the details of the later

Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 632 D); Legg, *Tracts*, 100 f.; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20; cf. for the rite, *ibid.*, c. 29, 5-12.

<sup>75</sup> According to the Pontifical of Durandus, the priest who celebrates Mass in the presence of a bishop, should not only ask the bishop to bless the water, but afterwards should also hold out the chalice and the paten towards him, likewise for a blessing (see *infra*, note 127). Cf. the *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians (13th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 632 D).

<sup>76</sup> An intermediate form, e.g., in the *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: First an oblation of both elements together, then a short prayer over the paten (Legg, *Tracts*, 41); likewise the *Ordinarium* of Coutances (*ibid.*, 59). Similarly in the Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century (Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222 f.).

<sup>77</sup> The transition is plainly to be seen in a comparison of the older Sarum rite (13th c.; Legg, *Tracts*, 220 f.) with the later one (14th c.; *ibid.*, 4 f.; even at the start of the 14th century: Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 218, note 8): the separate oblation is found in the latter. However, the change was not effected everywhere in England.—On the other hand, it is found mostly in the later south German arrangements (Beck, 237 f., 307 f.; Hoeynck, 373; Köck, 119-125).—In Italy the double offering is the rule already in the 11th century; Ebner, 300 f., 306, 309, 328, etc.

<sup>78</sup> For the offering of the bread: *Suscipe, sancta Pater omnipotens æterne Deus, hanc*

*immaculatam hostiam, quam ego indignus famulus tuus tibi offero Deo meo vivo et vero, quia te pro æterna salute cunctæ Ecclesiæ tuæ suppliciter exoro. Per. Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 508 E).* The same short formula in corrupt form in a Mass-ordo from Lower Italy: Ebner, 346.

<sup>79</sup> The formula appears first as a "9th or 10th century" supplement to the St. Gall Sacramentary MS. 348 under the heading *Offertorium sacri calicis post oblationes oblatarum*. Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, p. 247; cf. XCIX. Here and in other early sources the words *pro nostra et totius mundi salute* are wanting; cf. Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 279.

<sup>80</sup> Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 508 E, 511 A); between the two formulas are found the offertory prayers beginning *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* mentioned above.

<sup>81</sup> This would explain why, for example, Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 58 (PL, CCXVII, 833 f.), does not make mention of them in his description of the offertory rite, even though the central Italian Mass-plans of the 11th and 12th centuries all present a full series of offertory prayers. They are mostly formulas which in other cases the deacon or even the laity recite; cf. examples *supra*, p. 54.

<sup>82</sup> Sackau missal about 1170 (Köck, 120): *Acceptabile sit . . .* Likewise certain English Mass plans: York, about 1425: Simmons, 100; cf. Sarum: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667 B); Maskell, 82.

Roman offertory plan, already present in essentials in the *Missa Illyrica*, became more evident, particularly in Italian Mass *ordines* from the eleventh and twelfth centuries on. The psalm verses that accompanied the handling of the chalice disappear. Alongside a short oblation passage which was often used alone,<sup>83</sup> the otherwise infrequent *Suscipe sancte Pater* (in its full form) now appears for the offering of the host.<sup>84</sup> After the admixture of the water there follows the offering of the chalice with the formula *Offerimus*.<sup>85</sup> But for a long time it was not a general rule that the celebrant raise paten and chalice above the altar,<sup>86</sup> although in some scattered in-

<sup>83</sup> It is the formula *Tibi, Domine, creatori meo hostiam offero pro remissione omnium peccatorum meorum et cunctorum fidelium tuorum*, which is also recited by the laity (*supra*, p. 18, note 99), or by the deacon or the subdeacon when handing over the chalice (Ebner, 298, 300, 312). Thus in Italy: Ebner, 337; cf. 296, 306, 340; also in southern Germany: Hoeyneck, 373; Beck, 266, 307; Köck, 119 to 123; Salzburg printed missals (Hain, 11420 f.).<sup>84</sup> Cf. Ebner, 13, 328, 340. The last citation would be the oldest instance (11th century, vicinity of Monte Cassino), but Ebner's annotation ("as now") is true only of the first half of the prayer, up to *vivo et vero*, as an examination of the MS (Rome, Bibl. Vallic. C 32) revealed. The prayer continues: *qua te pro te [!] eterna salute cuncte ecclesie tue suppliciter exoro*. Cf. *supra*, note 78. Otherwise the formula appears but infrequently in Italy till the Minorite missal. But 13th century commentaries on the Mass presuppose it: William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. by Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 327; Durandus, IV, 30, 17.—Eisenhofer, II, 141, reproduces an error when he states that the formula is already found in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald; cf. *supra*, note 22.—The opening phrases in a missal of the 10-11th century from Bobbio (Ebner, 81) reads: *Accipe, quæsumus Domine s. P. o. æ. D., hanc immaculatam hostiam, quam tibi suppliciter offero Deo vivo et vero . . .* Cf. note 78. Echoes (*quam ego indignus famulus tuus offero*) in Frankish sacramentaries of the 10th century. Leroquais, I, 69, 71, 76. The phrases of the second half of the prayer recur often in *apologia*, e.g., in an *oratio ante altare* of a 9th century sacramentary from S. Thierry (also in the sacramentary from

Monte Cassino just mentioned: Ebner, 339): *Deus qui de indignis dignos facis . . . concede propitius ut . . . hostias acceptabiles . . . offeram pietati tuæ pro peccatis et offensionibus meis et innumeris quotidianis excessibus . . . et omnibus circumstantibus . . . cunctisque simul fidelibus christianis . . .* Martène, I, 4, IX (I, 547 B).—To the closing words cf. the conclusion of a *Suscipe* formula in the Sacramentary of S. Denis (middle of the 11th c.): Martène, I, 4, V (I, 525 A): *. . . pro peccatis omnium christianorum tam vivorum quam defunctorum, ut vivis hic ad salutem et remissionem peccatorum et defunctus proficiat ad requiem sempiternam et vitam sempiternam*. The present formula must have originated in France in the early 11th century.

<sup>85</sup> In most Italian Mass-plans: Ebner, 301, 306, 322, etc. The form prevalent also in Southern Germany, where the *Suscipe sancte Pater* was unknown: Hoeyneck, 373; Beck, 238, 267, 307 f.; Köck, 120, 122, 124.—Whereas for the most part only slight variants are to be found, there is a noteworthy prolepsis in a Hamburg missal of the 11th century (Ebner, 200); *Offerimus tibi Domine sanguinem Filii tui deprecantes . . .*

<sup>86</sup> Until far in the 13th century Italian Mass-plans simply introduce the pertinent oblation prayer with the rubric: *Quando panem et vinum super altare ponit* (Ebner, 326); *Quando offert hostiam super altare*; *Quando ponitur calix super altare* (the papal chapel about 1290; *ibid.*, 347; cf. 296, 306, 322, 328, 337). Cf. Innocent III, *De s. altaris myst.*, II, 58 (PL, 217: 833).—Other Mass-arrangements state: *Cum oblatum accipit*, etc. (Ebner, 340; cf. 298, 300), but in one case a later hand inserted the explanation: *Tenens patenam in mani-*

stances this had been done even in very early times.<sup>87</sup> Add to these, besides, the invocation of the *sanctificator*, the two prayers, *In spiritu humilitatis* and *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, which were to be said bowed, and were thus somewhat independent.<sup>88</sup>

It is not entirely an accident that the formula for the paten retains the singular number which predominates in these medieval oblation texts, while the formula for the chalice, *Offerimus*, is couched in the plural. For the latter is found not only put in the mouth of the priest,<sup>89</sup> but instead in that of the deacon, who places the chalice on the altar and accompanies this with these words, which he would then be saying in the celebrant's name.<sup>90</sup> Soon, however, there is an insistence on the fact that the deacon keeps the chalice with wine, which he has carried to the altar, and offers it up, and then arranges it on the altar, but the conclusion is drawn precisely from the *Offerimus*, that in reality the priest is acting through the deacon and that the priest must therefore pronounce the *Offerimus*<sup>91</sup> or at least say it with the deacon.<sup>92</sup> This latter arrangement has in a sense persisted, with the deacon touching the chalice and supporting the priest's arm, and pronouncing the words with the priest,<sup>93</sup> but it is the priest, and not the deacon, who is now considered the chief offerer of the chalice. Thus, in the present-day solemn Mass, there is still a vestige of that older order in which the deacon was entrusted with the chalice,<sup>94</sup> that older relationship which is given utterance in the legend where St. Lawrence says to Pope Xystus: *Nunquam sacrificium sine ministro offerre consueveras . . . cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis dispensationem*.<sup>95</sup>

A change which was to be found quite early in the rite of the Roman curia, and was then confirmed by the reform of Pius V, consisted in this, that the preparation of the chalice, or in the first instance at least, the

*bus* (*ibid.*, 340, note regarding Cod. Vall. F 4), a direction which had already appeared in a Benedictine Mass-book of the 11-12th century (*ibid.*, 309) and similarly in one of the 11th century (*ibid.*, 340: Cod. Vall. C 32).

<sup>87</sup> *Supra*, p. 42, note 4.

<sup>88</sup> Among the earliest witnesses to the Roman offertory arrangement, including the *Orate fratres*, are a Minorite missal of the 13th century in Naples (Ebner, 314) and the Mass-ordo of the papal chapel about 1290 (*Ibid.*, 347 f.; ed. Brinktrine, *Eph. liturg.*, 1937, 201-203). Further references in P. Salmon, "Les prières et les rites de l'Offertoire de la messe dans la liturgie romaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Eph. liturg.*, 43 (1929) 508-519.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 79.

<sup>90</sup> Italian Mass-plans of the 11-12th century in Ebner, 309, 328; Fiala, 203 f.—By

way of exception the prayer is found in the singular, to be said by the priest alone: *Offero tibi*: Central Italian sacramentary of the 12th century (Ebner, 340); Zips missal of the 14th century (Radó, 71).

<sup>91</sup> *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1164 A).—Likewise a Pressburg Missal of the 15th c.: Jávör, 115.

<sup>92</sup> Durandus, IV, 30, 17. That Durandus also had in mind the ceremony of priest and deacon together holding up the chalice is excluded by the context.

<sup>93</sup> Rit. serv. VIII, 9.—For the first time in 1485 in the Roman pontifical of Patrizio Piccolomini; see de Puniet, *Das römische Pontificale*, I, 185.—The rite is modeled on that at the closing doxology of the canon; see *infra*, p. 267 ff.

<sup>94</sup> *Supra*, I, 71, 73.

<sup>95</sup> Ambrose, *De off.*, I, 41 (PL, XVI, 84 f.).

admixture of the water, was transferred to the altar and was thus incorporated into the oblation rite. According to the customs prevalent outside Italy this was all taken care of, as a rule, at some earlier moment, after the Epistle,<sup>95</sup> or already at the beginning of Mass,<sup>97</sup> even in Masses celebrated without levites.<sup>98</sup> But according to the rule that was henceforth followed, the subdeacon at a high Mass, after the *Oremus*, brings up the paten with the host, but along with it only an empty chalice or a chalice containing wine alone,<sup>99</sup> hands these to the deacon, and then, without special formality, pours (wine and) water into the chalice. The act of conveying the gifts to the altar—an act of some liturgical significance—thus suffers a certain impoverishment, even at a high Mass where, after the disappearance of the offertory procession, it might still have been continued.

The attempt had been made, time and again, to keep, at least at high Mass, the symbolism inherent in the impressive transfer of the gifts. Durandus still mentions the practice of having a subdeacon bring to the altar the paten and chalice along with the corporal, to be followed by two singers, one carrying the host in a little cloth, and a cruet of wine; the other, a cruet of water which the subdeacon uses for mingling with the wine.<sup>100</sup> The usage did not take root. Still, there is an expression of great reverence in the very way chalice and paten have been handled these many centuries. When the gifts were to be carried over to the altar, the cleric whose duty it was to see to this, following an ancient ordinance,

<sup>95</sup> *Supra*, I, 278, 441 f.—In the use of Sarum, which was common in England before the Reformation, the chalice was prepared between the epistle and the gospel; see J.W. Legg, *Ecclesiological Essays* (London, 1905), 171.

<sup>97</sup> Before putting on the vestments, e.g., in two Mass-plans from Normandy: Martène, I, 4, XXVI, XXXVI (I, 635 D, 671 D). Before the *Confiteor* in Cologne Mass-arrangements: Smits van Waesberghe, 299. At Paris, and in France generally, the host and chalice were readied at the altar before a low Mass; at a solemn Mass the deacon spread the corporal during the epistle, and the subdeacon prepared the chalice during the gradual and sequence; Legg, *op. cit.*, 106-146. There is a special study of the whole subject: "A Comparative Study of the Time in the Christian Liturgy at Which the Elements Are Prepared and Set on the Holy Table," *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1895, vol. III, p. 78; see Legg, *Tracts*, 239.—In many Mass-arrangements no mention at all is made of this prepara-

tion of the elements, perhaps because it was regarded as outside the bounds of the liturgy proper; thus, e.g., in the otherwise very detailed Mass-*ordo* of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, I, 4, V (I, 518 ff.); also in most English Mass-books.

<sup>98</sup> According to the Bavarian Benedictine, Bernhard von Waging (d. 1472), some priests poured wine and water into the chalice before Mass, others after the *Confiteor*, still others after the epistle; but he himself recommends doing it right before the offering. Franz, 575. The practice first mentioned is still customary in today's Dominican rite; as soon as the priest reaches the altar, ready for Mass, he uncovers the chalice, pours wine into it and, with a blessing, water, and covers it again. The offertory itself begins with the oblation lifting of chalice and paten. *Missale O.P.* (1889), 17 f.; cf. *supra*, note 72.

<sup>99</sup> So, e.g., in the *Ordo* of the Lateran basilica (about 1140): Fischer, 81, 1. 15; 82 f.

<sup>100</sup> Durandus, IV, 30, 25.—Cf. *Ordinarium* of Laon (about 1300): Martène, I, 4, XX

threw a veil around his shoulders, and touched the sacred vessels only through this medium.<sup>101</sup>

Another practice on the increase was one prescribing that the deacon, too, when handing the chalice and paten to the priest, do this *mediante mappula*.<sup>102</sup> Even in the most ancient Roman *ordines* when the deacon put the chalice in its place, and likewise when he lifted it aloft at the end of the canon, he used a special cloth for this, the *offertorium*;<sup>103</sup> and the paten, too, was held by the cleric entrusted with it, by means of a veil—called by such names as *sindo*, *linteum*—until he handed it back before the *fractio*.<sup>104</sup> This concealing of the paten was then transferred to the non-solemn Mass.<sup>105</sup>

(I, 608 B).—A faint attempt to render visible the transfer of both elements is found also in the *Liber ordinarius* of the capitular church of Essen (14th c.); here the subdeacon handed the deacon not only the cruets for the chalice but also a pyx with the host for the paten. Arens, 16. In the present-day Dominican rite for high Mass, too, the transfer of the gifts (made during the *Gloria*) is still made in a somewhat visible manner; H. L. Verwilt, *Die Dominikanische Messe* (Düsseldorf, (1948), 13; cf. 15.

<sup>101</sup> J. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente* (2nd ed., Freiburg, 1924), 230 f.—The chalice and the paten, too, as soon as they held the wine and the host, were covered with a cloth, out of which grew our present chalice veil; *ibid.*, 213-215. In the late medieval Cistercian rite the deacon removed the *offertorium* which was spread over the chalice, covered his hands with it, and so carried the paten with the host and the chalice with the wine to the altar; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 349.

<sup>102</sup> *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1163 C). In some Mass-arrangements we find *manipulus* instead of *mappula*: Martène, I, 4, XXIV, XXXVI (I, 628 C, 681 CD); cf. Durandus, IV, 30, 16.—This manner of handling chalice and paten, although so dignified and suitable, does not seem to have had much vogue. Burchard of Strassburg, in his Mass-*ordo*, directs the Mass-server to handle the cruet *manu dextera nuda*; Legg, *Tracts*, 150.—It is interesting to note that the manipule (which is likewise often called a *mappula*), when thus used, was actually reviving its original function.

<sup>103</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 15 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 944 f.); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 973 f.).—Cf. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, *præfatio altera* (PL, CV, 992 B).

<sup>104</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 17 (PL, LXXVIII, 945 B); *Ordo* of Johannes Archicantor (Silva-Tarouca, 206, 1. 23). This latter work, done by Frankish clerics in an effort to fit together Roman and Gallican customs, presupposes a ceremonial in which the paten serves to bring the bread-oblation to the altar, somewhat in the manner of the Gallic offertory procession. But in the tradition of the city of Rome, incorporated in *Ordo Rom.* I, the paten was not used till the fraction of the species, although it was brought forward already at the start of the canon.—Batiffol, *Legons*, 88, explains the veneration shown the paten by supposing that it bore a consecrated particle (the *sancta*) which was dropped into the chalice before the Communion. But this assumption is not really necessary.

<sup>105</sup> At present, rubrics demand that the paten be slipped part way under the corporal and covered with the purificator. We find this practice of shoving the paten under the corporal mentioned already by Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 10 (PL, CLI, 983 D), and explained, as above, as a vestige of the practice at solemn Mass. But then allegorizing takes over, and the practice is interpreted as representing the disciples of Christ hiding themselves at the beginning of His passion; Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 59 (PL, CCXVII, 834). The realization that not all were unfaithful then seems to have led to the practice of only partially concealing the paten,

There is also an early mention of the kissing of the hand when paten and chalice are handed to the celebrant.<sup>106</sup> The sign of the Cross over the altar, which the celebrant makes with both the paten and the chalice after the oblation is somewhat more recent,<sup>107</sup> but it had its forerunners even in early times.<sup>108</sup>

After the preparation of the chalice was thus transferred once more to the altar, texts to accompany this action also begin to come to our notice. It stood to reason, for instance, that in the Roman liturgy as accommodated to Frankish tradition, the admixture of water, whose symbolism had so early and so generally become the object of profound consideration, would not long remain without accompanying words. That type of oblation rite which we first encounter in various scattered points along the northern border of the Carolingian realm, and then in the eleventh century in the Italian sphere affected by the Cluniac movement,<sup>109</sup> presents a definite form for this, one which has been retained more or less in the Roman Mass of the present day. This form is as follows: the water is put into the chalice at the altar itself, either before<sup>110</sup> or even after the offering of the chalice;<sup>111</sup> and meanwhile is said the oration, *Deus qui*

a practice mentioned since the 13th century; Durandus, IV, 30, 29; Frere, *The Use of Sacrament*, I, 75. But even at the end of the Middle Ages the practice was not universal; according to the *Ordinarium* of Coutance (1557) the priest places the paten *sub corporalibus aut super altare*: Legg, *Tracts*, 59.

<sup>106</sup> Missal at Monte Cassino (11-12th c.): Ebner, 309.—*Ordo Eccl. Lateran.* (about 1140; Fischer, 82, 1. 33, 38), and here also when handling the water cruet.—*Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1163 D).—According to *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 18 (PL, LXXVIII, 945 B) the archdeacon kisses the paten when he receives it after the *Pater noster*.

<sup>107</sup> Mentioned for the paten by Durandus, IV, 30, 17; for the chalice in *Ordo ecclesiae Lateranensis*: Fischer, 83, 1. 2. As a rite performed by the deacon with the chalice, in Benedictine missals of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 309; Fiala, 203.—Where paten and chalice were offered together under one ceremony, the cross was made with both together; Missal of Evreux (about 1400): Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 644 B); cf. a Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century: Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222.

<sup>108</sup> According to Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 58 (PL, CCXVII, 833 f.), the priest makes a sign of the cross over the gifts previous to receiving the paten and the host, the water cruet and the chalice (and likewise the *thuribulum*).—There are isolated instances of a sign of the cross over the host-bread since the 4th century. Augustine, *In Joh. tract.*, 118, 5 (PL, XXXV, 1950); *Canones Basilii*, c. 99 (Riedel, 276).—In St. Ephraem's locality the Marcionites marked a cross with red wine over the eucharistic bread: Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 30 ff.—This signing with the cross was not customary in the older Roman liturgy; nevertheless *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 14 (PL, LXXVIII, 944 B), says of the deacon who is to pour the wine into the chalice: *in-fundit faciens crucem in calice*—he forms a cross as he pours. Cf. *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVII, 973 B).

<sup>109</sup> *Supra*, p. 47, note 26 ff.; p. 53 ff.

<sup>110</sup> Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 510 f.); central Italian Mass-books since the eleventh century: Ebner 300, 347.

<sup>111</sup> Mass-plan of Séz: (PL, LXXVIII, 249 B); Benedictine Mass-ordo of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 309.

*humanæ substantiæ*,<sup>112</sup> an ancient Roman Christmas oration<sup>113</sup> amplified by a reference *per huius aquæ et vini mysterium* and by the solemn invocation of Christ's name before the concluding formula.

Thus the Christmas thought, which hardly ever came under discussion in this connection in the literature of the foregoing centuries, the thought of man's participation in the divinity through the Incarnation of the Son of God,<sup>114</sup> suddenly comes into prominence. It is a concept which presupposes and, to some extent, comprises both the oriental interpretation of the admixture rite, the human and divine natures of Christ, and the western interpretation, our own union with Christ.<sup>115</sup>

Much oftener, however, we come across a very different formula, even in Italian Mass *ordines*. This formula derives from the symbolism of the water-and-blood,<sup>116</sup> and outside of Italy it appears, along with the mixing rite connected with it, not in the offertory itself (though there are exceptions,<sup>117</sup> but rather right after the Epistle,<sup>118</sup> or even at the start of Mass, where it is said by the deacon.<sup>119</sup> The reference to the blood and water from

<sup>112</sup> In some of the cases mentioned above (note 110, 111), a second formula is introduced.—Noteworthy is the way the commingling formula is accentuated by means of preliminary versicles (*Ostende, Domine exaudi, . . .*), as in Hungarian Mass-books: Radó, 24, 43, 76, 123.

<sup>113</sup> Leonianum (Muratori, I, 467); Gelasianum (Wilson, 5); Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 9, 6).

<sup>114</sup> F. Holböck, *Der eucharistische und der mystische Leib Christi*, 203, traces the concept of this oration among early scholastic writers only in Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 158 (PL, CLXXII, 593 B).

<sup>115</sup> See *supra*, p. 39.

<sup>116</sup> Central Italian Mass-books since the 11th century (Ebner, 298, 300, et al.): *Ex latere Christi sanguis et aqua exisse perhibetur et ideo pariter commiscemus, ut misericors Deus utrumque ad medelam animarum nostrarum sanctificare dignetur. Per.* Also in the Sacramentary of S. Gatien in Tours (9th c.): Martène, 1, 4, VII (I, 535 D). With the variant, *ut tu pius et misericors utrumque sanctificare et benedicere digneris*, about 1290 in the papal chapel: Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 202. Similarly since the 14th century in Hungary *ut Dominus utrumque dignetur benedicere* (Jávor, 114, Radó, 24, 96, 118, 123 et al.): *ut Dominus utrumque dignetur benedicere et in odorem suavitatis accipere*. Still another

modification in the Sacramentary of Boldau about 1195; Radó, 43.—Besides this formula there are also others which, however, regularly have the starting phrases in common with it: *De latere D. n. J. C. exiit sanguis et aqua pariter in remissionem peccatorum*. Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 635 D). Or the same with the extension: *sanguis ut redimeret, aqua ut emundaret; ibid.*, XXXVI (I, 671 D). Or else a simple quotation from John 19: 34 b-35 a; *ibid.*, (I, 677 D). Or the same with several amplifications: Ebner, 326, and similarly, but with the opening *In nomine D. n. J. C.* (Lyons, 11th c.): Leroquais, I, 126. Further developed as a petition for a worthy celebration (*et aqua quem pretiosissimum liquorem . . . influi peto in cor meum . . .*) in use in Holland in the 15th century; s. P. Schlager, "Über die Messerkklärung des Franziskaners Wilhelm von Gouda," *Franziskan. Studien*, 6 (1919), 328. Note that only a few typical examples of the numerous variations are reported here.

<sup>117</sup> Thus, in the Mass-plan of the Carthusians, where it follows the handing-over of chalice and paten: Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 632 D); Legg, *Tracts*, 100; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20.

<sup>118</sup> See *supra*, I, 441.

<sup>119</sup> See the Mass-plans from Normandy and Cologne cited in note 97 above.

the side of Christ must have been very much a favorite; it did, of course, come within the compass of the ordinary allegorism which explained the Mass in terms of Christ's Passion. The notion was kept alive also by a widely-used oblation formula which was spoken over the chalice instead of one of the other formulas mentioned earlier;<sup>120</sup> but more especially by the regulation that the chalice was to stand on the altar to the right of the host *quasi sanguinem Domini suscepturus*,<sup>121</sup> an interpretation which is indeed more recent than the custom upon which it is founded,<sup>122</sup> but which recurs, along with the regulation itself, in nearly all the commentaries on the Mass of the later Middle Ages,<sup>123</sup> and was not generally discarded, until the basis for it was removed by the Missal of Pius V.

If the symbolism of the water was thus to be emphasized, at the same time the water was also to be blessed. This is done at the present time by a sign of the Cross which is coupled with the words *per huius aquæ et vini mysterium*, and which is omitted at a Requiem Mass because all formal blessings therein are bestowed only on the dead. In the oldest Roman *ordines*, as we have already seen, the act of pouring the water into the chalice was done in the form of a cross.<sup>124</sup> In medieval missals this blessing was not infrequently accented even more forcefully. Perhaps it was as much for the sake of this blessing as for a greater emphasis on the symbolism that the addition of the water was reserved to the priest;<sup>125</sup> at any

<sup>120</sup> See note 46.

<sup>121</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 10 (PL, CLI, 983 D).

<sup>122</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 15 (PL, LXXVII, 944 C): the chalice stands *iuxta oblatam pontificis a dextris*.

<sup>123</sup> Durandus, IV, 30, 22 f., makes mention of both arrangements; likewise Radulph de Rivo, *De canonum observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, I, 143). According to the latter the arrangement followed at present was then observed by the *Gallicani*. Actually even Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, præfatio altera (PL, CV, 992 B), notes as a diverging Roman custom: *Calix in latere oblatae in altari componitur, non post tergum*. The Gallican practice was adopted by several religious orders (see note 24 *supra*) and in 1485 also by Rome; Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 278.—According to the *Directorium div. off.* of Ciconiolanus (1539) the priest was to place the chalice *ad sinistram hostiæ*; Legg, *Tracts*, 207.

<sup>124</sup> *Supra*, note 108.

<sup>125</sup> The practice of the celebrant himself adding the water is found, among others, in Bonizo of Sutri (d. about 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels [Berlin,

1930], 59); in the *Ordo ecclesie Lateranensis* (middle 12th c.), ed. Fischer, 82 f.; Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 58 (PL, CCXVII, 833); Durandus, IV, 30, 18; *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1163 f.). As an argument to justify the usage Innocent III remarks that Christ had shed His own blood for the nations (represented by the water).—A Graz missal from the 15th century expressly declares that the deacon may, indeed, put the wine into the chalice, but not the water; this only the *sacerdos celebrans* is permitted to pour in; Köck, 126 (here also the rubric which also appears elsewhere in isolated instances: *prius effundi debet parum super terram ex ampullis de vino et aqua*). This marked underscoring of the priestly privilege is obviously done in view of an opposite practice, still in use. According to the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 100) it was the Mass-server's duty, even at a low Mass, to put wine and water into the chalice, provided only that he be *in sacris*. According to a Mass-plan of English Carthusians about 1500 (Legg, *Tracts*, 100) it was enough if he was a cleric. This is

rate the mixing of the water had to take place at the altar, with the result that the pouring of the wine was likewise transferred to the altar.<sup>126</sup>

For the blessing itself various formulas were handed down. According to the Pontifical of Durandus, the bishop spoke as follows when he blessed the water at the Mass of his chaplain: *Ab illo benedicatur, cuius spiritus super eam ante mundi exordium ferebatur*.<sup>127</sup> According to English Mass books, the celebrant said the following over the water: *Ab eo sit benedicta de cuius latere exivit sanguis et aqua. In nomine Patris. . .*<sup>128</sup> Elsewhere the priest used words analogous to those used at the commingling of the species before Communion: *Fiat commixtio et consecratio vini et aquæ in nomine D. n. J. C., de cuius latere exivit sanguis et aqua*,<sup>129</sup> or: *Fiat commixtio vini et aquæ pariter in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*,<sup>130</sup> or simply—apparently the original way—*In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.<sup>131</sup> Most often such a blessing, coupled with the sign of the Cross, was appended to the formula which was designed to explain the commixture, or it was even combined with it into a single formula.<sup>132</sup>

The later Middle Ages were a thriving era for blessings. All the products of nature and all the objects of human use were recipients of the Church's benedictions. No wonder, then, that a blessing was bestowed here at the oblation not only on the water, but also on all the other gifts which were destined for so exalted a purpose. Thus we come to a final layer of texts that were built up in the medieval oblation rite, a series of benediction formulas of which one, the *Veni sanctificator*, has secured a permanent place in the Roman Missal. Since for the most part these blessings take the form of an invocation, calling down God's blessing, the power

matched by the present-day arrangement of having the subdeacon at high Mass see to the pouring of the water.

<sup>126</sup> Only by way of exception was a special formula composed to accompany the pouring of the water. In Spanish Mass-books of the 15th century there is the excerpt from the Psalm (74: 8 f.), *Hunc humiliat . . .*, but it does not appear very apropos. Ferreres, 127 f. (n. 503, 506).

<sup>127</sup> Martène, I, 4, XXIII (I, 619 D); Andrieu, III, 645. Still another blessing follows, according to the Pontifical cited; the priest lays the paten with the host on the chalice and turns once again to the bishop with a *Benedicite*; the latter says: *Benedictionis et consecrationis angelus virtute sanctæ Trinitatis descendat super hoc munus*.

<sup>128</sup> Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 71; cf. Ferreres, 132f. Likewise in the Cologne rite of the 14th century: Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222.

<sup>129</sup> A 13th century missal from Schlägl (in the diocese of Linz, Austria): Waefelghem, 59, note 3. Likewise in a 14th century missal from Zips (in Slovakia) and in a Breslau missal of 1476: Radó, 71; 163.

<sup>130</sup> A Seckau missal about 1330 (Köck, 121); the Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century (Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222); Statutes of Tongern, 1413 (de Corswarem, 125 f.); Hungarian missals of the 15th century (Jávor, 114; Sawicki, 148).—Likewise the Augsburg Mass-plan of the close of the 15th century (Franz, 752); the Regensburg missal about 1500 (Beck, 265); a Mass-*ordo* of the 14-15th century from Toul (Martène, I, 4, XXXI [I, 650 E]); a Mass-*ordo* from Rouen (*ibid.*, XXXVII [I, 677 D]).

<sup>131</sup> Missal of the 12th century from St. Peter: Ebner, 333; missal of 1417 from Valencia: Ferreres, 127 (n. 503; cf. n. 505).

<sup>132</sup> E.g., missal from Toul (note 130

of the divine Spirit, or simply the Holy Ghost, we can also talk of epikletic formulas.<sup>133</sup>

The simplest form<sup>134</sup> is the one mentioned in a previous paragraph: the name of the triune God is mentioned at the preparatory action. In the Carthusian rite the priest sets the chalice (with the paten resting upon it) on the altar with the words: *In nomine Patris . . . Amen*.<sup>135</sup> Or the same trinitarian formula stands at the start of the whole oblation rite,<sup>136</sup> or is correlated to the various parts of the action;<sup>137</sup> or, above all, it is tied in with other epikletic formulas,<sup>138</sup> where, however, as an introductory it is

*supra*); cf. also the petition for a blessing at the end of the formula *Ex latere: supra*, note 116. Multiple blessings by way of sign of the cross were customary among the ancient Irish monks; cf. Andrieu, *Les ordines*, III, 21; 212 f.; 218 f.

<sup>133</sup> However, it would be misleading to talk here precisely of the epiklesis, as Gehr, 569 ff., does, for the formularies are not within the canon, and the blessing is only preparatory in character.

<sup>134</sup> Insofar as there is question of a text and not of a simple unaccompanied crossing, as was the case about 1100 in the missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 203).

<sup>135</sup> So according to the *Statuta antiqua* (13th c.): Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 632 D); cf. Legg, *Tracts*, 101; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20. So also Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 78; Maskell, 98. In these cases the words follow *In spiritu humilitatis* and thus correspond exactly to the Roman *Veni sanctificator*.—A similarly independent *In nomine Patris* between *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* and *Orate* in the Lyons monastic missal of 1531: Martène, I, 4, XXXIII (I, 659 D).—In the Mozarabic Mass the priest recites the same trinitarian formula when putting down the paten and the chalice (PL, LXXXV, 536 B C); the recitation of the formula is labeled a *sanctificare* (*ibid.*).

<sup>136</sup> Breviary of Rouen: Martène, I, 4, XXXVIII (I, 678 A); Cistercian rite of the 15th century: Franz, 587; Netherlands Mass-plans of the 15-16th century: Smits van Waesberghe (*Ons geestelijk Erf*, 1941), 325, 327.

<sup>137</sup> In the *Alphabetum sacerdotum* the oblation prayer with which the chalice is raised aloft closes with *in nomine Patris*,

and also the formula with which the host is laid on the altar. Legg, *Tracts*, 41.—In the Cologne missal of 1498 the trinitarian formula is found also at the beginning, before the *Quid retribuam*; Smits van Waesberghe, 327; the development was not so far advanced yet in the 14th century. *Ordo celebrandi*; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 223.—Likewise in the Mass-ordo of S. Pol-de-Léon: Martène, I, 4, XXXIV (I, 662 f.), where the trinitarian formula also follows the *Veni sanctificator*—therefore it appears four times in all. It also appears four times in the *Ordinarium* of Coutance of 1559: Legg, *Tracts*, 59 ff.—It is also found in four places in the offertory according to the Mass-arrangement at Augsburg in the 15th century, if the blessing of the wine is included: *Benedictio Dei Patris . . . descendat super hanc creaturam* (Franz, 752); in the Augsburg missal of 1386 (Hoeynck, 373) this formula is still absolutely wanting. In a Salzburg missal of the 15th century the trinitarian blessing is found three times during the preliminary arrangement and preparation of chalice and host, and four times during the offertory; Radó, 141.—Cf. also the *In nomine Patris* at the start of the incensation in the Roman oblation-plan of the 13-14th century, in Salmon (*Eph. liturg.*, 1929), 512 f.

<sup>138</sup> In particular the formula *Sit signatum* (or *Sit benedictum*; see below, note 144) often begins with *In nomine Patris*. Thus already in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511 C), and in a Central Italian sacramentary of the 11th century: Ebner, 298; cf. 327.—Similarly in the Liège missal of the 16th century: Smits van Waesberghe, 325; cf. *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 92.—The *Veni sanctificator* sometimes concludes with *in nomine Patris*;

often replaced—especially in earlier times—by the formula *In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi*.<sup>139</sup> After the year 1000 a double formula frequently appears, a double petition for a blessing connected with the action of depositing the bread-oblation and the chalice: *Sanctifica, Domine, hanc oblationem, ut nobis unigeniti Filii tui D. n. J. C. corpus fiat. Qui tecum . . .*, and in relation to the chalice: *Oblatum tibi, Domine, calicem sanctifica, ut nobis Unigeniti tui D. n. J. C. sanguis fiat. Qui tecum . . .*<sup>140</sup> In South-German Mass *ordines* they often appear in a form where the second formula is fashioned more closely on the first: *Sanctifica quæsumus Domine hunc calicem, ut nobis Unigeniti tui sanguis fiat*.<sup>141</sup>

As a sort of condensation of this double formula there follows in many cases a further formula which often occurs by itself; it begs that the double earthly offering might be exalted into the single holy one: *In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit sacrificium istud immaculatum et a te Deo vivo et vero adunatum et benedictum*. Like the formulas already mentioned, this, too, appears first along the northern rim of the former Carolingian domain,<sup>142</sup> then later chiefly in Italy,<sup>143</sup> where still another

see English and North-French Mass-plans in Legg, *Tracts*, 5, 42, 60 f., 221.

<sup>139</sup> Mass-ordo of Séz (PL, LXXVII, 248 B); Central Italian Mass-arrangements since the 11th century: Ebner, 296, 301, 310, 313, 333. The *Ordinarium* of Toul (14-15th c.) combines both formulas: *in nomine Jesu Christi fiat hoc sacrificium a te Deo vivo et vero coadunatum et benedictum in nomine P. et F. et Sp. S.*: Martène, I, 4, XXXI (I, 651 A).

<sup>140</sup> Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 510 f.). The second formula, *Oblatum . . . fiat*, is found as a supplement of the 9th or 10th century in the Frankish Sacramentarium Gelesianum, ed., Mohlberg, p. 244, where it follows immediately after the *Offerimus* (see *supra*, note 79).—In Central Italian Mass-plans since the 11th century, these formulas, in the versions given, appear only in isolated cases: Ebner, 301; cf. 296; in other instances they are found modified (*ibid.*, 326 f.), or combined into one formula (*ibid.*, 298). Mostly they have disappeared.—In German Mass-plans the two formulas appear more frequently: Mainz (about 1170): Martène, I, 4, XVII (I, 600 f.); Gregorienmünster (14-15th c.): *ibid.*, XXXII (I, 656); Augsburg Missal of 1386: Hoeynck, 373; Augsburg Mass-plan of the end of the 15th century Franz, 752; Salzburg incunabula of

1492 and 1498: Hain, 11420 f. Cf. the statement of Bernhard of Waging (d. 1472), in Franz, 575.

<sup>141</sup> Sacramentary presumably from Regensburg (11th c.): Ebner 7.—Beck, 237 f., 266 f., 307; Köck, 120 f., 125; Radó, 141.—But thus also in the Sacramentary of Modena: Muratori, I, 91, and in a Sacramentary of the 12th century from Camaldoli: Ebner, 296; likewise a Sacramentary from Fonte Avellana (before 1325): PL, CLI, 887.—A different paralleling of the two formulas in the *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 168: *Suscipe, clementissime Pater, hunc panem sanctum, ut fiat Unigeniti tui corpus, in nomine Patris . . . Suscipe, clementissime Pater, hunc calicem, vinum aqua mixtum, ut fiat Unigeniti tui sanguis in nomine Patris . . .* It is not till the added prayers that the special intentions are expressed.

<sup>142</sup> Mass-ordo of Séz: PL, LXXVIII, 249 B); in France only here and there: Martène, I, 4, XXXI f. (I, 651 A, 656 C). Nor is it frequent in German countries: Mass-ordo of Gregorienmünster: Martène, I, 4, XVI (I, 599 C); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, about 1285: Volk, 92; Liège missals of 1486 and 1499: Smits van Waesberghe, 325; Styrian Mass-books: Köck, 121, 124.

<sup>143</sup> Ebner, 20, 296, 298, 301, 310, 313, 333.

parallel formula is found as an alternative.<sup>144</sup> Even here, however, neither of the formulas held their ground, but on the contrary were supplanted by a third, which had put in an appearance early in the ninth century in the Irish Stowe Missal<sup>145</sup> and which is still found in the present day *Missale Romanum*, namely, the prayer *Veni sanctificator*, which was but sparsely spread in Italy before the appearance of the *Missale Romanæ Curie*.<sup>146</sup> Whereas in Italian Mass *ordines* it usually stands in the same spot it occupies at present and amid similar surroundings,<sup>147</sup> in German *ordines* it regularly followed the two *Sanctifica* formulas as a sort of recapitulation,<sup>148</sup> thus accentuating its significance as a blessing.<sup>149</sup> But it was also used in these ways. In some few Mass *ordines* the *Veni Sanctificator* introduces the offertory.<sup>150</sup> According to an *ordo* which circulated widely on both sides of the English Channel, it concluded the entire rite, coming

<sup>144</sup> Again it is the formula which makes its initial appearance in the Missa Illyrica [*In nomine P. et F. et Sp. S.*] *sit signatum, ordinatum, sanctificatum et benedictum hoc sacrificium novum*; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511 C). For Italy (11-12th c.) cf. Ebner, 14, 328. In two Central Italian Mass-books of the 11th century (Ebner, 301; cf. 298) the formula is doubled: *benedictum hoc corpus*, for the host; *benedictum hoc sanctum sacrificium*, for the chalice; whereupon there follows *In nomine D. n. J. C. sit sacrificium istud*, to merge the two.—From this arose, in later Italian Mass-plans (12-13th c.); Ebner, 327, 341), another combination formula: [*In nomine Patris . . .*] *sit signatum et benedictum et consecratum hoc corpus et hoc sacrificium*. By *sacrificium*, therefore, the chalice was meant.—In the Freising missal of 1520 this formula is spoken only over the chalice (*Sanctificatum sit hoc libamen*): Beck, 308, 1. 3; cf. the Salzburg missal of 1200; Köck, 123.—Further modifications of the formula: Mass-*ordo* of York about 1425: Simmons, 100; missal of Liège, 16th century, where it forms the opening of the offertory: Smits van Waesberghe, 325.

<sup>145</sup> Warner (HBS, 32), 7: At the unveiling of the chalice (before the gospel) the invocation *Veni, Domine, sanctificator omnipotens, et benedic hoc sacrificium præparatum tibi. Amen.* is recited three times. In the sacramentary of S. Thierry, end of the 10th century: Martène, I, 4, X (I, 548 E), the prayer *Veni, sanctificator, omnipotens aterne Deus, benedic hoc sac-*

*rificium præparatum tibi* is said after the first of the oblation prayers. In the Missa Illyrica, about 1030: *ibid.*, IV (I, 511), after the incensing . . . *hoc sacrificium tibi præparatum. Qui vivis.*

<sup>146</sup> Ebner, 306, 327, 333, 340, 348.—Sometimes a much expanded version is found, *Veni, sanctificator omnium, Sancte Spiritus, et sanctifica hoc præsens sacrificium ab indignis manibus præparatum et descende in hanc hostiam invisibiliter, sicut in patrum hostias visibiliter descendisti*. Missal at Monte Cassino of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 310; cf. *ibid.*, 328. Missal of St. Vincent-on-Volturno: Fiala, 205. Likewise in a Minorite missal: Ebner, 314; also in the missal of the chapter church of St. Lambrecht, 1336: Köck, 121.—The second half of the prayer goes back to a prayer for the incensation of the gifts in the Missa Illyrica (Martène, 511 D), where the connection with the epiklesis of the canon is patent: *Memores . . . petimus . . . ut ascendant preces . . . et descendat . . .* Obviously some Gallican schema is here belatedly at work; cf. *Missale Gothicum*: Muratori, II, 654; cf. *ibid.*, 548, 699 f., 705; Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 93 ff.

<sup>147</sup> Akin, too, is the position it occupies in most of the Netherlands Mass-plans: Smits van Waesberghe, 326 f.; cf. 301.

<sup>148</sup> The sources as above, note 141. Likewise in the German Mass-plans enumerated in note 140.

<sup>149</sup> The 13th century missal of Schlägl (Waefelghem, 61, note 0) entitles the formula: *Benedictio panis et calicis.*

<sup>150</sup> *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 92);

in just before the *Orate fratres*.<sup>151</sup> On the other hand, other formulations of the invocation of heaven's power and grace seldom proved even relatively permanent.<sup>152</sup>

In the territory just indicated, another phenomenon should be recorded because it throws some light on the frame of mind in which this epikletic formula was spoken. Towards the end of the Middle Ages both in Normandy and England—and elsewhere, too—we encounter not only one of the invocation formulas mentioned above, but also the hymn *Veni Creator*.<sup>153</sup> The wording of the formula *Veni sanctificator* does not neces-

also in the Liège missals of 1486 and 1499: Smits van Waesberghe, 325; Missal of Upsala (1513): Yelverton, 14; Missal of Fécamp (14-15th c.): Martène, I, 4, XXVII (I, 640 B).—In the *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 993), it is the only prayer mentioned for the offertory.

<sup>151</sup> Sacramentary of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, I, 4, V (I, 526 D); *Ordinarium* of Toul: *ibid.*, XXXI (I, 651); 13th century *Ordinarium* of Sarum: Legg, *Tracts*, 221; cf. *ibid.*, 5, 42, 60 f.; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219.—In the York Mass-plan (Simmons, 100) exactly the same position is occupied by the formula *Sit signatum*, which is therefore regarded as equipollent. Cf. the missal of 1336 of St. Lambrecht, where the *Veni sanctificator* is declared as interchangeable with [*In nomine Patris . . .*] *sit hoc sacrificium* (cf. *supra*, p. 67); Köck, 121.

<sup>152</sup> A formula, *Descendat [hic sanctus] angelus benedictionis et consecrationis super hoc munus*, appears since the 11th century in the French oblation arrangements: Sacramentary of Limoges: Leroquais, I, 155; cf. *ibid.*, 211; Sacramentary of Moissac: Martène, I, 4, VIII (I, 539 C); *ibid.* also an expanded *Descendat formula*. A three-member *Descendat formula*, which serves as an epiklesis in the *Missale Gothicum vetus* of the 7th century (Muratori, II, 699 f.; cf. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 94 f.), appears in this location since the 11th century: Leroquais, I, 164; II, 25; III, 126.—Cf. the formula for blessing in the *Pontificale* of Durandus, *supra*, note 127; the continuation of the *Veni sanctificator*, *supra*, note 146; the formulas in Martène, I, 4, 6, 3 (I, 395 D). An 11th century sacramentary of Monza (Ebner,

106) says more simply: *Benedictio Dei P. et F. et Sp. S. descendat super hanc nostram oblationem*. Three *Descendat (descende)* formulas are contained in the oblation rite of the Sacramentary of Boldau; Radó, 43.—In Spanish missals an oration for the consecration of an altar, from the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 196), beginning with the word *Descendat*, is placed after the answer to *Orate fratres*, being recited, according to varying forms, either before or after the other *secreta* prayers. Ferreres, 132 f.—In Spain there often appears, instead of *Veni sanctificator*, the formula: *Dextera Dei Patris omnipotentis benedicat hæc dona sua*. Ferreres, 129 (n. 513); Ebner, 342.—In the same position the Milanese Mass presents the formula: *Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris . . . descendat super hanc nostram oblationem . . .*; *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 169. The Augsburg Mass-plan at the end of the 15th century starts the offertory with the invocation of God's blessing upon the wine: *Benedictio Dei Patris . . . descendat super hanc creaturam vini*. Further on, there are two *Veni* formulas. Franz, 752 f.—A missal of the 12th century from Tortosa has a continuation of the *Suscipe sancte Pater* after the first phrase, as follows: . . . *offero, et mittere digneris sanctum angelum tuum de cælis, qui sanctificet corpus et sanguinem istud*; Ferreres, 129 (n. 512).—The Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century has one *Benedicat* formula each for the bread, the wine and the water; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222.

<sup>153</sup> For England: *Ordinarium* of Sarum, 14th century (Legg, *Tracts*, 5; not found, however, in MSS. of the 13th or start of the 14th century: Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219); Mass-*ordo* of York, about 1425 (Simmons, 100).—Mass-arrangements of

sarily force us to refer the invocation to the Holy Spirit,<sup>154</sup> and thus to include in the series of offertory prayers and of the Mass prayers in general a form of address alien to them. Still, in view of the fact just noticed, there can hardly be any doubt that the invocation was often so understood in the Middle Ages. In fact, in some instances the address to the Holy Ghost is explicitly included in the *Veni sanctificator*.<sup>155</sup> Notice, finally, that the various texts that accompany the oblation ritual—exclusive of the oblation prayers themselves—do not pretend to have the character or the import of orations and are therefore couched in the freer forms of simple invocations and blessings.

## 5. The Incensation

After the gifts have been deposited on the altar, there follows at high Mass<sup>1</sup> yet another ceremony, the incensation. Today, and already in the *Missale Romanæ Curie*, it has been so thoroughly incorporated into the course of the offertory, that, besides the washing of hands, there is still another oblation act to follow, whereas in other places, and according to the original plan, it formed the conclusion, coming immediately before the

Normandy: Legg, *Tracts*, 59 f.; Martène, 1, 4, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXVI, f. (I, 637 E, note b; 644 C; 673 B; 677 E). For sources elsewhere cf. Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 288, note a.—The hymn is inserted generally after the gifts are laid on the altar. Then is added *In spiritu humilitatis* (cf. *supra*, p. 51 f.) and the further epikletic formulas, mostly *Veni sanctificator*.—In a similar role the antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus, reple* appears here and there in the 15-16th century; *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 42; Liège missal of the 16th century: Smits van Waesberghe, 326; a Breslau missal of the year 1476: Radó, 163; the Lyons monastic missal of the year 1531: Martène, 1, 4, XXIII (I, 659 C); cf. the missal of S. Pol de Léon: *ibid.*, XXXIV (I, 663 B), where *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison, Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* precede the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.—In the Westminster missal (about 1380), ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 500 f., *Veni Creator* is followed by the antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus, reple* with the versicle and the oration, *Deus cui omne cor patet*.—Similar invocations are found in the same area at the beginning of Mass; see *supra*, I, 274, 280, 296 f., in the notes.  
<sup>154</sup> Batiffol, *Leçons*, 27 f., rightly stresses this point.—In some few instances an ad-

dress to the Holy Spirit is even excluded by the wording of the text; thus, in two Norman texts we find: *Omnipotens Pater, benedic . . . hoc sacrificium*; Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI (I, 673 C); *Domine Deus omnipotens, benedic et sanctifica*; Martène, XXXVI (I, 637 f.).

<sup>155</sup> Two Italian missals of the 11-12th century (Ebner, 310; 328; cf. *supra*, note 146): *Veni sanctificator omnium, Sancte Spiritus*. Another from St. Peter (*ibid.*, 333) has: *Veni Spiritus sanctificator omnium*.—A Sarum ordinalium of the 13th century (Legg, *Tracts*, 221) has: *Veni Sancte Spiritus, benedic . . .*—The Mozarabic *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 113 A) also has: *Veni, Sancte Spiritus sanctificator*. The Augsburg missal of 1386 contains an obvious borrowing from the beginning of the hymn: *Veni creator et sanctificator*; Hoeynck, 373; cf. the somewhat varied formula in the Augsburg arrangement of the end of the 15th century: Franz, 752 f.—According to the commentary of Balthasar of Pforta, which appeared in 1494, it was customary at that time to recite either *Veni invisibilis sanctificator* or the antiphon *O rex gloriæ . . . [mitte promissum Patris in nos Spiritum veritatis]*. Franz, 587.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. *supra*, I, 317, note 1.

*Orate fratres*.<sup>2</sup> The incensation at the conclusion of the offertory is first mentioned by Amalar;<sup>3</sup> but in a special preface to his work, written about 832 after his trip to Rome, he indicates that this custom of incensation was unknown in Rome.<sup>4</sup> For that reason it was long contested even in the North,<sup>5</sup> until the date when it at last found entry into Rome itself.<sup>6</sup> In Roman usage incense was burned in fixed braziers; in addition, incense was carried about at the entrance procession, at the procession with the Gospel book, and at the recession; but there was no real incensation.<sup>7</sup> Incensation is therefore a fruit of Carolingian liturgical development. In particular, the incensing at the offertory which we are talking about became far more prominent than the incensations at the beginning of Mass and at the Gospel.<sup>8</sup> And this prominence has been retained in our current liturgy, as is seen in the fact that it is richest in prayers and that the incensing of persons is most developed.

The outline of the present-day form is already encountered in the eleventh century. The Mass *ordo* of Séz has the incensation of the gifts, of the altar, and of those standing around, along with all the prayers that are customary today,<sup>9</sup> while several more recent Mass *ordines* are content with one or the other of these formulas.<sup>10</sup> We thus meet here first of all a prayer for the moment the incense is being put into the censer: *Per inter-*

<sup>2</sup> In this trifling detail of medieval liturgical evolution two separate groups are sharply differentiated. The first arrangement is followed in the Sacramentary of the Abbey of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 525 f.), and then in Central Italian abbatial churches: Ebner, 296, 301, 310, etc. Cf. also the Benedictine Mass-plans in Köck, 120, 121.—The other arrangement, with the incensation immediately before the *Orate fratres*, is found in the 10th century Sacramentary of S. Thierry: Martène, 1, 4, X (I, 549 C); Missa Illyrica: *ibid.*, IV (I, 511); Mass-ordo of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 249). Also later outside of Italy, e.g., in Salzburg: Köck, 124 f.

<sup>3</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19, 26 (Hanssens, II, 319)—Cf. Hincmar of Reims, *Capitula* (852), c. 6 (PL, CXXV, 774); *Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 9 (Andrieu, II, 220; PL, LXXVIII, 973 C).

<sup>4</sup> Amalar, *op. cit.*, præfatio altera (PL, CV, 992 B); *Post evangelium non offerunt incensum super altare*.

<sup>5</sup> As late as the 11th century, by Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 9 (PL, CLI, 983 B).

<sup>6</sup> The incensation puts in an appearance since the 11th century in Central Italian

abbey churches (note 2, *supra*); at the beginning of the 12th century also in Rome, in St. Peter's (Ebner, 333); is then mentioned by Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 57 f. (PL, CCXVII, 832-834).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 68, 71.

<sup>8</sup> The *Ordo "Postquam"* for an episcopal Mass, which originated in Germany in the 10th century, puts the incensation of the altar after the offertory: *offerat illud [incensum] altari*, while it mentions a similar action after the Introit as the practice only of some few churches (Andrieu, II, 354; 360; PL, LXXVIII, 990; 993). Regarding the transient development of the incensation after the gospel, see *supra*, I, 451 f.—For the development of these rites see Batiffol, *Leçons*, 153-158. Numerous details regarding the incensation at the offertory in Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 247-264.

<sup>9</sup> PL, LXXVIII, 249. Also in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 511), where the anamnesis-type prayer *Memores* cited above, p. 68, note 146, is added.

<sup>10</sup> Cf., e.g., two sacramentaries of the 13th century in Ebner, 326, 342, both of which have only the *Dirigatur*.

*cessionem beati Gabrielis archangeli*,<sup>11</sup> with a petition to bless the incense and to receive it “for a sweet savor”; a further prayer accompanying the incensation: *Incensum istud*, which continues with the psalm verse, *Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo, Domine*;<sup>12</sup> and finally the formula which is now spoken by the celebrant when he puts the censer back into the hands of the deacon: *Accendat in nobis Dominus ignem sui amoris et flammam æternæ caritatis*, a prayer which the Mass ordines of the eleventh and twelfth centuries appointed to be said by each individual who received the incensation.<sup>14</sup>

These words give us a clue to the meaning then attributed to this incensation, a significance similar to what we saw on earlier occasions:<sup>15</sup> the incense is something dedicated to God, something holy, in which, by a sort of communion, we want to be associated. The glowing coal and the smoke arising from it draw the mind to the very highest thing that we can beg of God as answer to our gift-offerings—the fire of divine love. This

<sup>11</sup> The allusion to Michael in the present-day version seems somewhat curious. This name does not appear often, and then only in later texts (e.g., Ebner, 327: 13th c.). It is apparently a deliberate substitution for the Gabriel that is found in most medieval texts. Even as late as Sept. 25, 1705, the Congregation of Rites had to insist on using Michael: Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum SRC*, p. 139. It was perhaps Michael's office as defender of the Church that brought about the abandonment of the clear scriptural reference to Gabriel (Luke 1: 11, 18 f.). There is a certain justification for handling the matter so freely in the fact that the angel in the Apoc. 8: 3-4, who stands beside the heavenly altar with the censer of gold in his hand, is without a name and could therefore as well be Michael as anyone else. But cf. the discussion in Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 7, 10 (I, 274 f.); U. Holzmeister, *Eph. liturg.*, 59 (1945), 300 f.—The text cited (*Stetit angelus*; cf. the offertory for Sept. 29) is added to the *Dirigatur* in the Pontifical of Christian I of Mainz (1167-1183; cf. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux*, LL, 25): Martène, I, 4, XVII (I, 601 B).

<sup>12</sup> Already in the 9th-10th century the psalm verse is spoken by the priest: Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252).—In medieval texts as a rule only the one verse, Ps. 140: 2, or even only the half-verse just quoted, is indicated.

This is still the case in the Carthusian rite: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 21; and was true till the 13th century of some of the immediate predecessors of the *Missale Romanum* in Central Italy: Ebner, 310, 333, 342. The full text, Ps. 140: 2-4, in Ebner, 327 (13th c.) likewise in the Ordo of Stefaneschi (about 1311), n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1164 C), where, however, the initial verse, *Dirigatur*, is said three times during the triple crossing of the gifts.—The addition of verses 3 and 4 was made not for the sake of the contents but merely as a continuation of the psalm. Nevertheless the celebrating priest had good reason to ask that his lips be hallowed: Gihl, 578 f.

<sup>13</sup> Thus, already in a Central Italian sacramentary of the 13th century in which the texts at the incensation coincide exactly with the present-day ones: Ebner, 327; cf. 314.

<sup>14</sup> This formula, which is often missing, is preceded in the 11th century by the rubric: *Quando odor incensi porrigitur sacerdoti et fratribus, dicat unusquisque eorum: Accendat*. Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511 E); Mass-ordo of Séez: PL, LXXVIII, 249 C; Camaldolese sacramentary: Ebner, 301 (cf. also 298, 322, where the words appear to be assigned to the incensing cleric). With other formulation also in the Mainz pontifical about 1170 (*supra*, note 11): Martène, I, 4, XVII (I, 601 B): *Cum redolet incensum*.

<sup>15</sup> *Supra*, I, 318, 451-2.

symbolism we may still apply today to the incensing of the participants. The liturgical texts under consideration avoid using the concept of offering, *sacrificium*, *oblatio*, in express reference to the incense. The only thing asked for is that the incense might ascend to God and God's mercy might descend to us. The verses of Psalm 140 present the soaring clouds of incense as an illustration of the prayer which we send up to God. The incense is never designated as a formal sacrifice, not even a simple gift. In earlier times, however, even in the West, less care was expended to stay within such strict limits. Amalar calls the activity an *offerre incensum super altare* and manifestly puts it parallel to the Old Testament offering of incense.<sup>16</sup> Already a century earlier the same thought appears in a letter which announces to St. Boniface a shipment of some incense.<sup>17</sup> In the liturgy itself the idea found expression in the prayers accompanying the incensation in the Sacramentary of St. Denis about the middle of the eleventh century;<sup>18</sup> these prayers, which differ sharply from the usual tradition, beg that God may accept this incense as he accepted the gift of the holy men of the Old Covenant. These are the prayers whose Eastern origin, namely, in the Greek liturgy of St. James, has been recognized for some time.<sup>19</sup> In this Eastern sphere both the use and the religious evaluation of incense were strongly developed very early.<sup>20</sup> In the West-Syrian Liturgy mention was made of a three-fold sacrifice completed at each holy Mass—the sacrifice of Melchisedech in the presentation of the bread and wine at the beginning of the celebration, the sacrifice of Aaron in the incensation, and the sacrifice of Christ.<sup>21</sup>

As a matter of fact there is little to reproach in the use of such language as soon as we establish the plain dogma that in the New Testament the one essential sacrifice for the worship of the Church—uniquely essential because God has so ordained it—is the Eucharist.<sup>22</sup> We can symbolize our

<sup>16</sup> Lev. 2: 1 f., 15 f. *Supra*, note 4.

<sup>17</sup> Letter of a Roman deacon (742) to Boniface (MGH, Ep. Merow, et Karol. ævi, I, 308): the writer sends him *aliquantum cotzumbri, quod incensum Domino offeratis temporibus matutinis et vespertinis, sive dum missarum celebratis sollempnia, miri odoris atque fragrantia*.

<sup>18</sup> Martène, I, 4, V (I, 525 f.).—Cf. also the paraphrase added to Ps. 140: 2 in the missal of St. Vincent (about 1100): . . . *et elevatio manuum nostrarum cum oblatione huius incensi sit tibi in sacrificium laudis*. Fiala, 205.

<sup>19</sup> Brightman, p. LIV, 1, 10 ff., indicates the model in the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 32, 36) for three of the six formulas (namely: *Domine D. n. qui suscepisti; Omnipotens s. D. qui es in sanctis;*

*Omnipotens s. D. qui es repletus*. Also a fourth prayer, *Suscipe quæsumus Domine*—which reappears in the missal of Troyes: Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 532 E)—is a translation from the same source, being the second half of the incense prayer after the Great Entrance (Brightman, 41, 1. 16: *καὶ πρὸς θεῶν*).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. E. Fehrenbach, “Encens,” DACL, V, 6-11; Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 117-130. Here in the Orient there are evidences of the use of incense at the start of Mass, at the Gospel and at the climax of the Mass proper, since the fourth century.

<sup>21</sup> M. Jugie, “La messe en Orient,” DThC, X, 1331. But cf. in a somewhat different sense Raes, *Introductio*, 66 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the pertinent discussions in Brink-

abasement before God both by word and by signs, even by gifts of our own selection, and few gifts are so expressive as the incense which is consumed in the charcoal, and then rises skyward in fragrant clouds. In the West, however, incense prayers of this kind were soon dislodged.<sup>23</sup> Obviously the singleness of the Christian sacrifice—which was not diminished by extending the concept of offering to the bread and wine—ought not to be unnecessarily obscured in the prayer-language of the liturgy.<sup>24</sup> Even the symbolic action of lifting the incense up towards God<sup>25</sup> before the incensation of the gifts was dropped.<sup>26</sup> The use of incense even within the offertory was thus only a complement, not an independent gift to almighty God. Wherefore the first swings of the censer are for the gifts of bread and wine which are incensed three times cross-wise, three times in a circle. It is the fullest expression of blessing and consecration and in this way really a re-enforcement of the *Veni sanctificator*.<sup>27</sup> The incense here,

trine, *Die hl. Messe*, 143 ff.; Eisenhofer, II, 148 f.; J. Kramp, *Die Opferanschauungen der römischen Messliturgie*, (2nd ed.; Regensburg, 1924), 253 note.

<sup>23</sup> The first of the incense prayers in the sacramentary of S. Denis—a prayer originating in the East—with the start: *Domine, Deus noster, qui suscepisti munera pueri tui Abel, Noe, Aaron et omnium sanctorum tuorum*, appears also in the sacramentary of Amiens (*supra*, I, 78); further in the sacramentary of Abbot Rattoldus (d. 986) of Corbie (PL, LXXVIII, 243 A), in the sacramentary of Moissac (11th c.): Martène, I, 4, VIII (I, 538 E); in the missal of Troyes (about 1050): *ibid.*, VI (I, 532 D); in two Benedictine missals of the 11th, *resp.* 11-12th century from Fonte Avellana: PL, CLI, 934 C, as well as in a ritual of Soissons (not dated): Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 611 f.). Two sources of the 11th century also in Leroquais, I, 139, 161. I have not been able to locate any later examples. (An exception is the missal of Chalons-sur-Marne, printed 1543, in Martène, I, 4, 7, 1 [I, 394 E]).—The other borrowings from the liturgy of St. James which Brightman, p. LIV, notes, belong to the same monastic range, from the 10th (not 9th) and 11th century on.

<sup>24</sup> In the *Exultet* of Holy Saturday the Roman liturgy also displays an exception to the stylistic law of liturgical language: *Suscipe, sancte Pater, incensi huius sacrificium vespertinum quod tibi in hac cerei oblatione . . . reddit Ecclesia*. By *incen-*

*sum* is here meant the (“lighted”) candle.

<sup>25</sup> Such a rite is mentioned in the Ordo of Card. Stefaneschi (about 1311), n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1164 C): *elevet paulisper in altum*.

<sup>26</sup> Akin to this ceremony, although differing in kind, is the use to which the incense is today most frequently put, the incensation of the Eucharist, whereby the censer is swung towards the Blessed Sacrament. But the idea behind the action is not so much to pay homage as to show and symbolize veneration, as is done otherwise in incensing objects and persons. The same is true of the incensation of the cross which follows right after that of the gifts.

<sup>27</sup> Even in the oldest rubrics the incensation is arranged in this fashion; e.g., in the Missa Illyrica: . . . *Thuribulum super panem et calicem circumducitur*, then: *Circumiens autem altare cum incenso*; and lastly: *odor incensi porrigitur* . . . ; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511). The crosses made with the incense over the gifts are also expressly mentioned since the 11th century, either a single cross (Ebner, 298) or a triple cross (*ibid.*, 310, 327, 333). At Cluny about 1080 the ceremony included three crosses and a circle; Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 717 D.) Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 57 (PL, CCXVII, 832), like other older sources, mentions only the (threefold) encircling of the gifts. Durandus, IV, 31, 1, who here for the most part copies Innocent III, makes note of a threefold crossing and a threefold encircling of the chalice, but

just as the further incensing of the altar and the congregation, is intended to envelop the gifts in the holy atmosphere of prayer which “ascends to Thy countenance like incense clouds”; thus it is intended to symbolically represent and to fortify the primary action at the altar.

In the manner of performing the incensation only a few variations need be mentioned. In some cases the celebrant himself performs only the incensation of the sacrificial gifts and perhaps the altar front, leaving the rest to the deacon, who circles the altar.<sup>28</sup> Otherwise, the encircling of the altar is also accented.<sup>29</sup> But although it remained as at least a liturgical norm at the consecration of the altar,<sup>30</sup> at the offertory it gave way before the actualities of Gothic altar-building, so that as a rule it is now omitted even where structural conditions would allow it.<sup>31</sup> However, even in the present-day manner of incensing the altar, the original conception is still plainly to be recognized. According to current custom, the incensation of the altar is always followed by the incensation of the celebrant,<sup>32</sup> and at the offertory also by the incensation of the choir by the deacon,<sup>33</sup> the manner and exact seriation of which, especially for the various circumstances of a great cathedral, are determined by numerous decrees of the

also acknowledges that some are content with a single circle and a single cross; *ibid.*, 31, 3. For further details see Atchley, 249-254.—During this censuring of the gifts sometimes only *In nomine Patris* . . . is recited; Mass plan of the Carthusians (which also contains a peculiar arrangement for the censuring of the altar): Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 632 E); *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 21. Cf. missal of Fécamp (about 1400): Martène, XXVII (I, 640 C), and *supra* p. 66, note 137 (near the end).

<sup>28</sup> John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 35 C); Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 205; cf. 199); *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 83); Mass-*ordo* of the Carthusians: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 632 f.); *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 21. Cf. a missal of the 11-12th century in Ebner, 310. According to the *Rituale* of Soissons: Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 612 A), the deacon incenses the priest, the *cornua altaris*, the Eucharist hanging (in a Dove) over the altar, then the other altars, the crucifix and the rood altar, finally the *suc-centor*. While doing so he recites Psalm 140 from the beginning: *Domine clamavi*. The choir is incensed by the *clericulus*.—A detailed norm for the incensation of the choir (by the thurifer) is given in the

Sarum Missal: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 667); cf. the Sarum Customary (13th c.); Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 76 f.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 27; Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511 E); Mass-*ordo* of Séz: *ibid.*, XIII (I, 578 B); PL, LXXVIII, 249 C.

<sup>30</sup> *Pontificale Romanum*, II, *De altaris consecratione*.

<sup>31</sup> However, a contrary custom was admitted by the Congregation of Rites on Feb. 3, 1877: *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3413.

<sup>32</sup> A peculiar usage is offered by the *Liber ordinarius* of the Premonstratensians (12th c.; Lefèvre, 10; Waefelghem, 66 f.): the deacon, after meanwhile incensing the altar, incenses the celebrant when the latter turns for the *Orate*. Likewise later, besides other Benedictine sources (Waefelghem, 67, note 1) the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 93) and even at present the Carthusian rite: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 633 A); *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 29, 13.

<sup>33</sup> According to the English usage of the late Middle Ages the incensation of the choir was provided only on days with a *Credo*, that is, on days of greater rank; Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 77; Sarum Missal: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 667 E).

Congregation of Sacred Rites;<sup>34</sup> and finally by the incensation of the deacon, of the lower assistants, and of the people by the thurifer.<sup>35</sup>

## 6. The Washing of the Hands

After the sacrificial gifts are laid ready on the altar, and after the incensation, if there is any, there follows the washing of the hands. Its meaning today in the spot it occupies is no longer plainly to be seen. Evidently the action, which now consists of nothing more than wetting the fingertips, has some symbolic significance. But even so we would like to know why it takes place just here and now.

It is natural that we handle precious things only with hands that are clean. Or to put it more generally, a person approaches a festive or sacred activity only after he has cleansed himself from the grime of the work-day and besides has donned festive attire. Thus we find in the liturgy, besides the vesting in liturgical garments, also a washing of hands. In Christian antiquity there is repeated evidence of the established custom of washing the hands before giving oneself to prayer.<sup>1</sup> Domestic devotion was also ruled by this law. We are, therefore, not surprised to find a washing of hands expressly mentioned in the liturgy at a very early date. At Jerusalem in the fourth century, the Mass of the Faithful began with the deacon's administering the water to the celebrant and the surrounding presbyters,<sup>2</sup> and from the very start the symbolic meaning of the act was stressed. Similar was the custom in the Antiochene church.<sup>3</sup> We gen-

<sup>34</sup> Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 7, 10 (I, 274-282). The *gubernator civitatis* is censed, as well as the *baro dominus in ecclesia parochiali*. Yet even for a large choir no second censer is permitted (281). And both of these rubricists are agreed that scope should be given for any *rationabilis consuetudo*, alleging as a reason: *ad pacem et concordiam tum cleri tum laicorum conservandam* (274, 282). This last remark was prompted by some very unhappy experiences. The acts of the Council of Trent (*Concilium Trid.*, ed. Görres, IX, 591 f.) tell of a *magna contentio* that occurred at high Mass on June 29, 1563, between the Spanish and French delegates in *dando thure et pace*.—A detailed arrangement for the choir often even in the Middle Ages, e.g., in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 234, 239 f.); here and in other cases it embraces also the giving of the *pax* and the *aspersio*.

<sup>35</sup> Already in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 83) the arrangement is much like the present, only that the *mansionarius* un-

dertakes the incensation also of the choir: *Mansionarius itaque accipiens thuribulum de manu diaconi ei incensum odorandum præbet. Quod postquam fecerit, dat incensum fratribus per chorum, postea dat et populo.* For this *odorare* cf. *supra*, I, 452, note 68.

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 65; Hauler, 119); *Canones Basilii*, c. 28 (Riedel, 246).—Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 13 (CSEL, 20, 188 f.), combats the notion that this washing of the hands was necessary. Cf. for this Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 38-42.

<sup>2</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 97 f.).

<sup>3</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 11, 12 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 211): a subdeacon hands all the priests the ἀπέρρουψις χειρῶν after the kiss of peace. The same arrangement in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, V (Rücker, 25).—In Ps.-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 2; 3, 10 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 295; 308 f.), the washing of the hands is

erally come upon this same washing of the hands likewise in the oriental liturgies of the following era. As a rule it comes right after the gifts have been carried over to the altar.<sup>4</sup> The rite received a notable extension in the Ethiopian Mass: after the priest has unveiled the gifts on the altar, he washes his hands but does not dry them at once; instead he turns and sprinkles the water clinging to his fingers towards the people with a threatening word of warning to those unworthy ones who might want to draw nigh to the Lord's table.<sup>5</sup>

There were attempts, too, to extend to the people either the washing itself or at least some token of it that referred admonishingly to the purity of the interior man. In the atrium of the ancient Christian basilica stood the fount or well<sup>6</sup> which was understood precisely in this sense, and even at the entrance of our own churches there is the holy-water stoup for the people to sprinkle themselves. But since Carolingian times the parish high Mass on Sundays begins with the sprinkling of holy water over the assembled congregation, a custom explained by the very words which are linked with it: *Asperges me Domine hyssopo et mundabor*. The symbolism of purity and purification has obviously been from the very start the guiding factor for the ablutions in the liturgy. This is made clear in the oriental liturgies where the washing of the hands at the prescribed time was never, or hardly anywhere, based on the fact that the offerings were received just previously, for this was done before the beginning of Mass.<sup>7</sup> It is simply an act of reverence after the Great Entrance, connected with the actual entrance into the sanctuary.

It is significant that even in the Western Mass we find the washing of the hands precisely in that place where the holy circle is entered; and because it is a multiple circle, we encounter this hand-washing at divers points: first when we penetrate the outermost circle, and last when we stand at the very threshold of the innermost sanctuary. Even in the earlier medieval sources a hand-washing before vesting is found as a constituent

placed somewhat later, after the reading of the diptychs; the fact that only the fingertips are washed is enough to indicate the state of perfect purity which is here required.

<sup>4</sup> Brightman, 82, 62, 1. 32; 226; 271, 1. 13; 432, 1. 29.—This washing of the hands is missing in the Byzantine liturgy. Here there is only a hand-washing before Mass, as in most of the other liturgies. In the East-Syrian Mass of the Nestorians a threefold hand-washing is customary; the third takes place before the fraction. Hanssens, III, 7-11. Cf. also the surveys in Raes, *Introductio*, 72 f., 84 f. In the East-Syrian custom cited by Raes, 97 f., a *thurificatio digitorum* appears to have taken

over the function of the hand-washing before the fraction.

<sup>5</sup> "If there be any who is pure let him receive of the host, and whoso is not pure let him not receive, that he be not consumed in the fire of the Godhead, whoso hath revenge in his heart and hath an alien mind by reason of unchastity. I am pure from the blood of you and from your sacrilege against the body and blood of Christ: I have nought to do with your reception thereof: I am pure of your error, and your sin will return upon your own head if ye receive not in purity." Liturgy of the Abysinian Jacobites (Brightman, 226).

<sup>6</sup> Beissel, *Bilder*, 254 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra*, p. 4.

of the Mass pattern,<sup>8</sup> and even today it is still presupposed, though with mitigated importance, in the hand-washing in the sacristy.

However, we come upon some isolated instances of hand-washing immediately before the consecration.<sup>9</sup> The ring encircling the consecration is the canon. Since the canon has been considered as beginning with the *Te igitur*, there are to be found some cases of a hand-washing just before the *Te igitur*. Originally it was the deacon who washed his hands here,<sup>10</sup> since he would assist in the elevation of the chalice at the end of the canon, or else it was the deacons<sup>11</sup> who had to help with the fraction; but towards the end of the Middle Ages this hand-washing had to a great extent become the priest's, especially in German territory.<sup>12</sup>

But the hand-washing that came into special prominence was the more ancient one at the beginning of the sacrifice-Mass in connection with the offertory. This, too, bears first of all a symbolic character. According to the oldest sources, the pope at the Roman station service first washed his hands right after the *Oremus*.<sup>13</sup> Then he received the gifts of the nobility. Returning to his throne, he again washed his hands, and only then did he go to the altar and receive the gifts of the clerics.<sup>14</sup> In other

<sup>8</sup> *Supra*, I, 277 f.

<sup>9</sup> In the Milanese Mass: *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 177. The custom is naturally of a later date. Nevertheless it is found in the missal of 1560: Martène, I, 4, III (I, 484 f.). In the older Milanese rite there was only a hand-washing at the beginning of Mass. Originally, it seems, this hand-washing at the vesting was the only one found in the Gallic liturgies. Fortescue, *The Mass*, 311.

<sup>10</sup> *Ordinarium of Bayeux* (13-14th century): Martène, I, 4, XXIV (I, 629 B).—Elsewhere this washing of hands takes place only after the *Supplices*; thus at Cluny in the 11th century: Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 719). Durandus, too, knows of this hand-washing of the deacon in this spot as a custom in nonnullis ecclesiis: Durandus, IV, 44, 5. Among these churches was that of Sarum, where the subdeacon participated in the hand-washing: Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 79; 82. This last is true also of one Cistercian arrangement, where the hand-washing was placed right after the *Orate fratres*; de Moléon, 233.

<sup>11</sup> *Ordo "Postquam"* for a bishop's Mass (10th c.), n. 11 (Andrieu, II, 360; PL, LXXVIII, 993 B): After the *Sanctus* three acolytes appear with water for the deacons. Even in Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III,

25 (PL, CV, 1143 A), this hand-washing of the deacon is mentioned near the close of the canon, and an allegorical reason—the purifying action of the Passion of Christ—is given for it. In the sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th c.) it appears after the secreta (PL, LXXVIII, 243 B; cf. Netzer, 229). This appears to be an ancient Gallic usage.

<sup>12</sup> Franz, 106; 550, 575; 753; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 224; Beck, 268; Köck, 62; Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 330.—This hand-washing, too, took place on the epistle side; Beck, 268.—According to the Cologne *Ordo celebrandi*, the action was accompanied by the words: *Dele Domine omnes iniquitates meas, ut tua mysteria digne possim tractare*; Binterim, *loc. cit.*—This hand-washing already in a 14th century missal from upper Hungary, where the accompanying words were Is. 53: 7 and the secreta for Maundy Thursday, *Ipse*; Radó, 68.

<sup>13</sup> *Ordo of Johannes Archicantor* (Silva-Tarouca, 197 f.); *Ordo of S. Amand* (Duchesne, 459).

<sup>14</sup> *Ordo of Johannes Archicantor* (*loc. cit.*). In the *Ordo of S. Amand* this second washing is for the deacon, not the celebrant. If we follow Andrieu's study of the sources (*Les Ordines Romani*) we must conclude that the first of these hand-washings is

accounts this second washing alone is mentioned,<sup>15</sup> but it takes place before the reception of the clerical oblation and is therefore governed not so much by practical motives, but rather by symbolical ones. It is an expression of reverence at the threshold of the Holy of Holies.<sup>16</sup> The same arrangement is to be found in various localities throughout the entire Middle Ages, insofar as a hand-washing is provided for in the course of the Mass. It is found at the start of the offertory, fixed in such a way that any preoccupation with the gift-offerings can hardly come into consideration as a basis of explanation.<sup>17</sup> This is particularly plain in the rite of the Franciscans, who generally did not permit the oblations of the faithful at Mass;<sup>18</sup> they, too, began the offertory with the washing of the hands.<sup>19</sup>

At the same time, however, there also appear various arrangements of the Mass in which the hand-washing is set to follow the offertory procession of the faithful; without detracting from any other symbolic interpretation, they establish the principle that by this hand-washing the priest must cleanse his hands *a tactu communium manuum atque terreno*

Gallican in origin, the second Roman.

<sup>15</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 14 (PL, LXXVIII, 944); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973). Also in the Gregorian Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th c., PL, LXXVIII, 243 A), which adapted to Frankish conditions, and which likewise has a hand-washing at the vesting before Mass, with a prayer accompaniment (*ibid.*, 241 A).—Cf. *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 82, 1. 25).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Cod. Ratoldi* (*loc. cit.*): *lavetque manus et sic ingrediatur propitiatorium, et omnis processio offerant sibi oblationem.*—In the East Syrian (Chaldean and Syro-Malabarese) rite the symbols of reverence have been developed with special luxuriance. Here, after washing his hands, the priest leaves the bema (sanctuary) and pausing three times he re-enters the sanctuary, praying the while and making several bows; then he genuflects three times and kisses the altar first in the middle, then at the right and left, and again in the middle. Raes, *Introduction*, 83; cf. Brightman, 271-274.—Cf. the kissing of the altar in this place also in the ancient Roman liturgy, *supra*, I, 71; 314, note 20.

<sup>17</sup> *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 E); Sacramentary of S. Denis: *ibid.*, V (I, 523 C); Missal of St. Vincent: Fiala, 202 f.; Italian Mass-books of the 12-

14th century: Ebner, 312, 314, 347; *Liber ordinarius O. Præm.* (Waefelghem, 59; cf. 57 with note 2). In the Scandinavian province of Lund the ablution took place at the start of the offertory, in the province of Nidaros (Trondheim) and of Upsala, before the oration *In spiritu humilitatis*: Eric Segelberg, "De ordine Missæ secundum ritum scandinavicum mediæ ævi," *Eph. liturg.*, 65 (1951), 256.—The symbolical meaning of the ablution was given emphatic expression at Klosterneuburg even as late as the 15th century, for at a high Mass the subdeacon washed his hands before touching the chalice, the deacon before he spread the corporal, and lastly the priest before he took the paten; Schabes, 63.—The deacon's ablution is also mentioned in St. Vincent: Fiala, 202.—Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 304, note a, cites a *Mass-ordo* printed at Antwerp as late as 1570, where the ablution of the hands is placed right at the start of a low Mass. The same peculiarity is found in the commentary of William of Gouda (15th c.; P. Schlager, *Franziskan. Studien*, 6 [1919], 332) and in the Cologne missal of 1506 (Freisen, *Manuale Lincopense*, p. LVIII, note).

<sup>18</sup> *Supra*, p. 24, note 134.

<sup>19</sup> William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 328 f., and the further references of the

*pane*.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes it still precedes the arranging of the gifts on the altar,<sup>21</sup> and in some instances even the incensing is designed to follow.<sup>22</sup>

It is easy to understand how the next step would be taken; the incensation would be made to precede, and this would be done *ad maiorem munditiam*.<sup>23</sup> According to one monastic instruction, the priest should now take care not to grasp anything with the fingers that would touch the Body of the Lord.<sup>24</sup> This hand-washing often stands side by side with the first more ancient one which is done before the offertory,<sup>25</sup> as is still the case in the present-day pontifical rite.<sup>26</sup> But in the following years the older one was dropped, and only the more recent one remained.<sup>27</sup> In the rite of the Carthusians, however, the hand-washing has retained its position in the more ancient spot.

Since the Frankish era the fundamental symbolic thought of the hand-washing is regularly expressed in the words which accompany it. The *Lavabo*, which is literally a protestation of the Psalmist's innocence, and which becomes in our mouth an expression of a longing for purity and a worthy service at the altar, was associated with this hand-washing at quite an early period, but its earliest association was with the washing done at the vesting. Usually the only portion used was the one verse, Psalm 25:6, or the two verses 6 and 7. Later, the rest of the psalm was

editor (*ibid.*, note 182).—Cf. Ebner, 177, 314.

<sup>20</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1130 B). Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33, additio (PL, CVII, 324 D); *Ordo Rom.* VI (10th c.), n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 D).—In some few Italian Mass-books the ablution follows immediately after the offertory procession: Ebner, 309; 340 (Vall. C 32); cf. Bonizo of Sutri (d. about 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels, 59). Likewise to all appearances in the Netherlands Mass-plans and in the Cologne Mass at the end of the Middle Ages: Smits van Waesberghe, 300; cf. 325 ff.; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 227.

<sup>21</sup> Thus, *inter alia*, French Mass-plans of the late Middle Ages: Martène, I, 4, XXVI, XXXI, XXXIII, f. (I, 637 D, 651 A, 659 C, 663 B); likewise English Mass-plans: Legg, *Tracts*, 5, 221; Cistercian Mass-plan of the 15th century: Franz, 587. But also earlier the order for the private Mass at Cluny: Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 72 (Herrgott, 264).

<sup>22</sup> Sacramentary of the 13th century of Lyons: Ebner, 326; Benedictine missal of the 11-12th century from Central Italy: *ibid.*, 337.

<sup>23</sup> *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1165 A).

<sup>24</sup> Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 717 B); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 84 (PL, CL, 1012 A). The same rule in Durandus, IV, 31, 4, who adds that the priest should close his fingers after the ablution.

<sup>25</sup> *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1163 B); the second is mentioned as tolerated, but otherwise not customary in *Ecclesia Romana* (1165 A); cf. *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1186 f.), and the Mass-*ordo* of the papal court chapel about 1290 (Brinktrine: *Eph. liturg.*, 1937, 201 f.), where in both cases only the first ablution is found. This is still true at Tongern as late as 1413; de Corswarem, 126.—Both ablutions also in the *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 632 C E).—Pontifical of Durandus, *ibid.*, XXIII (I, 617 C, d); Andrieu, III, 640. Here is the remark that at the second ablution the celebrant washes only *summitates digitorum et labia*. Obviously this goes beyond mere symbolism.—Durandus, V, 28, 1; cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 80.

<sup>26</sup> *Ceremoniale episc.*, I, 11, 11.

<sup>27</sup> Thus already in the rite of the Carmel-

appended, but this was done without any special consideration of the contents, which have no intimate relation to the washing.<sup>28</sup> Medieval arrangements of the Mass often added more appropriate texts to the verses mentioned, both for the hand-washing at the start of Mass<sup>29</sup> and for this one here. In the ambit of Monte Cassino, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was added to the *Lavabo* an oration, *Concede mihi, omnipotens Deus, ita manum lavare ut puro corde et corpore possim dominicum corpus et sanguinem tractare*.<sup>30</sup> Late Mass *ordines* in northern France supplement the *Lavabo* with a three-fold *Kyrie eleison* and *Pater noster*.<sup>31</sup> Often, too, some such complementary oration appears as the only accompanying text.<sup>32</sup> All the elements that go to make up a well-arranged ceremonial are thus brought together.<sup>33</sup>

How strongly the symbolic sense of the hand-washing is emphasized can be seen in a monastic Mass-*ordo* of Rouen; according to this, the cele-

rites, of the Dominicans (except in the earliest period: Sölch, 81) and formerly of the Cistercians; see the references in Sölch, 80. Only the later ablution, following the model of the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 240), in the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 93.—Late medieval Mass-arrangements in Martène, I, 4, XX, XXII, XXIV (I, 608 D, 612 B, 629 A). In the later Mass-*ordo* of Gregorinmünster: *ibid.*, XXXII (I, 656 E), the ablution does not occur till after the *Orate*.<sup>28</sup> Spanish Mass-books of the late Middle Ages use verses 2-4 for the ablution (Ferrerres, 129); similarly also the present-day *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (1932), c. 26, 18. The Mass-plan of York about 1425 uses only one verse (Simmons, 100). The Dominican missal of 1256 indicated only the first verse; see Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), 125; the present Dominican rite still has only one verse (*Missale O.P.*, 1889, 181).—The complete section as at present was very rare in the Middle Ages; but see the text above.<sup>29</sup> *Supra*, I, 277.

<sup>29</sup> Ebner, 309, 340; Fiala, 202. Later in the missal of Toul (14-15th c.) this oration is the sole accompaniment of the ablution at this place; Martène, I, 4, XXXI (I, 651 A).

<sup>30</sup> Missal of Evreux: Martène, I, 4, XXVIII (I, 644 C); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 41 f.; *Ordinarium* of Coutance: *ibid.*, 60.

<sup>31</sup> Missa Illyrica (cf. *supra*, note 17): *Largire sensibus nostris, omnipotens Pater, ut sicut hic exterius abluuntur inquina-*

*menta manuum, sic a te mudentur interius pollutiones mentium et crescat in nobis sanctarum augmentum virtutum. Per.*; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 E). Likewise in the sacramentary of S. Denis: *ibid.*, V (I, 523 C), and in Central Italian Mass-plans: Ebner, 337, 347, 356; cf. Ferreres, 129.—Gerhoh of Reichersberg (d. 1169) introduces the oration in his explanation of Psalm 25: 6 (PL, 193, 1165 B). The Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, 640) uses the oration *Largire* at the ablution before the offertory and the *Lavabo* after the incensation when the bishop washes *summitates digitorum et labia*.—An Italian pontifical of the 11-12th century (Ebner, 312) offers the prayer: *Omnipotens sempiterna Deus, ablue cor nostrum et manus a cunctis sordibus peccatorum, ut templum Spiritus Sancti effici mereamur. Per.*—According to the late medieval order of Sarum, in Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 667 E), the celebrant says: *Munda me Domine ab omni inquinamento cordis et corporis nostri, ut possim mundus implere opus sanctum Domini. Cf. Ferreres, 133 (n. 531); Frere, The Use of Sarum, I, 77; Maskell, 92.*—According to the commentary of William of Gouda (15th c.) the priest prays: *Amplius lava me sanguine tuo sicut puer in baptismo . . .*; P. Schlager, *Franziskan. Studien*, 6 (1919), 332.

<sup>32</sup> In the Regensburg missal of 1500 (Beck, 261), the priest at the ablution before vesting recites the verse *Lavabo* first as an antiphon, then Psalm 25 in its entirety, again the antiphon, *Kyrie eleison*, etc.,

brants's *Lavabo* is answered by the abbot with the *Misereatur*.<sup>34</sup> Thus the hand-washing is turned into a formal act of absolution.

However, the hand-washing is occasionally found even at a later time without any formula,<sup>35</sup> and oftener still there is no mention of it whatever in the course of the Mass.<sup>36</sup> In the case of late medieval arrangements of non-solemn Mass, the explanation for this lack is to be found in the practical motivation of the hand-washing, since there would be no question of it when there was neither offertory procession nor incensation. In the Missal of Pius V, however, the hand-washing was retained for every Mass, high or low. This shows that the symbolic meaning of the rite still remained in the foreground; only the position it occupies in the Mass is reminiscent of the other and later concept of its purpose as a precaution before handling the sacred Host and chalice during the canon.

## 7. *Orate Fratres*

One of the few fixed points which recur unchanged in all the medieval oblation rites is a petition found near the end of the rite, a petition by the priest for the prayer of the bystanders. According to the eighth century Roman pontifical rite as adapted to Frankish circumstances, such a ceremony occurred right after the celebrant had added his own gift to the oblation of the faithful and the clergy; he then turned around and, stretching out his arms, asked the other priests to pray for him.<sup>1</sup> No response is indicated. As is the case today, *oratio super oblata* followed, and it is significant that this prayer was here spoken for the first time in a hushed voice, so that it appears to form some sort of unit with the canon.

The petition for prayer thus occurs at the moment when the presentation and arrangement of the gifts is completed, and the priest at the head of the congregation and in its name is about to draw near to God with those gifts. The ceremony has its parallel,<sup>2</sup> perhaps even its model, in the

*Pater noster*, *Ave*, some versicles and the oration *Largire*. Cf. above, I, 277, note 9.  
<sup>34</sup> Martène, I, 4, XXXVII (I, 677 f.).

<sup>35</sup> Thus in a Minorite missal, in Ebner, 314.—Elsewhere at the ablution the priest recites the *Veni Creator* (cf. *supra*, I, 274, note 15; 280, note 28) : Mass-*ordo* of Bec: Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 673 B); Westminster missal (about 1380), ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 500; cf. Maskell, 92 f. In Hereford (1502) he adds thereto the oration *Ure igne S. Spiritus*: Maskell, 93. — In German Mass-arrangements at the close of the Middle Ages the hand-washing appears after the *Sanctus* without any accompanying prayer: Franz, 753; Bec, 268.

<sup>36</sup> Thus in many Italian Mass-plans; see

Ebner, 296, 298 f., 300 f., etc. Also in South German Mass-books: Beck, 307 f.; Köck, 119-ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 198) : *Tunc vero sacerdos dextera lavaque aliis sacerdotibus postulat pro se orare*. Probably this passage is not Roman in origin, for the parallel text in John the Arch-chanter's *Capitulare* (*ibid.*) has no such sentence.

<sup>2</sup> In the Greek liturgy of St. Mark we find, in a similar connection, the priest's greeting and then the deacon's summons: Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τῶν προσφερέντων; there-upon an oblation prayer of the priest and the introduction to the anaphora: Brightman, 124.

Eastern liturgies.<sup>3</sup> Here, too, the original meaning seems to be the same. For the Western rite we have the early opinion of Amalar to the same effect. It anticipates the *Sursum corda* and endeavors to summon, so to say, all the forces of prayer; for this reason let the priest turn to the people *et precatur ut orent pro illo, quatenus dignus sit universæ plebis oblationem offerre Domino*.<sup>4</sup> The priest feels very strongly that he is exalted above the people—a matter the early medieval Church was fully conscious of—and even in his sacrificial prayer he realizes he stands alone before God as the people's mediator.<sup>5</sup>

The same idea may be gleaned from the fact that even in the earliest examples where the wording is included—and thence throughout the Middle Ages—the petition for prayer almost always retains a personal character *Orate pro me*.<sup>6</sup> Instances where this *pro me* is wanting do appear in some of the oldest sources,<sup>7</sup> but on the other hand the personal note recurs in the most diverse forms: *pro me* or *pro me peccatore*,<sup>8</sup> also *pro me misero peccatore*,<sup>9</sup> and *pro me miserrimo peccatore*,<sup>10</sup> or the personal note is even stressed by the phrase: *Obsecro vos, fratres, orate pro me*,<sup>11</sup> or by the promise: *Orate pro me, fratres et sorores, et ego orabo pro vobis . . .*,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In the West Syrian (Brightman, 83, 1. 2) and in the East Syrian Mass (*ibid.*, 272 f.) there is a traditional custom, common to both and consequently quite ancient, which is closely allied to the western practice. In the first (the Syrian Jacobite) liturgy the priest says: "My brethren and my masters, pray for me that my sacrifice be accepted." In the second (the Nestorian) rite his prayer is longer: "Pray for me, my brethren and my beloved, that I be accounted worthy to offer before our Lord Jesus Christ this sacrifice living and holy for myself and for all the body of the holy Church by the grace of His compassion forever. Amen." And in this latter liturgy there is also a response somewhat similar to our *Suscipiat* (273).

<sup>4</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1132); cf. Remigius of Auxerre (d. about 908), *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252) : *ut iungant preces suas precibus eius et mereatur exaudiri pro salute eorum. Hoc autem dicendum est a sacerdote cum silentio*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 82 f.

<sup>6</sup> Simply these words in *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 993 B); with the present-day extension in the sacramentary of the papal chapel about 1290: Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 11937), 203; yet cf. *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 72 (PL, LXXVIII,

1194 A) against n. 53, 71 (1165 B, 1187 B).

<sup>7</sup> Sacramentary of Amiens (9th c.) : *Orate fratres, ut . . .*, Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937, 442). Likewise the two sacramentaries of S. Thierry (9th and 10th c.) : Martène, I, 4, IX; X (I, 446 E, 549 D); cf. *ibid.*, XV (I, 592 C). In *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973 C) the priest says only: *Orate*.

<sup>8</sup> For the latter see Sacramentary of Lorsch (10th c.) : Ebner, 247; Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 512 A). Also in Italian Mass orders since the 11th century: Ebner, 301, 306, 327. Likewise still in the *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (1932), c. 26, 21.

<sup>9</sup> Martène, I, 4, XIII; XXVII (I, 578 C, 640 E); cf. *ibid.*, XXXII (I, 656 D).

<sup>10</sup> Missal of Fécamp: Martène, I, 4, XXVI (I, 638 A); a Dominican missal of the 13th century: Sölch, 83, note 193.

<sup>11</sup> Sacramentary of Moissac: Martène, I, 4, VIII (I, 539 D); further examples, *ibid.*, I, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396); Ferreres, 131 f.; cf. Ebner, 323.—In the Mozarabic liturgy there is a further reinforcement: *Adiuvate me, fratres, in orationibus vestris et orate pro me ad Deum*; *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 537 A).

<sup>12</sup> Missal from S. Pol de Léon: Martène,

or even, in one case, by a formal self-accusation;<sup>13</sup> or the humility of the petition is underlined by the bodily bearing, the priest crossing his hands over his breast.<sup>14</sup> At any rate the next clause, which is seldom missing,<sup>15</sup> stresses the idea that the aid of prayer is being asked for the priest's own sacrifice, which is likewise the sacrifice of the congregation, so that it might be acceptable. The usual version reads: *ut meum pariter et vestrum sacrificium acceptum sit Deo.*<sup>16</sup>

The original conception is finally abandoned when in England and in Normandy, in special formulas for Masses for the Dead, prayer is asked only for the dead.<sup>17</sup>

To whom is the petition directed? In the most ancient example cited above it is addressed to the priests standing around. The statements of the succeeding era, beginning with Amalar, mention the people without

1, 4, XXXIV (I, 663 C); similarly *ibid.*, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 A); 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 644 D); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 42; Hugo of St. Cher, *Tractatus* (ed. Sölch, 23); Durandus, IV, 32, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Missal of Toul: Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 651 C): *Orate fratres pro me peccatore, ut auferat Deus spiritum elationis et superbiae a me, ut pro meis et pro cunctis vestris delictis exorare queam. Per.*

<sup>14</sup> According to a didactic poem on the Mass written in German towards the end of the 12th century: Leitzmann (Kleine Texte, 54), 18, 1, 18.

<sup>15</sup> It is missing in a few older Mass orders: *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (*supra*, note 7); *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 993 B: *Orate pro me*); Ebner, 329, 334. But it is also still wanting today in the Dominican and Carthusian uses.

<sup>16</sup> Thus already in Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252 B). Still the formula seldom recurs without some slight alteration: . . . *sit acceptum in conspectu Domini*: Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 526 D); cf. *ibid.*, XXVI, XXVIII (638 A, 644 D); *in conspectu D. n. J. C.*: Martène, IV (533 C); *sit acceptabile in conspectu divinae pietatis*: Martène, XIII (I, 578 C); . . . *coram Deo acceptum sit sacrificium*: Martène, XXXIV (I, 663 C); *aptum sit Domino Deo nostro sacrificium*: Martène, XXXV (I, 668 A); etc.—The missal of St. Lawrence in Liège: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 592 C), offers a choice of this formula or two others, more freely composed: *ut me orantem pro vobis exaudiat Dominus,*

and: *Orate fratres pro me peccatore, ne mea peccata obsistant votis vestris.* A Mass-ordo of Bec: *ut digne valeam sacrificium offerre Deo*: Martène, XXXVI (I, 673 C); cf. Amalar's formulation, *supra*, p. 83. A Missale of Narbonne (1528) begs prayer *pro statu s. Dei Ecclesiae et pro me misero peccatore, ut omnipotens et misericors Deus placide et benigne sacrificium nostrum humiliter dignetur suscipere.* Martène, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 A).—Or else there is added to *Orate* the words *ad Dominum*—either *ad Dominum Deum Patrem omnipotentem* (Beck, 268), or even: *ad Dominum Jesum Christum, ut . . . placabile fiat* (Ferrerres, 131).—By way of exception we find mention only of *vestrum sacrificium*: Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 659 DE), or of *nostrum sacrificium*: XVII (I, 601 C).—Striking is the formula in the sacramentary of Amiens (9th c.): *ut vestrum pariter et nostrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat Deo*; Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 442.

<sup>17</sup> Thus the use of Sarum: *Orate fratres* (later version: *et sorores*) *pro fidelibus defunctis*; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 668 B); Legg, *Tracts*, 5, 221; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219. Somewhat expanded in the late medieval missals of Fécamp: Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 638 A), and of Evreux: *ibid.*, XXVIII (I, 644 D). The response is correspondingly changed. The transformation appears to have emanated from Rouen; cf. Martène, 1, 4, XXXVII (I, 678 A): *Orate fratres carissimi, pro me peccatore, ut meum pariter ac vestrum in conspectu Domini acceptum sit sacrificium*

exception. In the second Roman *ordo* (a product of Frankish territory), the bishop first gives the *schola* a signal *ut sileant*; then it continues: *et convertet se ad populum dicens: Orate.*<sup>18</sup> He therefore addresses himself to the whole assembly in a distinctly audible voice. In some isolated instances provision is even made for the priest to prefix a *Dominus vobiscum.*<sup>19</sup> Little, therefore, is lacking to make this address match those addresses which the priest sings at the service. In fact, in the Mozarabic liturgy the corresponding *Adjuvate me fratres* is actually sung.<sup>20</sup> In the Roman liturgy, however, it never came to this. The *Dominus vobiscum* was merely spoken softly—the directions for this are remarkably discordant—but then disappeared again.

The further development adhered to the direction that the priest turn *ad populum*; in at least half the cases this is expressly stated.<sup>21</sup> Before this, he kisses the altar,<sup>22</sup> as became the rule later on for all such occasions when the priest turns to the people. But he speaks the words in a subdued voice, as is indicated at various times.<sup>23</sup>

The fact that the priest, in turning towards the people here, completes the turn—a procedure differing from that at the *Dominus vobiscum*—<sup>24</sup> might incline one to look upon this as a similar stressing of the address to the people, but in reality there is a different explanation.<sup>25</sup>

That the people, and not merely the clerics, are addressed seems evident from the very form of the address as found in those non-monastic documents of the Middle Ages, outside Italy and Spain, which connect an

*apud Deum omnipotentem pro salute et requie tam vivorum quam mortuorum.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973 C).

<sup>19</sup> Durandus, IV, 32, 3 (cf. IV, 14, 10): *sub silentio* the priest should say *Dominus vobiscum*, then, *voce aliquantulum elevata*, the petition for prayers. Cf. John Beleh, *Explicatio*, c. 44 (PL, CCLII, 52 B). Two 1417 missals from Valencia exactly as in Durandus: Ferreres, 131. In Germany, too, even as late as 1462, Bernard of Waging makes mention of the practice many have of inserting the *Domine exaudi orationem meam* or the *Dominus vobiscum* before the *Orate pro me fratres*; Franz, 575.

<sup>20</sup> *Missale mixtum*: PL, LXXV, 537 A.

<sup>21</sup> In Italian Mass orders this rubric often reads: *ad circumstantes*—which in this era would not necessarily mean the same thing; Ebner, 301, 306, 314, 334, 341, 346.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 316, 36.

<sup>23</sup> Remigius of Auxerre (*supra*, note 4); *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians: Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 633 A): *dicens in*

*silentio*; Hugo of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 23): *secreto*.—The present-day rule that the first words be recited *voce aliquantulum elata* and the rest *secreto* (*Missale Rom. Ritus serv.*, VII, 7) appears for the first time in the *Ordo* of John Burchard (Legg, *Tracts*, 152). Further references in Sölch, Hugo, 83.

<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless this was not the practice in the ancient Cistercian rite; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 6.

<sup>25</sup> The real reason is probably that given by Gavanti, namely, that the priest turns to where the book is from which he is to read; cf. Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 326, with reference also to the fact that formerly the book frequently stood farther from the center of the altar than it does now. In fact, this is made clear, for instance by the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 240); according to this order the priest during the *secretum* stands between the book and the chalice and not simply in the middle, and therefore here too the priest is expected to make a complete turn (cf. to the

explicit address to the formula; the words *fratres et sorores* appear quite consistently.<sup>26</sup> In earlier sources, it is true, the address is usually made to the *fratres* alone,<sup>27</sup> and it is quite possible that the word specifies not the entire community of the faithful, as it did in ancient times,<sup>28</sup> but only the clergy.

But the unrestricted addition of *sorores* corroborates the belief that the medieval liturgists were in agreement with us in extending the word to include everyone, men and women, in the same way that St. Paul did when he addressed the whole community with the title “brethren.”

The present-day wording of the formula used by the priest first appears in Italian Mass *ordines* of the twelfth century and after.<sup>29</sup>

In the oldest witnesses to our petition for prayer,<sup>30</sup> no provision is made

contrary *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, ed. Volk, 93, 1. 19). It is the same already in the 12th century in the *Liber ordinarius* of the Premonstratensians (Lefevre, 11; cf. Waefelghem, 67 with note 2). Cf. also the *Liber usuum O. Cist.*, c. 53 (PL, CLXVI, 1424 D). Thus, we have the same situation as today before the last Gospel.—At the present time the rule just given suffers an apparent exception in the case of the *Dominus vobiscum* before the offertory; but here the reading of the offertory text is only secondary; Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 7 (I, 265 f.). Durandus, IV, 14, 11; 32, 3, remarks that the priest in general turns back to the left. The same remark in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 93, 1. 19; cf. 90, 1. 19; 97, 1. 14.—On the other hand, Fortescue, *The Mass*, 214, note, seems to regard the complete turn as the normal and natural one, and he explains the incomplete turn as the result of the priest's not wanting to turn his back on the deacon standing next to him at high Mass—a very questionable explanation, to say the least.

<sup>26</sup> Thus in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 512 A), and in the sacramentary of S. Denis: *ibid.*, V (I, 526 D). Common in the Netherlands Mass orders: Smits van Waesberghe, 325-327; also in those of Cologne; *ibid.*, 327; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 223; in the orders of Southern Germany: Beck, 238, 268, 308; Köck, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126; Hoeynck, 374; Franz, 753; in those of England: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 668 A, B); Legg, *Tracts*, 5; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219, note 5

(only the oldest Sarum MS, of the 13th century, has only *fratres*); Simmons, 100; Maskell, 98 f.; in Sweden: Yelverton, 15; in Riga: v. Bruiningk, 81. The double address also in some French Mass-orders: Martène, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 B); *ibid.*, i, 4, V; XXVI; XXXIV (I, 526 D, 638 A, 663 C); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 42. Exceptionally also in Italy: Sacramentary of Modena (before 1174; Muratori, I, 92); and in Hungary: Jávör, 121.

<sup>27</sup> Remigius of Auxerre (PL, CI, 1252): *Orate pro me fratres, ut*. Likewise in both sacramentaries of S. Thierry, 9th and 10th centuries: Martène, 1, 4, IX; X (I, 546 f.; 549 D); similarly in the Sacramentary of Ariens (*supra*, note 7).—Often they are addressed as *fratres carissimi*: Ebner, 299, 301; Martène, 1, 4, XXVII; XXXVII (I, 640 E, 678 A); also as *beatissimi fratres*: Ebner, 338. The *Ordinarium* of Coutance of 1557 (Legg, *Tracts*, 60) has: *Orate vos fratres mecum unanimes*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf., e.g., Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. 9, 2 (CSEL, 2, 12): the pagan objector is surprised that Christians love each other even before they know each other and call each other, without distinction, *fratres et sorores*. Then the Christian answers, c. 31, 8 (*ibid.*, 45): *nos, quod invidetis, fratres vocamus, ut unius Dei parentis homines, ut consortes fidei, ut spei coheredes*.—Cf. Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, c. 39, 8 ff. (CSEL, 69, 93).

<sup>29</sup> Ebner, 296, 313, 314, etc.

<sup>30</sup> *Supra*, p. 82.

for any answer. Even much later,<sup>31</sup> right down to the present,<sup>32</sup> there are isolated *ordines* where no response follows, just as in the present-day Roman service for Good Friday. The petition is interpreted simply as a request for the prayer of each individual. But already in the Carolingian period, answers of a kind were advised. Amalar heard it said that the people ought to pronounce three verses for the priest, namely verses 3-5 from Psalm 19: *Mittat tibi Dominus auxilium de sancto et de Sion tueatur te. Memor sit omnis sacrificii tui et holocaustum tuum pingue fiat. Tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum et omne consilium tuum confirmet*.<sup>33</sup> These verses, or also the first three verses of the psalm,<sup>34</sup> or at least the one or other verse of the same psalm, recur nearly everywhere during the following centuries in the answer to the *Orate fratres*, seldom alone, however,<sup>35</sup> but usually in combination with other formulas of intercession, which in their turn often occur all by themselves.

Thus, according to Remigius of Auxerre (d. c. 908), the people can respond with Psalm 19:2-4, or else with the words: *Sit Dominus in corde tuo et in ore tuo et*—in this continuation we have the first evidence of a *Suscipiat—suscipiat sacrificium sibi acceptum de ore tuo et de manibus tuis pro nostra omniumque salute. Amen*.<sup>36</sup> The Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, written about 870, contains under the inscription *Quid orandum sit ad missam pro sacerdote, quando petit pro se orare*, the words of the angel in Luke 1:35 transformed into a blessing: *Spiritus Sanctus superveniat in te et virtus Altissimi obumbret te*;<sup>37</sup> then Psalm 19:4-5, and after that the further prayer: *Da Domine pro nostris peccatis acceptabile et susceptibile fieri sacrificium in conspectu tuo*.<sup>38</sup> For the prayer which each is to say,

<sup>31</sup> Mainz Pontifical, about 1170: Martène, 1, 4, XVII (I, 601 C); cf. *ibid.*, XXXII f, XXXVII (I, 656 D, 659 E, 678 A); Lebrun, I, 328, note d. Thus frequently in later German Mass orders: Beck, 238, 268, 308; Köck, 121, 126; Salzburg incunabula of 1492 and 1498 (Hain, 11420 f.); also in Netherlands Mass-orders: Smits van Waesberghe, 325-327; likewise in Swedish orders: Yelverton (HBS, 57), 15; Freisen, *Manuale Lincopense*, p. XXVI.

<sup>32</sup> Dominican rite: Sölch, 84.—Also the Carthusians: A. Degand, “Chartreux,” DACL, III, 1056.

<sup>33</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1132).

<sup>34</sup> Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252 B). According to the Mass-order of York even as late as 1425 (Simmons, 100) and 1517 (Maskell, 100) the *chorus* responded with these verses, Ps. 19: 2-4.

<sup>35</sup> The three verses mentioned are found in the missal of Fécamp (14-15th c.): Mar-

tène, 1, 4, XXVII (I, 641 A); a second response is introduced by the word *sive*. Only one verse, Ps. 19: 4, in the missal of Toul: *ibid.*, XXXI (I, 651 C).—According to John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 44 (PL, CCII, 52 B), Pss. 19, 20 were said in full.

<sup>36</sup> Remigius, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252). The same double formula, with *Dominus sit et recipiat sacrificium*, in the contemporary Mass-ordo of Amiens, ed. Le-roquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 442. It also appears later in Italian Mass-plans: Ebner, 310, 313, 346. Somewhat modified, in the later missal of Toulon (about 1400): Martène, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 B).

<sup>37</sup> These words form the response in the older missal of Fécamp: Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 638 A); in Beauvais; *ibid.*, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 A); also in two Sarum MSS. of the 14th cent.: Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219, note 7.

<sup>38</sup> *Liber precationum quas Carolus Calvus . . . mandavit*, ed. Fel. Ninguarda, 115.

the Sacramentary of Séez has the initial words: *Orent pro te omnes sancti*,<sup>39</sup> and adds, after Psalm 19:4, the phrases: *Exaudiat te Dominus pro nobis orantem*<sup>40</sup> and *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua*.<sup>41</sup> Elsewhere appears the psalm verse (49-14): *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua*,<sup>42</sup> or the benediction: *Sancti Spiritus gratia illuminet cor tuum et labia tua*.<sup>43</sup> Several Mass *ordines* present a number of these answers, to be chosen at will,<sup>44</sup> and often the prayer is taken up again after the *Sanctus*.<sup>45</sup>

Aside from the psalm verses, the most widespread were the *Suscipiat* formulas, but these appeared in various versions<sup>46</sup> and usually as the continuation of some other text which was conjoined.<sup>47</sup> The version familiar to us, which appeared but seldom outside Italy,<sup>48</sup> had become the only formula current in Italy since the eleventh century,<sup>49</sup> and thus reached the *Missale Romanum*.

<sup>39</sup> This formula alone forms the response in Italian Mass-books: Ebner, 329, 341. In other cases with various additions; see, e.g., the Rhenish missal described by F. Rödel: *JL*, 4 (1924), 84.

<sup>40</sup> Thus the response in some Mass-books of Italian monasteries of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 306, 310; cf. 14, 20, 323; Fiala, 206. In the Hungarian sacramentary of Boldau (but with Psalm 19: 3-5; Radó, 43) and in two Seckau missals: Köck, 120, 122. The same with the addition of Ps. 49: 14 (*Immola*) in the Augsburg missal of 1386: Hoeyneck.

<sup>41</sup> PL, LXXVIII, 249 D.—Likewise with the addition of Luke 1: 35, Psalm 49: 14 and *Suscipiat* in the Mass-order of Gregorienmünster: Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 599 D).—Cf. the Missal of St. Lawrence in Liège: *ibid.*, XV (I, 592 C); sacramentary of Modena: Muratori, I, 92; sacramentary of Boldau: Radó, 43.

<sup>42</sup> These words are the beginning of the response as provided in the Pontifical of Durandus in the case when a bishop assists at the Mass of his chaplain: Martène, 1, 4, XXIII (I, 619 F); the bishop continues: *ipseque, tuus pius et misericors adiutor, exauditor existat*; Psalm 19: 3-4 and today's *Suscipiat* follows.—Psalm 49: 14 is also found within a long series of formulas in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 512 B), and in the Sacramentary of S. Denis: *ibid.*, V (I, 526 f.).

<sup>43</sup> With an added *Suscipiat* formula (*et accipiat . . .*) in the use of Sarum: Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV

(I, 668 A); cf. Ferreres, 133; Maskell, 100.

<sup>44</sup> Sacramentary of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 526 f.); William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 329; Durandus, IV, 32, 3.

<sup>45</sup> See *infra*.—The Sacramentary of Fonte Avellana (before 1325) has the priest himself recite the respective psalms, 24, 50, 89 and 90, after he receives the response to his *Orate fratres* (PL, CLI, 887 B).

<sup>46</sup> E.g., in the Sacramentary of S. Denis: Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 526 E): *Suscipiat Dominus sacrificium de manibus tuis ad tuam et nostrorum salutem omniumque circumadstantium et animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum*.—In Spain: *Suscipiat Dominus Jesus Christus sacrificium de manibus tuis et dimittat tibi omnia peccata*; Ferreres, p. CV; 131, 132; Ebner, 342. A Bobbio missal of the 10-11th century: *Accipiat Dominus Deus omnipotens sacrificium . . . ad utilitatem totius sanctae Dei Ecclesiae*; Ebner, 81.—MSS of the 14th century from Gerona offer as the sole response a formula that is otherwise hardly ever found: *Oratio tua accepta sit in conspectu Altissimi et nos tecum pariter salvari mereamur in perpetuum*; Ferreres, 131 (n. 524); cf. *ibid.*, XXVIII; also in the Missal of Narbonne (1528): Martène, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 A).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 87.

<sup>48</sup> An example *supra*, note 42.

<sup>49</sup> Ebner, 299, 301, 323, 334, 338, 348, 356.

As is evident from the statements above, the answer is committed, time and again, to the people. This assignment to the people occurs in some individual instances right on to the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>50</sup> At least in those cases where *fratres* and *sorores* are addressed, it can hardly cause astonishment.<sup>51</sup> At other times, both in early and late texts, the *circumstantes*<sup>52</sup> or the *clerici*<sup>53</sup> or the *chorus*<sup>54</sup> are named. It is noteworthy that in a group of Mass-orders of the 11-12th century the answer should be given by each one (*a singulis*).<sup>55</sup> It is curious that the text is not to be said aloud, but is to be regarded as an aid to private prayer. Silent prayer by the individual was evidently presupposed from the very start wherever the books did not contain an answer; and even where texts were then presented, they were at first probably intended for a similar purpose.<sup>56</sup> The later rule<sup>57</sup> was probably that the answer be given by the choir of clerics in common, since its Latin form and considerable length was too much for the people to master.<sup>58</sup> There is one extreme case of an *ordo* of Sarum in England, where at a Mass for the Dead the special answer is united with the chant of the offertory. When the priest has softly spoken the *Orate fratres et sorores pro fidelibus defunctis*, the clergy

<sup>50</sup> Sacramentary of Barcelona (13th c.): Ebner, 342; Spanish missals of the 14th and 15th centuries: Ferreres, 131.—Missal of Fécamp about 1400: Martène, 1, 4, XXVII (I, 641 A): *Oratio populi pro sacerdote dicentis hos versus*.—Cf. Missal of Toul (about 1400): *ibid.*, XXXI (I, 651 C): *respondetur ei ab omnibus*.

<sup>51</sup> A Pontifical of Laon (13th c.) has even a rubric: *Et respondeant fratres et sorores: Suscipiat*. V. Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux*, I (Paris, 1937), 167.

<sup>52</sup> Ebner, 314, 323, 338; Martène, 1, 4, VI; XV (I, 533 C; 592 C). Thus also in the present-day Roman Missal: *Et responso a Ministro, vel a circumstantibus: Suscipiat . . .*; Rit. serv., VII, 7.

<sup>53</sup> Martène, 1, 4, XVI; XXVI (I, 599; 638 A); Ferreres, 133.

<sup>54</sup> Martène, 1, 4, XXII (I, 612 C); York Mass order: Simmons, 100.

<sup>55</sup> Martène, 1, 4, IV; XIII (I, 512 A; 578 C); Ebner, 301, 334.

<sup>56</sup> This is the natural interpretation for the text in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, *supra*, p. 87.—Therefore also the stressing of silent prayer. Cf. John Belet, *Explicatio* c. 44 (PL, CCII, 52 B): When we hear the priest saying the *Orate fratres*, we must pray quietly (*secreto*); and the author suggests Psalms 19 and 20. Simi-

larly Durandus, IV, 32, 3: *populus debet similiter secreta orare respondens . . .*

<sup>57</sup> But authentic examples are to be found already since the 11-12th century: Ebner, 338.—In the Customarium of Sarum (13th c.) we find the following in the order for high Mass after the priest has said the *Orate fratres et sorores* softly (*tacita voce*): *Responsio clerici privatim: Sancti Spiritus . . .* Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 78.

<sup>58</sup> According to the English *Lay Folks Mass Book* (Simmons, 24; cf. *supra*, I, 243), a participation of the laity is urged on all: "Then he asks with quiet voice—For each man's prayers to God of heaven. Take good heed unto the priest.—When he turns knock on thy breast—And think then for thy sin—Thou art not worthy to pray for him . . . Answer the priest with this aloud ("on high") :—The Holy Ghost in thee light—And send His grace unto the right—To rule thy heart and thy speaking—To God's worship and His loving. (Modernized wording and spelling.) The rimed prayer over, the author continues, you might add a *Pater, Ave* and *Credo*.—In the same sense the Melk Commentary, written in 1366, introduces the three formulas for the response with the remark: *tunc astantes et literati dicent: Memor sit*; Franz, 510, note 3.

answer by singing the last verse of the offertory chant: *Requiem æternam dona eis Domine et lux perpetua luceat eis, Quam olim Abraham promissisti et semini eius.*<sup>50</sup>

## 8. The Secret

In the liturgy of the city of Rome in the early Middle Ages, the collecting and depositing of the offertory gifts was not accompanied by any prayer at all, but simply by the singing of the offertory. Not till the external activity had come to an end did the celebrant once more take up the phrases of the *oratio super oblata*, the present-day secret. Just as the entrance procession was concluded with the collect, and the communion with the post-communion, so the oblation was concluded with this oration which appears, like the others, in all the Roman sacramentaries and, like them, varies according to the Church year, and agrees with them in structure and design. Like them, it is spoken in the prayer posture of the *orantes*,<sup>1</sup> and was likewise at one time (as is self-evident) pronounced in a loud voice. Even today the final words *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, like the *Oremus* at the start, which belongs to it,<sup>2</sup> are sung aloud. In the Milanese Mass the practice has been retained even at present of saying the whole *oratio super oblata* aloud.<sup>3</sup>

The first point to clear up is the puzzling problem of how the *oratio super oblata*<sup>4</sup> came to be said silently. The earliest evidence of the quiet recitation of this prayer appears in the middle of the eighth century in Frankish territory, in the tradition of John the Arch-chanter.<sup>5</sup> We are thus led to the opinion that the name *secretæ* appeared in the North and that it was here created to indicate that the pertinent oration was to be spoken softly.<sup>6</sup> From then on, the quiet recitation of this prayer was taken

<sup>50</sup> Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 668 B); Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 78; cf. *supra*, p. 84. The same answer already in the Ordinarium of the 13th century, but here with the superscription: *responsio populi*. Legg, *Tracts*, 221.

<sup>1</sup> The Ordinarium of Coutances (1557) has a late deviation from this rule; according to this order the *secretæ* is said *manibus super sacrificio extensis*: Legg, *Tracts*, 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, I, 483 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), p. V.

<sup>4</sup> This title is found in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 1). Here even the individual formulas are headed: *Super oblata* (Cod. Pad. D 47, ed. Mohlberg-Baumstark: *Super oblatam*); likewise in the later Gelasianum, ed. Mohlberg. The same designation is to be found in the oldest *ordines*, insofar as they note

the subject; in the *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII 973 D): *dicta oratione super oblationes secretæ*; and in the *Ordo* of Johannes Archicantor, *Capitulare* (see following note).

<sup>5</sup> *Capitulare eccl. ordinis* (Silva-Tarouca, 198: *Tunc pontifex inclinato vultu in terram dicit orationem super oblationes ita ut nullus præter Deum et ipsum audiat nisi tantum Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*. Similarly the adaptation in the *Breviarium* (*ibid.*).

<sup>6</sup> This is the explanation given by Fortescue, *The Mass*, 312. Other explanations of the name are pure hypotheses. Ever since Bossuet it has come to be generally accepted—without historical evidence—that *secretæ* = *oratio ad secretionem*, that is, either at the “sorting out” of the sacrificial gifts (an action which as such had

for granted in the Frankish realm, and the custom became common. In fact, the practice was brought into line with this same *secretæ*,<sup>7</sup> which was likewise commonly employed.<sup>8</sup> The name *secretæ* does indeed appear as a heading even in one portion of the Roman tradition, the earliest evidence being the older Gelasian Sacramentary. But the question is whether its use is not to be traced entirely to the influx of the Gallic liturgy.<sup>9</sup> The cardinal argument for this is the manuscript evidence that at least fifty years before this first Roman witness to its use, it is found in a source of the Gallic liturgy, namely, the Missal of Bobbio, and with every indication of a non-Roman origin.<sup>10</sup> We then find we are forced to a second conclusion, that it was in Gallic territory that this low speaking was first employed for the Roman *Oratio super oblata*, just as was the case somewhat later in regard to the canon. For this low pronouncement of a liturgical text is as much in contradiction to ancient Roman usage as it is in harmony with the tendency of the Gallo-Frankish liturgy. Here, in fact, it is

no religious signification beyond this, but only a purely practical one; thus the secret is equivalently *oratio super secretæ* [a merely conjectural form]; or else at the “sorting out,” that is, the dismissal of the catechumens (there is nothing in the contents to show any connection with this act).—Batiffol, *Legons*, 161 (cf. *ibid.*, 7th ed., p. XXI), proposed a derivation of *secretæ* from *secernere* in the sense of *benedicere*, a meaning which is nowhere to be traced.—Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 171 f., regards *secretæ* as equivalent to *mysteria*, which appears in Innocent I, *Ep.* 25 (PL, XX, 553 f.) as a designation of the prayers of the canon; the word, he thinks, then survived as the name of the introductory prayer. However, we are concerned not with *mysteria* but with *secretæ*, and this is not found as the name of the canon from *Te igitur* on till the 9th century, and for the full canon including our oblation prayer not till the 12th century, so that its clinging to our prayer already in the 8th century remains unexplained. Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 93 ff., 105 ff. Even what Th. Michels, *Liturg. Leben*, 3 (1936), 307 f., adduces in support of Brinktrine only proves that *secretæ* = canon in the 11th century.

<sup>7</sup> Amalar, *Liber off.*, III, 20, 1 (Hanssens, II, 323): *Secretæ ideo nominatur, quia secreto dicitur*. The same thing is implied by the designation *arcana* in Frankish sacramentaries, to which Martène, 1, 4, 7 5, (I, 396 D), refers.

<sup>8</sup> The older designation survived the longest in MSS. of the Gregorianum. But even here it was soon replaced by *secretæ*, as e.g., partially in the MS. of Pamelius (Cologne, 1571).—A group of South French and Spanish MSS. since the 11th century uses the name *sacra*, which arose from a misunderstanding of the abbreviation *scr.* Cf. A. Wilmart, “Une curieuse expression pour designer l’oraison secrète,” *Bulletin de litt. ecclés.*, 1925, 94-103; cf. *JL*, (1925), 291 f. Examples of this also in Ferreres, 132, and *passim* in his introductory description of the MSS.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 93 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Here, too, the name *secretæ* appears as a heading over the last formula that precedes the preface. Although the Bobbio missal displays a large degree of Roman liturgy, still among perhaps a dozen cases where the heading occurs there is one, if I mistake not, where the name indicates a Roman *oratio super oblata*; this is the oration *Munda nos Domine* (Sacramentary of Padua: Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 706); see Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal* (HBS, 58), n. 514. As for the other instances, there are some few Roman collects, rather general in content, that are used as *secretæ*, and mostly they are purely Gallic formulas. On the other hand, time and again Roman *super oblata* formulas appear under the Gallic captions *Post nomina* and *Ad pacem*; see Lowe, 6, 154, 260, et al. This shows conclusively that their designation

that all the silent prayers come to light which have since filled out the offertory.<sup>11</sup>

In the formation of the practice, reminiscences of the Gallic liturgy and, in the last analysis, some suggestions from the Orient must have been at work. The place of the Roman offertory was taken in the Gallican Mass by the offertory procession at which a holy silence was advised.<sup>12</sup> At any rate, silent prayer at this point is an ancient tradition in the sister-liturgy, the Mozarabic.<sup>13</sup> And silent prayer, especially in the form of *apologiae*, as well as of incense prayers, and (by no means lastly) oblation prayers, must have become customary in the Gallican Mass, in connection with the offertory procession. Otherwise, the elements of this sort which had forced their way here into the Roman Mass as early as the ninth century, are not understandable.<sup>14</sup> We have already had occasion to ascertain that precisely at this point oriental models had an influence in the Frankish realm, where we have even encountered word-for-word borrowings from the Greek Liturgy of St. James, *i. e.*, from the liturgy of the center of pilgrimage, Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> For here we also came upon the pictorial model: the solemn entrance of the Great King (proleptically honored in the gift-offerings) amid the resounding lines of the Cherubic hymn, which demands silence while the priest performs silent prayer.<sup>16</sup> The tendency to perform the prayer at the oblation softly must have been given even further force in the East, since in 565 Justinian felt compelled to issue a

here as *secretata* does not stem from the Roman source, much as the Bobbio missal otherwise shows only Gallic formula headings.—A more primitive interpretation of the word is found in the designation *Post secreta* (for which also *Post mysterium*) which is used in the *Missale Gothicum* and also in the *Missale Gothicum vetus* for the first prayer after the consecration; Muratori, II, 522, 534, 559, etc.; 699, 705.

<sup>11</sup> The main argument against this explanation is the fact already noted that the other Gelasianum, which in general presents us with the Roman liturgy of the 6th century, has the heading *secretata* throughout. But against this is to be observed that the only surviving manuscript of this sacramentary was not written till the 8th century, in Frankish territory, and displays many different Frankish additions. Presumably the Roman original for this copy generally had no captions for the individual formulas, as is the case in the Leonianum. Otherwise it would be hard to understand how the later Gelasianum, which in general takes the formulas from the older one, substituted as a caption the

Gregorian *Super oblata*.

<sup>12</sup> *Expositio ant. lit. gallicanae* (ed. Quasten, 17): *spiritualiter iubemur silentium facere*. Righetti, *Manuale*, III, 288, wrongly refers the *spiritualiter* to a mere "racoglimento spirituale interiore." Naturally it does not exclude the singing of the *sonus*.  
<sup>13</sup> After the *Adiuuate me fratres*, an apologia which goes back to Julian of Toledo (d. 690) is spoken quietly (*silentio*): *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 538 f.).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 78 f.; II, 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Supra*, p. 73.

<sup>16</sup> Brightman, 41: Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σάρξ. Immediately preceding is the incensation prayer used in S. Denis; see *supra*, p. 73. Cf. the Byzantine liturgy: Brightman, 377 f.—How much this silence at the Entrance with the sacrificial gifts was already stressed in the 5th century can be seen from the commentary on the liturgy in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.* V (Rücker, *Ritus bapt. et missae*, 22): all must look at the offering, when it is carried in by the deacons, in *silentio et timore et oratione tacita*. Likewise in the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 12, 44 (Quasten,

special ordinance against it.<sup>17</sup> It is quite possible that recollections from pagan antiquity were still operative here.<sup>18</sup>

That the *secretata*, as it is now usually called, possessed a greater importance in comparison with the other offertory prayers, somehow remained in the consciousness even in the new Frankish arrangement of the offertory. In a few isolated instances it was realized that the secret was conjoined to the foregoing *Oremus*,<sup>19</sup> or it was given a new introduction befitting an oration. The *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians stipulate that the priest repeats the *Oremus*, both before the first and before the second secret,<sup>20</sup> but they insist (obviously in opposition to a contrary practice then in process of forming) that no *Domine exaudi* be prefaced. As a matter of fact, this versicle too is found more than once since the thirteenth century prefixed to the secret.<sup>21</sup> Elsewhere the *Orate Fratres* was made equivalent of the *Oremus* and, as we saw, the *Dominus vobiscum* was consistently prefixed to it.<sup>22</sup> All these were attempts at remodeling in line with a late medieval conception of the canon, which was considered as starting with the secret, and in fact as forming a unit with it, a single *secretata*.<sup>23</sup>

*Mon.*, 212), silent prayer is indicated for the celebrant at the same moment: εὐξάμενος οὖν καθ'ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς. Cf. also Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 96-98.

<sup>17</sup> *Novelle*, 137, 6: *Iubemus omnes et episcopos et presbyteros non tacite, sed ea voce quae a fidei populo exaudiatur, sacram oblationem . . . faciant*. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 210 f.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. O. Casel, *Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier*, 3-5 ed. (Ecclesia Orans, 9; Freiburg, 1923), 135-157.

<sup>19</sup> Thus even Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 55; 60 (PL, 217, 831; 834): At the *Oremus* the priest interrupted the prayer which he now resumes. Similarly Durandus, IV, 32, 3.

<sup>20</sup> Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 633 A).

<sup>21</sup> *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 240), and in the present-day *Missale O.P.* (1889), 19; *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 93; Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century: Binterim, IV, 3, p. 223; *Ordinale* of the Carmelites of 1312 (Zimmerman, 80) and the present-day *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), 226.—Late medieval Mass orders from France: Martène, I, 4, XXXI; XXXIV (I, 651 C, 663 C); Lebrun, I, 331 note c; and from the Netherlands: Smits van Waesberghe, 325; 326; 327.—In some few cases the *Dominus vobiscum* precedes: *Alphabetum sacerdo-*

*tum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 42; *Ordinarium* of Coutances: *ibid.*, 61. In Iceland it was prescribed in 1345 at a synod: Segelberg, 256 f. Likewise in the Upsala *Missale* of 1513, which in addition puts the versicle *Domine Deus virtutum* at the start: Yelverton, 15. Cf. also Lebrun, I, 331.—Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 173, expresses the opinion that already in the oldest manuscript evidences of the Gelasian Sacramentary, which do not note a *Dominus vobiscum* before the *Sursum corda*, one is to be presupposed along with the *Oremus* before the *secretata*. This conjecture is bracketed with his conception of the *secretata* as a pre-formula for the preface, analogous to the pre-formula at the consecration of the chrisom on Maundy Thursday (older Gelasianum, ed. Wilson, 70). Even if the idea of a pre-formula is not to be rejected absolutely—for the whole offertory is a fore-rite, a pre-consecration—yet the conclusion he draws goes too far, for in the period under consideration the coherence with the *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus* before the offertory was surely known and recognized.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 85.

<sup>23</sup> See *infra*, p. 104. In the Cod. 150 of St. Gall (9th c.) the presentation of the rubrics of the canon known as *Ordo "Qualiter quaedam orationes"* begins with the *secretata* (Andrieu, II, 295).—As a matter of fact,

But if we want to find the real meaning of our oration, that is, the meaning consonant with its origin, we must look, as we have said, not forwards but backwards. The secret is the prayer which concludes the offering and depositing of the material gifts and which explains their significance by transmuting them into the language of prayer. The creation of such a prayer must be considered a natural result, if not a matter of course, once the material gift itself was regarded as an oblation to God and, by the inclusion of the people in it, its symbolic meaning was emphasized. Thus we find already in the oldest Roman sacramentary, the *Leonianum*, precisely those traits clearly marked which still, even at the present time, distinguish the secret. No matter how the formula varies, the same thought consistently recurs in different words: We offer God gifts, *dona, munera, oblationem*; less frequently—and then obviously only to diversify the expression—*hostias, sacrificium*. They are in the first instance earthly gifts, as is occasionally pointed out in due form: *Altaribus tuis, Domine, munera terrena gratanter offerimus, ut caelestia consequamur, damus temporalia ut sumamus aeterna. Per . . .*<sup>24</sup> Or: *Exercentes Domine gloriosa commercia offerimus quæ dedisti.*<sup>25</sup> Or, in one formula, which we still use today: *Domine Deus noster, qui in his potius creaturis, quas ad fragilitatis nostræ præsidium condidisti, tuo quoque nomini munera iussisti dicanda constitui . . .*<sup>26</sup> Or the attention is called with unconstrained assurance to the heap of gifts offered up: *Tua Domine muneribus altaria cumulamus . . .*<sup>27</sup> But the gifts represent no independent sacrifice; they are offered up only to be merged into the sacrifice of Christ. At times, even in the secret, the prayer touches upon this disposition of the gifts: *Sacrandum tibi, Domine, munus offerimus . . .*<sup>28</sup> Or: *Propitius, Domine quæsumus, hæc dona sanctifica.*<sup>29</sup> Or: *Remotis obumbrationibus carnalium victimarum spiritalem tibi, summe Pater, hostiam supplicii servitute deferimus.*<sup>30</sup> Still, such an extension of the thought, although corresponding to a general law of development, is less frequent in the older texts, particularly in the *Leonianum*, than in later ones and those of the present time, just as on the other hand the complete absence of the thought of sacrifice has always, from the beginning until now, continued to be an exception.<sup>31</sup>

Brinktrine (cf. above, note 21) seeks to revive this concept of the canon; according to him the second main portion of the Mass, the "Eucharistic consecration," begins with the secreta (168 ff.).

<sup>24</sup> Muratori, I, 303. <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Muratori, I, 415. Further sources in the oldest sacramentaries, see Mohlberg-Manz, n. 388.—*Missale Rom.*, Thursday of Passion week.

<sup>27</sup> Muratori, I, 324; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 930.—For the expression *altaria* cf. *supra*, p. 7.—For the idea that the secreta is in-

tended first of all for the material gifts, see also Batiffol, *Legons*, 162 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Muratori, I, 465; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1368. *Missale Rom.* on Nov. 29.

<sup>29</sup> Muratori, I, 318; 320, Mohlberg-Manz, n. 823.

<sup>30</sup> Muratori, I, 327; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 846.

<sup>31</sup> Examples of such exceptions in the *Missale Rom.* on Dec. 31 and often on saints' feasts: *Sancti tui* (cf. the Frankish Gelasianum, ed. Mohlberg, n. 74; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 74); on March 25: *In mentibus*

However, the sacrificial oblation does indeed appear in divers modifications. Besides the *offerimus* and *immolamus* there stands the *suscipe, respice, ne despicias, intende placatus* or—often on feast days—the reference to the merits of the saints or to the redemptive mystery being celebrated, which may recommend our gifts to God: *Ecclesiae tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, preces et hostias beati Petri Apostoli commendet oratio.*<sup>32</sup> Or prayer is said for the right disposition to offer the sacrifice worthily or, inversely, even for the fruit of the sacrifice already offered up, with the sacrifice itself being named only *in obliquo*. Sometimes we even get a momentary glimpse of the whole composite of sacrifice and sacrificial symbol, as in the wonderful secret on Pentecost Monday: *Propitius, Domine quæsumus, hæc dona sanctifica et hostiæ spiritalis oblatione suscepta nosmetipsos tibi perforce munus aeternum. Per . . .*<sup>33</sup> Mostly, however, the petition that is linked with the oblation—the secret is indeed formulated as an *oratio*, that is, a prayer of petition—is kept very general: as our gift mounts up, so may God's blessing come down upon us. Thus there is frequent mention of the mystical exchange, of the *sacrosancta commercia*, of the *huius sacrificii veneranda commercia* which are consummated in the sacred celebration.

In the whole tradition of the Roman sacramentaries two points are strictly maintained; the secret is always formulated in the plural as a prayer of the congregation: *offerimus, immolamus, munera nostra, oblationes populi tui*; and it is directed to God and concluded with *Per Dominum*. Even the Missal of Pius V contains not one exception to this rule. As a matter of fact, if that ancient law: *Cum altari assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio*,<sup>34</sup> should have been maintained anywhere in liturgical prayer it was here where there was question not of receiving the sacrifice instituted by Christ, but of offering it up to the heavenly Father. Of course, it is still conformable to Catholic dogma to direct the oblation to Christ Himself.<sup>35</sup> The first exception of this sort in the *Missale Romanum* is found in the secret for the feast of St. Anthony of Padua, which was prescribed for the Church universal by Pope Sixtus V. Later on, a few other cases were added right down to most recent times.<sup>36</sup>

For a long time it has been the rule that at each Mass there should be

*nostris* (cf. Gregorianum, ed. Lietzmann, n. 31, 3).

<sup>32</sup> In cathedra s. Petri; cf. the Frankish Gelasianum, ed. Mohlberg, n. 218; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 218).

<sup>33</sup> Already also in the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 318; 320); Mohlberg-Manz, n. 823.

<sup>34</sup> *Supra*, I, 379 f.

<sup>35</sup> In the Byzantine Church during the 12th century, a controversy was waged regarding the dogmatic admissibility of offering to Christ; it was settled in 1156 by a

synod at Constantinople, along the lines noted above. C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, V (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1886), 567 f.—The decision would run differently, of course, if passed from the viewpoint not of dogma but of kerygma.

<sup>36</sup> More detailed references in Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi* (1925), 103, 106 f.—And, since 1932, the Mass of St. Gabriel Possenti on Feb. 27 (28), where all three orations are addressed to Christ.

as many secrets—and then also post-communions—as there are collects.<sup>37</sup> This rule is not entirely self-evident since in the formulas for the secret—which revolves more strictly around its own theme and seldom adds a relative predication to the word of address<sup>38</sup>—the content varies but little and the influence of the Church year is slight, aside from the fact that on saints' feasts the intercession of the saints is usually bracketed with the oblation. Thus, the superaddition of several formulas at times simply amounts to a repetition of the same thought. Still, the rule was inculcated with increasing positiveness,<sup>39</sup> evidently because it conformed to a sense of symmetry.

The concluding words of the last secret, *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, are spoken in a loud voice.<sup>40</sup> That at least the words of a prayer destined for public performance should be said aloud is a law which we see followed in other places too: at the conclusion of the canon and the final words of the embolism. In both cases the same phrase is in question, *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*. The Our Father is also often handled in the same way outside of Mass. In the oriental liturgies, the silent praying of the priestly orations occupies a much larger space, especially owing to the convergence of the priestly prayer with the alternate prayer of deacon and people which used to precede it; as a result, the so-called ἐκφώνησις plays a grand role.<sup>41</sup> It is generally more extensive than its occidental counterpart, comprising as a rule a complete doxology, so that the people's *Amen* retains a meaning as an affirmation of the latter. Our *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* demands a complement in the foregoing prayer of the priest. This is not difficult, inasmuch as the course of the priestly prayers remains essentially constant in all three instances. Looked upon formally, this loud-spoken *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* refers back once more to the *Oremus* that stands at the beginning and draws all that comes in between into a unit. For what comes in between is actually an *orare*, with this difference, that the words have been reinforced by the external symbol. Remigius of Auxerre (d. c. 908) still had a vital sense of just this reality, for he explains the seemingly isolated *Oremus* by claiming it to be an invitation to the faithful to be mindful of the oblation by joining to it their inmost offering so that their gift might be agreeable to the Lord.<sup>42</sup> In the same sense a large number of ancient formulas of the secret speak expressly not only of the sacrificial gifts, but at the same time of the prayers of the people: *Suscipe quæsumus Domine preces populi cum oblationibus*

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 387.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 375.

<sup>39</sup> See, e.g. Durandus, IV, 15, 16.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 90, and likewise Amalar *Liber off.*, III, 19, 9 (Hanssens, II, 313 f.). —Later MSS. of the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 1) also add to the mention of the *oratio super oblata* the direction: *qua com-*

*pleta dicit sacerdos excelsa voce: Per omnia.*

<sup>41</sup> Technical expressions from the non-Greek liturgies, see Brightman, 596. Fortescue, *The Mass*, 314, note 2, also presents several oriental terms. The Nestorians call it *kanuna*, from κανών.

<sup>42</sup> Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio*, (PL, 101, 1251 C): *Ita autem potest intelligi...*

*hostiarum;*<sup>43</sup> *Muneribus nostris, quæsumus Domine, precibusque susceptis;*<sup>44</sup> *Offerimus tibi, Domine, preces et munera.*<sup>45</sup> The repeated occurrence of such formulas in the Mass formularies that bear the stamp of greatest antiquity forces the conclusion that the mention of prayer refers basically to that prayer which the *Oremus* had ushered in.<sup>46</sup>

## 9. The Oblation Rites as a Unit

In view of the perplexing plenitude of forms and formulas which we have seen building up in the offertory during the course of centuries, there is ample ground for inquiring just how, in the light of what we have learned, are we to evaluate the completed structure. More particularly, how should we regard as a whole the series of texts which, as a result of the medieval development, now stand in our *Missale Romanum*?<sup>1</sup> And how can we give this whole its fullest significance in the course of our celebration of Mass?

There is, first of all, no denying that here we have an anticipation of the thought of the canon, and therefore a certain duplication. True, it was not till the late Middle Ages that the term "little (or lesser) canon" was applied to the offertory rites,<sup>2</sup> but the idea long stood unexpressed behind the new formation. In the liturgical thinking of the Middle Ages the wording of the Great Prayer of the Mass had only a small role to play. It was couched in a language whose Roman stamp continued to be strange and foreign to the newer nations, no matter how hard they tried to speak Latin and think Catholic. The canon, and this understood more and more

*ut omnis populus oblationi insistere iubeatur, dum oblaturi intentionem suam offerunt, quatenus illorum oblatio accepta sit Domino.* Cf. also Amalar, *Liber off.*, proœmium n. 13 (Hanssens, II, 16).

<sup>43</sup> The formulas from Holy Saturday to Easter Tuesday begin in this way, already in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 87 90).

<sup>44</sup> *Commune martyrum*, et al.; in the Gregorianum in six places (Lietzmann, p. 182). Cf. also Mohlberg-Manz, n. 69.

<sup>45</sup> Votive Mass of the Apostles. Cf. Mohlberg-Manz, n. 982, 1111, 1255. Already in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 334; 335).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 483 f.

<sup>1</sup> With the present-day wording and in the present-day order (with two additions, and leaving aside the hand-washing which is still at the start of the series) already in the Mass order of the papal chapel about 1290, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 201-203; Ebner, 347. Cf. the Minorite missal of the 13th century; *ibid.*, 314.—Rome

did not share at all in the late medieval developments (*supra*, p. 65 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> This description of the offertory as a "canon in miniature" appears, e.g., in Hungary in the 15th century: Jávör, 120, Radó, 125; in two Regensburg missals of the 15-16th century: Beck, 237, 266; in Augsburg missals already since 1386: Hoeynck, 372 f. In the Mass-commentary "Messe singen oder lesen" (To sing or read Mass) of 1484, which likewise appeared in Augsburg, we even read that it does not behoove lay people to read the *canon minor*, which it calls "A lesser silent Mass": *Und hie hebt an Canon minor, das ist die minder Stillmesse, die dem leyen nit zymment zu lesen*; Franz, 713; cf. 633. The rigorous interpretation expressed in these words was otherwise applied only to the text beginning with the *secreta*. That is to say, it was only with the start of the *secreta* that the concept of the *canon minor* was reduced to practice in dead earnest.

as starting with the *secreta* and continuing through its entire course, was taken as the hallowed consecration text, to be given out objectively and faithfully just as it was, but hardly appeared to be a medium for expressing one's own thought or one's own prayer needs.

So the opportunity was soon taken, in connection with the preparation of the gifts, to get these personal matters into the rite. Basically, however, it was the olden concepts that came to the fore: oblation, prayer for acceptance, intercession; even the wording was taken in great part from the Roman canon and the texts of the *oratio super oblata*. But some new points also put in an appearance. The oblation was made "for" certain intentions; today, however, these are to be found only in a few phrases. The oblation of the "spotless sacrifice" was raised out of the dusty shadows of personal sinfulness; this, too, in contrast to the frequency it had once upon a time amid a profusion of *apologiæ*, is now mentioned only in the first offertory prayer. Besides, the personal activity of the priest is now more to the fore. The priest speaks in the singular, a mode of expression consonant with the new position of the priest, who feels himself more sharply detached from the people. Still, in some passages the singular was again restricted.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, in the response to the *Orate fratres* provision was also made, at least in principle, for the prayer of the people, a prayer that represents intercession for the priest himself. There was also a break-up that took place in the formation of a separate oblation for each of the sacrificial elements. The tendency to coordinate the two oblations that had developed out of the original oblation phrases, and to arrange them together in marked symmetry did indeed make some headway, but never succeeded entirely. But if the oblation service was broadened out in extent, it also disintegrated in another way, for the presentation and offering was supplemented by the epikletic pleas for power from above. This double movement is well disclosed in the present-day ceremonial when, after the individual offering of the paten and the chalice, there follows first the humble petition for acceptance, *In spiritu humilitatis*, in which expression is given with biblical force<sup>4</sup> to the more profound meaning of all external oblation, the personal surrender of one's heart and the interior readiness for sacrifice; but then comes a cry for the sanctifying power from above, which can give our earthly gift its proper dedication.

Considered from the viewpoint of language and style, the Roman oration spoken at the commingling of the water with the wine stands in definite contrast to the remaining prayers, which are not formulated with such exactness and which, because of their close connection with the individual activity, manifest no rigorous line of thought. On the other

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, p. 46 ff. with note 41, p. 50. of the text in G. E. Closen, *Wege in die*  
<sup>4</sup> See the fine biblico-liturgical exposition *Hl. Schrift* (Regensburg, 1939), 148-156.

hand, a closer resemblance to the form of the prayer of the canon (such as might have existed had the prayers each ended with *Per Christum*<sup>5</sup> did not gain general acceptance.

All in all, the offertory prayers of our present-day *Ordo Missæ* can be considered a needless anticipation of the canon only if we pivot our attention on the *missa lecta* where the dominant and recessive elements of the service are all evened out, and if consequently we bestow on these prayers as much weight as on the pithy phrases of the canon. These prayers do not pretend to be an anticipation of the canon, but rather a suggestion of its various motives. Indeed they are generally not even "prayers" in the full sense, but predominantly accompanying phrases to match the external action. They were never intended—excepting in part the *Orate fratres*—to be recited publicly before the congregation, and thus make no pretense at furthering the dramatic performance of the Mass.

To some extent it is different with regard to the ancient *oratio super oblata*, which is, too, in its own way, actually an anticipation of the concept of sacrifice. From it, too, the proper arrangement of the medieval texts must derive. The *oratio super oblata* endeavors to underline the one step taken during the entire oblation rite: the provisional offering of the material gifts. Even these material gifts of bread and wine can be symbols of our interior surrender. So, just as they were brought to the altar by the faithful, in an external rite, they are now offered up to God by the Church in prayer, but at the same time the attention focuses on the veritable gift which will issue from the material ones. These latter, then, receive thereby a preliminary dedication, a "pre-consecration,"<sup>6</sup> similar to the preparatory consecration received by other requisites of divine worship, church and altar, chalice and paten, candles and altar-linens. There is no reason why we cannot include the more recent oblation prayers in this function of the secret; thus they will best fit into the course of the Mass.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In several late medieval Mass arrangements not only some but all the proper formulas were applied with this conclusion, including *In spiritu humilitatis* and *Veni sanctificator*, sometimes even *Orate fratres* and short accompanying phrases like *Acceptabile sit omnipotenti Deo sacrificium nostrum*; see, e.g., Martène, I, 4, XXXI f. (I, 651; 656); Köck, 125 f.; likewise the Regensburg missal of the 15-16th century, according to which the priest was to say the *canon minor* with hands uplifted: *elevatis manibus in cælum*; Beck, 266 f. The only prayers that could possibly be meant here are those which, according to prevailing medieval custom, were said bowed or with hands folded. The

formula *Suscipe sancte Pater* has the christological conclusion already in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 508 E).

<sup>6</sup> This idea is advanced especially by Batiffol, *Leçons*, 162-164. Following Suarez, he regards the *secreta* as *quædam dedicatio materiæ sacrificandæ per futuram consecrationem*. That the gifts are considered already dedicated is shown by the prescription of the *Missale Romanum* (*De defectibus*, X, 9), which directs that a host laid aside before the consecration as unsuitable, *si illius hostiæ iam erat facta oblatio*, is to be consumed after the ablation.

<sup>7</sup> See also Batiffol, *Leçons*, 26. Similarly C. Callewaert, "De offerenda et oblatione

If the first prayer includes a phrase, *hanc immaculatam hostiam*, in reference to the bread, this may have been intended by the medieval composer for the Holy Eucharist.<sup>8</sup> But objectively we can refer the phrase just as well to the simple earthly bread, and with the same right that we apply the words of the canon, *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam* to the sacrifice of Melchisedech. Something like this holds true also for the words *calix salutaris* in the formula for the chalice. Even on this threshold of the sacrifice our chalice is at least as holy and wholesome as the thanksgiving cup of the singer in Psalm 115, from whom the words are borrowed.<sup>9</sup> Of course it is self-evident that when we say these prayers the higher destiny of our gifts is always kept in view.

Seen thus as a complete unit, we have no reason to deplore the development of the liturgical structure as we have it in the offertory, not at least if we are ready to acknowledge in the Mass not only an activity on God's part, but also an act of a human being who is called by God and who hastens with his earthly gifts to meet his Creator.

in Missa," *Periodica*, 32 (1944), 60-94, who takes a cue from certain expressions used in the secreta to stress even more emphatically the coherent line of the oblatory procedure, of which the offertory forms *aliqualis inchoatio*. A pertinent study is found in the chapter "The Meaning of the Offertory" in B. Cappelle, *A New Light on the Mass* (trans. by a monk of Glenstal, Dublin, 1952), 20-32, esp. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Even plainer examples of such a proleptic manner of speech from medieval Mass books in Eisenhofer, II, 144.

<sup>9</sup> In the literal sense of the original psalm this cup is one used to offer thanks for health attained, for being saved from danger. But here, when turned into a church prayer, it must naturally be interpreted in line with the context.—We note in passing that at the Council of Trent the expressions *immaculata hostia* and *calix salutaris* were listed among the grievances which the committee that composed the memorandum on the *abusus missæ* thought should be eliminated. *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Gærres, VIII, 917.

## II. The Canon actionis

### 1. The Canon actionis or the Eucharistic Prayer as a Whole

**I**N OUR STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE MASS WE HAVE COME TO recognize that the core of the Mass and the inner area within which Christ's institution is fulfilled is plainly and simply the *Eucharistia*. A thanksgiving prayer rises from the congregation and is borne up to God by the priest; it shifts into the words of consecration, and then into the oblation of the sacred gifts, and this oblation, in turn, concludes with a solemn word of praise. Although the fabric thus formed continues to survive unbroken in our present Mass, it is difficult for anyone not initiated into the history of the Mass to recognize the outlines of such a plan in the text of today. In the "preface," the prayer of thanksgiving is presented as an isolated unit, a preparatory item to be followed by the canon. The canon itself, however, with the exception of the words of consecration, appears to be nothing more than a loosely arranged succession of oblations, prayers of intercession and a reverential citation of apostles and martyrs of early Christianity. Still greater is the divergence from this plan when we turn our attention to the external presentation. At the *Sanctus* the audible performance breaks off, and all the rest is done in utter stillness, with only the altar boy's bell to give warning of the elevation of the sacred species, and again the silence resumes. At a high Mass this quiet is overlaid with the singing of the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus*. Then the torchbearers appear in procession and range in front of the altar as for a grand reception; those assisting in choir fall on their knees; the *Hosanna* resounds in jubilant worship of Him who cometh in the name of the Lord. The God-ward movement of the great prayer of thanksgiving has been replaced by a reverse movement, turning upon the descent of the sacred mystery, and it is the impetus of this movement which has determined to a large extent the present pattern of the ancient *Eucharistia*.

It will therefore be our task to trace the various elements of this central portion of our Mass to their sources and to show more clearly the underlying ancient plan. We have already mentioned the decisive theological factor: the movement in the eucharistic teaching which led to a lessening regard for the oblation which we ourselves offer up and in which we offer ourselves as members of the Body of Christ, and a greater atten-

tion to the act of transubstantiation in which the divine omnipotence becomes operative in the midst of us, bringing Christ to us under the appearances of bread and wine.<sup>1</sup> This theological movement left its mark in various additions and appendages to the eucharistic prayer in the Roman Mass, and thus the work of recasting it was started. The most notable modification was the break at the *Te igitur* which led to splitting off the preface and to a new make-up of the canon that now followed.

In all the ancient liturgies the eucharistic prayer is composed as a unit and also titled as a unit. The original name (εὐχαριστία) was soon replaced by other designations, but these, too, kept the entire canon in view as a single whole. Nearly everywhere in the Orient the substitute for *eucharistia* was found in the word “anaphora,” which brings to the fore the notion of sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> In the older Western liturgies, too, there were similar designations which emphasize the sacrifice:<sup>3</sup> *oratio oblationis*, *actio sacrificii*. But here in the West the names more widely distributed were others that referred immediately only to the accompanying prayer, and either named it in a very general way as a prayer: *oratio*,<sup>4</sup> *prex*,<sup>5</sup> or else, like the word εὐχαριστία designated its contents as divine praise, above all *prædicatio*<sup>6</sup>—terms which we can represent to a certain extent by “Great Prayer” and “Eucharistic Prayer.” Another designation, the word *actio*, defined the section beginning here as a sacred activity;<sup>7</sup> *intra*

<sup>1</sup> Above I, 82 f., 118 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In every instance the anaphora embraces the Eucharistic prayer, but is extended in various ways in different rites, to include the prayers that precede and also the Communion portion of the Mass. Brightman, 569. Cf. above I, 171. In the *Euchologion* of Serapion, n. 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 59) the Eucharistic prayer is captioned εὐχὴ προσέφορου.

<sup>3</sup> P. Cagin, “Les noms latins de la préface eucharistique”: *Rassegna Gregoriana* 5 (1906) 321-358, especially 331 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cyprian, *De dom. orat.*, c. 31 (CSEL, 3, 289 l. 14).

<sup>5</sup> Gregory the Great, *Ep.* IX, 12 (PL, 77, 956): the *Pater noster* is said *max post precem*. Pope Vigilius, *Ep.* 2, 5 (PL, 69, 18 D); *canonica prex*.—Innocent I. *Ep.* 25 (PL, 20, 553).—Augustine, *De Trin.*, III, 4, 10 (PL, 42, 874); *prece mystica*; *Contra litt. Petil.* 2, 69 (CSEL, 52, 58 f): *precem sacerdotis*; cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 186 f. Fortescue, *The Mass*, 323, refers to the following passages in Cyprian, in which he sees in the word *prex* the name of the Great Eucharistic prayer: *Ep.* 15, 1 (PL, 4, 265); 60, 4 (*ibid.*, 362); 66, 1

(*ibid.*, 398).—The word survived for a long time later as a designation for the Preface. It is used regularly as a title for the Preface in the Mass-book fragments of Zurich and Peterling of the 10th century ed. Dold (Beuron, 1934). In the Spanish Mass-book fragments of the 11th century also; see A. Dold, “Im Escorial gefundene Bruchstücke eines Plenarmissales in beneventanischer Schrift des 11. Jh. mit vorgregorianischem Gebetsgut und dem Præfationstitel ‘prex’”: *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, 5 (1935), 89-96.

<sup>6</sup> Cyprian, *Ep.* 75, 10 (CSEL, 3, 818), in the account of Firmilian of a woman who presumed [non] *sine sacramento solite prædicationis* to celebrate the Eucharist; cf. Batiffol, 186.—*Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 127): *Hic [Alexander I] passionem Domini miscuit in prædicatione sacerdotum quando missæ celebrantur*.—*Ibid.* (I, 312): *Hic [Gregory I] augmentavit in prædicationem canonis diesque nostros . . .* Cf. in regard to this the *benedicere et prædicare* mentioned in the introduction of the Preface of the Blessed Virgin.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. above I, 172 f.

*actionem* (says a sixth century source) the people should sing the *Sanctus* along with the priest.<sup>8</sup> This name is also found in several of the most ancient sacramentary manuscripts in the heading over the dialogue that introduces the preface: *Incipit canon actionis*.<sup>9</sup>—Here begins the canon of the action. The text beginning with the words *Sursum corda* is thus designated as the norm, the fixed groundwork for the sacred activity that follows. Later the word *canon* was used all by itself in the same sense.<sup>10</sup>

Even as late as the turn of the eighth century the preface was still included in the conception of the canon. Thus it is directed that the Easter candle should be consecrated *decantando quasi canonem*.<sup>11</sup> Even more plainly in a later writing we read that the subdeacon takes the paten *medio canone, id est cum dicitur Te igitur*.<sup>12</sup> Thus the unity of the Great Prayer was also preserved in the concept of “canon.” The canon began with what we call the preface, and even the external ritual at the solemn pontifical functions signalized this spot as a beginning.<sup>13</sup>

Later on, however, a splitting of this original unity occurred, and preface and canon appear as separate parts thereof. This split proceeded from the Gallic liturgies. For here the eucharistic prayer, or rather all the praying in the course of the sacrifice-Mass, was from the start a series of individual prayers. The *oratio sexta*, to which Isidore assigns the consecration without further distinction, reached from the end of the *Sanctus*-chant to the *Pater noster*.<sup>14</sup> This scheme derived from Isidore was the one which Frankish commentators of the eighth and ninth centuries applied to the Roman liturgy. Here, too, the *oratio quinta* would have to conclude with the *Sanctus*, and the consecratory *oratio sexta* would begin at that point. What went ahead was the *præfatio*, that is, in the new language that evolved from the Gallic liturgy, the proem and introduction to the Great Prayer. In the Gregorian Sacramentary the word *præfatio* was to be seen as a heading for the *Vere dignum* formulas. Without hesitation its meaning was confined to the unit that preceded the *Sanctus*.

<sup>8</sup> *Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 128).

<sup>9</sup> So the older *Gelasianum* III, 16 (Wilson, 234).—Ebner, 395, n. 3; B. Botte, *Le canon de la messe romaine* (Mont César, 1935), 30 (in the Apparatus).

<sup>10</sup> In the Sacramentary of Angoulême (ed. Cagin, Angoulême, 1919, p. 117) the superscription mentioned already reads: *Incipit canon*.—Cf. Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 950 A): *Canon vero eadem actio nominatur, quia in ea est legitima et regularis sacramentorum confectio*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 39 (PL, 78, 955 C). The Sacramentary of Gellone, about the

year 770-780, uses the same expression with regard to the delivery of the prayer used in the blessing of the baptismal water: Martène, I, 1, 18, VI (I, 184 E).

<sup>12</sup> Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 27 (PL, 105, 1146 D).

<sup>13</sup> This was done chiefly through the well-ordered and highly symmetrical arrangement of the assistants around the altar, provided for at this point. Cf. above I, 72. A trace of this arrangement is still retained in the Pope's Mass of today; cf. Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, note 24.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. above I, 82.

And in consequence, the canon was understood as comprising what followed, namely, the prayer beginning with *Te igitur*.

Despite the prevailing opposition of the Roman books, this notion appeared to be corroborated by a remark in the first Roman *ordo* where, after the mention of the *Sanctus*-chant, the rubric continues: *Quem dum expleverint, surgit pontifex solus et intrat in canone*;<sup>15</sup> the canon (it seems to imply) is a sanctuary into which the priest enters alone.

The sanctity of this inner chamber, which must be kept closed to the people, is matched by the silence reigning in it. The canon becomes a prayer spoken by the priest in so low a tone that even the bystanders cannot hear it. The transition to this is to be noticed very evidently about the middle of the eighth century in the Frankish revision of the Roman *ordo* of John the Arch-chanter; here, after the *Sanctus*, we read: *Et incipit canere dissimili voce et melodia, ita ut a circumstantibus altare tantum audiatur*<sup>16</sup>—he starts to sing in a different tone and melody, so as to be heard only by those standing around the altar. At first the canon was said merely in a subdued tone, whereas the secret had become a completely silent prayer. But about the turn of the eighth century various authentic reports begin to make mention of an absolute silence also for the canon.<sup>17</sup> In the second Roman *ordo*, which represents a late Carolingian revision of the first, the rubric cited above is reworded as follows: *surgit solus pontifex et tacite intrat in canonem*.<sup>18</sup>

In the period that followed, the quiet recitation of the canon became the established rule, but this is not to say that before Pius V the rule was everywhere taken in the sense of a fully inaudible recitation.<sup>19</sup> That the canon, however, was a holy of holies which the priest alone could

<sup>15</sup> *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 16 (PL, 78, 945); cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 100 ff., for textual criticism of the passage. The meaning of the words is only that the celebrant “enters into” that is, continues alone with the Canon after the singing in common of the *Sanctus*; cf. *ibid.*, 101 f.

<sup>16</sup> *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 103). Andrieu is hardly right in doubting the originality of this reading (*ibid.*, note), found in the older recension (St. Gall 349) in favor of the later version (without *et melodia*; *canone* instead of *canere* = *canere*); in the latter the mention of the melody could have been quietly dropped if, about 800, the transition to complete silence had been accomplished.—Cf., also for the following, Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 53-119: the study “Præfatio und stiller Kanon” (= *ZkTh*, 1929, 66-94; 247-271), especially p. 87 ff.—That the canon until then was said in a perceptible tone is pre-

supposed also in the *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 16 (Andrieu, II, 96; PL, 78, 945), for the statement is made, without further remark, that the subdeacons resume an erect position at the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus. Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 10 (Andrieu, II, 222; PL, 78, 974), which already supposes the canon’s being said in silence, quite logically directs that the bishop say these words *aperta clamans voce*. This is also attested by Amalar, *Liber off.* III, 26, 5; 14 f. (Hanssens, II, 345; 347 f.): *exaltat vocem, elevat vocem*.

<sup>17</sup> The commentary “Quotiens contra se”: Martène, I, 4, 11 (I, 455 D); Florus Diaconus, *De actione miss.*, n. 42 f. (PL, 119, 43); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1256 C); *Expositio*, “Introitus missæ quare,” ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930) 45.

<sup>18</sup> *Ordo Romanus* II, n. 10 (PL, 78, 974 A).  
<sup>19</sup> Such the warning issued by the Synod of

tread, was a concept that was continually developed and consolidated.<sup>20</sup> Other reasons for silently reciting the canon pointed in the same direction; the sacred words must not be profaned, lest we call down God’s punishment upon our heads.<sup>21</sup> The same thought is put in a positive way when it is emphasized that the canon must be reserved to the priest alone: *specialiter ad sacerdotem pertinet*.<sup>22</sup>

The splitting-off of the preface was also marked out very plainly in the set-up of the Mass book. At the beginning of the eighth century, in *Cod. Reg.* 316, which gives us the older *Gelasianum*, the *Te igitur* follows right after the last *Hosanna* without a break, indeed without even starting a new line,<sup>23</sup> even though the manuscript is definitely an artistic one; other manuscripts, however, of the same century already show the break.

The cleavage was displayed in several ways. The “T” of *Te igitur* was expanded into an initial. Then the initial was revamped into a picture of the Crucified. At first this was done only in isolated instances,<sup>24</sup> but since the tenth century it became more and more the normal thing.<sup>25</sup> Since the twelfth century the picture was frequently separated from the text and became a special canon-plate; a new initial “T” was then introduced at the start of the text and this, in turn, was not seldom treated as a decorative figure.<sup>26</sup> Along with this there was another tradition of long standing, the artistic transfiguration of the start of the preface, the first words of which (*Vere dignum*) were displayed, as a rule, with two artistically

Sarum in England 1217, can. 36 (Mansi XXII, 1119); *ut verba canonis in missa rotunde et distincte dicantur*; see Har-douin, XI, 1335. According to the *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, 78, 1165) the Canon was to be said *submissa voce* by the priest, but in the same manner as the deacon and subdeacon together said the *Sanctus*, therefore in a loud tone of voice. The consecration of the Oil of the Sick before the *Per quem hæc omnia* on Maundy Thursday, spoken in a subdued tone (*voce demissa*), is a carry-over from this older practice.  
<sup>20</sup> Cf. above, I, 82 f.

<sup>21</sup> Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1256 D). Remigius introduces a story told originally by John Moschus (d. 619), *Pratum spirituale*, c. 196 (PL, 74, 225 f.; PG, 87, 3081 f.), a story repeated by many later commentators on the Mass, how shepherd boys were struck by lightning because they dared to sing the canon in the open field. The movement for the silent recitation of the canon in the Orient is even older, although it did assume different forms; cf. E. Bishop, *Silent Recitals in*

*the Mass of the Faithful*: the Appendix to R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 121-126.

<sup>22</sup> *Eclogæ* (10th cent.; PL, 105, 1326 C). Only since the 12th century do some interpreters call attention to the fatigue of the priest that is to be avoided by the silent prayer; see Eisenhofer, II, 154, who sees in it a possible supporting factor. We might agree with his opinion.

<sup>23</sup> See the facsimile, DACL, VI, 756-57.

<sup>24</sup> In the Sacramentary of Gellone (about 770); see pictures in Leroquais IV, Table II.

<sup>25</sup> Ebner, 445 f. Illustrations of the two methods, *ibid.*, 9; 16; 50; 130; 184; 444, and in the frontispiece; Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires*, IV. Sometimes this cross-formed T stands as an abbreviation for the words *Te igitur* and the text then continues with *clementissime Pater*.

<sup>26</sup> For this purpose a favorite in the Middle Ages was the representation of the celebrant at the altar, or of the Pietà, or of the Brazen Serpent. Ebner, 447 f.

ornamented letters *V D*,<sup>27</sup> usually converted into the form  $\Theta$ . Since the ninth century the rounding of this figure was utilized more and more by miniaturists as a space for the *Maiestas Domini*.<sup>28</sup> But towards end of the Middle Ages the preface-symbol disappeared, and with it the special beginning of the Great Prayer.<sup>29</sup> The only picture our missal has, is one before the *Te igitur*, so that even the book-making art marks the beginning of the canon as something entirely new.<sup>30</sup> In the manuscripts the greatest care is often expended on the text of the canon. Not infrequently it is written in gold or silver lettering on purple parchment.<sup>31</sup> Even today the Mass books usually print this part in a large (48-point) type which typographers call "canon."

In the course of centuries, the close of the canon was set at various places. The conclusion at the doxology is still presupposed in the third Roman *ordo*,<sup>32</sup> and basically even in the present-day rubrics.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, our missals extend the page heading *canon actionis* and the large print to the last Gospel. Since the ninth century the conclusion of the canon has varied, shifting between these two points, particularly in accord with the various theories regarding the consecration prayer and those rites by which the sacrifice is completed, or the representation of Christ's Passion is concluded. The end of the canon was set after the *Pater noster*, after the embolism, at the *Agnus Dei*,<sup>34</sup> or after the Communion. Other particulars of the external rite were also determined in accordance with these same theories, like the extent of the silence during the canon, the duration of the time assistants stayed on their knees, etc.<sup>35</sup> We will have occasion later to speak about these different regulations. But there can be no doubt that in the original construction of the Mass-liturgy the principal portion of the Mass ended at the *Amen* before the *Pater noster*.

The pre-Carolingian Roman liturgy had, as we have said, no thought at all of the division into preface and canon which we are considering. Not only was the entire eucharistic prayer comprised under the word *canon*,

<sup>27</sup> Ebner, 432 ff.; for illustrations see the list, p. XI. Individual MSS., like the Cod. Ottobon. 313 (beginning of the 9th cent.) which scarcely emphasizes the beginning of the canon, still have the elaborate symbol for the preface; Ebner, 233 f.

<sup>28</sup> Ebner, 438-441.

<sup>29</sup> Ebner, 434 f., 437.

<sup>30</sup> The Herder Missal of 1931, prepared by the Abbey of Maria Laach, is perhaps the first printed missal with a preface picture placed before the *præfatio communis*, which moreover is set in the large type usual for the canon.

<sup>31</sup> Ebner, 449; Martène, 1, 4, 8, 2 (I, 399). Older memories still exerted their

influence. A Sacramentary of Tours at the end of the 9th century has the *Præfatio communis* along with the canon in gold lettering upon a purple background; another of the 10th century from Trier has only this preface with the *Sanctus*. Leroquais, I, 53, 83.

<sup>32</sup> *Ordo Rom.* III (11th cent.), n. 16 (PL, 78, 981 C).

<sup>33</sup> *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.* VIII; IX.

<sup>34</sup> Ebner, 425.—In the last-mentioned instance the end of the canon was distinguished by a picture, the Lamb of God in a round medallion. Ebner, 448 f.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 133-135.

but even the word *præfatio* to all appearances had the same meaning.<sup>36</sup> It was the solemn prayer which ascended to God before the whole assembly. In this sense the word was already current in ancient sacral language,<sup>37</sup> and we find it being employed in a similar sense as a liturgical term in Christian usage.<sup>38</sup> Thus it became, by preference, the name for the Great Prayer of the Mass.

If, in arguing as we do, we are on the right track, then the name only confirms what we have been forced to conclude from other considerations, namely, that the whole prayer was said in a loud voice. If anywhere, then surely here, the solemn recitation must have become even at an early period a kind of speech-song.<sup>39</sup> Since the sixth century there are witnesses to the song-like performance of the Mass-prayers, and obviously these must be referred above all to the eucharistic prayer.<sup>40</sup> This does not mean, of course, that originally the whole eucharistic prayer was sung to the tune of the preface. A great deal of it, indeed, must have been chanted.<sup>41</sup> But we must conclude that after the *Sanctus* a mere recitative—the simple reading tone—predominated from time immemorial.<sup>42</sup> This, indeed, corresponded to the character of the prayer-text which no longer displayed the

<sup>36</sup> For the following see Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 53-80, which also contains more detailed proofs. The word *præfatio* was used for the separate parts of the Eucharistic prayer, not only for the *Vere dignum*, but likewise also for the *Hanc igitur* and for the blessing formulas that were to be interpolated before the concluding doxology; thus in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 2, 9; 138, 3; cf. n. 77, 3 in the Apparatus). This presupposes an earlier application of the word for the entire Eucharistic prayer.

<sup>37</sup> There are phrases like *præfari divos* (Virgil), *præfari Vestam* (Ovid), *fausta vota præfari* (Apuleius); *præfatio* was precisely the prayer which was joined with the sacrifice (Suetonius). Even in common parlance the word was used in the sense of a public announcement, a proclamation. Further proofs in Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 76-78. The same spatial significance is here attached to the *præ* as in the *prælectio*, *præsidium*; it designates an action that is performed in the presence of someone, and not one that precedes another in point of time.

<sup>38</sup> Council of Mileve (416), c. 12 (Mansi, IV, 330.—*Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 255): (Gelasius): *fecit etiam et sacramentorum præfationes*. When Cyprian, *De Dom. or.*, c. 31, calls the *sursum corda a præfatio*,

he has a different meaning in mind. Here *præfatio* does not mean the speech said in common before the people, but the speech said as a preliminary or preparation before the holy of holies. The word corresponds to the Greek *πρόβρησις*; cf. Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 288 ff. In the Gallican liturgy *præfatio* was used in the sense of a preparatory announcement for the invitation to prayer.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. above I, 377 f.

<sup>40</sup> The oldest testimony is probably to be found in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 375): *Incipiunt preces diurnæ cum sensibus necessariis*. By the word *sensus* is meant the recitative melody; cf. above, I, 409, n. 36. The word is used for the melody of the Psalms in the *Liber Pont.* in a reference to Gregory III (d. 741) Duchesne, I, 415, l. 3). Cf. also for the priest's chant in the Mass, the Synod of Cloveshoe, can. 12, cited *supra*, I, 377, note 17.

<sup>41</sup> That seems to be the sense of the expression mentioned above: *decantando quasi canonem*.

<sup>42</sup> This is indicated by the expression *dis-simili voce et melodia* in the text cited above, p. 103 f., from the *Capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis*. At all events, in the Roman prayer for the blessing of the baptismal water on Holy Saturday, a prayer that parallels the Eucharistic prayer, we have

sublime accent to the hymn of thanksgiving, but rather the quiet current of petition, of oblation and the biblical account; but even here in each case it might be presumed that at least the closing doxology (and not merely the *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*) returned once more to the solemn tone.

It was in the preface that the altar chant found its richest development as the years passed. The recitative here was not merely provided with proper cadences, but at the start and end of each sentence it took on psalmodic forms and evolved partially into a simple melody. But the step to a full song was never completed.<sup>43</sup> The very seriousness of the meeting with almighty God, who seems to be right before the priest during the Great Prayer, was without doubt what hindered this step.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, the performance of the preface was never so strictly objective that all mood and emotion were excluded. Music history definitely proves that even the chants at the altar, and especially the preface, were caught up in the stream of Gregorian vitality.<sup>45</sup>

The unity and exclusiveness of the Great Prayer of the Roman Mass, made up of preface and canon together, is indeed none too great, even if we disregard its external delivery, its appearance in the book or its double name, and confine our attention solely to the contents. Besides the oblations, there are the intercessory prayers, which occupy a large space. In turn, these intercessory prayers are broken up into individual prayers, one part of them being placed before the consecration, the other part after. The original basic idea of the *eucharistia* is retained clear and distinct only in the initial prayer, the preface.

This breaking-up of the contents of the eucharistic prayer had already begun at a very early period, Aside from a few phrases, the whole text of today's canon is found already in the fifth century, and the notion which had much to do with producing this dissolution, namely, the recital within

already in the 7th century the rubric that to this day requires the transition to the *tonus lectionis* for the last part; in the older Gelasianum I, 44 (Wilson, 86): *hic sensum mutabis*; in the Sacramentary of Gellone (about 770): *hic mutas sensum quasi lectionem legas*; Martène, I, 1, 18, VI (I, 184 E). Regarding the word *sensus*, see above, note 40. That a rubric so frequently used at Mass should not be transmitted can be explained by the fact that, unlike the blessing of the Easter water, it was sufficiently current by constant practice.

<sup>43</sup> That is shown in the fact that the melody of the preface was not written in notes, but was maintained merely with the help of certain reading signs; cf. above, I, 378.

<sup>44</sup> Concerning certain trends beyond these

bounds even in the 8th century, see above, I, 377, note 17.

<sup>45</sup> Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 58 f.; cf. 27 f. According to this study the first step in the development was the replacement of the subtonal "tuba" or recitation note, which made a full step down from b to a. About the 10th century we find in its stead a sub-semitonal tuba—a recitation note which made only a half step down (from c to b flat; our ferial preface tone). A further development, along with the elaboration of the initial and final phrases, was the introduction of a special accent tone above the tuba for certain syllables (cf. our festive *Pater noster*). And since the 12th century we have the development of a secondary tuba, the recitation moving along for a time on a note below the ordi-

the *mysteria*, and not before, of the names of those who had offered the gifts, is found even in Innocent I.<sup>46</sup> In the Orient, the intercessory prayers, in a very elaborate form, obtained an entrance into the inner circle of the Great Prayer as early as the fourth century.<sup>47</sup> The evolution seems to have followed this pattern: By degrees the viewpoint changed, and the celebration was no longer looked upon as an altogether spiritual *eucharistia*; over and above this there was the offering of the gifts, the *ἀναφορά*, the *oblatio* (according to the current designation),<sup>48</sup> and this, too, had to be clearly kept in view; naturally, then, there developed a provision for putting this oblation of gifts forward in an intercessory sense, a thing not easily done in a "thanksgiving prayer." Or, putting it a different way, there was a growing trend to relocate the intercessory prayers which had been said from time past right after the readings, linking them more closely with the gifts. This connection was certainly closest when the intercessory prayers were included in the very inner circle of the oblation prayers.

The driving force could well have been the closely related notion that our prayers would be all the more efficacious the nearer they were drawn to the Holy of Holies, thereby attracting to themselves the power of the Sacrament Itself. Even today, a person asking help is advised to place his needs before God at the consecration.<sup>49</sup> Thus the importunate friend could seek to gain access even into the sanctuary of the Great Prayer. In the Orient the damage done to the prayer by this insertion took place in only one spot, either after the consecration (as in the liturgies of the Syrian and Byzantine domains), or before the consecration, in fact before the *Sanctus* (as in the Egyptian liturgies). But in the West the effect was greater because the prayer of thanks had always been so much more terse (and when the *præfatio communis* became the normal text, it was actually reduced to a mere minimum), and because, on the other hand, the intercessory prayers were inserted finally in two different places, before the consecration and after.

nary recitation (our solemn preface tone). Lastly, about the same time, the introductory and final phrases on festive occasions were set with melismas of three or four notes, so that we have a really melodic form (our *tonus sollemnior* for the preface).

<sup>46</sup> Above I, 53 f.

<sup>47</sup> *Euchologion* of Serapion 13, 18 (above I, 34); *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 40-49 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 224-227); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.*, V, 8-10 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 102 f).

<sup>48</sup> Above I, 171.

<sup>49</sup> This is a psychological parallel to the practice of recommending a great many intentions to a newly ordained priest for his first Mass, or to a child on the occasion of its First Communion; or, to take a case from olden times, to the practice Tertullian, *De Bapt.*, 20 (CSEL 20, 218), had of requesting the candidates for baptism instructed by him to remember him in the first prayer that they, as newly baptized, would say in church immediately after their baptism.

## 2. The Introductory Dialogue

Whereas generally the priestly prayer is preceded only by the customary greeting and the invitation *Oremus*, the Great Prayer displays its higher importance in the increased formality of its introduction. After the greeting there is an invitation not simply to a prayer, to an *oratio*, but to a prayer of thanks, an εὐχαριστία: *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*: Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ. And this formal invitation is preceded by still another: *Sursum corda*. In both instances the people are not ignored, as they are with a mere *Oremus*, but are given a special concurrent response: *Habemus ad Dominum, Dignum et iustum est*.

In this introductory dialogue we have a most ancient Christian tradition.<sup>1</sup> Cyprian already comments on the *Sursum corda* and sees in these words the expression of the mood in which the Christian should properly begin every prayer: every fleshly and worldly thought should be suppressed, and the mind bent solely upon the Lord.<sup>2</sup> Augustine takes occasion, time after time, to speak of the *Sursum corda*. For him the words are the expression of a Christian attitude, much the same as St. Paul's admonition to those who have risen with Christ: *quæ sursum sunt querite*;<sup>3</sup> our Head is in heaven, and therefore our hearts must also be with Him. It is through God's grace that they are with Him, and the gladsome consciousness of this, as expressed in the common response of the faithful, *Habemus ad Dominum*, is basically the factor which, according to St. Augustine, urges the priest on to the *Gratias agamus*.<sup>4</sup> Of course our thoughts cannot always be on God, but certainly they should be so—as another commentator insists—at least in this sublime hour.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above I, 16; 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 31 (CSEL 3, 289): *Cogitatio omnis carnalis et sæcularis abscedat nec quicquam animus quam id solum cogitet quod precatur. Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo: Sursum corda, dum respondet plebs: Habemus ad Dominum, admonetur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.*

<sup>3</sup> Col., 3: 1.

<sup>4</sup> Augustine, *Serm.* 227 (PL, 38, 1100 f.).—Nine more pertinent passages are recorded by Rötzer, 118 f., to which he adds an *et cet.* The word *Dominus* here, just as in the *Dominus vobiscum*, is not always understood by Augustine to mean Christ, e.g., *Serm.* 6, 3 Denis (*Miscell. Aug.* I, 30 f.): *Quid est Sursum cor? Spes in Deo, non in te. Tu enim deorsum es, Deus sursum est.* With the same emphasis as St. Augustine, Cæsarius of Arles explained

*Sursum corda* in his homilies; see *Sermones*, ed. Morin, in the Register, p. 999. He connects the *Sursum corda*, among others, with Phil. 3: 20; *Serm.* 22, 4 (Morin, 97).

<sup>5</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.* V, 4 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 99 f.). The summons to be rid of βωπικαὶ φρονεῖδες that Cyril inserts in the Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας later comes to light in the oriental liturgy, in the hymn of the cherubim that accompanies the Great Entry (Brightman, 377). From a later age we might be permitted a reference to Henry Suso, who always sang these words in the Mass with special fervor. Asked what was his object, he answered that he was calling upon all creatures of heaven and earth and that he felt himself as their precentor in the praise of God; and, finally, that this song was for him a plea to all the tepid, who belong neither entirely to God, nor are yet entirely absorbed in

The precise origin of this preliminary *Sursum corda* is not known.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, *Gratias agamus* is already found as an introduction to the prayer of thanks in the Jewish order of prayer.<sup>7</sup> Likewise the response to the invitation to prayer by a *Dignum et iustum est* was current there.<sup>8</sup> And in ancient culture too, acclamations of this kind played a grand role. It was considered the proper thing for the lawfully assembled people to endorse an important decision, an election, or the taking of office or λειτουργία, by means of an acclamation.<sup>9</sup> And there are evidences that besides the formula most used, ἄξιός, there were phrases like *Æquum est, iustum est*;<sup>10</sup> *Dignum est, iustum est*.<sup>11</sup>

An acclamation of this kind accorded well with the make-up of the Church and the nature of her worship. It is the ecclesiastical assembly that desires to praise God; but its organ, duly authorized from above, is the priest or bishop at its head. Only through him can and will she act, confirming this by her endorsement. But for his part, too, the priest does not wish to appear before God as an isolated petitioner, but rather only as speaker for the congregation.<sup>12</sup> Thus, by means of a dialogue at the great moment when the eucharistic prayer is to begin and the sacrifice is about to be performed, the well-ordered community that is at work secures an expressional outlet. At the same time there is a manifestation of how self-evident and becoming is the action which the Christian congregation has undertaken.<sup>13</sup>

Granted such a line of thought, it would appear to be obvious that the

creatures. *Vita* I, 9 (*Des Mystikers H. Seuse deutsche Schriften*, ed. N. Heller [Regensburg, 1926], p. 29 f.).

<sup>6</sup> Jno. 11: 41; Col. 3: 1 f.; especially Lament. 3: 41 are considered as possible biblical references. Cf. Gassner, 106. A. Baumstark "Wege zum Judentum des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters": *Bonner Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Seelsorge*, 4 (1927), 33, calls attention to a formula in the Samaritan liturgy that requires the uplifting of hands before designated high points in prayer. Recently, however, he is more inclined to consider a Hellenistic origin and supposes that the greeting at the beginning of the prayer was somehow united sometimes with the *Gratias agamus*, sometimes with the *Sursum corda*, until at last both invocations were set side by side. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 97. A. Robinson, on the other hand, considers the expression *sursum corda habere* a naturally Latin one; see the note of R. H. Connolly, *The Journal of Theol. Studies*, 39 (1938), 355.—In Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix 50 f.) the thanksgiving prayer that

introduces the Agape, is preceded only by the *Dominus vobiscum* and the *Gratias agamus*, and the point is stressed that the *Sursum corda* should be said only at the Sacrifice. Hence it appears as a confirmation and enrichment of the invocation implied in the *Gratias agamus*.

<sup>7</sup> Above I, 15, note 40.

<sup>8</sup> As a confirmation equivalent to the *Amen* in the Schema of the morning prayer: 'emet wajazib; I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 22 f., 25.

<sup>9</sup> E. Peterson, *Εὐχ. θεός*, 176-180; Th. Klauser, "Akklamation," *RAC*, I, 216-233.

<sup>10</sup> Thus at the election of the Emperor Gordian; *Scriptures hist. Aug.*, Gordian, c. 8 (ed. Didot 501); Peterson, 177.—Cf. the list of acclamations in Klauser, 227-231.

<sup>11</sup> Both at the election of the Bishop in Hippo; Augustine, *Ep.* 213 (CSEL, 57, 375 f.).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Chrysostom, *In II Cor. hom.*, 18 (PG, 61, 527): "It is not the priest alone who completes the thanksgiving, but the people with him."

<sup>13</sup> Peterson, *op. cit.*, 179, surmises that in

responses mentioned were actually spoken by the people. In fact, in the evidence already presented, this matter is made clear enough.<sup>14</sup>

One peculiarity in the ritual of this introductory dialogue is the fact that the priest does not turn to the people when greeting them, as he does otherwise. In the Roman Mass he continues to face the altar.<sup>15</sup> Here, too, we have an example of the more delicate sense of form which ancient culture possessed, for once the sacred action is inaugurated, once this God-ward activity has begun, it would be improper to turn away.<sup>16</sup> At any rate, on this depended the decision as to what precisely was considered the opening of the sacred action, whether at the beginning of the *Eucharistia* itself, as was evidently the case in the Byzantine liturgy,<sup>17</sup> or rather at the presentation of the gifts, as is apparently presupposed in our Mass. This ancient sense of form is also manifested in the accompanying gestures: the summons to lift up the heart is accompanied by the priest's lifting of his hands,<sup>18</sup> and they then remain outstretched in the attitude of the *orantes*, the prayer-attitude of the ancient Church.

proportion as in the Christian Eucharistia the idea of sacrifice was brought to the fore, this legal character and with it the need for confirmation of the act had to be stressed by the acclaim of the people. Elfers, 270, n. 84, referring to Clemens of Alexandria, *Strom.* VII, 6; Irenæus, *Adv. hæc.* IV, 18, 4 (*al.* IV, 31, 4; Harvey II, 205) emphasizes the point that the celebration of the Eucharist was strongly regarded as an "act of duty and justice" toward God. Cf. the explanation of "Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον given by Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.* V, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 100): "When we give thanks, we do what is fitting and just; but He acted not only justly, but beyond all justice, inasmuch as He accorded us all blessings and considered us worthy of His great benefits" (he had just finished considering the Redemption and the Sonship of God). The obligation of giving thanks is also stressed already in *Thess.* 1: 3 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Above, p. 110 f. Chrysostom, *De s. Pentec.* hom. 1, 4 (PG, 50, 458 f.). *De pœnit.* hom. 9 (PG, 49, 345; Brightman, 473 f.).—Cf. the word of encouragement to the somewhat timid newly baptized, with which St. Augustine accompanies his instruction on the *Sursum corda*, in *Sermo* Denis, 6, 2 (PL, 46, 835; Rötzer, 119): *hodie vobis exponitur, quod audistis et quod respondistis; aut forte, cum responderetur, tacuistis, sed quid responderendum esset hodie, heri didicistis.* Augustine testifies to the

general spread of this response in his *De vera religione*, c. 3, 5 (PL, 34, 125): mankind throughout the world answers daily in this phrase.

<sup>15</sup> It is otherwise in the Byzantine liturgy, where the salutation has the solemn form of II Cor. 13: 13 (see above in the text) and is also accompanied by a gesture of blessing; Brightman, 384. While saying this as well as the following "Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας he stands facing the people whom he is addressing; it is not till he intones the *Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ* that he turns "towards the East." Hornykewitsch, 76.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 322. Amalar, *De eccl. off.* III, 9 (PL, 105, 1116), also shows a clear perception of the meaning of this prescription, *Ibi jam occupati circa altare . . . Nec debet arator, dignum opus exercens, vultum in sua terga referre.* That later times would no longer have hit upon such an idea is shown in the case of Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 335 f. He can only explain the execution by saying that at one time at this passage in the liturgy the altar was shut off from the view of the people by curtains and that consequently a turning towards them would have made no sense.

<sup>17</sup> Note 15 above.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the "Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας in the Byzantine Rite, where the rubric is added: *δεικνύων ἅμα τῇ χειρὶ*; Brightman, 384.

In this section of the Roman Mass the heritage of the ancient Church has been preserved with special fidelity also in regard to the simple form of the text, which still retains the dialogue, almost word for word as found in Hippolytus.<sup>19</sup> There are none of those additions or expansions which in other liturgies partly disguise the concise exclamations. Here as elsewhere the greeting is confined to the words *Dominus vobiscum*. In the Orient, only Egypt shows a similar simple form of greeting for the opening of the dialogue: *Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων* (*ὑμῶν*), while the other liturgies employ some modification and extension of the solemn triple blessing of the Apostle in II Cor. 13: 13.<sup>20</sup> Even the *Sursum corda* has elsewhere undergone enlargements<sup>21</sup> and likewise, though less extensively, the *Gratias agamus* along with its response. In the latter case, where the exclamation announces the theme of the Great Prayer that follows, the changes that have been introduced here and there are all the more characteristic. The West Syrian liturgy of St. James emphasizes the motif of the awesome: "Let us say thanks to the Lord with fear, and adore Him with trembling".<sup>22</sup> The East Syrian Mass brings to the fore the notion of sacrifice which is concealed in the thanksgiving: "The sacrifice is offered up to God, the Lord of all," whereupon the usual answer follows: "It is meet and just."<sup>23</sup> The Mozarabic liturgy connects with this exclamation a trinitarian confession,<sup>24</sup> just as the Byzantine does with the response of the people.<sup>25</sup>

In most of the oriental liturgies the introductory dialogue is separated

<sup>19</sup> Above I, 29.

<sup>20</sup> H. Engberding, "Der Gruss des Priesters zu Beginn der Eucharistia in östlichen Liturgien," *JL*, 9 (1929) 138-143.—The most important development is that the part which pertains to God the Father is placed at the very front: *Ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πατρός, ἡ χάρις . . .* This form spread from Jerusalem. The Mozarabic *Missale mixtum* has a similar version (PL, 85, 546 B).—Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 89 f.

<sup>21</sup> In the Syrian-Antiochian sphere: "Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν; Baumstark, 90 f. Alongside the *Sursum corda* there is the formula of the Apostolic Constitutions VIII, 12, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 213): "Ἄνω τῶν νοῦν. The Greek liturgy of St. James combines both: "Ἄνω σχῶμεν τῶν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας. Brightman, 50; cf. 85; 473. The Mozarabic Mass inserts after the trinitarian plea for blessing, the invitation to the kiss of peace, to which the choir responds with a chant of several verses; next the words of the Psalm *Introibo ad altare Dei mei* which the choir again takes up with *Ad Deum qui lætificat*

*juventutem meam*; then the invocation *Aures ad Dominum*, to which the choir answers *Habemus ad Dominum*. Only then comes the *Sursum corda* with the alternate response from the choir *Levemus ad Dominum* and the invitation to give thanks, again in a peculiar formulation. *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 546 f.).

<sup>22</sup> Brightman, 85; cf. above I, 39.

<sup>23</sup> Brightman, 283. The same stress on the sacrificial character in this passage, though in more elaborate phraseology, in both the East Syrian anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia and that of Nestorius; Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orient. collectio*, II (1847), 611; 620 f.

<sup>24</sup> *Liber ordinum* (Ferotin, 236): *Deo ac Domino nostro, Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, dignas laudes et gratias referamus.* In the *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 547) Christ is substituted in place of the Three Persons.

<sup>25</sup> Brightman, 384: "Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν προσκυνεῖν πατέρα υἱόν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τριάδα ἁμοούσιον καὶ ἀχώριστον. In many texts the addition is missing.

from what precedes, and is given greater emphasis by an exclamation of the deacon, admonishing the people to assume a proper demeanor of reverence and attention in view of the Holy Sacrifice now to be offered up: *Στώμεν καλῶς, στώμεν μετὰ φόβου, πρόςχωμεν τὴν ἀγίαν ἀναφορὰν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσφέρειν*: Let us stand upright, let us stand in fear, let us give our attention to offering the Holy Sacrifice in peace. The choir confirms his admonition by glorifying the oblation as a grace-laden pledge of peace and a sacrifice of praise: *Ἐλεον εἰρήνης, φύσιαν αἰνέσεως*.<sup>26</sup> In some churches of the West Syrian ambit, a monition of this sort was augmented as early as the fourth-fifth century by a whole series of warnings from the deacon to guard against the possibility of anyone unworthy remaining amongst the participants.<sup>27</sup> We have here the ancient *πρόβρησις*, the *præfatio* in the sense indicated by St. Cyprian.<sup>28</sup> The kiss of peace, too, which, in the oriental liturgies precedes the dialogue, *resp.*, the deacon's warnings, either immediately<sup>29</sup> or mediately, evidently had the same function of an assurance that all were ready for the sacred action.

The Roman liturgy has no such monitory pause at this juncture. The deacon's function is scarcely developed at all, and the kiss of peace is deferred to a different place. Conversely, the dialogue that introduces the prayer of thanks is today so closely interwoven with what precedes that there is no evident break-off. After his silent preparation of the gifts, the priest begins by saying aloud: *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, the concluding words of the *secreta* and therefore a part of the offertory. Thus the *Dominus vobiscum* does not sound at all like a start, but rather like a continuation. Such was the case already in the eighth century.<sup>30</sup> Still, at that

<sup>26</sup> Thus in the Byzantine Mass; Brightman, 383. In other liturgies within the Syrian sphere the same invocation underwent various revisions. It is considerably amplified in the East Syrian and Armenian Mass; Brightman, 282; 434 f. In the Egyptian it must have found partial acceptance only later, as is shown by the still prevailing Greek text of the Copts; *ibid.*, 164. The answer of the choir *Ἐλεον εἰρήνης, θυσίαν αἰνέσεως* and its equivalent, as the translations show, seems not to have been understood any more. *Θυσία αἰνέσεως* (from Ps. 115: 8, according to the Septuagint) can just about be rendered with *λογικὴ θυσία*; a sacrifice consisting of praise. The revision cited above for *ἔλεος εἰρήνης* follows Mercenier-Paris, *La prière des églises de rite byzantin*, I, 238. The invitation that Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) attests and explains in this passage, *Sermones catech.* V (Rücker, *Ritus bapt. et missæ*, 25 f.) forms the heart

of the deacon's cry: *Aspicite ad oblationem*.

<sup>27</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 212). In the *Testamentum Domini*, I, 23 (Rahmani, 37 f.; Quasten, *Mon.*, 250) there is a series of thirteen outcries that begin with: *Si quis odium contra proximum habet, reconcilietur! Si quis in conscientia incredulitas versatur, confiteatur! Si quis mentem habet alienam a præceptis, discedat!*

<sup>28</sup> Note 2, above. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 290, refers to Livy, 45, 5: *... cum omnis præfatio sacrorum eos, quibus non sint puræ manus, sacris arceat*.

<sup>29</sup> Thus in the Coptic, Ethiopian, and in the East Syrian liturgy; Brightman, 162 f.; 227; 281 f.

<sup>30</sup> Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 1). The Cod. Otobon. 313, which goes back to the 9th century, inserts expressly: *qua (sc. oratione super oblata) completa dicit sacerdos excelsa voce: Per omnia (ibid.)*;

time there was a conscious knowledge that the real beginning started with the *Dominus vobiscum*, several of the Carolingian commentaries commencing with these words.<sup>31</sup> Some of the oldest manuscripts which contain the canon leave out the *Dominus vobiscum*—taking it for granted—and introduce the canon with the words *Sursum corda*.<sup>32</sup> It is possible to admit that at least the solemn melody did not start till the *Dominus vobiscum*.<sup>33</sup>

### 3. The Preface

The prayer ushered in with the preface is *the* prayer of the Church, her Great Prayer.<sup>1</sup> It is an attempt to create with human words a worthy framework and more especially a fitting adit for the holy mystery which will be accomplished in our midst and which we are privileged to present to God. There are two ranges of ideas which here press for expression: first, the primitive consciousness that we owe God, our Creator and Lord, adoration and praise, the basic acts of all religion and worship; and second, the Christian acknowledgment that we who have been elected and honored by the wonderful vocation which is ours through Christ, can do nothing less than thank Him again and again. The only proper response to the *εὐ-αγγέλιον* is the *εὐ-χαριστία*.<sup>2</sup> For what we have here received is something far beyond anything that our human nature might expect from its Creator as a fitting endowment. Gratitude is also called for by the vision of earthly creation, the vision of all that nature provides for men. This gratitude for the benefits of the natural order is to be found remarkably amplified in a number of examples from the early Christian period, both within the

regarding the tradition of the text, see JL, 5 (1925) 70 f. In the *Ordo* of John Archicantor, the present texts of which (8th cent.) require the silent prayer in the *Secreta*, the priest raises his voice already for the *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum* (Silva-Tarouca, 198).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Franz, 344, 349, 350, 395 f. Amalar also, *De eccl. off.*, III, 21 (PL, 105, 1133), has the *præfatio* considered here begin a *salutatione, quæ dicitur ante Sursum corda*.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. above, p. 103.

<sup>33</sup> The incongruity here considered was the topic of a note in *Les Questions Liturgiques*, 4 (1913-14), 244. The solution proposed was to sing the *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum* in a somewhat lower tone of voice with the understanding that the organist then play a transitional melody to the *Dominus vobiscum*. Cf. *Cours et conférences VIII* (Louvain, 1929), 143, note 8, where reference is also made to the custom prevalent among the Premonstraten-

sians and Trappists, to recite the *Per omnia* and begin the singing only with the *Dominus vobiscum*. The same condition is found at the end of the Canon, where the introduction to the *Pater noster* follows and again after the Embolism, where the *Pax Domini* follows.

<sup>1</sup> See above, regarding the use of the words *præfatio* and *prex* in the Roman liturgy. In the Gallican liturgy it is called *contestatio*, a solemn confession, a designation corresponding to the *ἐξομολόγησις* used for the preface in the *Canones Basilli* c. 97 (Riedel, 274). In the Gallican liturgical sphere designations appear that point to the sacrifice: *immolatio* (in the *Missale Gothicum*), *illatio* (in the Mozarabic liturgy). Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 72 f.; 82 f.

<sup>2</sup> It is therefore not by accident that the gospel forms the high point of the fore-Mass.

eucharistic prayer and outside it.<sup>3</sup> Later, the theme is less common. It is particularly infrequent in the Roman liturgy, though even here it is not entirely absent.<sup>4</sup> But there is a new note and a new urgency in the gratitude with regard to the Christian economy of salvation. The Epistles of St. Paul, which almost invariably begin with a word of thanksgiving,<sup>5</sup> are the first manifestations of this.<sup>6</sup>

In this connection it is hard to decide whether the liturgical *eucharistia* in its pre-Greek beginnings (as they are to be found in the *Berachah*) possessed this evident preponderance of thanksgiving over the general expression of praise or of adoration.<sup>7</sup> This last objective has indeed always been an important factor in the eucharistic prayer, especially after the *Sanctus* was included; it is its expansion into the realm of the universal and metaphysical.<sup>8</sup> Petition, too, is included along with the thanksgiving, at first tentatively,<sup>9</sup> later even in a relatively developed form. But it is equally evident from the earliest sources that in principle, and aside from certain more recent marginal developments, the keynote of the *eucharistia* that now begins has always been thanksgiving.

Besides the character of the Christian dispensation, there was another element that helped bring this about. The Lord had given the Sacrament to his disciples with the command: "Do this for a memory of me." Accordingly, all the liturgies include this commemoration in some form or other in the *anamnesis* after the words of consecration. But in this place they all turn more or less hurriedly to the offering of the gifts just hallowed, as the very nature of the case demands. So the proper place for this concept, a place where it can expand, is not here after the transubstantiation, but rather *before* the words of consecration, for the consecration can be inserted suitably only in a space filled by the thankful remembrance of the Lord. And this concept is most adequately expressed when it is something

<sup>3</sup> Above I, 31-2, 35 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. in the Leonianum (Muratori 1, 303): *VD. Quoniam licet immensa sint omnia quae initiis humanae sunt collata substantiae, quod eam scilicet crearis ex nihilo, quod tui dederis cognitione pollere, quod cunctis animantibus summæ rationis participatione præstuleris, quod tota mundi possessione ditaris; longe tamen mirabiliora sunt . . .*

<sup>5</sup> According to the Hellenistic epistolary style a thanksgiving was certainly part of the beginning of a letter; see A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4. Aufl., Tübingen, 1923, 147, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. Mócsy, "De gratiarum actione in epistolis Paulinis": *Verbum Domini*, 21 (1941), 193-201; 225-232.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. J. M. Nielen, *The Earliest Christian*

*Liturgy*, 295-296. Nielen refers to M. J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon S. Luc.* (3d ed.; Paris, 1927), 544, who regards the biblical word εὐχαριστεῖν not simply as a translation of a Hebrew word of general meaning, and who, therefore, infers a tradition of the primitive Church, "que la prière de Jésus bénissant avant de distribuer le pain et le vin était une action de grâces."

<sup>8</sup> In the oriental liturgies, as a rule, the preface up the *Sanctus* is dedicated to the praise of God in general; in those outside of Egypt a christological prayer of thanksgiving follows upon the *Sanctus*, a prayer that, because of its closer connection with the account of the Institution, shows itself to be more original. Cf. Hanssens, III, 356.  
<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Euchologion Serapions*, above I, 34.—With regard to Justin, *Apol.* I, 67 below p. 152, n. 3.

more than a thoughtful recalling of memories from the past, when it is rather enveloped in prayer before God. It then becomes an act of gratitude, a prayer of thanks for the great thing that has been given us in Christ. "To thank" is after all etymologically nothing less than "to think" about benefits received, and not thoughtlessly to ignore them.

As the central theme of his remembrance, St. Paul already mentions the death of our Lord, the work of redemption.<sup>10</sup> And this continued to be, far and wide, the cardinal object of the *eucharistia*, and as such was conscientiously retained.<sup>11</sup> We should remember what the action is really a remembrance of; we should remember what is represented in the action as a memorial. The Mass is not a sacrifice reposing on its own self; it is a sacrifice only insofar as it is at the same time a memorial of the sacrifice already consummated, which brought us redemption. Therefore, it is at the same time a thanksgiving, and demands of us such a thanksgiving.<sup>12</sup> When the fundamental mysteries of the Christian economy are focused in this way in a prayer of thanks that rises to God in the sight of the congregation, the prayer itself becomes a most effective expression of a consciousness of their faith and their acknowledgment of it. Thus, in the most ancient tradition the *eucharistia* appears at the same time as another more exalted form of the profession of faith.<sup>13</sup>

Gratitude for the advent of the Lord, for His Passion and death, for His Resurrection and Ascension, for all that He has done to procure our salvation—these are the themes that form the object of thanksgiving in the prefaces of the Roman liturgy as they range through the course of the year. It is a peculiarity of the occidental liturgies that their prayer, including the Great Prayer, varies with the progress of the year, and, in consequence, the mysteries of faith are kept in view only one portion at a time. Other

<sup>10</sup> I Cor. 11 : 26.

<sup>11</sup> The latter is very clearly the case, e.g., in the letter of James of Edessa (d. 708) to Thomas the Presbyter (Brightman, 492): "and whereas the priest and the people have meetly accounted it right to give thanks unto the Lord, he says, *It is meet and right to praise thee* and in a few words commemorates the whole scope of the grace of God as touching man and his first creation and his redemption thereafter and as touching the dispensation which Christ wrought in our behalf when He suffered for us in the flesh: for this is the whole *kurobho* that we should commemorate and declare the things which Christ wrought in our behalf." How close the formulas of the changing Roman preface could adhere to the *anamnesis* is shown in the Sunday preface after the feast of Ascension, which the Alcuin appendix

(Muratori, II, 319) presents: *VD. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui generi humano nascendo subvenit, quum per mortem passionis mundum devicit, per gloriam resurrectionis vitam æternam aditum patefecit et per suam ascensionem ad caelos nobis spem ascendendi donavit. Per.*

<sup>12</sup> Both ideas are remarkably well expressed by Fulgentius, *De Fide*, n. 60 (PL, 65, 699): *In illis enim carnalibus victimis significatio fuit carnis Christi, quam . . . fuerat oblaturus . . . in isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit, Ep. 14, 44 (PL, 65, 432 C): Ideo . . . a gratiarum actione incipimus, ut Christum non dandum, sed datum nobis in veritate monstremus.*

<sup>13</sup> Regarding the original connection between the Eucharistic prayer and the Symbolum cf. the reference *supra*, I, 473.

liturgies, especially the liturgies of the East (taken as a whole), do not have this variety. They do have variations in the formularies, often in great profusion; take the West Syrian liturgy, for example, or the Ethiopian.<sup>14</sup> But each formula of the anaphora surveys the whole field of the Christian economy in a new way. This was likewise the principle which governed the *eucharistia* of the early Church.<sup>15</sup> There was only one further rule, that the preface at a Sunday or a feast-day assembly should be longer and more solemn than at the celebration at the graves of the martyrs, since these latter celebrations naturally drew a smaller congregation and were not fully public in character.<sup>16</sup> In the course of centuries, however, the custom of constantly reshaping the prayer of thanks, along with the effort to say something new for each occasion, must have resulted in the formation of many a version that touched only the periphery of the theme peculiar to the prayer. Traces of such a tendency can be found even in the oldest examples.<sup>17</sup> And those centrifugal forces must have been all the more powerful when every festal ceremony not only gave occasion for a new version but seemed to demand a new theme, one more consonant with the feast itself. This was the case from the very start in the liturgies of the West, and especially in the Latin liturgy of Rome. The most ancient collection of Roman Mass formularies, the *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, has a proper preface for each Mass; thus, although it is quite incomplete, the sacramentary has 267 prefaces! Even the older *Gelasianum* still furnishes 54 prefaces,<sup>18</sup> the later *Gelasianum* in the St. Gall manuscript, 186.<sup>19</sup>

The lion's share of such prefaces fell to the feasts of martyrs. As a special theme on such days, the obvious one, was derived from the martyr's victory-in-death. When in the preface of martyrs only the fundamental concept of their bloody witness to Christ was emphasized, the result was a prayer of thanks that stayed pretty close to the basic theme of our salvation, as when, after the mention of Christ's name, the special text continued:

*Qui ad maiorem triumphum de humani generis hoste capiendum præter illam gloriam singularem, qua ineffabilibus modis Domini virtute prostratus est, ut etiam a sanctis martyribus superaretur effecit, atque in membris quoque suis victoria sequeretur, quæ præcessit in capite. Per.<sup>20</sup>*

At other times the victorious struggle of the martyr or even his intercessory power after his victory stands as an independent theme of thanksgiving. Sometimes, however, a panegyric on the hero is developed in formal

<sup>14</sup> Above I, 41-42.

<sup>15</sup> Above I, 29; 34-37.

<sup>16</sup> *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 274).

<sup>17</sup> To some extent the formulary in the *Euchologion* of Serapion probably belongs here, above I, 34.

<sup>18</sup> These figures according to Eisenhofer II, 157. His other enumerations for the Gregorianum are, however, incorrect.

<sup>19</sup> Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, after the index, p. 280-282.—Baumstark refers these prefaces of the later Gelasianum back to a primitive Gelasianum, in which almost every Mass formulary would have its own preface. Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt*, 128\*.

<sup>20</sup> Leonianum (Muratori, I, 311 f.).

outline, and becomes at last a more or less expanded recounting of the history of the saint's suffering. It is not to be wondered at that among the five prefaces which the *Leonianum* contains for the feast of St. Cecilia, one or another should have succumbed to this last danger.<sup>21</sup> Rather is it astonishing to find that, of the twenty prefaces provided in the several Mass formularies for the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, almost all are still concerned with the theological and Christological contents of the apostolic office.<sup>22</sup>

In this oldest of sacramentaries, even Mass-formularies lacking a distinctively festal character are sometimes found with a preface whose contents are far different from the original conception of a eucharistic prayer, for example when it is used as a tirade against objectionable adversaries or as an exhortation to lead a moral life.<sup>23</sup> Such curiosities as these must lead sooner or later to a reaction. Perhaps an advance along these very lines is to be discerned behind the narrative of the *Liber pontificalis* regarding Pope Alexander: *Hic [Alexander] passionem Domini miscuit in prædicatione sacerdotum, quando missæ celebrantur.*<sup>24</sup> Phenomena of the sort described must finally have induced that drastic reform which is revealed in the Gregorian Sacramentary. In the genuine portions of this sacramentary as remanded by Adrian I to Charlemagne,<sup>25</sup> there are only

<sup>21</sup> Muratori, I, 456-459.

<sup>22</sup> Muratori, I, 330-345.—A summary of the whole situation in Stuißer, *Libelli sacramentorum Romani* (Bonn, 1950), 67 f. This particular development was even stronger in the Gallic liturgies; cf., e.g., the preface for the feast of St. Maurice in the *Missale Gothicum* (Muratori, II, 634). The prefaces of the Mozarabic liturgy frequently present extended accounts of the lives and sufferings of the saints; cf., e.g., the story of the passion of St. Vincent in the *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 678-681).

<sup>23</sup> Muratori, I, 350 ff.; cf. *supra*, I, 61-62.

<sup>24</sup> Duchesne, *Lib. pont.*, I, 127. The fact that the report is found in the *Liber Pontificalis* leads one to surmise that at the time the account was written (about 530) the counter-movement had not yet run its full course. Among the prefaces that corresponded to this program would be, e.g., those cited below, p. 122 ff., which in general are surely pre-Gregorian. By *passio Domini* is evidently meant Christ's redemptive work, as is the case already with Cyprian.—The meaning that Th. Schermann, "Liturgische Neuerungen," (Festgabe A. Knöpfler zum 70. Geburtstag [Freiburg, 1917], 276-289), 277 ff., at-

tributed to the passage, namely that the formulary of the "General Church Order" (= Hippolytus) was introduced in Rome at the time of Alexander I (d. 116), is unacceptable for various reasons. Equally unacceptable is the opinion expressed by others, that there was question here of the *Unde et memores* (. . . *tam beatæ passionis*) or of the words *Qui pridie quam pateretur*. Cf. Fortescue, *The Mass*, 346; Botte, *Le canon*, 64.—Likewise Elfer's assumption in *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 248-253, that what is meant here is the account of the institution linked with the *passio*, and that all that is affirmed is that it was Pope Alexander who first interpolated into the eucharistic prayer of thanksgiving the narrative of the institution to which had been joined a recital of our Lord's sufferings, is based on unsubstantiated and inadmissible premises; see *ZkTh*, 63 (1939), 236 f.

<sup>25</sup> It is strange that the Sacramentary of Fulda, which Baumstark edited, with a few slight excisions, as the "oldest obtainable form" of the Gregorianum, still contains 46 prefaces, and even if we subtract those elements that are evidently later (n. 387, 623, 654, 674), there yet remain 42.

fourteen prefaces<sup>36</sup> counting the *præfatio communis*. Of these, a number—those for extraordinary occasions and for the two saints' feasts which were still favored—were later discontinued in Frankish territory, so that the grand wealth of ancient Roman tradition was reduced to seven formulas. But this poverty was somewhat augmented in the centuries to follow, that same Frankish territory contributing the preface of the Holy Cross,<sup>37</sup> of the Holy Trinity,<sup>38</sup> and of Lent.<sup>39</sup> These ten prefaces—or rather, since the *præfatio communis* was not counted in, the total was usually reckoned as nine—were the only ones considered admissible in the Decretals first mentioned by Burchard of Worms,<sup>40</sup> and by him ascribed to Pelagius II (d. 590); from here they were incorporated in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*.<sup>41</sup> Finally, to this sparse group was added the Marian preface, prescribed by Urban II at the Synod of Piacenza in 1095, although it is itself of an earlier date.<sup>42</sup>

Many medieval churches, however, were not content with this poverty. Even in the appendix which Alcuin attached to the Gregorian Sacramentary coming from Rome, there was included, among other things, a special section containing a large number of prefaces, stemming for the

For the most part the majority are martyr prefaces. Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt*, see in the index, p. 96 f. Does this mean that the final curtailment did not take place till after Gregory?

<sup>36</sup> Lietzman, see Register, p. 185. Besides the *præfatio communis*, they are the prefaces for Christmas, Easter, Epiphany, Ascension, Pentecost, and for the feasts of the Apostles. Besides these there is a preface in *natali Papæ*, for ordination, consecration of an altar, for the bridal Mass, for Andrew, two for Anastasia (one an extra preface for Christmas). The preference for these two Saints shows a Byzantine influence at work, as was the case with the introduction of St. Andrew into the emblemism, see below.

<sup>37</sup> Of unknown origin. I could nowhere discover it in the sources of the 8th and 9th centuries. A preface of the Holy Cross with the antithesis of the two woods is found in the Alcuin appendix; Muratori, II, 318. This antithesis itself is surely an ancient one, since, among others, it is found in Irenæus, *Adv. hæc.*, V, 17 3; see H. Rahner, *Antennæ crucis*, III, (ZkTh, 1943) 1, n. 1.

<sup>38</sup> It appeared first in the older Gelasianum I, 84 (Wilson, 129) on the Sunday after Pentecost, which later became Trinity

Sunday. It could have originated in Spain and thus be dated back to the 7th century; cf. A. Klaus, *Ursprung und Verbreitung der Dreifaltigkeitsmesse* (Werl, 1938), 17 f.; 81-83.

<sup>39</sup> This appears in the later Gelasianum (Mohlberg, n. 254), but also in the oldest available form of the Gregorianum (Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 161); hence it belongs to an older Roman tradition.

<sup>40</sup> Burchard of Worms (d. 1025), *Decretum* III, 69 (PL, 140, 687 f.). Capelle (see below, n. 32) expresses a well-founded suspicion that Burchard himself was the author of this Canon (47).

<sup>41</sup> *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 71 (Friedberg, I, 1313). Cf. Durandus, IV, 33, 35.

<sup>42</sup> Some suggestions of it are found in the later Gelasianum.—With a minor variation (*huic mundo lumen æternum effudit*) and an introductory clause referring to Virgins in general, today's wording is the same as that found in about 850 in the Cod. Ottobon. 313 of the Gregorianum, ed. Wilson (HBS, 49), 283 f.; also in the Sacramentary of Eligius (PL, 78, 133); see B. Capelle, "Les origines de la préface romaine de la Vierge," *Revue d'histoire eccl.*, 38 (1942), 46-58. Cf. C. Mesini, "De auctore et loco compositionis præfationis B. M. V.," *Antonianum*, 10 (1935), 59-72

most part from old Roman tradition.<sup>43</sup> Up to the eleventh century and even beyond, the Mass books frequently preserved some heritage, large or small, of this tradition. The Leofric Missal (11th century), which originated in the Rhineland, still has a special preface for every Mass-formulary. Similarly, several sacramentaries from France.<sup>44</sup> But in the end the victory was won by the canon which was promoted by Burchard, and which after that was repeated by all commentators on the liturgy. Even in the Middle Ages, however, the victory was not an absolute one. For saints who were singularly venerated—John the Baptist, Augustine, Jerome, Francis, Roch, Christopher—special prefaces again came into use, but because of the unhistorical contents they provoked the antagonism of various reforming circles at the time of the Council of Trent, and so most of them had again to be dropped.<sup>45</sup> Only in certain orders and in the *proprium* of this or that diocese were special prefaces retained or even brought into use anew.<sup>46</sup> But not till most recent times did the Roman Missal itself experience an enrichment of this sort, after the canon of eleven prefaces had held firm for almost eight hundred years. And this enrichment actually involved, on the whole, a development of the central concept of the prayer of thanks. In 1919 the prefaces for the Requiem Mass<sup>47</sup> and for St. Joseph were introduced; in 1925 there followed the preface for the feast of Christ the King, in 1928 the preface for the Mass of the Sacred Heart.

A remarkable thing in the medieval canon of prefaces is the absence of any special preface for Sundays. In the older Roman sacramentary tradition such was not the case. Prefaces for Sunday appear in the newer *Gelasianum* and in the Alcuin appendix.<sup>48</sup> Within the festal cycles, in Advent, after Epiphany, during Lent, and after Easter, they adhere to the

<sup>43</sup> Muratori, II, 273-356.

<sup>44</sup> The Sacramentary of S. Armand (9th cent.) presents 283 prefaces, that of Chartres (10th cent.) 220, that of Angers (10th cent.) 243, that of Moissac (11th cent.) 342; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires* I, 57; 76; 86; 100.—An example from upper Italy in the 10th century by Ebner, 29.

<sup>45</sup> Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des Römischen Messbuches" (*Liturg. Leben*, 1939) 43, 46, 55, 60 f.

<sup>46</sup> In the liturgies of religious orders these include proper prefaces for Benedict, Augustine, Francis, Francis de Sales. Since 1919 others were added: Norbert, Dominic, John of the Cross, Teresa, Elias, Our Lady of Mt. Carmel. Many dioceses in France have their own proper preface, thus, e.g., Lyons has such not only for certain Saints, but also (from neo-Gallican

tradition) for Advent, Maundy Thursday, Corpus Christi, Consecration of a Church. B. Opfermann, "Die Sonderpræfationen des römischen Ritus," *Liturg. Leben*, 2 (1935), 240-248. A. Zak O. Præm., "Ueber die Præfationem": *Theol. prakt. Quartalschrift*, 58 (1905), 307-325.

<sup>47</sup> It is a revision of an originally Mozarabic preface (*Missale mixtum*: PL, 85, 1019 A) that came into the Mass-books of the Middle Ages by way of the Alcuin appendix (Muratori, II, 354 f.; 355 f.) and remained in use, among others, in the diocese of Besançon. The happy christological addition in the new text (*in quo nobis*) did not appear in this older version. J. Brinktrine, "Die neue Præfation in den Totenmessen": *Theologie u. Glaube*, 11 (1919), 242-245.

<sup>48</sup> The later Gelasianum here contains the genuine Roman tradition: see Baumstark's

theme suggested by the festal cycle. Thus, for the last Sunday of Advent<sup>39</sup> we have:

*VD. Sanctificator et conditor generis humani, qui Filio tuo tecum aeterna claritate regnante, cum de nullis extantibus cuncta protulisses hominem limosi pulveris initiis inchoatum ad speciem tui decoris animasti, eumque credula persuasione deceptum reparare voluisti spiritalis gratiae aeterna suffragia mittendo nobis Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem.*<sup>40</sup>

A preface for the second Sunday after Epiphany reads as follows:

*VD. Semperque virtutes et laudes tuas labiis exultationis effari, qui nobis ad relevandos istius vitae labores super diversa donorum tuorum solatia etiam munerum salutarium gaudia contulisti mittendo nobis Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum. Per quem.*<sup>41</sup>

In the neutral period after Pentecost several formulas appear that depart from the character of the prayer of thanks and either take in the features of a prayer of petition after the manner of a collect<sup>42</sup> or are at least content with a very general theme of praise of God's goodness. Thus, on the Sunday of the autumn Embertide we have:

*VD. Quia cum laude nostra non egeas, grata tibi tamen est tuorum devotio famulorum nec te augent nostra praeconia, sed nobis proficiunt ad salutem, quoniam sicut fontem vitae praeterire causa moriendi est, sic eodem iugiter redundare effectus est sine fine vivendi. Per Christum.*<sup>43</sup>

At other times a beautiful universality of Christian gratitude is achieved, as on the fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost:

*VD. Qui nos de donis donorum temporalium ad perceptionem provehis aeternorum et haec tribuis et illa promittis, ut et mansuris iam incipiamus inseri et praeterirentibus non teneri; tuum est enim quod vivimus, quia licet peccati vulnere natura nostra sit vitata, tui tamen est operis, ut terreni generati ad caelestia renascamur. Per Christum.*<sup>44</sup>

Several formulas, however, present very prominently the cardinal theme of the *eucharistia*, which we must expect above all on Sundays just as we expected it on Easter; a sample of this is found in the third Sunday after Pentecost:

*VD. Per Christum. Cuius hoc mirificum opus ac salutare mysterium fuit, ut perditum dudum atque prostratum a diabolo et mortis aculeo ad hanc gloriam vocaremur, qua nunc genus electum, sacerdotium regale ac populus acquisitionis et gens sancta vocemur. Agentes igitur indefessas gratias sanctamque munificentiam tuam praedicantes maiestati tuae haec sacra deferimus quae nobis ipse salutis nostrae auctor Christus instituit. Per quem.*<sup>45</sup>

proofs in Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt*, 128\*.

<sup>39</sup> This assignment and the one that follows for certain Sundays are according to the Frankish Gelasianum of Mohlberg. They do not occur in the same form in all the MSS.

<sup>40</sup> Mohlberg, n. 1454. Cf. the further sources, *ibid.*, p. 336 (=Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1454).

<sup>41</sup> Mohlberg, n. 124; further sources, *ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>42</sup> For example in the Alcuin appendix (Muratori, II, 285): *VD. Et immensam bonitatis tuae pietatem humiliter exorare . . .*

<sup>43</sup> Mohlberg, n. 1203. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 328. Also already in the Leonianum.

<sup>44</sup> Mohlberg, n. 1135. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 326.

<sup>45</sup> Mohlberg, n. 873. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 318. Also already in the older Gelasianum, I, 65 (for the Sunday after Ascension).

Or on the seventh Sunday:

*VD. Per Christum. Verum aeternumque pontificem et solum sine peccati macula sacerdotem, cuius sanguine omnium fidelium corda mundantur, placationis tibi hostias non solum pro delictis populi, sed etiam pro nostris offensionibus immolamus, ut omne peccatum quod carnis fragilitate contraximus summo pro nobis antistite interpellante salvetur. Per quem.*<sup>46</sup>

Or again concisely and to the point:

*VD. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui vicit diabolum et mundum hominemque paradiso restituit et vitae ianuas credentibus patefecit. Per quem.*<sup>47</sup>

It may well be that the tenacious retention of the special Sunday concepts precisely in Frankish territory is a result of the fact that, even in the ninth century, the Sunday was here called *Dominicae Resurrectionis dies*,<sup>48</sup> and was consciously celebrated as such. But in the eleventh century the prescription supposedly written by Pelagius II finally prevailed everywhere, and thus evidently the *praefatio communis* was at first used on Sundays, since it had already acquired this role at Rome perhaps as early as the sixth century, and generally took the lead among all the prefaces.<sup>49</sup> Since the thirteenth century, however, the Trinity preface began to be used for Sundays.<sup>50</sup> But it was not prescribed by Rome till 1759.<sup>51</sup>

Among the prefaces in use today, two appear to escape the ordinary scheme for prefaces: the Trinity preface (which presents a profession of belief in the mystery of the Trinity rather than a prayer of thanks) and

<sup>46</sup> Mohlberg, n. 979. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>47</sup> Text according to the Alcuin appendix: Muratori, II, 337.—Mohlberg, n. 1236. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 329.—Further examples of Sunday prefaces of the kind mentioned: Mohlberg, n. 1296 (*VD. Maiestatem tuam*); 1305 (*VD. Per Christum. Per quem sanctum*); Alcuin appendix: Muratori, II, 323 (*VD. Quoniam illa festa*). Some prefaces of Eastertide also come into consideration.

<sup>48</sup> Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 214; cf. 223. Cf. also *Vita Alcuini*, c. 11 (MGH, *Scriptores*, 15, 1, p. 191, 1, 21): *Praeter enim dies resurrectionis ac festivitatis jejuniium protelabat . . .*

<sup>49</sup> This seems to be evident from the fact that they are connected with the oldest tradition of the Canon of the Mass. That it developed specifically into a Sunday preface, is shown by the fact that, e.g., in the older Gelasianum, III, 6 (Wilson, 234) the canon which begins with the *praefatio communis* comprises a series of sixteen

Sundays which do not have a proper preface. That it was still a Sunday preface in this or that place during the later Middle Ages, is shown, e.g., in the Mass-*ordo* for the first Sunday after Pentecost in the *Rituale* of Soissons: *Praefatio nulla dicitur nisi quotidiana*; Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 612 C).

<sup>50</sup> Thus in the *Missale* of Sarum, ed. Legg, p. 171. Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), *De canonum observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 146) knows it as a Sunday preface from the Feast of the Trinity until Advent. Without further detail Bernold of Constance (d. 1100), *Micrologus*, c. 60 (PL, 151, 1020 C), also testifies to the use of the Trinity preface on Sundays (*quam in diebus dominicis frequentamus*).

<sup>51</sup> *Decreta auth. SRC.*, n. 2449. The reason for this is based on the fact that it was on a Sunday that the creation of the world began, on a Sunday that the Resurrection and the Descent of the Holy Ghost took place. But, of course, this view of the mystery of the Trinity in the economy of sal-

the preface of the Apostles. There is, to be sure, no reason for supposing that this latter is addressed to Christ,<sup>52</sup> since there is no precedent for such a supposition in the whole Roman sacramentary tradition. But starting with the very introductory phrases, the thanksgiving in this preface is transformed into a prayer of petition, though it is possible to discover in the continuation echoes of the thanksgiving that was heralded by the *Gratias agamus*. We have here a distortion of the original text. The original is found in the *Leonianum* where the preface presupposes the entire normal introduction, starting with a word of thanks and concluding with *Per Christum* (thus obviously assuming the usual mode of address to God the Father): *Vere dignum . . . gratias agere . . . æterne Deus suppliciter exorantes ut gregem tuum, pastor æterne, non deseras . . . pastores, per (Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem)*.<sup>53</sup> It might be added that even in the *Leonianum* the preface (aside from the introductory phrases) not infrequently takes on the features of a petition.<sup>54</sup>

The basic schema of the Roman preface is to be seen in the *præfatio communis*. Without descending to prosaic banality, it embraces only the barest outline of the prayer of thanks. The reason for giving thanks is no longer expounded, but is included in the fact that the thanksgiving is offered *per Christum Dominum nostrum*. The reason is thus presented in the fact that the vast distance separating man from God has been bridged, that we have the access and the trusty password “through Christ our Lord.”<sup>55</sup> In the other prefaces this schema is either repeated word for word, as in the prefaces for Lent and Passiontide where, after the word *Deus*, the corresponding expansion is inserted and then the preface continues with *per Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem*,<sup>56</sup> and similarly

vation is not expressed in the text of the preface.

<sup>52</sup> Because of the word *pastor æterne*; thus, e.g., in Gühr, 616, note 55. Conforming to the spirit of ancient tradition, this title is used in the Oration for the Commune summorum pontificum (prescribed in 1942) in reference to God. *Leonianum*, ed. Muratori, 332.

<sup>53</sup> Feltoe, 50; Muratori, I, 345. Note *exorantes* instead of *exoramus*. Likewise in the older Gelasianum, II, 36 (Wilson, 186). The Sacramentary of Eligius (10th cent.; PL, 78, 124 CD) also gives the complete introduction and continues: (*gratias agere . . . et te suppliciter exorare*. It is the same in the English missal MSS. of the 13th and 14th centuries (Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 214) and also in the printed editions of the Sarum Missal of the 15-16th century (F. H. Dickinson, *Missale ad usum ecclesiæ Sarum*, [Burtonisland, 1883],

605).—On the other hand, the Gregorian tradition as well as the later Gelasianum already has today's text, although there are fluctuations in the demarcation of the introductory phrase, betraying the secondary character of this version. The critical evaluation here made is also found in Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi* (1925), 97 f. It has also been made elsewhere, as appears from a report of V. Oderisi, *Eph. liturg.*, 58 (1944), 307-309.

<sup>54</sup> There is even the case where a collect (with relative predication: *Deus qui*) serves as the center portion of the preface, e.g., Muratori, I, 334, in the sixth Mass of the Apostles, in which only the *præsta* is omitted from the *præsta ut* of the collect (*ibid.*, 339, XVII). Similar cases are frequent in the Milan liturgy; see P. Lejay, “Ambrosien (Rit.)”, DACL, I, 1413.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Eph. 3: 12; Rom. 5: 2.

<sup>56</sup> The *Per Christum* thereby acquires a dif-

in the prefaces for the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph where the expansion begins with the words *per quem*. Or else the Christological expansion is included after the word *Deus*, but in such a way that the *Sanctus* is introduced at once with the phrase *Et ideo*, as in the prefaces for Christmas, Epiphany, the Sacred Heart, and Christ the King. In the Easter preface the introduction itself is also altered somewhat. Or again the expansion occurs only after the phrase *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*, as in the preface for Ascension, for Masses for the Dead and (with a freer conclusion) for Pentecost. In every instance the name of the Saviour comes in the middle. The original arrangement was, no doubt, the introduction of our Lord as a mediator of our prayer of thanks.<sup>57</sup> The delineation of the Christ-mystery in other versions would be taken as merely a variant or substitute. And so, the absence of the name of Christ in the Trinity preface and in the present version of the preface of Apostles is really a more recent and secondary phenomenon.<sup>58</sup>

It is necessary to consider more minutely certain details in this ever-recurring basic schema. Every Roman preface begins, and has for a long time begun, with a declaration of the propriety, we might even say the obligation, of giving thanks: *Vere dignum et iustum est, æquum et salutare*. This phrasing is not to be found in the *eucharistia* of Hippolytus. But it is the reiteration of the yet more ancient response to the priest's *Gratias agamus: Dignum et iustum est*. In nearly all the liturgies this or similar presumption of the people's acclamation has prevailed.<sup>59</sup> Thus the priest, too, declares that what the congregation offers up to God is simply a service due.<sup>60</sup> Regarding the content of this service, only the cardinal thought is expressed: it is gratitude, but gratitude which embraces all the powers of our soul, gratitude measured by that love we owe to God—with our whole heart and our whole soul and all our strength—gratitude that

ferent meaning; it is no longer our thanks through Christ, but God's acting through Christ. Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 156 f.

<sup>57</sup> Thus also in the Eucharistia of Hippolytus, above I, 29. An Arian of the 4-5th century in arguing against the *ὁμοούσιος* of the Catholic Christology, bases his reasoning on the Catholic custom of directing the thanksgiving prayer in *oblationibus* through Christ to God; there it says *Dignum et iustum . . . neque est alius per quem ad te aditum habere, precem facere, sacrificacionem tibi offerre possimus nisi per quem tu nobis misisti*. G. Mercati, *Antiche reliquie liturgiche* (Studi e Testi, 7; Rom., 1902), 52.

<sup>58</sup> A more exact classification of the entire Latin tradition with regard to the preface

is supplied by P. Cagin, *Te Deum ou illatio* (Solesmes, 1906), 356-371.

<sup>59</sup> In the Gallic liturgy the beginning reads *Dignum et iustum est*, in the oriental either as at Rome *Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἀξίον ἐστὶν καὶ δίκαιον* (Egyptian anaphora of St. Mark: Brightman, 125; cf. 164; Byzantine liturgy of St. Chrysostom: *ibid.*, 321 f.) or the expression is enriched with a certain emotional tone: *Ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀξίον ἐστὶ καὶ δίκαιον* (West Syrian anaphora of St. James: Brightman, 50; cf. *Const. Ap. VIII*, 12; *ibid.*, 14).—The Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil has a solemn address to God preceding this introductory phrase: *Ὁ ὢν δεσποτα κύριε θεὸς πάτερ παντοκράτωρ προσκύνητε, ἀξίον ὡς ἀληθῶς . . .* Brightman, 321 f.

<sup>60</sup> Cfr., above, p. 111.

must in essence be paid always and everywhere.<sup>61</sup> Other liturgies intensify the word “thanksgiving” by adding a long series of expressions all designating the praise and worship of God.<sup>62</sup>

The address to God which at present is divided as follows: *Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus*<sup>63</sup> must originally have been arranged in this way: *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus*.<sup>64</sup> Both the *Domine* and the *omnipotens æterne Deus* are usual forms of address in the Roman liturgy. *Sancte Pater* evidently corresponds to the *clementissime Pater* which follows later. The solemnity of this address, grouping as it does various popular titles for God,<sup>65</sup> underlines once again the importance of the moment.

Our thanks and worship we do not bring to God directly as just any group of human petitioners; we offer it rather as a congregation of the redeemed, through Him who is our Redeemer and our Head, through Christ, our Lord. In the festal prefaces this step disappears in favor of a jubilant celebration of the festal theme; since this theme always has reference to a mystery of Christ, it is unnecessary to add that we praise God through Him.

Finally, our praise is joined to the praise of the heavenly choirs. In ancient Christendom a favorite way of representing the salvation which is ours in Christ was to show that it associates us with the blessed spirits of heaven and that by its means we are able to take the place of the fallen angels. “The scene of your approach now is mount Sion, is the heavenly

<sup>61</sup> Cf., I Thess. 5: 18; Col. 1: 12; 2: 7; 3: 15-17.

<sup>62</sup> This is true especially in regard to the liturgy of St. Basil. It is noteworthy in this connection that in all its versions, outside the Egyptian, the sacrificial character of the Eucharist is revealed along with the εὐχαριστεῖν and the accompanying phrases. The Byzantine liturgy continues (*loc. cit.*) . . . σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σὲ δοξάζειν τὸν μόνον ὄντως ὄντα θεόν, καὶ σοὶ προσέρρειν . . . τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ἡμῶν. The Armenian version is rendered: καὶ σοὶ προσφέρειν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως; Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileios-liturgie* (Münster, 1931), 2 f.

<sup>63</sup> Thus already about 800 the *Expositio “Quotiens contra se”* (PL, 96, 1489 B). Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1253) also unites: *Domine sancte*.

<sup>64</sup> Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 168. He refers to the *Qui pridie* of Ambrose (above I, 52): *ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens æterne Deus*, and to our first offering

prayer at the Offertory: *Suscipe, sancte Pater* that could have its beginning in the 10-11th century. The General Chapter of the Cistercians in 1188 decided that a cæsura could be made only after the word *Pater*; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 8 f.—Cf. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 72, who sees in the arrangement of the single, double, and triple expression a mannerism of ancient rhetoric. See for further references A. Dold, *Bened. Monatsschrift*, 22 (1946), 143; 146. A summary of all the arguments for the suggested re-arrangement in Jean Juglar, “‘Sancte Pater’ Note sur la ponctuation de la formule d’invocation de la Preface,” *Eph. liturg.*, 65 (1951), 101-104.—E. C.-V. “De Genuina Interpretatione Formulæ ‘Domine Sancte Pater Omnipotens æterne Deus,’” *Eph. liturg.*, 66 (1952), 77-80, upholds the customary pointing.

<sup>65</sup> This occurs with true oriental prolixity at the same place in some liturgies of the East; thus, e.g., note 59 above, and also I, 35 f.

Jerusalem, the city of the living God; here are gathered thousands upon thousands of angels, here is the assembly of those first-born sons whose names are written in heaven.”<sup>66</sup> Thus even in this life, as children of the Jerusalem which is above,<sup>67</sup> and especially when we are assembled for the celebration of the New Covenant, we may join our voices to the songs of praise raised by the hosts of heaven.<sup>68</sup> At first the preface lets us listen, so to speak, to these songs of praise. One thing that surprises us here is that these songs, too—as the *præfatio communis* puts it—are offered up through Christ: *per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli* . . . But why should we be surprised? He is set “high above all principdoms and powers and virtues and dominations, and every name that is known, not in this world only, but in the world to come.”<sup>69</sup> “All the angels and powers and principdoms [are] made subject under His feet.”<sup>70</sup> In Christ “all that is in heaven, all that is on earth [are] summed up.”<sup>71</sup> The concept is therefore thoroughly biblical, although the Scholastics were wont to add that the angels cannot bear the same relationship to Christ as do men who were redeemed by Him.<sup>72</sup> Thus even in the concise *præfatio communis* the second part is dominated by the Christ-theme: Christ appears before our gaze as the King of the triumphant Church.

The Bible also furnished the materials for the detailed description of the choirs of angels and their activity.<sup>73</sup> The *præfatio communis* presents the lengthiest enumeration of their names: *angeli, dominationes, potestates, cæli, cælorum virtutes, seraphim*. A shorter series is associated with the concluding formula *Et ideo*, but here two other groups are recorded, *archangeli* and *throni*. The Trinity preface, in spite of its terse arrangement, adds the *cherubim* to the list.<sup>74</sup> The Pentecost preface summarizes

<sup>66</sup> Hebr. 12: 22 f.; cf. also the conception of the parable of the Good Shepherd, (Luke 15: 4-7), which is almost universal among the Fathers. According to this, the Son of God left the ninety-nine sheep, the angels of heaven, to seek the one lost sheep, lost man, and to bring him back happily to the fold; see evidences from Irenæus, Origen, Methodius, Hilary, Cyril of Alexandria, Peter Chrysologus in Th. K. Kempf, *Christus der Hirt, Ursprung und Deutung einer altchristlichen Symbolgestalt* (Rome, 1942), 10-166. Gregory the Great, among others, takes the same view, *In Ev. hom.*, 34, 3 (PL, 76, 1247).

<sup>67</sup> Gal., 4: 26.

<sup>68</sup> Even the Old Testament frequently manifests this effort of joining the world of angels in the praise of God, especially the Psalms (102: 20 ff.; 148: 2 ff.; etc.).

<sup>69</sup> Eph. 1: 21 f.

<sup>70</sup> I Pet. 3: 22.

<sup>71</sup> Eph. 1: 10.

<sup>72</sup> That is true of Scholasticism, except Scotism. The latter proceeds from the assumption that it was in the designs of God to send the God-man regardless of the sin of Adam. Christ is considered from the very beginning as the crown of creation and the source of all graces, even of those that were given to the angels; cf. anent the matter J. Pohle-M. Gierens, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, II (9th ed.; Paderborn, 1937), 136-139; 176-182.

<sup>73</sup> Eph. 1: 21; Col. 1: 16; I Pet. 3: 22; I Thess. 4: 15; Ez. 10, 1 ff.; Is. 6: 2, etc.

<sup>74</sup> Nine different names and classes of heavenly spirits appear. They do not coincide with the nine choirs as enumerated by Dionysius, *De cal. hierarchia*, 6, 2 (PL, 3, 200 f.) because no *principatus* appears among them, although in their place are welcomed the *cæli*. The *cæli* (cf. Dan. 3:

the whole series in the phrase *supernæ virtutes atque angelicæ potestates*, much as the *Et ideo* formula mentions last of all *omnis militia cælestis exercitus*. All bow in reverence before God's majesty, they sing out their song *una voce*, they cry out *sine fine*—two phrases adapted from the earthly custom of the acclamation and applied to the description of the heavenly liturgy.<sup>75</sup>

It is in this heavenly liturgy, which is described with even greater emphasis in the texts of the oriental anaphora, that we are bidden to take part. Placing on our lips a humble plea, the *præfatio communis* has us enter the circle of the heavenly spirits: *cum quibus et nostris voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur*, and intone with them the triple *Sanctus*.

#### 4. *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*

The *Sanctus* is the continuation of the preface. So true is this that the oldest melody of the *Sanctus*<sup>1</sup> is simply a continuation of the ferial melody of the preface. But because the *Sanctus* is here more than a mere citation from the account of the Prophet Isaias, because it is intended to do more than recall to our mind that the seraphim sang this hymn,<sup>2</sup> but is rather a reminder that the earthly church should take part in the heavenly singing, the *Sanctus* takes on its own independent importance. All the people join in singing the *Sanctus*—that was taken for granted in ancient Christian times,<sup>3</sup> and to some extent still is in the Orient.<sup>4</sup>

59) are mostly treated by the commentators of the Middle Ages as equivalent to the *throni*, which are not mentioned in the respective series. The consideration of the *cæli* as an angelic choir became the occasion for using Ps. 18 (*Cæli enarrant*) in the Office of the Angels. Originally the *cæli* were thought of as spirits that stood in some relation to the stars of heaven.

<sup>75</sup> Th. Klauser, "Akklamation," RAC, I, 227; Peterson, *Εἰς θεός*, 192, n. 1. In the preface for Pentecost the *sine fine* is referred to the angels, in all other instances to us.

<sup>1</sup> In Mass XVIII of the Vatican edition of the *Graduale Romanum*, the Mass appointed for week-days in Advent and Lent, coincides with the melody for Requiem Mass.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Luther interpreted the *Sanctus*. Martin Luther's *Deutsche Messe* (1526) edited by H. Lietzmann (Kleine Texte, 37; Berlin, 1929), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Const. Ap.* VIII, 12, 27 (*supra*, I, 36).—Gregory of Nyssa, *De Bapt.* (PG, 46, 421 C): join the holy people and learn

hidden words, proclaim with us the same as the six-winged angels proclaim.—Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.* V, 6 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 101).—Chrysostom often comes back to the subject, e.g., *In illud, "Vidi Dominum" hom.* I, 1 (PG, 56, 97 f.): "Above the Seraphim shout the thrice-holy hymn and below all mankind sends it aloft." Cf. *In Eph. hom.* 14, 4 (PG, 62, 104); *In II Cor. hom.* 18, 3 (PG, 61, 527). Chrysostom often extols the value of this community singing; see *In I Cor. hom.* 27, 5 (PG, 61, 232); *In Is. hom.* 6, 3 (PG, 56, 138). Cf. J. Gülden, "Liturgische Erneuerung und die Beteiligung des Volkes am Gottesdienst in der Väterpredigt, *StZ* 137 (1940, I), 178-186, especially 182.

<sup>4</sup> In the oriental liturgies, though the transitional words of the preface seldom mention it, the *Sanctus* as a rule is expressly given over to the people by a special rubric, as was already done in the Apostolic Constitutions VIII, 12, 27 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 220); in the West Syrian and Egyptian liturgies (Brightman, 50;

Even in the West as late as 530 the *Liber pontificalis* indicates that Pope Sixtus I ordered: *ut intra actionem, sacerdos incipiens, populo [l. -us] hymnum decantare [t]: Sanctus*.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps it was already necessary at that time to recall to memory the tradition which was to be found implicit in the text itself, for then as now it read: *cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur*. As a matter of fact the singing at Rome, as described in the Roman *ordines* for feast-day service, was transferred to a group of clerics.<sup>6</sup>

In the land of the Franks, however, provision continued to be made for the people to sing the *Sanctus* as of yore.<sup>7</sup> Thus the *ordo* of John the Arch-chanter still mentions the people.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the reform decrees of the Carolingian period did not have to insist that the people sing the *Sanctus*, but instead had to demand that the celebrating priest go along with the singing to its finish and only then continue with *Te igitur*.<sup>9</sup>

86; 132; 176; 231); also in the older Byzantine liturgy (*ibid.*, 385; 403; 436). Cf. Hanssens III, p. 392 f.; 400.

<sup>5</sup> Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 128.—Cf. O. Casel, *JL*, 1, (1921), 151.

<sup>6</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 16 (PL, 78, 944 f.): *subdiaconi regionarii*. Cf. *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 10 (PL, 78, 973): *subdiaconi*; *Ordo Rom.* V, n. 9 (PL, 78, 988): *Subdiaconi itaque dum canitur Sanctus, post altare pergant stare*, and others also sing along. *Ordo Rom.* XI, n. 20 (PL, 78, 1033) has the *basilicarii*, that is, the clergy attached to the respective basilica, sing the *Sanctus*, as they do the *Credo*; cf. above, I, 473, n. 69. Therefore, even here the *Sanctus* is never left to the Schola cantorum. Quite probably the congregational singing of the *Sanctus* is considered as the ideal also in the *Ordo eccl. Later.* (ed. Fischer, 44). Still in the Pontifical Mass it is sung by the choir, *in choro*, (*ibid.*, 83, L. 38). Perhaps the exclusion of the people, as noted in the Roman *Ordines*, is also to be understood as holding only for the Pontifical Mass.

<sup>7</sup> *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 199): *proclamantibus omnibus clericis vel (mostly = et) populo cum tremore et reverentia: Sanctus*. Cf. *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (*ibid.*, 198 f): *diaconi et clerus cum populo*. This is a Carolingian text, and cannot therefore be relied upon to show what is the Roman custom; but it does give evidence of the adaptation to Frankish conditions.

<sup>8</sup> Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.*, 73, 3 (Morin, 294; PL, 39, 2277) says of those who leave before time: *qualiter cum tremore simul et gaudio clamabunt: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini?* Cf. Gregory of Tours, *De mir. s. Martini*, II, 14 (PL, 71, 946 f.).—It is an error to quote can. 3 of the Synod of Vaison (529) as a proof that the *Sanctus* was not sung at the time, but rather reintroduced just then. Here there is question not of the *Sanctus*, but of the Trisagion (*Aius*; cf. above, I, 47). See the proof for this in Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie im Frankenreich*, 25-29.

<sup>9</sup> *Admonitio generalis* (789) n. 70 (MGH, Cap., I, 59): *Et ipse sacerdos cum sanctis angelis et populo Dei communi voce Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus decantet*. Herard of Tours (858) *Capitula*, n. 16 (PL, 121, 765): *ut secreta presbyteri non inchoent, antequam Sanctus finiatur, sed cum populo Sanctus cantent*. Amalar, *De eccl. off.* III, 21 (PL, 105, 1134 C) refers to the decree of Sixtus I mentioned above. With the rise of the Apologies these prescriptions were again transgressed; cf. further the Sacramentary of Amiens in the 9th cent. ed., Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 442: *Quando tractum canitur Sanctus, idem sacerdos cursim decantet*, followed by an Apology. But towards the end of the 11th century the Missal of St. Vincent, for example, again has neums marked over the *Sanctus*, obviously for the priest to sing; Fiala, 192.

Being music for the people, the *Sanctus* retained its traditional simple melody, which hardly goes beyond a mere recitative. This explains why one Carolingian music writer about 830, in enumerating the songs of the Mass, makes no mention whatever of the *Sanctus*.<sup>10</sup> There is evidence that the *Sanctus* continued to be sung by priest and people together even in the twelfth century; it is so described in Hildebert<sup>11</sup> and Honorius.<sup>12</sup> An intermediate step before its complete disappearance as a people's chant was to be found in northern countries where it was assigned to the clergy assisting in choir.<sup>13</sup> There is a relic of this in the present-day prescription that at high Mass the deacon and the subdeacon<sup>14</sup> recite the *Sanctus* together with the celebrant. The transfer of the *Sanctus* from the people to the special singing choir goes hand in hand with the composition of the more recent *Sanctus* melodies and is finally complete when polyphonic music came into its own in the Gothic period. It is significant that the text of the *Sanctus*—basically little more than a simple outcry of praise, an acclamation<sup>15</sup>—was altered for a time to suit the newer settings, and like the other chants it was expanded by the addition of tropes.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Aurelian of Reaumé, *Musica disciplina*, c. 20 (Gerbert, *Scriptores de mus. sacra*, I, 60 f.). He discusses the Introit, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, Gradual, Alleluja, Offertory, and Communion. Cf. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 58 f. Evidently the melody under discussion is the melody mentioned above, n. 7, the only one that was in use among the Carthusians, even as late as the 18th century; Wagner, 114. It seems that more elaborate melodies for the *Sanctus* in general were not created till the 11-12th century, hence a century later than was the case with the *Kyrie* (Cf. below, n. 16).—This also fits in with the fact that the *Sanctus* was set to polyphonic melodies only at a later date. The oldest collection of two-voiced compositions, the Winchester Troper (HBS, 8) has twelve settings for the *Kyrie*, 8 for the *Gloria*, but none for the *Sanctus* (and likewise none for the *Agnus Dei*). Cf. Ursprung, 57; 119.

<sup>11</sup> Hildebert of Le Mans, *Versus de mysterio missæ* (PL, 171, 1182); *Hinc bene cum populo ter Sanctus . . . canit*.

<sup>12</sup> Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 42 (PL, 172, 556 D).

<sup>13</sup> A Sacramentary of the 9th century of Le Mans and likewise one of the 11th century from Echternach (Leroquais, I, 30 f., 122) *Quando clerus . . . Sanctus can-*

*tat*; cf. Leroquais, I, 59.—Robert Paululus (d. about 1184), *De cæremoniis*, II, 24 (PL, 177, 425 D): *Hunc hymnum sacerdos cum choro dicere debet*.—Durandus, IV, 34, 1: *totus chorus . . . simul canit dictum evangelicum hymnum*. According to A. Gastoué, *L'église et la musique*, (Paris, 1936), 80, the *Sanctus* in many cathedrals was for a long time reserved to seven subdeacons, who formed a semi-circle before the altar; cf. above I, 197, note 9. Even at the beginning of the 14th century rubricists were vividly aware that the *Sanctus* was to be said by the clergy present in choir, as is clear from the *Ordo* of Stefaneschi, n. 61 (PL, 78, 1176), where it states that when a cardinal is present at the chaplain's Mass, *dicta præfatione dicat sine nota Sanctus, etc., cum astantibus sibi*.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding the practice in Roman basilicas, where only the deacon does so, see Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 11 (I, 282 f.).

<sup>15</sup> E. Peterson, *Das Buch von den Engeln* (Leipzig, 1935), 58; *idem.*, *ΕΥς θεός*, 234; 325.

<sup>16</sup> Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, I (Analecta hymnica, 47) p. 301-369 (n. 247-338). As the editors point out, a number of these originated in the 10th century.

Honorius also stresses the point that the organ—a very primitive instrument still—was joined to the chanting of people and clergy: *Unde solemus adhuc in officio sacrificii organis concrepare, clerus cantare, populus conclamare*.<sup>17</sup> The sound of the organ *in hoc concentu angelorum et hominum* is likewise emphasized by later commentators.<sup>18</sup> In the compendious liturgical manual of Durandus the *Sanctus* is the only place where any mention is made of the organ.<sup>19</sup> It therefore has here a more conspicuous function than the usual one of accompanying the singing. It has the same purpose as the Psalmist's sounding of many instruments—an expression of joy.<sup>20</sup> It is not unlikely that originally the ringing of the altar bell—a triple ring, to correspond to the triple *Sanctus*<sup>21</sup>—was also intended for the same purpose.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 123 D).

<sup>19</sup> Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 34, 10.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Durandus, who, *loc. cit.*, remarks regarding the musical accompaniment of the *Sanctus*: David and Solomon introduced *hymnos in sacrificio Domini organis et aliis instrumentis musicis concrepari et laudes a populo conclamari*.

<sup>21</sup> According to our present *Missale Romanum*, even in the first edition of 1570, there are only two signals with the bell, one at *Sanctus* and one at the consecration. *Ritus serv.*, VII, 8; VIII, 6. The decree of the Congregation of Rites, Oct. 25, 1922, speaks of a signal with the bell shortly before the consecration, without actually demanding it; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 4377. Moreover, even these signals are not universally in use in the Roman basilicas. There is no mention of them in the *Cæremoniale Episc.*, I, 8, 67, 69. Cf. *Les Questions liturgiques*, 4 (1913-14), 164 f.

<sup>22</sup> The reports about the bell signal that begin to appear in the 13th century pertain almost exclusively to the elevation of the Sacred Species at the consecration, that was, of course, introduced at the time; cf. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 573-577. Nevertheless, even before the *Missale* of Pius V, testimony for a signal with the bell at the *Sanctus* is not entirely lacking. According to an endowment foundation made at Chartres, 1399, one of the bells suspended above the choir was to be rung *dum incipietur cantari Sanctus*, and the reason given is that the attention of the

people might be called to the *levatio sacramenti*; Du Cange-Favre, VII, 259. The inventories of the English churches made under Edward VI (d. 1553) frequently record the *Sanctus* bells (*santtes* or *saunce bell*). F. C. Eeles, The Edwardian Inventories for Buckinghamshire (Alcuin Club Coll., 9) 3; 5. P. Browe, "Die Elevation" (*JL*, 1929), 39, who cites these passages, assumes (as the foundation mentioned above clearly indicates), that the signal of the bell at the *Sanctus* was only a preliminary warning of the approach of the consecration. That, however, need not have been its full purpose. While the little hand-bell may have been introduced to signal the consecration and was then extended also to the *Sanctus*, its primary purpose was not to give a signal, since the singing of the hymn itself was already sufficient for the purpose, but rather for much the same object we have in mind today, when at a solemn *Te Deum*, or, as was done for ages, at the *Gloria*, when it is resumed on Holy Saturday, every available instrument is sounded. The latter custom is attested in the *Ordo ecclesie Lateranensis* (middle of the 12th century; Fischer, 73): . . . *Gloria in excelsis, et statim omnia signa pro gaudio tantæ sollemnitatis in classicum pulsantur*. According to Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 11, (I, 282), one should ring the *campanas majores* at High Mass, and at private Mass the *campanula parva* (which could be dispensed with at High Mass, unless it is to be used as a signal for the ringing of the large bell). The custom of ringing the large bell at High Mass during the preface un-

The origins of the *Sanctus* in Christian liturgy are not fully clear. There is no *Sanctus* in the eucharistic prayer of Hippolytus of Rome.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, even as early as the turn of the first century, it appears to have been part of the prayers of the Christian community right in Rome itself. For it is very surprising that Clement of Rome should not only cite the song itself from the vision of Isaias (Isaias 6:3) but also introduce it with the passage from Daniel 7:10, just as is done later in most of the liturgies of the Orient:

*Let us consider the vast multitude of His angels, and see how they stand in readiness to minister to His will. For the Scripture says: "Ten thousand thousand stood ready before Him, and a thousand thousand ministered to Him, and cried out: Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole creation is replete with His splendor." And so we, too, being dutifully assembled with one accord, should as with one voice, cry out to Him earnestly, so that we may participate in His great and glorious promises.*<sup>24</sup>

The triple *Sanctus* is to be found likewise in all the other liturgies known to us, starting with the *Euchologion* of Serapion and the Clementine liturgy.<sup>25</sup> It is then but a step to assume that the *Sanctus* had been sung already in the primitive Church. Perhaps the synagogue served as a model and so concurred in some way in establishing its use.<sup>26</sup>

til the *Sanctus* is reported from the monastery of Hohenfurt in Czechoslovakia (about 1937); the ringing of the large bell at the *Sanctus* itself is still customary in the Weterwald (1947; Prof. B. Fischer).

<sup>23</sup> *Supra*, I, 29 f.—Note, however, that St. John quotes a triple "holy" from the mouths of the four-winged figures (cherubim) in Apoc. 4: 8; cf. Gassner, *The Canon*, 138 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Clement of Rome, *Ad Corinth.*, c. 34; see J. A. Kleist, *The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch* (Ancient Christian Writers, 1; Westminster, 1946), 30. That this, however, is not clearly a reference to the Eucharistic prayer is shown by W. C. van Unnik, "I Clement 34 and the 'Sanctus,'" *Vigiliae christianae*, 5 (1951), 204-248.—A similarly indefinite reference also in Tertullian, *De or.*, 3 (CSEL, 20, 182); cf. Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 43 f. Somewhat plainer in Origen, *De princ.*, I, 3, 4; IV, 3, 14 (GGs, Orig., V, 52 f., 346); cf. G. Dix, "Primitive Consecration Prayer," *Theology*, 37 (1938), 261-283.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 34; 36. An exception is

perhaps the second of the Eucharistic prayers cited by an Arian author in the fragments published by G. Mercati, *Antiche reliquie liturgiche* (Studi et Testi, 7; Rome, 1902), 52 f. Cf. P. Alfonso, *L'eucologia romana antica* (Subiaco, 1931), 101-104.

<sup>26</sup> Regarding the supposition that the *Sanctus* is a heritage from the synagogue, see A. Baumstark, "Trishagion und Qedscha," *JL*, 3 (1923), 18-32; Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 128 ff., 258 f.; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford, 1925), 144-147. The *Sanctus*, says the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, 463, "must have been borrowed by the Church from the Synagogue at an early date." This statement is at best highly doubtful. W. H. Frere, *The Anaphora or Great Eucharistic Prayer* (SPCK, 1938), is inclined to put the *Sanctus* after the time of Hippolytus.—The triple "holy" or Kedushshah used in various parts of the present synagogue service was surely introduced into that service by the second century A.D.; see C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* (Lon-

don, 1945), 102-103, 108. This is a benediction and song of praise sung not only by the Seraphim among themselves, as in Is. 6:2, but by all the angels (all His servants) just as is presupposed as a rule in the Christian liturgies, although individual choirs are not marked out. See the Hebrew text in W. Stärk, *Altjüdische liturgische Gebete* (2nd ed.; Kleine Texte, 58; Berlin, 1930), 5.—Worthy of note is the fact that the triple "holy," treated as a song of praise sung by the entire host of angels, is found in Bk. VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* within that very section (c. 33-38) which is evidently only a superficially christianized collection of Jewish prayers (VII, 35, 3; Funk, I, 430). And here is something to which Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 22 ff., attaches a great deal of importance, Ez. 3: 12: Εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ, is added as the response of the other choirs of angels; this is a benediction which is also found in later Jewish services as an accompaniment to the triple "holy," and which corresponds to the *Benedictus* which follows immediately after the triple "holy" in the Christian liturgies except that of Egypt. In the Clementine liturgy this *Benedictus* has the form: Εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. (*Const. Ap.* VIII, 12, 27; Funk, I, 506; Quasten, *Mon.*, 220). In the other liturgies it reads more or less like that of the Roman Mass; in other words, it is the shout of the crowd recorded in Matt. 21: 9, with doubled *Hosanna*. This combination *Hosanna - Benedictus* must have been joined to the triple "holy" at a very early date, in Palestine itself, in conscious opposition to the narrowly national

Jewish formula (Baumstark, 23 ff.).—Against this assumption, which Baumstark in particular upholds, we have the fact that outside the short and rather irrelevant phrase in *Const. Ap.* VIII, 12, 27, there is no early evidence of this *Hosanna-Benedictus*. Even in the East it does not appear till the 8th century; on the contrary, the oldest Palestinian and Antiochene sources (Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia) do not mention it in this connection at all. (It does appear in *Peregrinatio Aetheria*, c. 31, but in an entirely different connection, as a responsorial processional chant sung by the people, and without *Hosanna*). Add to this the sharp dissimilarity of the *Tersanctus* itself, and especially of the sentences leading into it, where the Jewish version indicates the troops of angels only in a general way, while the Christian texts always mention various choirs. These are differences that cannot be accounted for as merely polemical antagonism. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III (1932), 402 f., 404; E. Peterson, *Das Buch von den Engeln* (Leipzig, 1935), 115-117.—Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* (1939), 55 f., 92 f., continues to hold to his thesis, without, however, adverting to the objections raised against it. Perhaps, as Hanssens, III, 404, remarks, the example of the Jews somehow did act as a stimulus for the Christians when they interpolated the *Sanctus* from Is. 6: 2 f., into their Eucharistic prayer.

<sup>27</sup> The parallel to the threefold "holy" here discussed was already noticed by Tertullian, *De or.*, 3 (CSEL, 20, 182). For this reason, so he argues, we say the *Sanctificetur angelorum candidati*.

was not expressly attached to the triple “holy,” still there was inherent in it an echo of this most profound of Christian mysteries.<sup>28</sup>

It is surprising, indeed, that the text of the *Tersanctus*, despite its brevity, shows some variations from the basic biblical text and also from that used in the synagogue. The basic text as found in the Vulgate reads as follows: *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus exercituum, plena est omnis terra gloria eius*. Even here the word *Deus* is an addition, already to be found in the Old Latin version.<sup>29</sup> The liturgical text leaves the word *sabaoth* untranslated. God is the Lord of “armies,” of “hosts.” This refers not only to the hosts of angels but to the “whole multitude” of beings which God had made in the six days of creation.<sup>30</sup> With this the appended clause agrees, for it makes the angels assert that the glory of God fills the whole earth. The liturgical text changes the cry into a form of address, *gloria tua*,<sup>31</sup> thus reinforcing its character as a prayer.

More important is the addition in the song of the word “heaven”: *caeli et terra*; this is true of all the Christian liturgies,<sup>32</sup> and only of them.<sup>33</sup> This peculiarity is in line with the introduction to the *Sanctus* where all the Christian liturgies have likewise acquired a rather imposing augment.<sup>34</sup> No longer is it the Temple of Jerusalem that resounds with the triple *Sanctus*,

nor is it only the seraphim who cry out one to another; heaven has become the scene,<sup>35</sup> and all the choirs of heavenly spirits, the *militia caelestis exercitus*, are united in the singing. *Socia exultatione* they sing their song of praise, and their cry is *sine fine*.

Even more impressive is the picture presented in this same spot by the oriental liturgies, like the Egyptian anaphora of St. Mark where the curtain is drawn aside to reveal a thousand times a thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand angels<sup>36</sup> and choirs of archangels standing in God’s presence, and the six-winged cherubim calling to each other in this hymn of victory “with untiring mouth and never-ceasing praises of God” and “singing, calling, praising, sounding and speaking” the song “before Thy great glory.”<sup>37</sup>

These changes cannot have been fortuitous,<sup>38</sup> even though they could hardly have resulted from any conscious plan. The enlargement of the picture corresponds to the breakdown of the national narrowness of Judaism and of its cult which was conjoined to the Temple. “The glory of the Lord” which had once dwelt in the Temple, had, in a manner new and unparalleled, pitched its tent on earth in the Incarnation of the Son of God (John 1:14). Now, however, no longer to be confined by the boundaries of one country, but to be a light to enlighten all people and—more completely after the Ascension—to be the Head beneath which earth and heaven should be conjoined. From this Head the Spirit should be poured out over the entire world as a new revelation of divine grace and of divine glory.<sup>39</sup> Since the exaltation of the God-man therefore, the proper locale for the praise of God has been the heavenly Jerusalem where the earthly Church has its true home and towards which it makes its pilgrimage. Part of the value of the Church’s liturgy is that it is already a participation in the never-ending song of praise of the City of God.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The addition of a trinitarian meaning is already found in John 12: 41, when it is said of Isaiah in reference to Christ that he had seen His glory. It plays a part in the struggle against Arianism; see, e.g., the confession of the Catholic Bishops in opposition to the Arians in Victor of Vita, *Hist. pers. Afric.*, II, 80, 100 (CSEL, 7, 59, 70 f.). In later times the West Syrian anaphoras regularly have the priest continue the prayer after the *Sanctus* with a trinitarian paraphrase of the *Sanctus* itself. In its simplest form it is already attested by Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (ed. Rucker, *Ritus bapt. et missae*, 30): *Sanctus Pater, sanctus quoque Filius, sanctus quoque Spiritus Sanctus*.—In the West, as the *Sanctus* melodies became richer, texts of trinitarian content were selected, for the most part, although not exclusively, for the tropes that were fitted to the notes; see Blume-Bannister, *Tropen*, n. 250 f., 253, 256 f., etc. The trinitarian meaning of the three-fold mention of *Sanctus* at the time is found regularly in the medieval interpreters of the liturgy and they add that the oneness of the divine essence is indicated in the *Dominus or Deus*; thus already Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1255);

Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 123 B). Scholastic circles even stress the proper method of singing the chant, namely, according to Parisian custom, that the same half of the choir that sings the third *Sanctus*, should also add *Dominus Deus*, so that only one *trina prolatio* may result. A. Landgraf, “Scholastische Texte zur Liturgie des 12. Jh.” (*Eph. liturgie.*, 1931), 213.

<sup>29</sup> P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*, II, (Rheims, 1743), 528; Baumstark, *Trishagion und Qeduscha*, 28.—Also in the Syrian liturgy; cf. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 538; Dix is therefore inclined to trace the *Sanctus* to Syria. <sup>30</sup> B. N. Wambacu, *L'épithète divine Jahvé Seba'ot* (Paris, 1947), especially p. 199 ff., 277 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Thus, with few exceptions, in all Christian liturgies, and only in them, if we may include the christianized text of *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 35, 3; Baumstark, *Trishagion und Qeduscha*, 27 f.

<sup>32</sup> Baumstark, 28 f.; *Const. Ap.*, VII, 35, 3, herein also showed signs already of christianization.

<sup>33</sup> Peterson, *Das Buch von den Engeln*, 115 f.

<sup>34</sup> Peterson, 39-81; 113-133.

<sup>35</sup> The threefold Holy of Apoc. 4: 8, was a cue for this development.

<sup>36</sup> Dan. 7: 10.

<sup>37</sup> Brightman, 131 f. Cf. also the examples of the 4th century, above, I, 34; 36. See the survey of the different transitions to the *Sanctus* in Cagin, *Te Deum ou illatio*, 65-72. The Gallican liturgies also show a great wealth of expression, *ibid.*, 83-95. Here in particular the saints are frequently drawn into the hymn of praise along with the angels.

<sup>38</sup> Peterson, 43 ff.

<sup>39</sup> In the Christian conception of the phrase the *Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua* is developed in great part with the Pentecostal *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum*. The grace bestowed in the Holy

Ghost is at the same time the beginning of heavenly glory for men and consequently the beginning of the conclusive revelation of divine glory. The interpretation of the *δόξα* in the *Sanctus* as the grace of the Holy Ghost is manifested also in the Egyptian liturgies, where after the *παῖρες ὁ οὐρανός . . .* they continue with the *πλήρωσον* = Epiklesis. Thus the *Euchologion* of Serapion (Quasten, *Mon.*, 61; above I, 34); cf. moreover Brightman, 132 and parallels (below, I. c.). Cf. M. Steinheimer, *Die δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ in der römischen Liturgie* (Munich, 1951), 95 f.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Chrysostom, *In illud “Vidi Dominum” hom.*, 6, 3 (PG, 56, 138) “After Christ removed the wall between heaven and earth . . . He brought us this song of praise from heaven.”

The New Testament motif that bursts forth in the angelic hymn has found even fuller expression in the appended *Benedictus*, with its two enclosing *Hosanna*'s. Here, too, the praise resounds "to Him who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb" (Apoc. 5:13). It seems that it was in Gallic territory that the *Benedictus* was first annexed to the *Sanctus*.<sup>41</sup> At any rate the thought that must have been determining was this, that the glory of the Lord, which fills heaven and earth, did not begin to shine in its fullest splendor till the Son of God came to us in the form of flesh. Therefore, even in Bethlehem His coming was heralded by the *Gloria* of the angels' song, and therefore the crowds welcomed Him to Jerusalem in the phrase of the Psalm as He "who comes in the name of the Lord."<sup>42</sup>

In the basic text from the Gospel the words *qui venit* (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) must certainly be taken in the present tense: the people greeted one who was just coming. But one could well inquire whether the liturgical text is to be understood in the preterite (perfect) tense: *qui vēnit*. Naturally the question is independent of the position occupied by the *Benedictus*, whether before or after the consecration, for in either instance the praise must be referred to one who once came down to our midst in His Incarnation. Still, the change of meaning could be unnecessary. Christ is still always "coming." We still continue to pray for the coming of His kingdom, and even at Christmastide when we recall His *adventus* our mind turns as much to the

future as it does to the past.<sup>43</sup> Thus, too, His nearness in the Sacrament is a continuous coming which will attain its crown only on the last day.

Although in the *Missale Romanum* the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus* appear together as a single song, the *Cæremoniale episcoporum* which appeared in 1600 presumes that the *Benedictus* will not be sung till after the consecration, *elevato sacramento*.<sup>44</sup> In recent times, this rule has been raised to a general directive.<sup>45</sup> This is obviously an attempt to accommodate to the canon a polyphonic style of song wherein the richer melody of the *Sanctus* (to which the first *Hosanna* is attached in a thoroughly acceptable manner) stretches out to the consecration, while the *Benedictus*, along with the second *Hosanna*, fills out the rest of the canon. In other words, the silence of the canon is completely surrendered in a Mass celebrated with singing, and space is given over not indeed to the loud praying of the priest, but to the singing of the choir, which thus does essentially little more than continue the dominant note of the Great Prayer—thanksgiving and praise—and unfolds it musically to the ear of the participant over the entire canon.

Suiting his action to the character of this double song—a song of adoration—and to the words *supplici confessione dicentes* in the usual introduction to it, the priest (and the two levites with him when the occasion demands) says the *Tersanctus* with head bowed. The practice is rather expected and certainly very ancient. According to old Roman tradition the assistants at a high Mass held this position—which they took, according to another rule, at the words *adorant dominationes*—till the end of

<sup>41</sup> While the *Benedictus* can be verified in the Orient only since the 8th century (cf. above, note 26), it must already have been customary in the Roman Mass at least in the 7th century. For it appears in most MSS. of the Roman Canon, though not in all; see Botte, *Le canon*, 30 Apparat. The earliest testimony for Gaul is presented by Cæsarius of Arles (d. 540), see note 8, above. The *Benedictus* is also a permanent part of the Gallican Mass. For it is presupposed in the *Post-Sanctus*, which frequently begins with *Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus*; Muratori, II, 518, 526; 534; etc. Also with preceding *Osanna in excelsis*; *ibid.*, II, 29, or with a repetition of the *Benedictus*; *ibid.*, 699. The same occurrence already in the Mone Masses, that probably originated in the 6th century, (PL, 138, 866 C., 875 B). In another place, namely, within the Communion portion of the Mass, the *Benedictus* (Mt. 21: 9 and Ps. 117: 26) was certainly used in answer to the Τὴ ἄγια τοῖς ἁγίοις; *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 230).

<sup>42</sup> Matt. 21: 8, is probably the immediate prototype of the liturgical text, but with

one divergence, that the first *Hosanna* of Matthew reads *Hosanna filio David*. In the liturgical text, however, the reading of the second *Hosanna* was inserted in its place, a reading, that, as a matter of fact, because it is a praise of God, results in a better transition. The form of the original text, Ps. 117, 25 f., may have had its part in bringing this about: *O Domine, salvum me fac . . . benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*. These verses from the Psalm refer to the arrival of the festive procession to the Temple. In the meantime, however, the words "He who comes" without the addition "in the name of the Lord" had for a long time been turned into a term for the Messias, see Matt. 11, 3. Cf. J. Schneider, *ἔρχομαι*; *Theol. Wörterbuch z. N. Test.*, II, 664-672, especially 666 f. The *hosa-nnah*, which the Psalm still retains in its original meaning "help, we pray" assumed in the language of the people the meaning of a respectful invocation, "Hail," as is easily recognized in *Hosanna filio David* and as the addition in *excelsis* shows; cf. *Gloria in excelsis*. It is a hymn of praise to Him who dwells on High, praise in view of the manifestation of His

benevolence, just as is said of those who were witnesses of the miracles of Jesus," they extolled and praised God." Cf. in the Byzantine Mass the version in the second passage Ὡσαννά ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις; Brightman, 385. When Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 173, states that *Hosanna* is tantamount to δόξα, *gloria*, we may let it pass. (The Armenian Mass actually substitutes a word with this meaning for the *Hosanna*; Hanssens, III, 394). But it is incorrect to place this (subjective and moreover unspoken) *gloria* on the same plane with the (objectively meant) *gloria* of the *Pleni sunt caeli* and so to see a connection between the two.

<sup>43</sup> It was clearly used in this predominantly future sense when the *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* was employed as a memorial inscription, as in the Greek inscription on the portal of a Syrian mountain hypogeum; see C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archæologie*, (3rd ed.; Paderborn, 1922), 148. For the rest, the oriental liturgies insert instead of the

simple *qui venit* a double phrase that places past and future together: "he who has come and is to come." Hanssens, III, 394 f.

<sup>44</sup> *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 70 f.—In the Paris cathedral the same arrangement is found already in 1512; see below, p. 216. In the Mass that Luther, 1523, has in mind, the *Benedictus* was sung while the host and chalice were elevated, a method he wanted retained. M. Luther, *Formula missæ et communionis* (1523), n. 21 (Kleine Texte, 36, p. 16). A Gastoué, "Le Sanctus et le Benedictus," *Revue du chant gregorien*, 38 (1934), 12-17; 35-39, tries to prove from a musical standpoint that the *Benedictus* was forced into its place after the consecration, even earlier. (See *JL*, 14 (1938), 549 f.).

<sup>45</sup> Decree of Jan. 14, 1921, in which the rubric in the *Graduale Romanum* was changed at the same time; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 4364; this confirms an earlier decree of Dec. 16, 1906, n. 4243.

the canon.<sup>46</sup> Only the celebrant returned to an upright position when the song was finished, and continued the prayer. According to the present-day usage as laid down in the *Missale Romanum*, he stands erect as soon as he begins the *Benedictus*.<sup>47</sup> This is probably due to the fact that during the *Benedictus* he signs himself with the sign of the Cross, of which mention is made as early as the eleventh century.<sup>48</sup> A sign of the Cross and a blessing also accompany the song, in some fashion or other, in the oriental liturgies.<sup>49</sup>

## 5. Various Practices during the Canon

The *Tersanctus* finished, it was originally the custom in Rome for the celebrating priest to continue the performance of the Great Prayer in a loud voice but—we must presume<sup>1</sup>—as a simple recitation, without any melody. Once the Roman Mass was transplanted to Frankish territory, however, the picture was altered, and our present *ritus* is broadly stamped with the new customs that sprang up here. *Surgit solus pontifex et tacite intrat in canonem*. This phrase, which crystallizes the Carolingian revision of the older norm found in the first Roman *ordo*,<sup>2</sup> can be considered the basic pattern followed in transforming and reshaping the rite in the in-most part of the celebration of Mass.

The priest enters the sanctuary of the canon alone. Up till now the people have thronged around him, their songs at times accompanying him in the fore-Mass. But the songs have become less frequent, and after the steep ascent of the Great Prayer they have come to an end in the *Tersanctus*. A sacred stillness reigns; silence is a worthy preparation for God's approach. Like the High-priest of the Old Testament, who once a year was

<sup>46</sup> *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 16 (PL, 78, 945). Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 126 ff.

<sup>47</sup> *Ritus serv.*, VII, 8.

<sup>48</sup> *Bernardi Ordo Clun.*, I, 72 (Herrgott, 264), according to which the priest makes the sign of the cross while still bowed and straightens up only at the *Te igitur*. Rule of the Canons of St. Victor in Paris, c. 67; Martène, *De ant. eccl. ritibus*, Appendix (III, 791). At the same time in Paris John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 45 (PL, 202, 53), gives evidence of the sign of the cross and alleges as a reason, because the *Benedictus* is taken from the Gospel.

<sup>49</sup> In the Egyptian liturgies, while the people sing the *Sanctus*, the priest makes the sign of the cross over himself, over the Mass servers, and over the people. The Armenian rite has a triple accompanying sign of the cross over the chalice and

paten. In the West Syrian rite the priest covers the chalice and paten with his hands during the *Sanctus*, and this, among the Maronites, is followed with the sign of the cross; Hanssens, III, 395 f. The basis for the sign of the cross is perhaps the idea touched upon above, n. 39, that the approaching glory of God signifies, or may signify, a blessing for the creature, and it is a blessing that must transform the gifts. In this sense Severian of Gabala (d. after 408), *De mundi creatione*, II, 6 (PG, 56, 446 f.), transfers to the Eucharist the sequence of actions in Is. 6. 3-7, where the angel first sings the *Sanctus* and only then takes the burning coal from the altar (burning coal = the host after the consecration); cf. above, note 41.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 104.

permitted to enter the Holy of Holies with the blood of a sacrificial animal (Hebr. 9:7), the priest now separates from the people and makes his way before the all-holy God in order to offer up the sacrifice to Him.<sup>3</sup> In the early medieval Mass he did not do so without first acknowledging his unworthiness in a humble apology,<sup>4</sup> or begging prayerfully for God's help.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes a hand-washing was prescribed.<sup>6</sup> The whole assembly knelt down<sup>7</sup> or, when this was forbidden because of the Sunday or feast day, remained bowed.<sup>8</sup> In many churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the choir of clerics surrounding the altar, taking up the *Orate*-plea of the

<sup>3</sup> This allegorism was developed by the Carolingian and post-Carolingian interpreters to greater and greater lengths; Florus Diaconus, *De actione miss.*, n. 42 f. (PL, 119, 43); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1256); especially Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, 162, 554) who extends the parallel with Hebr. 9:7 (the priest enters the Holy of Holies with the Blood of Christ, i.e., with the memorial of His passion); Hildebert of Le Mans, *Versus de mysterio missæ* (PL, 171, 1183); Isaac of Stella, *Ep. de off. missæ* (PL, 194, 1889-1896); Robert Paululus, *De caeremoniis*, II, 23-30 (PL, 177, 425-430); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 125 B); Durandus, IV, 36, 5.

<sup>4</sup> The *Missa Illyrica*, which is especially rich in apologiæ, inserts here three formulas with which the priest begins, even while the *Sanctus* is still being sung. The third one reads as follows: *Facturus memoriam salutaris hostiæ totius mundi, cum illius dignitatem et meam intueor fæditatem, conscientia torqueor peccatorum. Verum quia tu Deus multum misericors es, implo ro ut digneris mihi dare spiritum contribulatum, qui tibi gratum sacrificium revelasti, ut eo purificatus vitali hostiæ piæ manus admoveam, quæ omnia peccata mea aboleat et ea deinceps in perpetuum vitandi mihi tutelam infundat omnibusque fidelibus vivis et defunctis, pro quibus tibi offertur, præsentis vitæ et futuræ salutis commercia largiatur. Qui vivis.* Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 512 E); further illustrations, *ibid.*, I, 4, 7, 9 (I, 398). Cf. also Ebner, 396 f.

<sup>5</sup> At times, since the 11th century, the *Aperi* found in the present-day breviary appears in this place. Sacramentary of Moissac: Martène, I, 4, VIII (I, 539 E).

Cf. also the statement in Leroquais, I, 158 and in the *Register* (III, 339 f.). Several evidences from Italy in Ebner, 396. *Ibid.*, 206 for Spain, and also Ferreres, p. XXVIII, XXXIII, XLVIII f. The *Munda cor meum* also appears here (XLIX: Gerona, 14th cent.).—In two Mass-ordos in Beneventan script, 11-12th centuries (Ebner, 149, 329), the invocation *Christe audi nos* follows three times upon the *Sanctus*, the second of which is joined with invocations, mostly biblical. Similar invocations of a later period mentioned by Bona II, 11, 1 (745). Cf. *Missale of Hereford* (about 1400). Maskel, II, 111.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> This kneeling posture may have been the incentive for interpolating here (*post offertorium et ante canonem*) a prayer for help against the Tartar danger; this a Synod of Mainz, 1261 (Hartzheim, III, 611) does, commending Psalm 78, with a *Pater noster* and the oration for peace; Franz, 205 f. The case seems to be an isolated one. Similar prayers in time of distress will be found inserted most frequently either before or after the embolism.

<sup>8</sup> Evidences since the 9th century; Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 126 ff. (cf. above I, 240).—Regarding the gradual change in the meaning of this practice from adoring reverence to God to veneration of the Blessed Sacrament, see Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 127-131. A bowed attitude during the Canon is in accordance with an old tradition, see above I, 72.—Humble submission before God's majesty is most likely the original meaning of the custom that is reported today from many countries (among others, Poland, Portugal, Central America) where the faithful

priest, began to recite psalms for him in a loud voice.<sup>9</sup> A formal office of accompanying prayers of petition, akin to the oriental *ἐκτενής*, was for a time employed as an outward veil to cover the silent prayer of the celebrant.<sup>10</sup> No surprise, then, that there were even attempts to hide completely the visible activities of the priest from the congregation.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, more recent rules, still in force at the present, prescribe that at a pontifical function a procession of clerics should appear with burning tapers and range symmetrically in front of the altar.<sup>12</sup> The result of consecration practices which meantime came into being, this procession functions as a preparation for the reception of the great King. In some churches another practice was added: namely, two clerics to right and left of the altar continually swinging censers from this moment till the Communion.<sup>13</sup> Outside pontifical functions at least two wax tapers (torches) are to be lighted at a high Mass right after the preface.<sup>14</sup> In the same sense another custom grew in many places since the thirteenth cen-

strike their breasts three times at the *Sanctus*; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II) 359; 362; 364; 366. Cf. also Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit" (*StZ*, 1926, II) 215; 217.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, p. 87.—For this a definite arrangement was developed that is presented in its fullest form in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 513 A): When the bishop begins the *Te igitur*, the *ministri* should pray Psalms 19, 24, 50, 89, 90, until the *Te igitur* (i.e., clearly, the Canon) is ended. A list of versicles follows, succeeded by an oration *pro sacerdote*: *Gaudeat Domine*, and another *communis* (elsewhere captioned *pro omnibus*): *Precibus nostris*. The same arrangement occurs again, but in part only, inasmuch as Psalm 89, or 90, or the second oration, or the precise statement of the time, is missing, in the Sacramentary of Sézéc: PL, 78, 249; in the Mass arrangement of Liège and Gregorianmünster: Martène, I, 4, XV, XVI (I, 592, 599 f.); in Italian Mass arrangements of the 11th until the beginning of the 13th century; Ebner, 306 f., 313, 323. In the Sacramentary of Modena written before 1174 (Muratori, I, 92), the Gradual Psalms (Pss. 119-133) are interpolated and before the versicles *Kyrie el., Christe el., Kyrie el., Pater noster* are interpolated. Here also we should cite the statement in *Ordo Rom.* VI (10th cent.),

n. 10 (PL, 78, 993 B) that the deacon and subdeacon should chant *quindécim grad.*, after the bishop has said *Orate pro me*.

<sup>10</sup> The cessation of the practice seems to coincide with the elaboration of the *Sanctus* melodies (cf. above, p. 130); then, too, with the elevating of the host that was coming more and more into vogue.

<sup>11</sup> In this sense Durandus, IV, 39, 1: *In quibusdam ecclesiis . . . quasi tegitur et velatur*. Still, even in these instances, clearly not many, it was a symbolical concealment (*quasi*), since a real concealment of the priest is excluded, at least since the 13th century, by the very fact that he held up the host to view. Even earlier there is evidence of various altar curtains, but they were hung rather on the sides and were for the sake of ornamentation, especially on altars covered with a ciborium or canopy, where the veils would be fastened between the pillars right and left. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 133-138; 166-171.

<sup>12</sup> *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 68: *Quattuor, sex aut ad summum octo ministri*, with thethurifer in the lead.

<sup>13</sup> *Ordinarium* of Laon (13-14th cent.): Martène, I, 4, XX (I, 608 D). Likewise in the late Middle Ages at Lyons; Büchner, 258. Also in Paris and in Liège the practice is verified; Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 265.

<sup>14</sup> *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, VIII, 8. Thus also in the *Ordinarium* of Laon (note 13)

tury, the custom of lighting the so-called *Sanctus* candle at every Mass.<sup>15</sup> This custom was elevated to a rubric in the *Missale Romanum*,<sup>16</sup> but by contrary custom the rule has lost its force.<sup>17</sup>

Through such rites, without doubt, there was awakened during the Mass in the later Middle Ages a lively reverence for the mystery that took place at the consecration like a new epiphany of the God-man. On the other hand, no one any longer thought of following the priest's prayers, which indeed were now only whispered quietly, and whose ideas turned in a very different direction. In fact, they were in essence for the priest exclusively, and were not supposed to be accessible to lay folk.<sup>18</sup>

The only part of the liturgy of the canon that was open to the faithful was the external action of the priest, and, until the elevation of the species became customary in the thirteenth century, this consisted in little more than the extension of the arms, bowing, kissing the altar, and making signs of the Cross over the gifts. We must therefore cast a glance at these external rites, inasmuch as they reappear several times in the course of the canon.

It is taken for granted that the basic attitude of the priest during this most ancient traditional prayer should continue to be the same as that of the preface, the traditional stance of the *orantes*. This same posture was originally taken also by the surrounding clergy, and perhaps also by the faithful,<sup>19</sup> until for them bowing or kneeling became the predominant rule. Only the priest continues to remain standing with arms extended. In the

for the Sunday Masses. See Eisenhofer, II, 163 in regard to the present practice.

<sup>15</sup> Plentiful material on this in Browe, "Die Elevation in der Messe" (*JL*, 1929), 40-43. Pictures from the 13th century in Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, I (Paris, 1883), Table XX; pictures from later times in F. Falk, *Die deutschen Messauslegungen von der Mitte des 15 Jh. bis zum Jahre 1525* (Cologne, 1889), 28, 30, 33, 37, 46.

<sup>16</sup> *Rubr. gen.* XX; cf. *Ritus serv.*, VIII, 6.

<sup>17</sup> This contrary custom was recognized and approved by the Congregation of Rites, July 9, 1899: *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 4029, 2.—But the *sanctus* candle still survives in many places. In Spain at the *Sanctus* the server lights a smaller candle (much like the bugie used by prelates) and places it close to the priest's right arm; it remains lighted till the Communion, when the server holds it over the paten while the priest collects any detached particles; then it is extinguished; Raphael M. Huber, "Unusual Spanish and Portuguese Litur-

gical Customs," *Homiletic & Pastoral Rev.*, 52 (1951), 323. The *Sanctus* candle is still in use also in Central America, in many parts of Switzerland, in a few parishes of the diocese of Rottenburg and Würzburg, and in the Freiburg cathedral; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit," (*StZ*, 1926, II), 218; *idem.*, *Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern*, (*StZ*, 1927, II), 352, note 2; 364; Krömmler, 58. In Vorarlberg the custom continued till World War I; L. Jochum, "Religiöses und kirchliches Brauchtum in Vorarlberg," *Montfort*, I (Bregenz, 1946), 280 f. The Carthusians have kept it: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 29, 14; 32, 13. Likewise the Dominicans: G. Sölch, "Die Liturgie des Dominikanerordens" (*Angelicum*, 1950), 32.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 82 f.; 143 f.

<sup>19</sup> *Supra*, I, 239. Cf. the illustrations (9th-11th cent.) in Righetti, *Manuale* II, 357; 361; also the late remnant of the practice at the consecration, *infra*.

Middle Ages it was often customary for him to stretch his arms out wide in the form of a cross, at least after the consecration, as is still the practice with the Dominicans, amongst others. Then at the *Supplices te rogamus* it was usual to cross them in front of the breast.<sup>20</sup> Both these postures are evident references to the Crucified, whom an older Christendom was accustomed to see in the very attitude of the *orantes*,<sup>21</sup> although no special emphasis was laid on this.

The reverential bowing—the posture stipulated by the Roman *ordines* for the surrounding clergy all through the canon—was originally shared by the celebrant, as we have seen, only at the *Sanctus*. Then he also bowed after the consecration when he began the humble petition for acceptance, at the *Supra quæ*<sup>22</sup> or, as at present, at least at the *Supplices*,<sup>23</sup> and he held this pose to the end of the petition. The textual analogy of the introductory petition for acceptance in the *Te igitur* must have led to a similar bowing right after the *Sanctus*,<sup>24</sup> while pronouncing the words: *rogamus ac petimus, uti accepta habeas . . . hæc dona*. While this practice of bowing was stabilized already in the thirteenth century, the preparatory gestures of extending, lifting and joining the hands,<sup>25</sup> and in general also the concluding kiss of the altar were at this same period still unknown.<sup>26</sup>

When the priest straightens up from this first bow after the *Sanctus*, he makes three signs of the Cross over the sacrificial gifts. These are the first signs of the Cross within the canon, and likewise the oldest. First evidence

<sup>20</sup> *Infra* for proofs. The Carthusian rite prescribes outstretched arms also before the consecration; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 318 with n. 4.

<sup>22</sup> *Ordo* of John Archicantor, Silva-Tarouca, 199).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 25 (PL, 105, 1142). Proofs from later times in Sölch, *Hugo*, 95.

<sup>24</sup> Missal of the Minorites of the 13th century: Ebner, 314; cf. *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 241); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 94).—Unless he maintained the position assumed at the *Sanctus*; *Liber usum O. Cist.*, c. 53 (PL, 166, 1425); cf. Sölch, 88, note 20.—Because such a plea for acceptance is present also in the *Hanc igitur*, though in a special connection, we find the profound bow very much in use here too, in the later Middle Ages; see below.

<sup>25</sup> Here we clearly have the same idea as at the beginning of the *Gloria* and *Credo* and at the invitation to pray *Oremus* and *Gratias agamus*: namely, a gesture intro-

ductory to a proper prayer attitude at an important moment of the service, comparable to the melodious intonation of the verses of a solemn psalmody. Before the *Te igitur* the gesture is in a certain sense an independent one and of itself forms, as it were, a silent invocation. Such is the case at least if we follow the usual understanding of the rubric; namely, that the gesture comes first, and only then the *Te igitur* is actually to begin in a bowed attitude. Cf. Merati in Gavanti-Merati, *The-saurus*, II, 8, 1 (I, 284 f.). The rubric (*Ritus serv.*, VIII, I) which was slightly altered in 1897, admits of more than one meaning; see J. B. Müller, *Zeremonien-büchlein*, (13th ed.; Freiburg, 1934), 63.

<sup>26</sup> Sölch, *Hugo*, 88 f. This first kissing of the altar is mentioned only by Sicard of Cremona, *Mirale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 125), whose note is repeated by Durandus, IV, 36, 6: *hic osculatur altare in reverentiam passionis*. It may be doubted if the last word indicates the original meaning of this kiss. Possibly it is a copy of the older kissing of the altar at the *supplices te ro-*

for them is found at the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>27</sup> Other crosses follow during the *Quam oblationem*, in the account of the institution, in the *Unde et memores*, in the *Per quem hæc omnia*. These, too, from indications in the manuscripts, came into use in the eighth century, and we are made aware of the headway they achieved when we read in a letter of Pope Zachary to St. Boniface, dated November 4, 751, that he had acceded to the latter's request to mark in the *rotulus* he had sent him through Lullus the passages in the canon where the crosses were to be made.<sup>28</sup> In the ninth century were added the crosses during the closing doxology. The second Roman *ordo*, in a detailed exposition, makes mention of these *sex ordines crucium*.<sup>29</sup> Aside from those in the concluding doxology, these crosses were, in general, in the same number as at present.<sup>30</sup> The only crosses that are of a somewhat later date are those in the *Supplices te rogamus*<sup>31</sup> and—in a later passage—at the *Pax Domini*.

The significance of these signs of the Cross in the canon formed since the tenth century one of the main themes in the medieval commentaries on the Mass.<sup>32</sup> It is plain that the sign of the Cross should point to the

*gamus* occasioned by the *supplices rogamus*, consequently a gesture of reverential pleading. The Mass-*ordo* of Cologne, 14th century (Binterim, IV, 3, p. 224), shows a further development of this kiss, inasmuch as it adds a kissing of the picture of the crucifixion and a prayer (paraphrasing Psalm 138, 16 a). The rubric of the Mass-*ordo* of Amiens in the 9th century, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 442, is an entirely isolated one: *Postea osculetur altare et dicat: Te igitur*. This can only mean a greeting, a salute upon "going into" the canon; cf. the salutation of the altar at the offertory in the *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 15 (above, I, 314, note 20) and the parallel in the East Syrian Rite (above, II, 79, n. 16); here in the Syro-Malabar Rite the further parallel of the repeated kissing of the altar (twice in the center, then to the right and to the left) also during the *Sanctus*; Hanssens, III, 395 f.

<sup>27</sup> In the Cod. Reg., 316 of the older Gelasianum; here and in other individual MSS. a fourth sign of the cross at the *benedicas* appears along with the customary three. Cf. also in addition to the following references the excursus on the cross in the canon, in Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 295-303. Several other individual instances in Eisenhofer, II, 171 f.

<sup>28</sup> Zacharias, *Ep.*, 13 (PL, 89, 953 B). Cf. Botte, *Le canon*, 21.

<sup>29</sup> *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 10 (PL, 78, 974).

<sup>30</sup> That there was no complete uniformity in the 11th century is shown by the fact that Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 14 (PL, 151, 986 f.) expressly appeals to the authority of Gregory VII in support of the method he advocates (among others, the uneven numbers).

<sup>31</sup> In individual cases today's customary signs of the cross appeared here already at an early date, as in the Sacramentary of Angoulême written about the year 800. However, they are still missing often enough in the 11th and 12th centuries; Brinktrine, 299.

<sup>32</sup> The *Expositio "Missa pro multis"*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 39, explains the *sex ordines crucium* in the appendix of the *Ordo Rom.* II by means of the relationship of the six eras of the world to the cross of Christ. Since the 11th century many an interpreter loved to ascribe some sort of symbolical meaning to every number of the signs of the cross; Franz, 415 f., 419. Others again, like Rupert of Deutz and Innocent III, connect them with some phase of Christ's passion (Franz, 418, 455, 662); or all these interpretations are jumbled together, as Honorius Augustod. (Franz, 424) does. Or, again, with Bernhard of Regensburg, a special signification from the representation of Christ's passion

sacrifice of the Cross which is being made present sacramentally.<sup>33</sup> Nowadays it is taken for granted that the *signum crucis* also signifies a blessing; one meaning of “to bless” is to make the sign of the Cross. Although in the Church of the first thousand years the laying-on of hands was generally the form used for blessing, still this form seems to have been superseded more and more by the sign of the Cross, especially in Gallic territory.<sup>34</sup> In some passages, indeed, it is quite apparent that the cross is meant as a blessing, being linked with words that signify just that: the double *benedixit* at the consecration, the words *benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, and sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis*.

But it also appears in other passages. Brinktrine maintains that the sign of the Cross in the canon was intended from most ancient times not only to emphasize the notion of blessing and sanctifying, but also to underline certain significant words.<sup>35</sup> This latter intention (he holds) must be granted in the case of the two crosses that accompany the words *ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat* just before the consecration, and likewise the five crosses right after the consecration, at *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, calicem salutis perpetuæ*. To these would naturally be added at least the crosses over the consecrated gifts in the *Supplices*, at the words *corpus et sanguinem*. The use of the

is attributed to each one of the twenty-five signs of the cross, with the basic idea “short sign of the cross, quick torment; prolonged torment, big sign of the cross.” (Franz, 656; cf. 695 f.), or with an imitator of his, who discovers in the 30 signs of the cross (inclusive of the three at the *Pax Domini* and two more in the canon, as they are, e.g., in the Freising Missal of 1520; see Beck, 308) the thirty miracles of the Redemption (662 f.). Cf. Franz, 733: “The explanation of these signs of the cross gained greater importance in proportion as the instruction of the people regarding the canon was restricted exclusively to these signs.”

<sup>33</sup> St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, III, q. 83, a. 5 ad 3, stresses this as the fundamental idea. The signs of the cross after the consecration are to be understood in this sense. Thus already Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, 162, 556 C): *Quid est enim inter ipsa mysteria rebus sacratis vel sacrandis signum crucis superponere nisi mortem Domini commemorare?* He compares the signs of the cross over the offerings with the Old Testament sprinkling with sacrificial blood.

<sup>34</sup> The German word “*segnen*,” to “bless,” is etymologically akin to *signare*, to sign. In Gaul the blessing was generally given

with a sign of the cross, for in a “miracle” of St. Martin of Tours it is recorded that the saint appeared in the apse window of the church dedicated to him, descended and blessed the sacrifice on the altar by extending his right hand *juxta morem catholicum signo crucis superposito*. Gregory of Tours (d. 594), *Vita Patrum*, 16, 2 (PL, 71, 1075). In a formulary of the Mozarabic Mass a prayer is said after the consecration *Hanc hostiam . . . per signum crucis sanctificas et benedicis*; Ferotin, *Le liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, p. 321. But a singularly definite testimony is already presented by Augustine, *In Joh. tract.*, 118, 5 (PL, 35, 1950). *Quid est, quod omnes noverunt, signum Christi nisi crux Christi? Quod signum nisi adhibeatur sive frontibus credentium sive ipsi aquæ, ex qua regenerantur, sive oleo, quo chrismate unguuntur, sive sacrificio, quo aluntur, nihil horum rite perficitur*. James of Edessa (d. 708), in describing the West Syrian liturgy speaks of eighteen signs of the cross that are made over the offerings; A. Rücker, “Die Kreuzzeichen in der west-syrischen Messliturgie,” *Pisciculi F. J. Dölger dargeboten* (Münster, 1939), 245-251.

<sup>35</sup> Brinktrine, 303.

signs of the Cross over the consecrated gifts has often been commented on with some astonishment, because the first thought that strikes one is that these are blessings.<sup>36</sup> A blessing is obviously out of place here. Yet it may be questioned whether it is enough to explain them as underlining certain words. Why precisely are these words emphasized? They are certainly not the most sacred words that appear in the canon.

We must remind ourselves that the solemn prose style that dominates the Roman canon is the type of speech that was cultivated in the schools of rhetoric in the decadent Roman empire. The oratorical phrase implies also the oratorical gesture. The oratorical phrase that touches on some object in the view of the listener implies a gesture directing the attention to that object, a principle that governs every vital speech and therefore likewise the prayer which was naturally and originally eloquent. Although such things, because taken for granted, are seldom mentioned in liturgical works, still there are some examples, and not only in oriental liturgy,<sup>37</sup> but

<sup>36</sup> Thus, the commission on the removal of *abusus missæ* in the Council of Trent proposed abolishing the signs of the cross after the consecration; *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Görres, VIII, 917. R. Haungs, “Die Kreuzzeichen nach der Wandlung im römischen Messkanon” *Benediktin. Monatschrift*, 21 (1939), 249-261, reviews the history of the interpretation of the signs. According to this study the Middle Ages attributed only commemorative significance to the sign of the cross, as we have just stated, whereas more modern times, with few exceptions (Maldonatus especially among them, see below) viewed them, with restrictions, as signs of blessing. The Syrian Narsai (d. about 502) already made the same assumption and had the same problem, but suggested, “He [the priest] signs now [after the epiklesis] not because the Mysteries have need of the signing, but to teach by the last sign [of the cross] that they are accomplished.” Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 22.

<sup>37</sup> In the Coptic Anaphora of St. Cyril the priest is required to point first to the bread and then to the chalice, when, after the words of the institution, he further adds the Pauline words (I Cor. 11: 26): “As often as you shall eat this bread and drink this chalice . . .” The same procedure already at the first offering of the gifts; Brightman, 148 l., 17 ff.; 177 l., 29 ff. Along with this, Kyrillos ibn Laklak (d.

1243) in his book of instructions (ed. Graf: *JL*, 4, 122) points out that the priest may no longer make the sign of the cross over the offerings after the consecration. In the Ethiopian anaphora of the Apostles the words of the institution are given as follows, “Take, eat: (pointing) this bread (bowing) is my body (pointing) . . .” and likewise with the chalice. In the anamnesis and offertory prayer that follows (which still preserves the Hippolytus text almost unchanged, see *supra* I, 29) we have the words “and [we] offer unto thee this bread (pointing to it) and this chalice, inasmuch as . . .” The same gesture is repeated immediately at the petition that God would send the Holy Ghost “upon this bread (pointing to it) and over this cup (pointing to it),” whereupon, nevertheless, follow some signs of the cross. Brightman, 232f.—The connection is still clearer in the Anaphora of St. Mark, ed. T. M. Semharay Selim (*Eph. liturg.*, 1928, 510-531), where regularly before, during, and after the consecration, the demonstrative pronoun, *hic* (*panis*) etc., is accompanied with the note *signum* (515 ff.).—In the Byzantine liturgy of St. Chrysostom the deacon takes over the duty of pointing at similar points. At the words of the institution over the bread, as well as those over the chalice, he points with the orarion: *δεικνύετε . . . τὸν ἅγιον δίσκον, resp. συνδεικνύετε . . . τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον*. The same motion is made at the epiklesis over the species of bread

in the Roman as well.<sup>38</sup> We must conclude that these gestures were subsequently—that is, since the eighth century—stylized into a sign of the Cross.<sup>39</sup> For such a process of transformation there is no lack of examples and parallels.<sup>40</sup>

If, with this in mind, we con the text of the canon, we actually find that every time the gifts are mentioned the sign of the Cross is also indicated, with the exception of the *Hanc igitur oblationem*, where the hands are spread out over the gifts, and possibly the phrase *qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*, in which the sacrifice is mentioned in passing. In fact, we have a document, the *Admonitio synodalis* of the ninth century, that may perhaps permit us to see the transition very plainly.<sup>41</sup> The conclusion is thus forced upon us that the original gesture within the canon was a demonstrative one, and as such was not mentioned in the liturgical text. And this would hold not only for the three passages cited above, but also at least for the *Te igitur* where the petition for acceptance is mentioned for the first time in the canon: *uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona*,

as well as over the chalice; Brightman, 386 f.

<sup>38</sup> In the orations of reconciliation for Maundy Thursday, presented in the Pontifical of Poitiers, written in the 9th century, and emanating from the Roman usage, the priests were obliged to touch with the right hand *vice pontificis* the prostrate penitents each time the bishop spoke the words *hos famulos tuos* in the orations; J. Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti penitentiae* (Antwerp, 1682), Appendix, p. 67. The touching here is in all likelihood also equivalent to the laying on of hands.

<sup>39</sup> The opinion that the sign of the cross here was not meant as a blessing, but simply as a sign, was upheld by J. Maldonat, S.J. (d. 1583), *De cæremoniis*, II, 21 (in F. A. Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca ritualis*, II, 2 [Rome, 1781], 142 f.; cf. 131 f.).

<sup>40</sup> Attention is especially to be called to the transformation of the laying on of hands as a form of blessing into the sign of the cross over the object to be blessed. Thus, in the *Indulgentiam* before the sacramental absolution we still have a trace of the imposition of hands, as it was formerly united with the formula, whereas outside of confession only the sign of the cross is conjoined to the formula; cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 263 f. But even otherwise the sign of the cross occasionally replaced a gesture of pointing; thus in the

*Ordo Rom.* I, n. 21 (PL, 78, 947) when the regional subdeacon gives the sign to the leader of the schola, at the end of the Communion of the people, to conclude the Communion Psalm with *Gloria Patri: aspicit ad primum scholæ, faciens crucem in fronte sua, annuit ei dicere Gloriam*. The signal has been stylized into the sign of the cross, just as the simple greeting addressed to the people developed into a conventional religious greeting *Dominus vobiscum*. There are, moreover, evidences at present of a parallel manifestation, where the sign of the cross is often substituted for punctuation marks in the artistic script in which religious texts are written.

<sup>41</sup> In the version of Raterius of Verona (d. 974; PL, 136, 560 A) *Calicem et oblata recta cruce signate, id est non in circulo et varicatione* (al. *variatione*, PL, 135, 1071 D; *vacillatione*, PL, 132, 459 A., 461 A) *digitorum, ut plurimi faciunt, sed stricte duobus digitis et pollice intus recluso*. The passage is missing in one portion of the traditional texts (see Leclercq, *DAFL*, VI, 576-579), but was present at least in the 10th century. In the movement of free hand and finger which is here censured we might possibly have a vestige of the ancient oratorical gestures which are now supplanted by the sign of the cross; see Eisenhofer, I, 280 f. regarding the position of the fingers in the signs of blessing.

*hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata*. The *benedicas* would then be the occasion for a change, a transformation into the sign of the Cross,<sup>42</sup> while in the other passages the pointing gesture would still be retained, and as such would not be mentioned.

Looking yet more closely at the significance of this pointing gesture, we are forced to remark the following: Since we are concerned with the offering up of gifts which we cannot transfer to an invisible God except by means of interpretative words and gestures, the gesture of pointing would become a gesture of oblation whenever it accompanied the plea for acceptance (*petimus uti accepta habeas; offerimus præclaræ maiestati tuæ*). This is not the only gesture used to give visible expression to the oblation. Mention has already been made of bowing which is tied in with the plea for acceptance.<sup>43</sup> Extending the hands over the gifts embodies the same symbolism. Recall that we came upon a prescription in Hippolytus of Rome, ordering the bishop to say the eucharistic prayer extending his hands over the gifts.<sup>44</sup> This extension of hands, which represents the same thought, but with greater emphasis, never became a permanent gesture or one that accompanied the entire eucharistic prayer. Only at the *Hanc igitur* did it remain until the present day, or rather once more come into use. It was also used for a time at *Supra quæ propitio*.<sup>45</sup> For the rest, the hands were left free for the ordinary posture of the *orantes*, signifying our striving God-ward. Only when the phrase calls for it are the hands used to indicate the gifts that should belong to God. Seen from this vantage point, it is not at all unreasonable that the gesture of pointing—still always valid—should be combined with a sign of the Cross, and thus our offering of Christ on the Cross. These demonstrative signs of the Cross are therefore merely another expression of our will humbly to offer up to God the gifts that lie on the altar, and in this sense they rank with the laying of hands over the gifts, the bowing that accompanies the petition for acceptance, and the elevation of chalice and host connected with the closing doxology.

## 6. *Te igitur*. The Plea for Acceptance

The first prayer that we meet in the text of the canon after the *Sanctus* is an offering of the gifts in the solemn yet suppliant form of a plea for gracious acceptance. Such an offering, at least in this position, is not self-explanatory. It is on the same footing as the offertory, or more precisely

<sup>42</sup> The fact that in the oldest occurrence of these signs the *benedicas* also has a sign of the cross, would be in accord with this; see note 27 above.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. above, p. 142. Cf. the exactly corresponding practices at the offertory, above, p. 51.

<sup>44</sup> Above, I, 29. The same prescription also in the *Testamentum Domini*, I, 23 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 249).

<sup>45</sup> Balthasar of Pforta, O. Cist., verifies it as the practice of the secular clergy in Germany towards the end of the 15th century, Franz, 587.

the *oratio super oblata*, the offering up even of the earthly gifts, which is distinctive of the Roman Mass. In other liturgies such an offering, as well as the insertion of the intercessions after the *Sanctus*, is unknown. Instead, they build a short span from the *Sanctus* to the words of institution, either by developing the Christological theme of the prayer of thanks, as in the West Syrian and the Byzantine formularies;<sup>1</sup> or by continuing in a free fashion the words of praise, as often happens in the *Post-Sanctus* of the Gallic liturgies<sup>2</sup>; or, finally, by attaching an epiclesis, to the *Pleni sunt caeli*, as the Egyptian liturgies do.<sup>3</sup>

The transition from the *Sanctus* to this offering in the *Te igitur* has been considered rather abrupt, and the word *igitur*, which seems to mark the connection externally, has been found unintelligible.<sup>4</sup> Even up to the very present the word has been given various and varied interpretations.<sup>5</sup> But obviously its only purpose is to link the action which is beginning to unfold in the plea for acceptance with the foregoing thanksgiving of the preface, by which it was, in substance, already set in motion.<sup>6</sup> It is the same *igitur* which forms the transition between the first section of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above I, 43. In the liturgy of St. Basil it is done very elaborately.

<sup>2</sup> In a short and typical manner, e.g., in the first Mass of the *Missale Gothicum*: *Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus, manens in caelis, manifestatus in terris. Ipse enim pridie quam pateretur*; Muratori, II, 518. —It seems that in the Gallic Mass, too, the basic form of the *Post Sanctus* was a christological continuation of the thanksgiving prayer; Cagin, *Te Deum ou illatio*, 381-385.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in the anaphora of St. Mark (Brightman, 132): "Heaven and earth are truly full of Thy glory through the appearance of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ. Make this sacrifice also, O God, replete with Thy blessing through the descent of the Holy Ghost; for He, our Lord and God and all-king Jesus Christ in the night took . . ." cf. above, p. 135, n.39.

<sup>4</sup> Upon this foundation one portion of the canon theories cited above I, 50, n. 1, is built; cf. e.g., P. Drews, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe* (Tübingen, 1902; especially p. 23), who placed the three following prayers after the consecration, before the *Memento etiam*. Fortescue, 328 f., also complains of the incomprehensibility of the *igitur*.

<sup>5</sup> The question is, for what idea in the prayer now to begin is the *igitur* supposed to

supply a link with the motivation or explanation in the prayer which precedes? Among others, the address *clementissime Pater* is mentioned, since the address to the Father is also contained in the preface (J. de Puniet, *De liturgiæ der mis.* [Roermond, 1939], 196 f., and already F. X. Funk, *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, III, [Paderborn, 1907], 87 f.); the formula per *Jesum Christum* that is also in the preface (Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 175); the *supplices* of the invocation for acceptance, because it once again takes up the *supplici confessione dicentes* (Baumstark, "Das 'Problem' des römischen Messkanons" [*Eph. liturg.*, 1939], 241 f.); the trustful *rogare*, because the way of God is opened through the mediation of the angels (J. Bona, *De sacrificio missæ*, V. 8 (Bibliotheca ascetica, 7; Regensburg, 1913, 119)); the *rogamus ac petimus uti accepta habeas* in which the oblation prayer of the *Secreta* is again taken up (V. Thalhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, II, [Freiburg, 1890], 199); finally the *benedicas*, because only holy gifts are due to the Holy God, whom we have thrice praised as holy (Eisenhofer, II, 173).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. in this sense Batiffol, *Leçons*, 237. Likewise already Odo of Cambrai (d. 1113), *Expositio in canonem missæ*, c. 1 (PL, 160, 1055 A).

Holy Saturday *Exultet*, the *laus cerei*, with the oblation that follows,<sup>7</sup> only in our case the juncture is even closer and more natural. We must try to remember how closely conjoined in ancient Christian thought were the concepts of thanksgiving and offering. What up to the third century was prevaillingly styled a thanksgiving: εὐχαριστία, was thereafter usually called an offering, *oblatio*.<sup>8</sup> The Mass is a thanksgiving which culminates in the offering of a holy gift; it is an offering which is so spiritual that it appears to be only a thanksgiving. The expressions, *sacrificium laudis* and *oblatio rationabilis*, stress within the Roman canon itself this spirituality of the sacrifice. On the other hand, we must not see in the *Gratias agamus* simply an invitation to give thanks by word only. A Christian *gratias agere* is meant, a *eucharistia*, a thanksgiving which terminates sacrificially in the self-oblation of Christ. Therefore it was possible occasionally to enlarge the *Gratias agamus* in the sense of an oblation,<sup>9</sup> just as the expression of thanks within the preface was associated with paraphrases of the notion of sacrifice. This latter proceeding is to be found in extra-Roman liturgies<sup>10</sup> as well as in the Roman.<sup>11</sup> The intermixture of expressions of thanks and sacrifice is particularly noticeable in the second portion of a *eucharistia* cited among the Arian fragments, a piece bearing evident resemblances to the *Te igitur*:

*Dignum et iustum est . . .* [a description of the work of redemption follows].  
*Cuius benignitatis agere gratias tuæ tantæ magnanimitati quibusque laudibus nec sufficere possumus, petentes de tua magna et flexibili pietate accepto ferre sacrificium istud, quod tibi offerimus stantes ante conspectum*

<sup>7</sup> In *huius igitur noctis gratia suscipe, sancte Pater, incensi huius sacrificium vespertinum*. The *præconium*, which is then resumed, is once more switched, by means of the equipollent *ergo* into the prayer of petition *Oramus ergo te Domine*.  
<sup>8</sup> *Supra*, I, 23 ff.; 169 ff. In embryo the idea of an oblation was already presented in the Jewish *berachah*; Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 272; cf. *supra*, I, 21, note 63.

<sup>9</sup> *Supra*, p. 114.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the liturgy of St. Basil in the fundamental form which must be considered pre-Basil, *supra*, p. 126, n. 62. In the anaphora of St. Mark the thanksgiving prayer in the fragments of the 4th century also switches over at once into an offering . . .

<sup>11</sup> Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ . . . εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν τὴν θυσίαν τὴν λογικὴν, τὴν ἀνάμικτον λατρείαν ταύτην; Quasten, *Mon.*, 44 f.; cf. Brightman, 126; 165.— Within the Gallic liturgical sphere the idea of oblation is presented in two Sunday prefaces of the *Missale Gothicum*

(Muratori, II, 648 f., 652), a document in which the preface is generally designated as *immolatio*, just as in the Mozarabic it is captioned *illatio*.

<sup>12</sup> A Christmas preface found both in the Leonianum and in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Mohlberg, n. 27; cf. sources, p. 293) begins: *VD. Tuæ laudis hostiam immolantes*, whereupon Old Testament prototypes of the Christian sacrifice and their realization at Christmas are described. For more examples in the Leonianum see Muratori I, 303 (12, n. XXIV), 403; cf. also above, 122 f. Besides this the Leonianum presents a transitional formula to the *Sanctus* that is relevant here, it reads (on the feast of Martyrs: . . . *quorum gloriam hodierna die recolentes*) *hostias tibi laudis offerimus, cum angelis, etc.* (Muratori, I, 296; also I, 332; 392); or: . . . *hostias tibi laudis offerimus. Per. (ibid., 336, 391, 396, 397); or also: . . . hostias tibi laudis offerimus, etc., (ibid., 318).*

*tuae divinae pietatis, Per Jesum Christum Dominum et Deum nostrum, per quem petimus et rogamus.*<sup>12</sup>

In a word, the *Te igitur* and its plea for acceptance merely take up the thread of thought begun in the preface, putting it in a definite form, with an eye on the gifts.

In accord with this resumption of the thought after the slight pause in the *Sanctus*, both the term of address and the formula of mediation are repeated. The address, however, is no longer in the solemn, three-section form as found in the beginning of the preface, but merely a simple phrase, *clementissime Pater*, corresponding to the second section, *sancte Pater*. This confident term, otherwise scarcely to be met, is probably inspired by the nearness of the grace-laden mystery.<sup>13</sup> Regarding the formula of mediation, the remarkable thing here is that it appears not at the end of a prayer or of a segment of prayer, as it otherwise always does, but at the beginning. Here it is plainly a supplement to the *rogamus ac petimus*: we carry our petitions before God's throne through our advocate and mediator Jesus Christ. The union of the faithful with the exalted Christ is here so vividly clear that it enters into the prayer even without the impetus of a closing formula.

The plea for acceptance is a reverently reserved form of offering, as the word *supplices* and the deep bow that accompanies it likewise indicate. The gifts are not yet dedicated, but we realize that they must be accepted just as they must be dedicated or consecrated; hence the words: *uti accepta habeas et benedicas*. In this petition for a blessing, taken strictly, is contained a plea for the transformation. It is, then, the start of an *epiklesis*, much like those found in some *secreta* formulas,<sup>14</sup> or like the *Quam oblationem* where the *epiklesis* will appear more formally and extensively. It is significant that in the Georgian liturgy of St. Peter, which represents in its core a tenth-century translation of the Roman canon, a real *epiklesis* is inserted in this spot.<sup>15</sup> The gifts themselves are indicated by a threefold designation: *haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia*

<sup>12</sup> G. Mercati, *Antiche reliquie liturgiche*, (Rome, 1902), 52 f. Note especially the phrases *agere gratias* and *petentes de tua pietate, accepto ferre sacrificium istud*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *elevatis oculis in caelum ad te, Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem* in the account of the institution. The name of Father is otherwise very rare, even in the older Roman liturgy. Some few instances appear in the Leonianum: Muratori, I, 304 f. 320, 447.

<sup>14</sup> *Supra* 95.—Cf. also *supra* 65 ff.

<sup>15</sup> H. W. Codrington, *The Liturgy of St. Peter* (LQF, 30; Münster, 1936), 158, in which the Georgian text is reproduced as follows: *nous nous prosternons et te*

*prions de recevoir et de bénir ces dons qui sont à toi et d'envoyer ton Esprit-Saint sur ces dons ici présents et sur ce sacrifice, pour que tu l'acceptes avec bienveillance, que nous t'offrons d'abord . . .* The opinion of Baumstark (Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die ältestete erreichbare Gestalt*, 33\*) that this *epiklesis* is to be regarded as a piece of fundamental Roman text lost at an early date, is no longer tenable. It is, rather, as the crude form of the interpolation proves, a later additional insertion, which goes back to Egyptian influence and which, moreover, is missing in the traditional text of the liturgy of St. Peter; Codrington, 47 f., 182. An idea very like this, namely,

*illibata*. We cannot put too much store in this tri-membered expression.<sup>16</sup> In the formulas of the secret prayer all three terms are used to designate the same thing, namely the material gifts. In our passage they are merely juxtaposed in order to emphasize the expression, in accordance with a stylistic law that also operates elsewhere in the canon. A certain gradation, however, is plainly discernible; first the gifts are just called *dona*, gifts such as we are accustomed in some way or other to exchange from man to man; <sup>17</sup> as *munera* they appear a result of a more fixed arrangement, as a public service;<sup>18</sup> and finally as *sacrificia* they are labeled as the sacred tribute dedicated to God.<sup>19</sup>

It is not improbable that in the first version of the Roman canon, in the form it had till about the end of the fourth century, the plea for an acceptance of the gifts,<sup>20</sup> as here outlined, was followed at once by the *Quam*

that God might bless the gifts through the Holy Ghost (*ut haec spiritu tuo benedicas*), is also read into the words of the Roman Canon by Florus Diaconus, *De actione miss.*, c. 44 (PL, 119, 44); Botte, *Le canon*, 52 f.

<sup>16</sup> Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 176, taking a hint from *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 48, would see in this a reference to the three separate hosts that were laid upon the separate corporals of the co-consecrating cardinals (this is not the only mention of the number three; cf. above, p. 44). A different interpretation is given by E. Peterson, *Dona, munera, sacrificia: Eph. liturg.*, 46 (1932) 75-77. Reference is made to a parallel in the liturgy of St. Mark (Brightman, 129, 1. 20 f. in which the prayer is said to accept the *θυσιαί, προσφοραί, εὐχαριστήρια*; accordingly *εὐχαριστήρια (= dona)* is taken to stand for offerings for the dead; *προσφοραί (= munera)* for the offerings for the living; and *θυσιαί (= sacrificia)* for the oblations that are to be consecrated.

<sup>17</sup> An indication of the sharp retrenchment which gradually took place in the consideration of the role of the Church in the sacrifice (cf. *supra*, I, 91) is the fact that already Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, III, 3 (PL, 217, 841 B), no longer understands *dona* to mean the gifts which we offer God but the gift that God makes to us in the person of His Son (corresponding then to the interpretation of *munera* and *sacrificia* as the actions of Judas and

of the Jews). This explanation is later repeated by others. But it is strange that Eisenhofer, II, 173, still considers *dona* as "gifts of God."

<sup>18</sup> For a treatment of *munera* as equivalent to *λειτουργία*, meaning a public work in both the profane and the religious sense, see O. Casel "λειτουργία—munus," *Oriens christianus*, 3rd ser., 7 (1932), 289-302; H. Frank, "Zu λειτουργία—munus," *JL*, 13 (1935), 181-185.

<sup>19</sup> See above, p. 94, with regard to *sacrificium* as a designation for a material gift. Even the expression *sancta sacrificia illibata* no more requires the accomplished consecration than the addition of the words *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam* in regard to the sacrifice of Melchisedech demanded for the latter a sacramental sanctification. *Illibata* refers to the natural lack of blemish that was always demanded in a sacrificial offering; cf. *Batiffol, Leçons*, 238. At all events the thought that the consecration would soon take place may well have been a contributing factor in bringing this notion of holiness to the fore; cf. perhaps Gühr, 634.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. above I, 55, n. 21. One would then have to surmise that the petition for acceptance contained only the *accepta habeas*, because the petition for a blessing is especially stressed in the *Quam oblationem*. As a matter of fact, the *et benedicas* is missing in the Sacramentary of Gellone (Botte, 32, Apparatus), but this, of course, is rather a secondary matter.

*oblationem* and the consecration. This design was then disrupted by the interjection of the intercessory prayers.<sup>21</sup>

## 7. General Intercessory Prayers

About the end of the fourth century intercessory prayers began to be inserted into the Great Prayer even in Rome, just as had become customary in the Orient perhaps since the beginning of the same century.<sup>1</sup>

As we have already seen in Justin's account, intercessory prayers were conjoined to the eucharistic celebration,<sup>2</sup> but they preceded the *eucharistia* and formed the conclusion of the service of prayer and reading.<sup>3</sup> It is in this very same place that we have located the "General Prayer of the Church," even down to the present time, although here a process of contraction set in quite early.<sup>4</sup> As a result the core of the intercessory prayer, in the Roman liturgy as well as in others, was transferred to the inner sanctuary of the eucharistic prayer. Only the Gallic liturgies withstood this development, so that to the last—and in the Mozarabic Mass right down to the present—the intercessions remained standing outside the gates of the eucharistic prayer, in the portion of the Mass given over to preparing the gifts. In the Roman Mass the intercessions, as we know them at the present, were remodeled in the course of the fifth century and built into the canon between the *Sanctus* and the prayer for the consecration in the *Quam oblationem*, and the corresponding remembrance of the dead was then added after the consecration.

If we may perceive in the *orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday the General Prayer of the Church as it appeared in the primitive Roman liturgy,<sup>5</sup> we are struck by the strong contrast between these ancient intercessions and the newer type constructed within the canon. In the latter, the formulation would, as a matter of course, have to be more brief. But only echoes of the former type that really recur are the prayer *pro ecclesia sancta Dei*,

<sup>21</sup> That something new is inaugurated with *in primis* was sensed even later on. Cf. e.g., Ebner, 16, the illustration of the beginning of the canon from Codex, 2247 of Cologne (11th cent.); *in primis* has an initial just the same as *Memento* and *Communicantes*. Hugo of S. Cher (d. 1263), *Tract. super missam* (ed., Sölch, 27) has the second of his eleven parts of the canon begin with *in primis*.

<sup>1</sup> Above I, 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above I, 22 f. Petitions, together with the mentioning of names, must also have been made in the sacrifice that took place in the divine service of the Jewish temple; cf. I Macc. 12: 11.

<sup>3</sup> At any rate Justin, *Apol.*, I, 67, 5, para-

phrases the Eucharistic prayer as εὐχαριστία καὶ εὐχαριστίας. Herewith, however, in agreement with I, 65, 3, the εὐχαί are rather to be understood as coupling the αἶνος καὶ δόξα that are mentioned in the latter passage before the εὐχαριστία. Outside of that, Justin's *Eucharistia* must have included a prayer for an efficacious Communion; cf. above I, 35, 37. The view advocated by Baumstark among others, *JL*, 1 (1921), 6, that a prayer of petition is already to be assumed within the *Eucharistia* of Justin, is, in the face of further facts, not acceptable.

<sup>4</sup> Above I, 480 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above I, 481 f.

the prayer *pro beatissimo papa nostro*, and the prayer *pro omnibus episcopis*, etc.—and this last only in more recent texts—while the prayer for the Church in the canon accords with its model all the more plainly since in both petition is made for peace, protection, and unity for the Church *toto orbe terrarum*. The explanation lies in the fact that, as Innocent I tells us, the chief concern was the mention of the names within the canon, that therefore the main stress was on the *Memento*; and, on the other hand, the General Prayer for the Church still continued in use. Besides this, the prayer for the emperor appears to have actually had its place here in the fifth century.<sup>6</sup> The prayer for the catechumens, of whom there were but few, would naturally have been considered no longer so opportune as to require a place in the canon.<sup>7</sup> The prayer for heretics, Jews, and pagans, however, as it appeared in the *orationes sollemnes*, was somewhat of a specialty of Rome's, in comparison with the other liturgies; it therefore continued to be restricted to the *orationes sollemnes*. These *orationes sollemnes* seem not to have been excluded entirely from the ordinary service until a suitable substitute appeared in the *Kyrie* litany.<sup>8</sup> The *deprecatio Gelasii*, which we took as evidence for this inference, includes in its seventeen petitions all nine titles of the *orationes sollemnes*.<sup>9</sup>

In the canon the pertinent names ought to have been spoken simply with a brief accompanying phrase. The framework provided for this is the *Memento*, with the short preliminary piece beginning with the words *in primis*. Somewhat later the *Communicantes* sprouted from the same root, and lastly the *Hanc igitur* took its place alongside as an independent structure. If the rights of the individual should thus be acknowledged in the very sanctuary of the liturgy, then it is only right and proper that at the head of the list of names should appear the first name of the Christian community and the community itself. The sacrifice which we offer up humbly to God, and which should, in the first instance, be our thanks and our tribute to our Creator and Father, will also draw down upon us God's protection and grace precisely because it is a sacrifice and because it is this sacrifice. May it be of avail above all<sup>10</sup> for the whole Catholic Church!

<sup>6</sup> Above I, 53.

<sup>7</sup> However, we must certainly take into account the possibility that, like the mentioning of the emperor, it was dropped later on.

<sup>8</sup> Above I, 336 ff.

<sup>9</sup> The prayer to God *ut cunctis mundum purget erroribus*, etc., is also contained therein; cf. above I, 337, VIII; IX.

<sup>10</sup> The *in primis* is considered meaningless by P. Drews, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe* (Tübingen, 1902), 5, n. 1, "since various gifts were not offered." Likewise R. Buchwald,

*Die Epiklese in der römischen Messe* (Weidenauer Studien I, special printing; Vienna, 1907), 34 f. However, the *in primis* is not intended to introduce various offerings, but various recommendations united with the offering. The *in primis quæ* would, therefore, be rendered as "above all insofar as we . . ." Evidently, too, these words convey a quiet reason for their acceptance; we offer the gifts "for" the entire holy Church, for her benefit, and also as her humble representative here and now.

The prayer for the whole Church was a matter very close to the heart of the primitive Christians. Well known are the prayers of the *Didache* (9,4; 10,5). When Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna (d. 155-156), upon being arrested, begged for a little time to pray, he prayed aloud for all whom he had known and for the whole Catholic Church, spread over the world."<sup>11</sup> Another martyr-bishop, Fructuosus of Tarragona (d. 259), about to be burnt to death, answered a Christian who sought his prayer, saying in a firm voice: "I am bound to remember the whole Catholic Church from sunrise to sunset."<sup>12</sup>

Only two attributes are joined to the mention of the Church, but in them its entire greatness is made manifest. The Church is *holy*; it is the assembly of those who are sanctified in water and in the Holy Spirit. *Sancte* is the earliest of the adjectives customarily attached to the mention of the Church. And it is *Catholic*; according to God's plan of grace, the Church is appointed for all peoples, and at the time this word was inserted into the canon it could be said triumphantly that it was actually spread to all peoples, *toto orbe terrarum*—an expression that merely serves to underscore the *Catholica*.<sup>13</sup> What we petition for the Church is peace (*pacificare*), or putting it negatively, defense from every threat of danger (*custodire*), so that she might bring forth rich fruit, so that the leaven of the divine power within her might penetrate every level of human society. For the Church internally we follow the example of the Master Himself (John 17:21) by asking above all for unity: that she might continue to be guarded against division and error, that she might be held together through love, the bond of the one family of God (*adunare*), and that the Spirit of God Himself might lead and govern her (*regere*).<sup>14</sup>

This leads on to the mention of those through whom the Spirit of God wills to direct the Church and hold it together as a visible society. In other rites, too, since earliest times, we find that at the start of the intercessory prayer the mention of the Church is followed at once by that name which visibly represents the leadership of the Church.<sup>15</sup> Often the

<sup>11</sup> *Martyrium Polycarpi*, c. 8, 1; cf. 5, 1.  
<sup>12</sup> Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum* (Regensburg, 1859; 266).

<sup>13</sup> The formula is already verified in liturgical practice in the 11th century by Optatus of Mileve, *Contra Parmen.*, II, 12 (CSEL, 26, 47): *offerre vos dicitis Deo pro una Ecclesia, quæ sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa*. In this reference Optatus presumes that the Donatists had retained this prayer since their break with the Church in 312. It is possible that the phrase in the canon is linked with the fact that since the 4th century the original meaning of *catholica* was weakened more

and more to a mere antithesis to heresy. Botte, *Le canon*, 54.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding this petition Pope Vigilius (d. 555), *Ep. ad Justin*, c. 2 (SCEL, 35, 348) has given direct testimony: *omnes pontifices antiqua in offerendo sacrificio traditione deposcimus, exorantes, ut catholicam fidem adunare, regere Dominus et custodire toto orbe dignetur*.

<sup>15</sup> At Antioch in the 4th century the celebrant (who is presumably the Patriarch himself) mentions his own person immediately after the invocation for the whole Church, *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 41 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 225): "Ἐπεὶ παραλοῦμέν σε καὶ

view does not extend beyond the bishop. In the Roman canon the words in this passage that represent the traditional basic text are the words *una cum famulo tuo papa nostro illo*,<sup>16</sup> whereupon the *Memento* follows at once. But outside of Rome these words were soon expanded in various ways. In the Frankish realm during the sixth century the title *papa* could, for example, mean any bishop;<sup>17</sup> therefore we find various clarifying additions that univocally designate the Roman pontiff.<sup>18</sup> More and more since the sixth century the naming of the pope in the intercessory prayer became a fixed rule in the churches of the West. In Milan and Ravenna the custom existed already about 500.<sup>19</sup> In the year 519 two bishops from an episcopal city of Epirus tell about it.<sup>20</sup> In the year 529, at the urgent insistence of St. Cæsarius of Arles, the practice was prescribed by the Council of Vaison for that section.<sup>21</sup> Pope Pelagius (d. 561) desired the Bishops of Tuscany to mention his name at Mass: *quomodo vos ab universi orbis communionem separatos esse non creditis, si mei inter sacra mysteria secundum consuetudinem nominis memoriam reticetis*.<sup>22</sup> At Constantinople, too, during the sixth century the name of the pope was mentioned in the diptychs, and since the time of Justinian it was put in the first place.<sup>23</sup>

In Italian manuscripts especially, up to the eleventh century, the pope is often named alone.<sup>24</sup> But outside of Rome the name of the bishop could not long be omitted. That name appears with increasing regularity, usually

ὕπερ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντός σοι οὐδενίας καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου. In the 7th century anaphora of St. James "our patriarchs N. N." are mentioned by name in this place; Rucker, 214 f.; cf. Brightman, 89 f. The correspondence of these intercessions (namely by the incorporation of the diaconal litany) with the Roman formula under consideration was used by P. Drews for all it was worth in his theory of the canon; cf. Fortescue, 157 f.; 329.

<sup>16</sup> Botte, *Le canon*, 33. Several of the oldest manuscripts have *beatissimo famulo tuo*. This is possibly the primitive reading. Cf. Brinktrine, 178.—Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 501, seeks to associate the expression under consideration with the *Memento* of the living: *Una cum famulo tuo . . . memento, Domine*. Aside from the fact that it is difficult to approve this assumption on stylistic grounds and that it has no support in tradition, the point against it is that in this way the naming of the Pope would have to be considered as a mere side issue.

<sup>17</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, II, 27

(PL, 71, 223 A). On the other hand, *papa* for the naming of the Pope was used already in the year 400 at the Council of Toledo. P. Batiffol, "Papa, sedes apostolica, apostolatus," *Revista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 2 (1925), 99-116, especially 102; idem., *Leçons*, 241 f. Cf. H. Leclercq, "Papa": DACL, XIII (1937) 1097-1111.

<sup>18</sup> Thus, in the Irish Stowe Missal (about 800): *sedis apostolicæ episcopo*. Ebner, 398.

<sup>19</sup> Ennodius, *Libellus de synodo*, c. 77 (CSEL, 6, 311); E. Bishop, "The diptychs" (Appendix to Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*), 113, n. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Hormisdas, *Ep.*, 59, 2 (CSEL, 35, 672): *nullius nomen obnoxium religionis est recitatum nisi tantum beatitudinis vestrae*.

<sup>21</sup> Can. 4 (Mansi, VIII, 727): *Et hoc nobis justum visum est, ut nomen domini papæ, quicumque sedis apostolicæ præfuerit in nostris ecclesiis recitetur*.

<sup>22</sup> Pelagius I., *Ep.*, 5 (PL, 69, 398 C).

<sup>23</sup> Bishop, *op. cit.*, 111; 104, n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Ebner, 398.

with the wording: *et antistite nostro illo*.<sup>25</sup> The further supplement: *et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus*, is also found first outside Rome, in Gallic territory,<sup>26</sup> and this at a surprisingly early date.<sup>27</sup>

Who are meant by the *orthodoxi*? The word could designate simply those who were sound and solid in doctrine, the Catholic Christians.<sup>28</sup> The same meaning is conveyed by the complementary phrase, *catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultores*, a phrase appended in conformity with a stylistic law of the canon which prefers twin-type expressions. The only difference is that the latter phrase designates in the first place those who esteem the Catholic and apostolic faith<sup>29</sup> and who consciously profess it.<sup>30</sup> The first-named *cultores fidei* are obviously, then, the shepherds of the Church, the bishops. A confirmatory argument to show that they, and not simply the faithful, are meant by the double expression, is found in the construction *una cum*, which would otherwise be meaningless; may God, we say, protect the Church (which is composed of the faithful as a unit), along with the pope and all those who, as faithful pastors, have a part in her governance.<sup>31</sup> But in more recent times, when the tautology that arose in connection with *Ecclesia tua* was no longer sensed, the expression was taken to refer to all the faithful; it was opposed as superflu-

<sup>25</sup> Thus already some of the oldest MSS. The MS. of the older Gelasianum (1st half of the 8th cent.) has *et antistite nostro illo episcopo*; Botte, 32. The naming of the abbot also occurs; see examples in Ebner, 100, 163, 302; Martène, 1, 4, 8, 7, (I, 403 D).—The celebrating bishop, *resp.* the pope, substitutes in place of the usual formula *me indigno famulo tuo*. Eisenhofer, II, 175.

<sup>26</sup> Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 82.

<sup>27</sup> In the Bobbio Missal (about 700) the entire addition has the following form: *una cum devotissimo famulo tuo ill. papa nostro sedis apostolicæ et antistite nostro et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ fidei cultoribus*. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal* (HBS, 58), n. 11; Muratori, II, 777. Cf. also the study of B. Capelle, "Et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ fidei cultoribus," *Miscellanea hist. Alb. de Mayer*, I (Louvain, 1946), 137-150. Capelle advocates the assumption that the supplement belonged to the original text of the canon, but that it was deleted by Gregory the Great. See *Eph. liturg.*, 61 (1947), 281 f.

<sup>28</sup> *Orthodoxus* in opposition to *hæreticus*, e.g., in Jerome, *Ep.*, 17, 2.

<sup>29</sup> The expression was current in the 5th century. Gelasius, *Ep.*, 43 (Thiel, 472); the pope designates himself *minister catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei*.

<sup>30</sup> Cyprian, *Ep.*, 67, 6 (CSEL, 3, 740, 1. 11): *fidei cultor ac defensor veritatis* (regarding a bishop). There is an undertone of conscious pride in the inscription *Quis tantas Christo venerandas condidit ædes, Si quæris: cultor Pammachius fidei*, at the entrance to the Basilica of John and Paul. Here the expression certainly does not designate a bishop.—Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 176, refers to the parallel *cultor Dei*, II Macc. 1: 19; John 9: 31. He therefore clings to the interpretation of this phrase as referring to all the faithful.—A. Mauretian inscription of the 3rd century designates the Christian as *cultor verbi*; C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg, 1917), 127.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Capelle, *loc. cit.*, who stresses the tautology that would otherwise ensue. Moreover, mentioning the names of bishops of leading metropolises must have been customary in the 5th century in Rome as well as elsewhere; this is obviously to be deduced from a writing of Leo the

ous, for example, by Micrologus, adducing the rather poor argument, among others, that the *Memento* followed.<sup>32</sup>

The civil authorities, for whom St. Paul, even in the time of Nero, earnestly desired the prayer of the faithful community (1 Tim. 2:2), get no mention in the Mass of the city of Rome. This is understandable, considering the time from which the oldest extant manuscripts derive, for then the pope was, in point of fact at least, the civil lord of the "Papal" State. Hardly a shadow of the eastern Roman empire was any longer noticeable.<sup>33</sup> In the preceding centuries, on the contrary, prayer for the emperor was decidedly a part of the canon.<sup>34</sup> In the Milanese form of the Roman canon, representing a text taken over from Rome perhaps already before Gregory the Great,<sup>35</sup> the prayer for the ruler is still to be found,<sup>36</sup> and this is true also in other isolated instances.<sup>37</sup> When the Roman Empire was revived in the year 800, the mention of the emperor occurs at first

Great to the Patriarch of Constantinople, *Ep.*, 80, 3 (PL, 54, 914 f.). Cf. Kennedy, *The Saints*, 24; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 179 f. In the 11th century there are again reports regarding attempts to introduce the practice; see Martène, 1, 4, 8 (I, 403 E). The Missa Illyrica, which belongs to this period, seems to have so construed our formula, when it gives its version: *et pro omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ fidei cultoribus, pontificibus et abbatibus, gubernatoribus et rectoribus Ecclesiæ sanctæ Dei, et pro omni populo sancto Dei*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 513 C).

<sup>32</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985). Bernold's reasoning is not pertinent, because in the *Memento* the prayer is said only for the offerants and those present, whereas we are considering prayers for the faithful of the whole Church in general; thus also H. Ménard, PL, 78, 275 B.—The *Sacramentarium Rosianum* (10th cent.; ed. Brinktrine [Freiburg, 1930], p. 74) has the specific addition *omnium videlicet catholicorum* joined to *familiarumque tuarum*.

<sup>33</sup> But for the mention of the Byzantine emperor in the Roman liturgy of the 8-9th century, cf. J. Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser u. Reich*, 54, 55 f.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *supra*, I, 53, 54.—Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 39, 3 (Floril. patr., 6, 110), is witness to common prayer *pro imperatoribus*. Cf. J. Lortz, *Tertullian als Apologet* (Münster, 1927), 292 f.; Archbp. J. Beran, "De ordine missæ sec. Tertulliani Apologeti-

cum" (*Miscellanea Mohlberg*, II, 7-32), 12 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. P. Lejay, "Ambrosien (Rit.)": DACL, I, 1421.

<sup>36</sup> In the Sacramentary of Biasca (9-10th cent.) the addition reads: *cum famulo tuo et sacerdote tuo pontifice nostro illo et famulo tuo imperatore illo regibusque nostris cum conjugibus et proles, sed omnibus orthodoxis*. Ebner, 77; A. Ratti-M. Magistretti, *Missale Ambrosianum duplex* (Milan, 1913), 415. Cf. a similar formulary in the MS. edited by J. Pamelius, *Liturgica Latina*, (Cologne, 1571), 301: *et famulo tuo N. imperatore sed et regibus*.

The plural specifically recalls the prayer in the Mass *pro regibus*, as verified in Milan by the Ambrosianum (above I, 53). Therefore, it is not necessary to suggest a reference to the rulers of the Carolingian provinces since the division of the empire in 843, as Biehl, 57 does. An Ambrosian MS. adduced by Muratori, I, 131, merely presents *et famulo tuo (illo) imperatore*. The simple naming of the emperor is still found in the Milan Missal of 1751, but quite naturally no longer in that of 1902; Ratti-Magistretti, 240.—The view that in the naming of the emperor at Milan we have a residue of an even older Roman custom, is held by Kennedy, *The Saints*, 21, 48, 189.—Batiffol, *Leçons*, 243, n. 2, shows, with a reference to the Leonianum, how strongly the prayer for the Roman empire corresponded to the attitude of the Roman Church at the end of the ancient era. <sup>37</sup> Biehl, 37 f.

only in some few examples.<sup>38</sup> A more frequent occurrence is not noticed till the eleventh century<sup>39</sup> and by this time, because of the trouble arising over investiture, it was again challenged, as erasures and deletions in the text of the canon frequently show.<sup>40</sup> In general, however, it was retained. Commentators on the Mass since the twelfth century refer to it without question.<sup>41</sup> The formula is either: *et imperatore nostro*, or (at first with the same meaning): *et rege nostro*.<sup>42</sup> Later, both emperor and king are mentioned together or—an indication of the growing sense of territorialism—the *rege nostro* is understood of the king alone as the ruler of the land.<sup>43</sup>

The *Missale secundum usum Romanæ Curiaë* of the thirteenth century, which originated in an atmosphere of ecclesiastico-political strife, mentions only pope and bishop.<sup>44</sup> Because of its general acceptance, and because of the Missal of Pius V which was founded on it, mention of the civil ruler was generally discontinued.<sup>45</sup> It was only by way of privilege that the monarch was mentioned in the canon; this custom prevailed in Spain in former times,<sup>46</sup> and since 1761 in Austria,<sup>47</sup> with the latter custom continuing till 1918.<sup>48</sup> In the framework of the formula *una cum*, which can comprise only the heads of Catholic Christendom, the naming of the

<sup>38</sup> As his correspondence with Byzantium shows (MGH, Ep. Karol. Aevi, V, 387), Emperor Louis II seems to have presumed that his name was mentioned *inter sacra mysteria, inter sancta sacrificia*, but hardly only in the Greek Church; cf. Biehl, 55 f. If the name of the emperor does appear in the Sacramentaries before the 10th century, as in the Cod. Eligii (PL, 78, 26: *et rege nostro ill.*), it is each time only by way of exception. Among the commentators of the Mass until Bonizo of Sutri (d. about 1095) there is no mention of it at all; Biehl, 48 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Ebner, 398.

<sup>40</sup> Ebner, 399; Biehl, 60 f.

<sup>41</sup> Biehl, 49-53; Sölch, *Hugo*, 89 f. Cf. also William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 333.

<sup>42</sup> As Egeling of Brunswick (d. 1481) later explains, by the word *rex* was to be understood the *constitutus in suprema dignitate laicali*. Franz, 548.

<sup>43</sup> Thus frequently, though not universally, among the German Mass commentators at the end of the Middle Ages; Biehl, 51 f., 58. Regarding countries outside of Germany, cf. Biehl, 58 f.; for Spain, Ferreres, 146 f.

<sup>44</sup> That deference to the Pope as secular

ruler of the Papal States was the deciding factor in this case, as, among others, Sölch, 90, surmises, is difficult to accept; for the emperor's name was mentioned elsewhere outside his territory. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, III, 5, (PL, 217, 844), indeed notes that only outside Rome is the prayer also said for the bishop, but with an appeal to I Tim. 2: 2, he requires the prayer for the secular ruler without any restriction.

<sup>45</sup> That holds for all rites influenced by this Missal. Even at present the Dominican Missal has the addition *et rege nostro*; cf. regarding it, Sölch, 91.

<sup>46</sup> Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, I, 454 f. For France see *ibid.*, 471 f.

<sup>47</sup> Biehl, 62 f. The privilege was approved in Austria by a decree of the Congregation of Rites, Feb. 10, 1860, reproduced in Biehl, 170-173.

<sup>48</sup> But elsewhere, too, the sovereign was frequently named. Different moralists, e.g., even P. Scavini (d. 1869), speak of a *consuetudo* that became a matter of law; see Kössing, *Liturgische Vorlesungen*, 471, n. 244.—*Ibid.*, 468-471, Kössing objects to the thesis of A. J. Binterim, *Über das Gebet für die Könige und Fürsten in der Katholischen Liturgie* (reprint from the

ruler is possible only in a Christian state.<sup>49</sup> For the rest, the great needs of the political order are expressed in the preceding *pacificare*, which necessarily implies a condition of ecclesiastical life tranquil and undisturbed.

## 8. The *Memento* of the Living

The decisive factor which brought about in the Roman Mass the division of the Great Prayer and the insertion of the intercessions was, as we learn from the letter of Pope Innocent I, the desire to mention *inter sacra mysteria* the names of those offering. The precise setting for this mention of names is the prayer that follows, *Memento Domine*, along with the *Communicantes*.<sup>1</sup> In the intercessory prayer of oriental liturgies the same words *Μνήσθητι κύριε* are used to introduce a whole series of petitions commending to God various groups of the faithful; these were at one time closely linked with the names from the diptychs.<sup>2</sup> In ecclesiastical life, especially in oriental Christendom, the diptychs have played a major role since the fourth century.<sup>3</sup>

Most prominent there were the diptychs of the dead, but besides these there were also special diptychs of the living, at least in Constantinople. Seemingly as early as the start of the sixth century, both were read out in a loud voice within the intercessory prayer that followed the con-

Memoirs, IV, 2; Mainz, 1827), according to which a special rubric to the effect that outside the Papal States the sovereign should be named, was omitted only because the mention of the name was taken for granted. In a decree of March 20, 1862, the Congregation of Rites expressly stated that the Catholic sovereign may be mentioned only by special indulgence to that effect; Gühr, 640, n. 26 (not contained in the authentic collections).—The recurrent movement is manifested even in the present years of Pius XII, in the insertion in the Austrian *Exsultet* of a petition for those *qui nos in potestate regunt*; cf. *Acta Ap. Sedis*, 43 (1951), 133 f.

<sup>49</sup> However, in this case other forms were chosen. The Sacramentary of the 10th century published by U. Chevalier, *Sacramentaire et Martyrologe de l'abbaye de S.-Remy* (Bibliothèque liturg., 2; Paris, 1900) continues after naming the bishop: *Memento, Domine, famulo tuo rege nostro ill. Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum . . .* (344).—The same method is also found already about the year 800 in a Sacramentary of Angoulême

and, as a later supplement, in the Vat. Reg., 316; Botte, *Le canon*, 32, Apparatus. An example from the 11th century in Ebner, 163.

<sup>1</sup> The interrelation of the two formulas will occupy our attention again later on. That they belong together seems clear from the fact that the *Per Christum* comes only at the end of the second formula. On the other hand, there does not seem to be sufficient reason to take the *Te igitur*, which likewise lacks the concluding formula, into the same close relationship. For here the *Per Jesum Christum* is already woven into the beginning of the formula.

<sup>2</sup> Liturgy of St. James: Brightman, 55 ff.; liturgy of St. Mark: *ibid.*, 129 f.; Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil: *ibid.*, 336 (cf. 409). In the passages cited the *τὰ δέπτοιχα* that the deacon is to read off, are explicitly named by the rubric. Examples of oriental diptych texts from the 12th, 15th, and 19th centuries in Brightman, 501-503, 551 f.

<sup>3</sup> E. Bishop, "The Diptychs," in the appendix to Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 97-117; F. Cabrol, "Diptyques":

secration.<sup>4</sup> Regarding the διπτυχα τῶν κεκοιμημένων, we know that they contained the names of prominent personages, above all in ecclesiastical life, but also in civil life, arranged in specified series starting with those of former bishops of the imperial city.<sup>5</sup> The insertion or omission of a name could thus at times cause a popular uproar, as happened at the beginning of the fifth century in the case of the name of St. John Chrysostom,<sup>6</sup> for the inclusion of a name in the diptychs indicated the attitude of the ecclesiastical community towards the person involved and its acknowledgment of his orthodoxy. Therefore, in oriental diptychs since the sixth century, we sometimes find at the top of the list, along with the “patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs,”<sup>7</sup> mention of the fathers of the first councils, above all the “318 orthodox fathers” of Nicea.<sup>8</sup>

In the West, and particularly in the Roman liturgy, the listing of the names of the living takes the lead. Regarding the dead there is, as we shall see, no mention at this moment in public worship. This fits in with what we have already pointed to as the starting-point of the list, namely the offering of the sacrificial gifts of the faithful. Their offerings were to be commended to God by a special prayer, which is precisely what happened in the *oratio super oblata*. Besides this, there was within the canon an additional plea that God might be mindful of those *qui tibi*

DACL, IV, 1045-1094. διπτυχον = twofold, double tablet. In ancient times they served as a sort of announcement book, which, because of their beautiful design, were presented as gifts by aristocratic people. In Church circles they were used for a list of names, even if, as was often the case, they were of purely secular origin. The covers were often inlaid on the outside with plates of precious metal or ivory and adorned with sculptured ornaments. Many of these precious ecclesiastical diptych tablets, among them some that date back to the Roman Consuls, were later used as covers for liturgical books and were thus preserved.<sup>4</sup> Bishop, 109 ff. Elsewhere, as was frequently the case in the Syrian sphere, the diptychs were read while the people exchanged the kiss of peace; Bishop, 108, 111 f. In the East Syrian Rite the reading of the diptychs, the comprehensive “book of the living and the dead,” is still done today by the deacon, at this place, on Sundays and feast days. The names of one’s own community are included in these lists and they are no longer written on special tablets. In the Byzantine Mass mentioning the deceased by name is done silently by the priest, as happens in our *Memento*; Brightman, 388, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the arrangement in the diptychs according to the Armenian liturgy of today; Brightman, 441 f. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 502-504, establishes the fact that the diptychs at least in Constantinople lost their original “parochial” character and finally also the character as a list of names noted down for the purpose of intercession.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop, 102 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Thus, already Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 9 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 102). Here there is no question of reading the names, though it is the case with Serapion; cf. *supra*, I, 35. In the East Syrian Mass the list that comprises several hundred begins with “Adam and Abel and Seth”; Brightman, 276 ff. Towards the end of the ancient era acceptance into the diptychs corresponded more or less to our canonization in the Church, just as a cancellation was equivalent to excommunication.

<sup>8</sup> Thus, in the East Syrian Mass: Brightman, 277, 1. 3; in the *Ethiopian anaphora* of the Apostles: *ibid.*, 229, 1. 2. The Monophysite West Syrians mention the “three pious and holy and ecumenical Synods”: *ibid.*, 94, 1. 3. The “four holy synods” were named by the deacon in the reading of the diptych at the Synod of Con-

*offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*. In this connection the names of the officers were read aloud. This much information can be gleaned from the exposition of Pope Innocent I,<sup>9</sup> but the account is so sketchy that we are left without any details of how it was done. There were probably only selected names, for obviously it was neither feasible nor reasonable to publish the names of all those who participated in the Sunday service.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, it stood to reason that where the Mass was celebrated for the benefit of such and such group, as was the case in votive Masses for certain needs or certain occasions, the names involved would be read out.<sup>11</sup> In some instances this would be carried over to public service. The older *Gelasianum* presents an illustrative example on the third Sunday of Lent, on the occasion of the first *scrutinium electorum*. It reads as follows:

*Infra canonem ubi dicit: Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, qui electos tuos suscepturi sunt ad sanctam gratiam baptismi tui, et omnium circumadstantium. Et taces. Et recitantur nomina virorum et mulierum, qui ipsos infantes suscepturi sunt. Et intras: Quorum tibi fides cognita.*<sup>12</sup>

While the priest is silent, another cleric reads aloud the names of the godparents or sponsors. At the ordinary service the only names mentioned

Constantinople under Mennas (544). Cf. the references in Martène, I, 4, 8, 11 (I, 405 B; I looked in vain for this in the acts of the council).—Elsewhere, too, a close watch was kept regarding the true faith of those whose names were read off in the canon. According to the *Pœnitentiale Theodori* (England, end of the 7th cent.) a priest, at whose Mass any names of heretics happened to be read off with the rest, was obliged to do penance for a week. H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*, (Mainz, 1883), 529; Finsterwalder, *Canones Theodori*, 258.

<sup>9</sup> Above I, 54.—Already a century earlier a similar custom must have existed in Spain, as appears from can. 29 of Elvira (Mansi, II, 10); regarding an *energumenus* the canon stipulates *neque ad altare cum oblatione esse recipiendum*. Cf. Bishop, 98 f. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 62, 5 (CSEL, 3, 700 f.), is also worthy of note. When sending money to the Numidian bishops, Cyprian also transmits the names of those who gave it: *in mente habeatis orationibus vestris et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus representetis*. See *Ep.*, 16, 2 (CSEL, 3, 519), where he states accusingly with regard to the *lapsi*: *offerunt nomine eorum*. What is alleged against this by Augustine

refers only to the naming of the deceased; Kennedy, *The Saints*, 27 f.; Srawley, 137.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 205). No names of the deceased are permitted to be read off on Sundays, *sed tantum vivorum nomina regum vel principum seu et sacerdotum, vel pro omni populo christiano oblationes vel vota redduntur*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ordo “Qualiter quedam orationes” = Ordo Rom. IV* (Hittorp, 588; cf. PL, 78, 1380 B; Botte, 32, Apparatus): *Hic nomina vivorum memorentur si volueris, sed non dominica die nisi ceteris diebus*. Thus also the *Sacramentarium Rossianum* (Botte, 32, Apparatus) and Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 985).

<sup>12</sup> I, 26 (Wilson, 34). It is self-evident that the names of the candidates for baptism could not be mentioned here, because the *qui tibi offerunt* could not be said of them. Their names, however, appear in the *Hanc igitur*, in which the purpose of the prayer was to be mentioned. The Roman expression *electi* for the candidates for baptism shows that the rubric originated in Rome and not in the Gallic territory where the MS. comes from. Consequently, we may take this as 6th century evidence.

would probably have been those which merited marked prominence for having given a special oblation over and above the liturgical offering of bread and wine.<sup>13</sup> This can be gathered from a somewhat testy remark of the hermit of Bethlehem, who had probably heard about the new practice at Rome: *ut . . . glorientur publiceque diaconus in ecclesiis recitet offerentium nomina: tantum offert illa, tantum ille pollicitus est, placentque sibi ad plausum populi.*<sup>14</sup>

A reading similar to that at Rome is evidenced beyond doubt in the domain of the Gallic liturgy, and here it is the offerers who are expressly named. The Gallican Mass of the seventh century—and likewise the Mozarabic—includes a special priestly oration *Post nomina* after the offertory procession and the introductory prayer. The wording of this oration is often linked to the reading of the names that just took place, then launches into a prayer of intercession for living and dead. An example is the prayer on the feast of the Circumcision: *Auditis nominibus offerentium, fratres dilectissimi, Christum Dominum deprecemur* [a reference to the feast follows] . . . *præstante pietate sua, ut hæc sacrificia sic viventibus proficiant ad emendationem, ut defunctis opitulentur ad requiem. Per Dominum.*<sup>15</sup> The reading itself, however, includes under the notion of *offerentes* not only those present, above all the clergy assembled here, but also all whose society is valued while the sacrifice is being offered up. Even the dead are embodied in this circle of offerers, either because those offering the sacrifice do so “for” them, that is, as their representatives, or that they “remember” them in the oblation. In the Mozarabic Mass this reading, which precedes the oration *Post nomina*, has been retained to the present.

The priest [formerly it was perhaps the deacon] begins: *Offerunt Deo Domino oblationem sacerdotes nostri, papa Romensis et reliqui pro se et pro omni clero et plebibus ecclesiæ sibi et consignatis vel pro universa fraternitate. Item offerunt universi presbyteri, diaconi, clerici ac populi circumstantes in honorem sanctorum pro se et suis.*

R. [the choir corroborating]: *Offerunt pro se et pro universa fraternitate.* The priest: *Facientes commemorationem beatissimorum apostolorum et martyrum.*<sup>16</sup> [Names follow.]

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Jerome, *Comm. in Ezech.* (of the year 411), c. 18 (PL, 25, 175).—Cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Jerem.* (of the year 420): *At nunc publice recitantur offerentium nomina et redemptio peccatorum mutatur in laudem.* The practice was therefore considered an innovation. That Jerome is referring to a Western practice is clear also from this, that in oriental liturgy the names of the *offerentes*, as far as present information goes, never played such a part.

<sup>15</sup> *Missale Gothicum*, Muratori, II, 553; cf. 542 f., 554, etc. Such a Gallican *Post-*

*nomina* formula is still found in today's Roman Mass, in the *Secreta* that is supposed to be said in Lent: *Deus cui soli cognitus est numerus electorum in superna felicitate locandus.* Cf. Cabrol, *La messe en occident*, 120. A 6th century testimony for the reading of the names from an ivory diptych in Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.*, X, 7 (MGH, Auct. ant., IV, 1, 240): *cui hodie in templo diptychus edit ebur.* He is referring to the names of King Childbert and his mother Brunehild. Cf. Bishopp, 100, n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> This formula *Facientes* with a long list

R. *Et omnium martyrum.*

The priest: *Item pro spiritibus paasantium.* [A long roll of sainted confessors is listed: *Hilarii, Athanasii . . .*]

R. *Et omnium paasantium.*<sup>17</sup>

It is noteworthy that not till the second sentence is the word *offerunt* applied to those present, while in the first sentence it is ascribed in honorary fashion to the representatives of the grand ecclesiastical communion. It is probably to be presumed that originally the names of the persons in office—the leading bishops in Spain and the *papa Romensis*—were pronounced.<sup>18</sup> In the course of time this mention of names was omitted in favor of the bare formula, either because it was deemed unimportant or because it was found too bothersome.

Something like this must also have occurred in the Roman canon where the oldest extant manuscripts in general no longer have any indication whatever of an explicit listing of names after the words: *Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum.*<sup>19</sup> But since the formula obviously implies it, the indication for such an insert was later restored, some way or other, even soon after the Roman Mass was transplanted to Frankish soil. In his *Admonitio Generalis* of 789 Charlemagne decreed: The names should not be publicly read at some earlier part of the Mass (as in the Gallican rite), but during the canon.<sup>20</sup> The express direction is then found variously in the Mass books.<sup>21</sup>

of names that followed is preserved on a diptychon that dates back to the Roman Consul Anastasius of the year 517 and that was in ecclesiastical use in Northern France. Cf. Leclercq, “Diptyques”: *DACL*, IV, 1119 f.; Kennedy, *The Saints*, 65-67. <sup>17</sup> *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 542 ff.). *Paasantes* are those who “rest” (from worldly cares). It is to be noted here, however, that a summons on the part of the priest precedes this diptych formula, though it is separated from it (probably as a later and secondary intrusion) by an oration: *Ecclesiam sanctam catholicam in orationibus in mente habeamus ut eam Dominus . . . Omnes lapsos, captivos, infirmos atque peregrinos in mente habeamus, ut eos Dominus . . .* (*loc. cit.*, 540). Another diptych formula is given in the Stowe Missal, where it is inserted in the *Memento* of the Dead of the Roman Mass; it begins: *Cum omnibus in toto mundo offerentibus sacrificium spiritale . . . sacerdotibus offert senior noster N. presbyter pro se et pro suis et pro totius Ecclesiæ coetu catholicæ et pro commemorando anathetico gradu . . .* Then comes a lengthy list of saints of

the Old and then of the New Testament, martyrs, hermits, bishops, priests, and the conclusion: *et omnium paasantium qui nos in dominica pace præcesserunt ab Adam usque in hodiernum diem, quorum Deus nomina . . . novit.* Warner (HBS, 32), 14-16; cf. Duchesne, 222 f. The rule of the Order of St. Aurelian (d. 551) ends with a like formula; (PL, 68, 395-398).

<sup>18</sup> Thus A. Lesley, PL, 85, 542 C D. Cf. also preceding note.

<sup>19</sup> The Stowe Missal, which notes before the words, *Hic recitantur nomina vivorum*, forms an exception. Botte, 32; Warner (HBS), 32), 11.

<sup>20</sup> C. 54 (MGH Capit., I, 57). Cf. also can. 51 of the Council of Frankfurt (754): *De non recitandis nominibus antequam oblatio offertur.* (*ibid.*, 78).

<sup>21</sup> The Sacramentary of Rotaldus (10th cent.) speaks of the subdeacons who shortly before, facing the altar, *memoriam vel nomina vivorum et mortuorum nominaverunt* (PL, 78, 244 A). A note, *Hic nominentur nomina vivorum*, appears again in a Central Italian Missal of the 11th century; (Ebner, 163) and thence frequently

Since the canon began to be said in a low tone, this reading of names could no longer be loud and public. According to one eleventh century account, the names were whispered into the priest's ear on those occasions when he had assistants around him.<sup>22</sup> In another instance the names were pronounced by the priest himself. Many Mass books, therefore, even indicate certain names right in the text of the canon, at least as a marginal notation,<sup>23</sup> perhaps by reason of foundations. Or a corresponding general formula was inserted, embracing those names that had a right to be mentioned.<sup>24</sup> Sometimes the register of names was laid on the altar and merely a reference introduced into the *Memento*,<sup>25</sup> a practice similar to one still in use at present in the West Syrian rite.<sup>26</sup>

in this or similar form until well into the 5th century (Ebner, 146, 157, 194, 204, 280, 334 f.) also as a later addition (*ibid.*, 27); see also Martène, I, 4, XVII (I, 601). Nevertheless the corresponding remark regarding the deceased is more frequent.

<sup>22</sup> In this way the Bishop at Rheims recalled the names of his predecessors in the Mass for the Dead; Fulkwin, *Gesta abbatum Lobensium*, c. 7 (d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, 2 ed., II, 733). Cf. Martène, I, 4, 8, 13 (I, 405 f.).

<sup>23</sup> A Sacramentary of the 11th century from Fulda (Ebner, 208) mentions names from the Byzantine Imperial Court. Heading the list is *Constantini Monomachi imperatoris* (d. 1054). More examples, Leroquais, I, 14, 33 (9th cent.; see moreover in the Register, III, 389); Ebner, 7; 94 ("margins covered over with names, 10th c."); 149; 196; 249; Martène, I, 4, 8, 10 (I, 404 f.). In a deed of gift from Vendôme in the year 1073 the benefactors of the church stipulated that their names will be mentioned in the Canon of the Mass both during life and after death. Merk, *Abriss*, 87, n. 11; here also further data.

<sup>24</sup> Thus, a 10th century marginal gloss in the famous Cod. Paduanus reads: *omnium Christianorum, omnium qui mihi peccatori propter tuum timore confessi sunt et suas elemosynas . . . donaverunt et omnium parentorum meorum vel qui se in meis orationibus commendaverunt, tam vivis quam et defunctis*. Ebner, 128; Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 877. Formulas according to this scheme then appear in ever widening circles; see Martène, I, 4, IV; VI; XXXVI

(I, 513C., 533 E., 673 f.); Bona, II, 11, 5 (756 f.); Leroquais, I, 103, etc.; Ebner, 402 f.; cf. the notices in the description of the MSS., *ibid.*, 17, 53, etc. A formula that appears at Seckau in the 15th century (Köck, 62), and in 1539 at Rome in Ciconiolanus (Legg, *Tracts*, 208), begins: *mei peccatoris cui tantam gratiam concedere digneris, ut assidue tuæ maiestati placeam, illius pro quo . . .*

<sup>25</sup> So, too, a marginal gloss already in the Sacramentary in J. Pamelius, *Liturgica Latina*, II (Cologne, 1571), 180: (*Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum*) *et eorum quorum nomina ad memorandum conscripsimus ac super sanctum altare tuum scripta adesse videntur*. More examples in Martène, I, 4, 8, 15 (I, 406); Ebner, 403; cf. 94; PL, 78, 26, note g (from a 9th cent. MS. of Rheims). Such references were occasioned, among others, by the *libri vitæ* that were introduced in monasteries on the basis of prayer affiliations; cf. A. Ebner, *Die klösterlichen Gebetsverbrüderungen bis zum Ausgang des karolingischen Zeitalters* (Regensburg, 1890), 97 ff., 121 ff. But reference is made to such registers without their having been placed on the altar; see the entry of the 11th century in a Sacramentary of Bobbio: *et quorum vel quorum nomina apud me scripta retinentur*; Ebner, 81; Ferreres, 147.

<sup>26</sup> In the West Syrian Mass the names of such families as requested prayers for their deceased members during a specific period of the ecclesiastical year were inscribed upon a tablet that was laid upon the altar. At the *Memento* of the Dead the priest lays his hand upon the host and then makes a

Since the eleventh century these insert formulas, bearing a general character and often joined to the reference mentioned, grew transiently to memorable proportions, encompassing not only the *Memento* itself, but also the preceding intercessory plea for pope and bishop.<sup>27</sup> Often, too, a self-recommendation was added at the start: *Mihi quoque indignissimo famulo tuo propitius esse digneris et ab omnibus me peccatorum offensionibus emundare*,<sup>28</sup> or less frequently: *Memento mei quæso*, with various continuations.<sup>29</sup>

But very early a contrary tendency arose, leading in the course of the centuries to a complete suppression of all such additions.<sup>30</sup> Only names were allowed to be inserted,<sup>31</sup> or generally only a silent commemoration was permitted at this moment,<sup>32</sup> and in this the faithful were probably invited to take part.<sup>33</sup>

In the Missal of Pius V the indication of a mention of names and the corresponding pause have been retained.<sup>34</sup> But no rule is prescribed regarding the choice of names: *orat aliquantulum pro quibus orare intendit*. It is in line with the original intent and with the context that at a Mass

threefold sign of the cross over the tablet. S. Salaville in R. Aigrin, *Liturgia* (Paris, 1935), 915 f., note; cf. Hanssens, III, 473 f.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g., *Adiuncta Pauli Diaconi intra canonem quando volueris* in Ebner, 302.

<sup>28</sup> Ebner, 401; see also the description of the MSS. *ibid.*, passim. Cf. also Martène, I, 4, 8, 15 (I, 406 f.).

<sup>29</sup> Ebner, 247; Leroquais, I, 40; 84; Ferreres, p. C; cf. Martène, I, 4, 8, 15 (I, 406 b). A formula of this kind frequently precedes the *Memento* of the Dead; see *infra*. The case of the Valencia Missal (1492) may be exceptional, inasmuch as a whole list of invocations from the litany precedes the *Memento*: *Per mysterium sanctæ incarnationis tuæ nos exaudire digneris, te rogamus audi nos*, etc. Ferreres, P. XCI. Cf. *ibid.*, p. LXXXVIII, the *deprecatio* before the *Memento*. Often a *Memento* of the Dead is here appended at the same time.

<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless even Merati (d. 1744) still proposes a lengthy interpolated prayer that the priest could here pray secretly; Gavanti-Merati, II, 8, 3 (I, 289).

<sup>31</sup> Bernold of Constance (d. 1100), *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985) opposes those who interpolate *suas orationes* here. The chapter is captioned: *Quid superfluum sit in canone*. John Belet (d. about 1165),

*Explicatio*, c. 46 (PL, 202, 54 B): *adde-mus nulli hic [in the canon] concessum esse aliquid vel detrudere vel addere, nisi quandoque nomen illorum, pro quibus specialiter aut nominatim offertur sacrificium*.

<sup>32</sup> Hints regarding the matter are often given in the Mass commentaries of the Middle Ages. Thus, Hugo of S. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 27) advises to proceed *juxta ordinem caritatis* and to pray first for parents and relatives, then *pro spiritualibus parentibus*, next for those who have recommended themselves to our prayers (*commendaverunt*; this phrase is the first mention of the *offerentes* in the traditional sense of those who offered a stipend and the like, see above, p. 130), then for those present, and finally for all the people. The Missal of Regensburg about 1500 lists eight groups in another way: Beck, 273.

<sup>33</sup> The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 69, 1. 4) requires, that if any one is ill, a sign be given after the *Sanctus*, *ut fratres in suis orationibus infirmi recordentur et dicant psalmum Miserere*.

<sup>34</sup> Along with the *ill.*, as a sign for the name to be inserted, the *N.* of today was already used at an early date; thus, in fact, the Stowe Missal about the year 800; Warner (HBS, 32), 11; cf. 6, 10, 14, 19 ff.

said for a stipend the one who in this way became an *offerens* should be especially remembered here.<sup>35</sup>

But in the text of the *Memento* itself the circle is broadened. Into it are drawn all those present, since they did come to church in order to honor God by this communal oblation.<sup>36</sup> They are called *circumstantes* or, in the more ancient texts, *circum adstantes*.<sup>37</sup> During the first thousand years, standing was the principal posture even during the canon.<sup>38</sup> Note, however, that the *circum* is not to be construed as though the faithful had ever completely surrounded the altar. Rather the picture intended is what is suggested by the structure of the old Roman basilicas, where the altar stood between the presbytery and the nave, so that the faithful—especially if there was a transept—could form a semi-circle or “open ring”<sup>39</sup> around the altar.

About those mentioned by name and about the group of *circum adstantes*, a two-membered clause originally had two things to say. One phrase regarded their general state of soul, namely: their faith and their devotion<sup>40</sup> is well known to Thee.<sup>41</sup> The other phrase took notice of their activity: they offer up to Thee a sacrifice of praise; this is further described and defined. The original text, like the text of the first prayer after the consecration, ascribes to the faithful the offering of the sacrifice, without any special restriction: *qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Cf. above, p. 24. Thus also Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, II, 13, 9 (Schneider, 167). Florus Diaconus (d. about 860), *De actione missæ*, c. 51 (PL, 119, 47 B) and Remigius of Auxerre (d. about 908), *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1258 B), were emphatic about the liberty to insert other names in the place where from time immemorial the names of the *offerentium* were used (*quos desideravit particulariter nominare*).

<sup>36</sup> Spanish Mass books of the 12th century also add: (*circumstantium*) *atque omnium fidelium christianorum (quorum tibi)*; Ferreres, P. XXXI, LXX ff., CVIII; cf. XXIV, XXVI, XLVI, XLIX, LII, CXII. This last extension in reference to the *qui tibi offerunt* to include those who are absent is in line with the Spanish tradition; see above, p. 162.

<sup>37</sup> Ebner, 405; Ménard, PL, 78, 275 BC.

<sup>38</sup> Above I, 239 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Schwarz, *Von Bau der Kirche* (Würzburg, 1938, where the inherent correctness of this plan is made clear. The opening of the ring, where the altar stands, indicates the movement by which the congregation, led by the priest, strive towards God; cf. also above I, 256.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. A. Daniels, “Devotio,” *JL*, I (1921) 40-60. The word *devotio*, which otherwise frequently signifies in some form or other the very actions of divine service, here refers to the disposition of heart. *Fides* is the basic attitude by which one’s whole life is erected upon God’s word and promises; *devotio* the readiness faithfully to regulate one’s conduct accordingly without reservation. The two expressions are similarly united by Nicetas of Remesiana (d. after 414), *De psalmodiæ bono*, c. 3 (PL, 68, 373; Daniels, 47): *nullus debet ambigere hoc vigiliarum sanctorum ministerium, si digna fide et devotione vera celebretur, angelis esse conjunctum*.

<sup>41</sup> F. Rütten, “Philologisches zum Canon missæ” (*StZ*, 1938, I) 43 f., has claimed a deeper meaning for the word (*fides cognita*): tried, proven. But it seems rather that we have here only a doubling of the expression *nota* in conformity with a rule of style applied in the canon; cf. above, I, p. 56. The *tibi* ahead makes it necessary to abide by this interpretation.

<sup>42</sup> Regarding the biblical expression *sacrificium laudis*, cf. above I, 24 f.; II, p. 114, n. 26.—The word brings out the spiritual

They are not idle spectators, even less a profane crowd; rather they are all together sharers in that sacred action with which we stand before Thee, O God. But in more recent times, when by reason of language and spatial arrangement the celebration of the priest is markedly withdrawn from the people, who can follow the service only at a certain distance, this unrestricted expression apparently looked too bold, and so the words, *pro quibus tibi offerimus vel* were prefixed. This insertion made its first appearance in several manuscripts of the Gregorian Sacramentary prepared by Alcuin,<sup>43</sup> and after the tenth century speedily became almost universal, not, however, without encountering some opposition.<sup>44</sup> The point made by this phrase was that the priest at the altar (surrounded by his assistants) was primarily the one who offered the sacrifice. It is possible that a contributing factor was to be found in the consideration that in this period, when foundations and stipends were gaining headway, those whose names were to be recalled at the *Memento* were often not present at the Mass, so that the priest was also their representative even in a narrower sense.<sup>45</sup> Still, as a rule the original concept continued to stand unimpaired.<sup>46</sup>

The sacrificial activity of the faithful is next more clearly defined according to its purpose. They offer up the sacrifice for themselves and for their dear ones; the bonds of family have a rightful place in prayer. They offer their sacrifice that thus they might “redeem (purchase) their souls.”<sup>47</sup> According to Christ’s own words, no price can be high enough

character of the Christian sacrifice and its primary purpose, the glorification of God.

<sup>43</sup> Cod. Ottobon., 313 (first half of the 9th cent.), also in the Cod. of Pamelius; cf. Lietzmann, n. 1, 20.

<sup>44</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985 C).—Lebrun, I, 369, note a, mentions among others, a Cistercian Missal of 1512, in which the insertion is still missing. The omission of this insertion was a common peculiarity of the Cistercian rite until 1618; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 9 f.

<sup>45</sup> V. Thalhofer, *Handbuch d. kath. Liturgik*, II (Freiburg, 1890), 204, and with him Ebner, 404, would consider the gradual cessation of the oblation on the part of the faithful as the main reason for the interpolation mentioned above, but without justification. The oblation was still in full force at this time. Cf. above.

<sup>46</sup> Only in exceptional cases did anyone go so far as to eliminate the words *qui tibi offerunt*. They are erased in an 11th century Sacramentary of Salzburg (Ebner, 278). The words were left out at first in

the St. Gall MS. 340 (10-11th cent.) and not supplied until later; Ebner, 404 f. Ebner, 128, mentions also the famous Padua MS. D. 47, but this is a mistake; cf. Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 877. The traditional *vel* does not necessarily denote a reduction of the *qui tibi offerunt* to a mere outside possibility since at that time it was used in the sense of *et*; cf. H. Ménard, PL, 78, 275 D. The primitive idea is also given a strong prominence in the formula as expanded by Peter Damien, *Opusc. “Dominus vobiscum,”* c. 8 (PL, 145, 237 f): *In quibus verbis patenter ostenditur, quod a cunctis fidelibus, non solum viris, sed et mulieribus sacrificium illud laudis offertur, licet ab uno specialiter offerri sacerdote videatur: quia quod ille Deo offerendo manibus tractat, hoc multitudo fidelium intenta mentium devotione commendat.*

<sup>47</sup> Here there is clearly an allusion to Ps. 48; 8 f.: *non dabit Deo . . . pretium redemptionis animæ suæ*, i.e., no one can ransom his soul from death. Cf. Mt. 16: 26; Mk. 8; 37. The supposition is, therefore, that the soul is in danger, but by a

to make such a purchase, and yet this will surely do. They want to redeem their souls, that is they want to gain the welfare and health that they as Christians may dare to hope for—as the clarifying clause puts it—*pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ*. In this phrase the word *salus* can be taken for the salvation of the soul, as Christian usage employs the word, while *incolumitas* at least includes the notion of bodily health and security.<sup>48</sup>

The *Memento* closes with the words *tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero*, thus tacking a second phrase to the words *qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*. One might possibly expect to find in this a continuation of the thought, but this is rather hard to establish. Although *vota* can have other meanings, *reddere vota* is without doubt either the dutiful gift of something commended to God (as is the case in many passages in the Latin rendering of the Old Testament), or it is, as here, simply the giving of a gift to God, taking into account a previous obligation; it is the offering up of a sacrifice, but with a sharp underscoring of the thought inherent in every sacrifice, that the work is one that is due.<sup>49</sup>

In the clause doubled in this way we have a clear imitation of Psalm 49:14: *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua*. The only addition is the solemn invocation of God's name, likewise formed on a scriptural quotation,<sup>50</sup> and emphasized by prefacing the word *æterno*. It dawns on one's consciousness that in the sacrifice one is face to face with the eternal, living, true God.

All in all, however there seems to be something very curious in the twin phrase in this passage, for the poetic parallelism of the two members, as it is found in the quotation from the Psalm, is not to be found here. We are tempted to conclude that the detailed description of the sacrifice of the faithful as outlined here was inserted only belatedly, and that the original text ran as follows: *Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis et tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero*. This conclusion is corroborated by the Mozarabic citation from the Roman canon already referred to.<sup>51</sup> But how is it possible that the first member should have been supplemented as we find it today,

bold twisting of our Lord's words, like those used for the Canaanite woman, (Matt. 15: 27), the great *sacrificium laudis* is set in opposition to that danger; cf. Ambrose, *De Elia et jej.*, c. 22 (PL, 32, 2, 463 f.): in baptism the *redemptio animæ* is granted us. It is therefore hard to justify interpreting the word as an indication of the material performance, as we often find in medieval charters, and as Gehr, 645-646, tries to render it.

<sup>48</sup> Proofs from ecclesiastical language for both meanings of *incolumitas* in Batiffol,

*Leçons*, 246 f. Nor will it do to try to narrow down the meaning of *salus*; the same double expression sometimes has a simple temporal meaning, as in the *Hanc igitur* of the Gelasianum, I, 40 (Wilson, 70): *ut per multa curricula annorum salvi et incolumes munera . . . mereantur offerre*.

<sup>49</sup> For *votum* = sacrifice, cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 247.

<sup>50</sup> I Thess. 1: 9. The expression here is explained by its antithesis to the dead gods, from whom the faithful turned away.

<sup>51</sup> *Supra* I, 55, n. 20.

while the second member, widely separated from it, should have remained unaltered?

This first surprise is joined by a second. In all the oldest texts of the Roman canon, without exception, the suffix—*que* is missing at the beginning of the second member; invariably it reads: . . . *incolumitatis suæ tibi reddunt vota sua . . .*<sup>52</sup> Grammatical carelessness of this type, copied century after century, must indeed be serious cause for wonder, particularly in a text of the Roman canon which, taken all in all, is otherwise smooth.

Both problems are solved at one blow if we put a period after the words *incolumitatis suæ*, and then begin with a new sentence: *Tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero communicantes . . .*<sup>53</sup> that is to say, these words take up the *tibi offerunt sacrificium laudis* with a different wording in order to append to it the idea of the grand Communion.<sup>54</sup> Thus, communion with the saints was originally claimed principally for the faithful, just as the offering of the sacrifice was, but then, influenced by the different atmosphere of the Frankish church, both claims were at the same time not indeed voided but at least obscured, not, however, to such an extent that even at the present the ancient thought should not be offered as the most natural interpretation of the text. In other words, we feel justified in considering and explaining the phrase *tibi reddunt*, etc., as a part of the *Communicantes* text.

<sup>52</sup> Botte, *Le canon*, 34. Of the 19 pertinent texts that begin about 700 there is but a single one, according to Botte, that presents *tibique* at first hand; it is the one in the *Cod. Pad.* D 47, written during the time of King Lothar I (d. 855) in the neighborhood of Liège. But, as the printed edition of this MS. shows (Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt*, n. 877), the *-que* here too is in reality an addition by a second hand. The *-que* is still missing in the *Cod. Eligii* (10th cent., PL, 78, 26 B) and also in the Sacramentary of the Papal court chapel about 1290; Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 204. Ebner, 405, refers to this peculiarity, but without attempting an explanation.

<sup>53</sup> The old MSS., as is known, have either no punctuation at all, or very little, and seemingly, as a rule, no paragraphs (sections) within the canon. The latter is also the case in the *Cod. S. Gall*, 348 (ed.

Mohlberg, n. 1551), but it does make use of red initial letters in three places within the *Communicantes*; the word *communicantes* itself, however, is connected with the preceding without any such distinguishing mark (n. 1552). Unambiguous, too, as Botte, 55, also notes, is the uninterrupted union of *Deo vivo et vero communicantes* in two of the most important texts of the Roman Canon; in the Bobbio missal, ed. Lowe, I (HBS, 58), n. 11, see Facsimile (HBS, 31), fol. 25. Cf. moreover, a like construction in a *Hanc igitur* formula of the Gelasianum, III, 37 (Wilson, 254); *pro hoc reddo tibi vota mea Deo vero et vivo maiestatem tuam suppliciter implorans*.

<sup>54</sup> Grammatically independent sentences begin within the canon also in other places: in the two *Mementos*, in the *Supplices*, and in the *Nobis quoque*.

## 9. *Communicantes*

The *Communicantes* that follows is not, as it now stands, a grammatically complete sentence. The first question therefore regarding it naturally is: what is it connected with? Other links have been pro- pounded,<sup>1</sup> but the one that appears most natural is that suggested to us by the text just studied, a proposal that was already made years ago.<sup>2</sup> Just as by origin the *Communicantes* is a continuation of the *Memento*, so also its content is a reinforcement of the plea in that *Memento*: Remember all of them, for the congregation which now stands before Thee with its sacrifice does not stand solitary, since it belongs to the great nation of the redeemed, whose foremost ranks have already entered into Thy glory. Once again is made manifest that bond with the Church Tri- umphant which had already been vividly recalled in a different way by the singing of the *Sanctus*.

The emphasis here is on the word *communicantes*, on the comradeship with the saints whose names are about to be mentioned.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, however we become aware of the distance that separates us and so, by the subsequent words, *et memoriam venerantes*, this comradeship is altered into a look of awe and respect.<sup>4</sup> It is this second phrase that governs the following grammatical construction, which would otherwise have run as follows: *communicantes in primis cum*. But this in no way weakens

<sup>1</sup> Juncture with a verb of the *Te igitur*, either *supplices rogamus ac petimus* (Batiffol, *Leçons*, 248) or *in primis quæ tibi offerimus*, or (an evidently impossible solution) with the naming of the Pope *cum famulo tuo papa nostro illo communicantes* (Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, I, 274-277). Against all of these solutions it must be noted that the *Communicantes* was never immediately connected with the *Te igitur*, because it is later than the *Memento*; cf. *supra*, I, 54 f. Others abandon the idea of a grammatical relation with anything preceding and complete the word with *sumus* or *offerimus* or *offerunt* (thus, among others Brinktrine, 180; 218) or explain the *communicantes et memoriam venerantes* as equivalent to *communicamus et memoriam veneramur* (thus Fortescue, *The Mass*, 332). But in both these cases the result is an unnatural isolation of the prayer and the ideas it contains.

<sup>2</sup> This was already advocated by Suarez, *De Sacramentis*, I, 83, 2, 7, *Opp.*, ed. Ber- ton, 21, 874) . . . *ita ut sensus sit: Tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero communicantes, vel inter se tamquam*

*corporis tui vel cum sanctis tuis . . .*

<sup>3</sup> The assumption that *communicare* here is meant in the absolute canonico-legal sense (= *c. ecclesie catholicæ*), "to have a place in the (ecclesiastical) community" (cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 248, with reference to Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 18 and Optatus, VII, 3, 6), is hard to justify in the setting this prayer has. It would be more plausible to think directly of the Church as *communio sanctorum* in this way; they present Thee their gifts as members of the holy community and, inasmuch as they honor the memory . . . Cf. Gihl, 649. At all events, we shall have to accord some mean- ing to the word in those cases in the feast- day formulas where the connection with what follows is interrupted: *Communi- cantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes . . . et memoriam venerantes*; cf. Botte, 55 f.; cf. below.

<sup>4</sup> The fuller meaning of *memoria*: memo- rial monument, (martyr's) grave, that has been suggested, is out of the question in this connection. Cf. Botte, 56 f.; also Th. Klauser, *JL*, 15 (1914), 464.

the basic idea of stressing the communion. We have already seen<sup>5</sup> how in the oriental liturgies the reading of the diptychs was correlated since the fifth century with the concept of ecclesiastical communion, and how this thought was logically developed into a consciousness of communion with the saints in heaven. But communion is not mentioned in a direct form; the mention of those who "from the beginning have been pleasing to God" is simply appended to the listing of other names or groups of those who have departed from the earthly congregation. Often the same formula is used to frame both the sections.<sup>6</sup> "We offer up this sacrifice also for . . ." or ". . . in pious memory of,"<sup>7</sup> or "Remember also . . .," "Deign to remember . . ." In fact at one stage, when theological thinking was less clarified, we even find the formal petition that God may give them "peace" applied also to the saints.<sup>10</sup>

But in all these instances the main stress is laid on emphasizing the communion. Thus, too, the *memoriam venerantes* is to be construed.<sup>11</sup> That we are correct in drawing on the oriental diptych practice to illus- trate this portion of the ecclesiastical prayer is confirmed not only by the fact that the *Communicantes* must have been introduced into the canon about the same time that this practice was in full flower in the East, when Roman popes were corresponding with the Orient regarding questions of the diptychs,<sup>12</sup> but even more immediately by the wording of the *Communicantes* itself, wherein a model from the area of the Syrian liturgy was evidently of some influence. The formula with which the list of saints begins: *in primis gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, has a counterpart—to mention but one—in the Antiochene anaphora of St. James: ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.<sup>13</sup> For the

<sup>5</sup> Page 159.

<sup>6</sup> However, as a rule, in such manner that the Saints are clearly distinct from other deceased persons. It is only in the East Syrian anaphoras that we find an excep- tion. Hanssens, III, 471 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Const. Ap.* VIII, 12, 43 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 225 f.): "Ἐτι προσφέρομεν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάν- των τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων . . ." (cf. also Quasten's notes). Similarly also in today's Byzantine liturgy of St. Chrysostom; Brightman, 387 f. Cf. also the East Syrian fragment from the 6th century; *ibid.*, 516, 1. 21 ff [The *Missale Romanum* also speaks on June 15 of *munera pro sanctis oblata*. In regard to the indefinite meaning of ὑπέρ, *pro*, "for" as here used, see Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 234-238.

<sup>8</sup> East Syrian anaphora of Theodorus: Renaudot, II, (1847), 614.

<sup>9</sup> Anaphora of St. James: Brightman, 56, 1. 20. "Ἐτι μνησθῆναι καταξίωσον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων; cf. *ibid.*, 57, 1. 13; 92 f. Similar formulas also in the Armenian lit- urgy (Brightman, 440, 1. 13), in Egypt (Brightman, 128, 1. 23; 169, 1. 7), and also among the East Syrians; Brightman, 440, 1. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Armenian liturgy; Brightman, 440, 1. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also the Mozarabic *facientes com- memorationem*, *supra*, p. 162.

<sup>12</sup> Leo the Great, *Ep.*, 80, 3; 85, 2 (PL, 54, 914 f., 923 f.); John II of Constantinople to Hormisdas (d. 523) (CSEL, 35, 592).

<sup>13</sup> Brightman, 56. In addition the word ἐνδξουίς inserted in the Byzantine formulas of the present; Brightman, 388. Further parallels in Kennedy, *The Saints*, 36. In

closing formula: *et omnium sanctorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio*, there is likewise a corresponding phrase in the same anaphora of St. James<sup>14</sup> and an even more faithful trace in the Byzantine liturgy: *καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὧν ταῖς ἰκεσίαις ἐπίσκειψαι ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός*.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, for all the insistence on the concept of communion, the beginning and the end in both instances present a slight anomaly. For the one singled out to head the list of saints is one who had the incomparable dignity of being Mother of God and ever virgin. And at the end of the list the relation we bear to the saints in general is indicated with greater exactness by the humble prayer that their intercession might avail us. By such clarifying phrases the ancient formula, accidentally left unchanged, the formula of an offering “for” all of them, was rectified along the lines of the principle already expounded by St. Augustine for the naming of the saints *ad altare Dei*, namely: *Iniuria est enim pro martyre orare, cuius nos debemus orationibus commendari*.<sup>16</sup>

The list of names in the present-day Roman canon here consists of two well-balanced groups of twelve names, twelve apostles and twelve martyrs, led by the Queen of all saints; similarly, the second list in the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* comprises twin groups of that other sacred number, the number seven: seven male martyrs and seven female, led by him whom the Lord himself had termed the greatest of those born of woman (Matthew 11:11). Thus a double choir of saints is arrayed, much in the same way as Christian art had sought to represent it.<sup>17</sup> The venerable antiquity of the lists is clearly manifested by the fact that, besides the biblical names, only those saints are included who were honored at Rome as martyrs; the cult of confessors, whose beginnings are surely to be found in the fourth century, has not yet left a mark here. The honor of being mentioned in the Great Prayer of the sacrifice is reserved to those heroes of the faith who had faced the struggle of suffering along with Christ.

Upon closer scrutiny the *Communicantes* list reveals a well-planned arrangement. The twelve martyrs are aligned in hierarchical order. First come six bishops, five of them popes, and then a non-Roman, Cyprian,

this and also in the Byzantine liturgy, as compared with the sober and retiring Roman, the memory of the Mother of God is given striking emphasis not only by highly ornate, not to say showy formulas, but by other devices also. In the anaphora of St. James an *Ave Maria*, combining Luke 1: 28; 42 as we know it, is inserted by the priest immediately before this phrase. In the Byzantine liturgy, after the priest has in a loud tone of voice commemorated the Mother of God, while incensing the

altar, the choir intones a special hymn of Mary, one in conformity with the season of the year: the *μεγαλυνάριον*, so called because of the word *μεγαλύνει* (Magnificat) that occurs in it; Brightman, 388; 600.

<sup>14</sup> Brightman, 48; cf. 94.

<sup>15</sup> Brightman, 331 f, 388, 406 f.; Kennedy, 37 f.

<sup>16</sup> Augustine, *Sermo* 159, 1 (PL, 38, 868); cf. *In Joh. tract.*, 84, 1 (PL, 35, 1847).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Raffaele's "Disputa."

contemporary of St. Cornelius (who is therefore the only one taken out of chronological order so as to be set side by side with Cyprian). Among the other six martyrs, the first two are clerics. Lawrence and Chrysogonus;<sup>18</sup> then follow the laymen, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian. Clearly we have here the work of a systematic hand. In the sacred precincts of the Great Prayer, so to say, a properly chosen representation from the choirs of martyrs ought to appear. This is the one conception that we can make our own even at the present; the one thought that can reconcile us with the catalogue of saints in the canon, in spite of its weaknesses, even though two thousand years of Church history and the extension of the horizon beyond that of a city-liturgy into a world-liturgy has presented us with numberless other names to choose from. To this double series of twelve names from the early ages of Christianity and from the life of the Roman Mother-Church we are pleased to grant the privilege to be named at the altar as representatives of the Church Triumphant.

It is obvious, no doubt, that the list of saints in the *Communicantes*—and something similar must be said later about the second list—is not a first draft. In some oriental anaphoras the list of saints named in the prayer of intercession has been kept at a minimum.<sup>19</sup> In the Roman canon as it was when transferred to Milan, perhaps in the sixth century, some names found in our present-day list are missing, namely, those of Popes Linus and Cletus, and the names included are not yet presented in the nice order they now possess.<sup>20</sup>

The original list must have comprised those saints who enjoyed a special cult at Rome at the time of the introduction of the *Communicantes*. Around the turn of the fifth century these were: Mary, Peter and Paul, Xystus and Lawrence, Cornelius and Cyprian.<sup>21</sup> Soon after the Council of Ephesus devotion to the Blessed Virgin in the Eternal City had acquired

<sup>18</sup> At any rate, Chrysogonus is always described as a cleric in the legend; J. P. Kirsch, "Chrysogonus"; *LThK*, II, 949 f.

<sup>19</sup> Baumstark, *Das Communicantes*, 11 ff. The formula of the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 12, 43 (see note 7 above) did not present any names at all.

<sup>20</sup> The Ambrosian Mass has the following list after the twelve Apostles: *Xysti, Laurentii, Hippolyti, Vincentii, Cornelii, Cypriani, Clementis, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiani*, and then follows a lengthy list of Milanese names. The basis for this order of names seems to be the succession in the development of the veneration of the martyrs at Rome, whose beginnings are somewhere in the 3rd century. F. Savio, *I dittici del Canone Ambro-*

*siano e del Canone Romano* (special printing of the *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, III, 11; Turin, 1905), 4 f.; Kennedy, 60-64; 191. Kennedy, 195 f., assumes that Hippolytus and Vincent were named in individual Roman churches, but not in the papal liturgy. Likewise the two last named must have been taken over from Rome as an afterthought.

<sup>21</sup> Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (1938), 189 ff. The following presentation is based essentially on Kennedy's fundamental research. Akin to these are the assertion of Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, (2nd ed.; Berlin, 1927), 82-93, who considers the list of saints together with their sequence to have been taken over from the Roman calendar of

a magnificent center through the consecration of the renovated Liberian basilica in her honor, S. Maria Maggiore, under Sixtus III (432-440). The development of the cultus of the Princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, is attested not only by the most ancient sacramentaries with their Mass formularies for their feasts, but above all by the graves of the apostles, which had acquired beautiful buildings already in Constantine's time. Pope Xystus (or, as his name was later spelled, Sixtus), the second of that name, was seized in the cemetery of Callistus in 258, during the persecution of Valerian, and summarily executed. He was followed in martyrdom a few days later by his deacon, Lawrence. The memorial days for both of them, which were celebrated yearly on the sixth and tenth of August, belong to the oldest Martyr feasts of Rome. Pope Cornelius, of an old Roman family, died in exile after a short reign (251-253); his remains were shortly after returned to Rome. His grave is the first of the papal tombs to bear a Latin inscription: *Cornelius Martyr ep.* Bishop Cyprian of Carthage, who had corresponded with Cornelius, was one of the great figures of the third Christian century; he suffered martyrdom a few years later (258). His memorial day was celebrated at Rome already in the fourth century, and the oldest sacramentaries present Cornelius and Cyprian together on the fourteenth of September.<sup>22</sup>

The twelve apostles as a group were venerated at Rome as early as the fifth century.<sup>23</sup> Still the full listing of their names cannot have been included in the canon till later. For this list displays a very curious dissimilarity to both the biblical list and to all other known catalogues. It is closest to that in Matthew 10:2-4, but is distinguished from it (aside from the insertion of St. Paul and the reversal of the last two names, as found likewise in Luke and the Acts of the Apostles) by the fact that the sons of Zebedee are followed at once by Thomas, James and Philip, of whom the last two take the ninth and the fifth place in all the biblical catalogues. A special cult of the Apostle Thomas is attested since the days of Pope Symmachus (498-514), who had erected an *oratorium Sancti Thomæ*. A similar *cultus* for Philip and James is found since the time of Pelagius I and John III (556-574), when the great Basilica of the Apostles was built in their honor.<sup>24</sup> Of the preceding names in the list, the apostles John and Andrew had their sanctuaries in Rome already in the fifth century. James the Greater appears originally to have been celebrated at Rome along with his brother John on the feast of December 27, for which

saints in the 4-5th century. This assumption (contra Kennedy, 195, n. 3) is also held by H. Frank, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Messkanons," *Archiv f. Liturgiewiss.*, I (1950), 111 f.

<sup>22</sup> More detailed accounts in E. Hosp, *Die Heiligen im Canon Missæ* (Graz, 1926). —See also P. Van Doren, "Les saints du

canon de la messe," *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, 16 (1931), 57-70; C. L. Russmann, "Die Heiligen des Meszopfer Kanons," *Theol.-prakt. Quartalschrift*, 101 (1953), 1-15; 101-113.

<sup>23</sup> Kennedy, 109 f.

<sup>24</sup> Kennedy, 102-111.

there is evidence a bit later.<sup>25</sup> But evidence for a *cultus* of the other apostles that follow is wanting. So it is probable that the list of apostles in the canon consisted at first of the names of Peter, Paul, Andrew, (James?) and John, and that in the course of the sixth century Thomas, James and Philip were added, and finally the remainder, until the number twelve was filled out.<sup>26</sup> Something like that must also have occurred in the list of martyrs.

In the course of the same century there was an increase of devotion to Pope Clement, who was being glorified by an extensive literature; to Chrysogonus, the martyr whose history is interwoven with legend and who was identified with a like-named founder of one of the Roman titular churches;<sup>27</sup> for John and Paul, whom one legend assumed to have been Roman martyrs of the time of Julian the Apostate; for the two physicians and martyrs so highly venerated in the Orient, Cosmas and Damian, who were invoked as liberal helpers in cases of sickness. Thus the list must have grown during the sixth century more or less of itself. The redactor who put the list in the order we have today, to fill out the number twelve for the martyrs as for the apostles must have inserted the two first successors of St. Peter, Linus and Cletus, who are otherwise seldom mentioned.<sup>28</sup> This redactor, whose work must have been done about the turn of the sixth century, can have been no other than Pope Gregory the Great. Due to the circumstance that the Roman Church in the period of the persecutions, unlike the Church in North Africa, kept no acts of the Martyrs, and so gave ample play for the development of legend, there is considerable doubt about the last five names in the series of martyrs, so that from the viewpoint of historical truth little more can be established than the names.<sup>29</sup>

In the centuries following there was no feeling that the list as found in the Roman canon was closed once and for all. While keeping the twice twelve saints, there was nothing to hinder the addition of names of other prominent figures, in keeping with the altering features of ecclesiastical life. Thus the oldest Frankish manuscripts tack on not only the two great saints of Gaul, Hilary and Martin, but also the Doctors of the Church then already in high honor: (Ambrose), Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, along with the father of Western monasticism, Benedict.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom.*, 140, with n. 2; Baumstark, *Das Communicantes*, 23.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Kennedy, 105, 110 f. (without St. James).

<sup>27</sup> Behind the legend the martyr-bishop Chrysogonus of Aquileja (beginning of the 3d cent.) appears to loom as the historic figure. J. P. Kirsch, *Die römischen Titulkirchen im Altertum*, (Paderborn, 1918), 108-113; Kennedy, 128-130; H. Delehaye,

*Etudes sur le légendier Romain* (Brussels, 1938), 151-162.

<sup>28</sup> Kennedy, 111-117; 128-140.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the presentation in Hosp, 110 ff., 222 ff., 38 ff., and Kennedy, 128-140. The judgment regarding these names was substantially less skeptical a few decades ago than it is today after the important work by H. Delehaye, P. Franchi de' Cavalieri and others.

<sup>30</sup> Botte, 34. Ambrose appears in only two

Sometimes additions were made of regional saints or of patrons of the particular diocese or church. Thus, in the environs of Fulda, Boniface was attached to the list of martyrs.<sup>31</sup> The names thus added in many manuscripts have become important indexes in establishing their provenience. Often enough the number of additional names became unbearably long; thus in one eleventh-century manuscript of Rouen twenty-three names are annexed.<sup>32</sup>

One expedient for satisfying local requirements without lengthening the list unduly was intimated by Pope Gregory III (731-741) when he prescribed for the monks of an oratory of St. Peter's endowed with a wealth of relics an addition to the *Communicantes* as follows: *sed et diem natalitium celebrantes sanctorum tuorum martyrum ac confessorum, perfectorum iustorum, quorum sollemnitas hodie in conspectu gloriæ tuæ celebratur, quorum meritis precibusque . . .*<sup>33</sup> As a matter of fact, this or a similar additament is found in numerous medieval Mass books, mostly (it is true) as a further enrichment of the already longish formula, especially as a means of including the special saints of the day.<sup>34</sup> But in the meantime there arose a determined opposition to the unnatural distension of the *Communicantes* formula,<sup>35</sup> until at last all such accretions disappeared altogether.<sup>36</sup>

A different type of addition, however, has continued down to our own day, the most ancient addition to the *Communicantes* that we know of, namely the announcement of the day's mystery on Christmas, Epiphany, Maundy Thursday, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. The addition on

of the MSS. recorded by Botte.—These names recur in numerous MSS. until late in the Middle Ages; Ebner, 407 f.

<sup>31</sup> Ebner, 408. Cf. Martène, 1, 4, 8, 16 (I, 407 f.).

<sup>32</sup> Ebner, 409. Cf. the compilation from the French MSS. in Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, III, 353.

<sup>33</sup> Duchesne, *Liber Pont.*, I, 422. Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 950 A), cites these words with the amplification: . . . *celebratur, Domine Deus noster, toto in orbe terrarum*. The formula in the Mass books of the later Middle Ages frequently reads: *quorum hodie in conspectu tuo celebratur triumphus*, or something similar; see Ferreres, p. 150-152. On the other hand, the Bobbio Missal (Muratori, II, 777; Lowe, I [HBS, 58], n. 11) adds to the original text, after the *omnium sanctorum tuorum*, the following: *qui per universo mundo passi sunt propter nomen tuum, Domine, seu confes-*

*soribus tuis.*

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Ordo Rom.* IV (PL, 78, 1380 B): (after *Cosmæ et Damiani*) *si fuerit natale sanctorum, hic dicat: Sed et diem natalitii beati ill. vel beatorum ill. celebrantes et omnium sanctorum*. Ebner, 409 f.

<sup>35</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985 f.): *Aliorum vero sanctorum nomina [except the names at the Memento] annumerare non debemus, nisi quos in canone invenimus antiquitus descriptos*. But it is to be noted that Bernold then makes the restriction: *excepto post Pater noster in illa oratione ubi juxta ordinem quorumlibet sanctorum nomina internumerare possumus*. The addition of names in the canon is bitterly attacked in a Stuttgart MS. that originated in 1435; Franz, 612.

<sup>36</sup> Still, Hilary and Martin retained their places until the present time in French dioceses; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 180, n. 2.

these six days is provided consistently in the old sacramentaries.<sup>37</sup> Besides, the pre-Gregorian sacramentaries have an extra formula for the vigil of Pentecost,<sup>38</sup> and the *Leonianum* has a further formula for two of the days mentioned that differs from the one in use at present.<sup>39</sup> These additions were therefore in existence by the middle of the sixth century. It was just about this time that they appear to be cited in a message addressed to Bishop Profuturus of Braga by Pope Vigilius, in which the pontiff stresses the fact that the Roman eucharistic prayer is otherwise unchangeable.<sup>40</sup>

But in spite of their venerable age, and in spite of the masterly commentary on the festal mystery which they supply, we are unable to account these formulas as organic continuations of the text of the canon. They jumble still further the word *communicantes* (already disjointed by the words *memoriam venerantes* and formed into a sort of anacoluthon), and separate it entirely from the names of the saints to which it naturally belongs. Viewed in their relationships to other forms, these inserts are of a piece with the prefaces of the *Leonianum*, which, after becoming a plaything for composers of novelties, departed consciously or unconsciously from the basic concept of the eucharistic prayer and therefore earnestly invited reform.<sup>41</sup> If these festal inserts in the *Communicantes* escaped such

<sup>37</sup> *Gregorianum*, ed. Lietzmann, n. 6, 4; 17, 4; 77, 3; 88, 4; (87, 4); 108, 4; 112, 4; (111, 4).—The same formulas in the Gelasian Sacramentaries. Noteworthy variations are present only at Epiphany and the Ascension; in the former: *quo Unigenitus tuus . . . natus Magis de longinquo venientibus visibilis et corporalis apparuit*; Vat. Reg., I, 12 (Wilson, 11 f.); S. Gall. (Mohlberg, n. 99). On the feast of the Ascension the remarkably antique mode of expression: . . . *unitum sibi hominem nostræ substantiæ in gloriæ tuæ dextera collocavit*; Vat. Reg., I, 63 (Wilson, 107) and also in the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 316).

<sup>38</sup> *Communicantes et diem ss. Pentecostes prævenientes, quo Spiritus Sanctus apostolorum plebemque credentium præsentia suæ maiestatis implevit, sed et*; Vat. Reg., I, (Wilson, 120); S. Gall. (Mohlberg, n. 803); *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 318).

<sup>39</sup> Namely, a second formula on the feast of the Ascension (Muratori, I, 314) and a divergent one for Pentecost (*ibid.*, I, 321). The *Leonianum*, which starts only after Easter, naturally has only the four formulas mentioned.

<sup>40</sup> PL, 69, 18: *Ordinem quoque precum in celebritate missarum nullo nos tempore,*

*nulla festivitate significamus habere diversum, sed semper eodem tenore oblata Deo munera consecrare. Quoties vero Paschalis aut Ascensionis Domini vel Pentecostes et Epiphaniæ sanctorumque Dei fuerit agenda festivitas, singula capitula diebus apta subiungimus, quibus commemorationem sanctæ sollemnitatis aut eorum facimus, quorum natalitia celebramus; cetera vero ordine consueto prosequimur. Quapropter et ipsius canonice precis textum direximus subter adiectum, quem Deo propitio ex apostolica traditione suscepimus. Et ut caritas tua cognoscat, quibus locis aliqua festivitatis apta connectet, paschalis diei preces similiter adiecimus.* It is impossible, however, that the *capitula diebus apta* meant exclusively our *Communicantes* formulas, or the other insertions in the canon; rather the preface, too, must be included, since it forms a complete unit with the canon. For, what Vigilius has to say about the consideration given to the feasts of saints within the limits of the eucharistic prayer was true even at that time only of the preface, as the *Leonianum* clearly shows.

<sup>41</sup> P. Borella, "S. Leone Magno e il Communicantes," *Eph. liturg.*, 60 (1946), 93-

reform, it is probably because they go back in substance to the very basic concept of all eucharistic solemnity and also, perhaps, because we have grown accustomed to giving the word *communicantes* a broader meaning, so that the line of thought on these days might be paraphrased somewhat in this fashion.

They render Thee their gifts as members of the sacred congregation, in remembrance of the mystery of redemption which we recall this day, and in respectful regard for these saints. The insert would thus have become a sort of anamnesis.

In reference to these inserts, the words *Infra actionem* have been left in the Roman Missal within the canon, just before the *Communicantes*, the same words which, in accord with their strict meaning, are to be found as a heading above the text of the insert formula where this is usually located, namely, after the prefaces. These words signify that the text is to be inserted "within the action." This title, *Infra actionem*, derives from the Gelasian Sacramentaries, where it generally stands just before the *Communicantes* formulas to be inserted, and also before the *Hanc igitur* formulas. Many of the manuscripts of this group of sacramentaries likewise disclose a special caption just before the *Sursum corda*, namely: *Incipit canon actionis*.<sup>42</sup>

The *Communicantes* brings to a close the first section of the intercessory prayer. Externally this is manifested by the concluding formula, *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*, which thus appears for the first time in the canon. Our intercessory prayers and commendations, like all our prayers, should be offered up only "through Christ our Lord." This it is we are conscious of in this preliminary conclusion of our pleading. The same *Per Christum Dominum nostrum* then reappears after the *Hanc igitur*, after the *Supplices*, after the *Memento etiam* and after the *Nobis quoque*.<sup>43</sup> Like a sign-post marking the line of our prayer, the formula is found today after successive stages all through the canon. While in all these places the formula is part and parcel of the oldest canon text to come down to us (although, it is true, only in the train of a secondary augmentation of this text), its first appearance is in the preface: . . . *gratias agere per Christum Dominum nostrum*. Here it strikes no definitely conclusive note, but rather, like the close of the *Nobis quoque*, it is at once expanded by means of a rela-

101, attempts to prove that the set formula and the feast-day insertions must have originated with Leo the Great. Similarly C. Callewaert, "S. Leon le Communicantes et le Nobis quoque peccatoribus," *Sacris erudiri*, I (1948), 123-164. The Leonine derivation of at least three of the insert formulas is acknowledged by H. Frank, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Messkanons," *Archiv f. Liturgiewiss.*, I (1950), 114-119. Therefore the normal text, *Com-*

*municantes et memoriam venerantes*, must have been regarded even then as strictly formal.

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 103.

<sup>43</sup> Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1258), wanted even the first prayer of the canon after *fidei cultoribus* concluded with the *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*. But he seems to have had little success in his attempt, and rightly so; cf. above, p. 159.

tive clause. In the remaining four passages, where this expansion is omitted, the post-Carolingian Middle Ages seemed more and more to expect that the *Per Christum Dominum nostrum* must be followed by an *Amen*. In the manuscripts this *Amen* appears for the first time in the ninth century,<sup>44</sup> and after that with ever-increasing frequency, till by the twelfth century its insertion in all these passages became the prevailing rule, although even at the close of the Middle Ages there were some outstanding exceptions.<sup>45</sup> Since the *Amen* at the close of the canon—the only place where of old it was spoken by all the people—had lost its uniqueness, it became merely an indispensable sign of the end of the prayer and thus had to be added to the Christological formula.

Later on, in the neo-Gallican movement, this *Amen* which had passed into the Missal of Pius V played a new role. In some dioceses the faithful had to recite it in a loud voice.<sup>46</sup> It was thought that doing so revived a custom of the ancient Church.

## 10. *Hanc igitur*

By the closing formula *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*, the *Hanc igitur* also labels itself as an independent prayer that did not belong to the original draft of the canon but was inserted only later on. The meaning of the words appears, at first sight, obvious and unequivocal, leaving little to be explained. The only problem that seems to require further elucidation is why this prayer, in its present form, should have been inserted just here. Is the prayer nothing more than a plea for the acceptance of the sacrificial gifts, as it is captioned in some translations?<sup>1</sup> But such a plea has already been made and is here simply repeated in different words. One would scarcely have inserted an independent prayer just for this purpose. Or maybe the stress is on the contents of the petitions appended? But then why are these petitions included precisely in this place? It is around this prayer that the various theories regarding the canon have been de-

<sup>44</sup> Sacramentary of S. Thierry; Leroquais, I, 22.

<sup>45</sup> P. Salmon, "Les 'Amen' du canon de la messe," *Eph. liturg.*, 42 (1928), 496-506. *Ibid.*, 501, n. 4, the author mentions the printed missals of the 1518 and 1523 in which no *Amen* was interpolated.—G. Ellard, "Interpolated Amen's in the Canon of the Mass," *Theological Studies*, 6 (1945), 380-391. According to this there are traces of the *Amen* in the 13th century even in Rome (386 ff.). The medieval commentators who expressed themselves as opposed to the interpolation, alleged as a

reason that the angels here spoke the *Amen*. Thus, also, though along with other attempts for a reasonable explanation, Durandus, IV, 38, 7; 46, 8. In individual instances the *Amen* was added also at the end of the *Nobis quoque*. Salmon, 499; 501.—Cf. also Sölch, *Hugo*, 91-93.

<sup>46</sup> Salmon, 503-505. Cf. above.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Schott, *Das Messbuch der heiligen Kirche*, (37th ed.; Freiburg, 1934), 403. Likewise Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 27.

veloped, and a summary consideration has forced the conclusion that in this prayer we have “perhaps the most difficult prayer in the Mass.”<sup>2</sup>

As regards its history, it is known, first of all, that the *Hanc igitur* (which all textual evidence shows to have belonged to the traditional wording of the Roman canon) did not acquire its present-day form before Gregory the Great, who (as the *Liber pontificalis* recounts) added the last words.<sup>3</sup> Even the earlier form of the prayer is not merely a matter of hypothesis. True, it is nowhere found, as we might be led to expect from this account, in a form which merely omits the Gregorian addition: *Hanc igitur oblationem . . . quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias*. But in the pre-Gregorian sacramentaries there are certainly a considerable number of formulas in which these or similar initial words are connected to a lengthy complementary clause and fitted to the respective Mass-formularies in much the same way as the present-day basic formula is provided with special supplements for certain occasions like Holy Saturday, Easter, Pentecost, and the consecration of a bishop. Incidentally we thus discover that the account in the *Liber pontificalis* is not quite exact, since the additional phrase of Gregory proves to be not entirely new, and, on the other hand, in the most ancient texts the preceding initial phrases do not recur at all with the same wording, so that here, too, a crystallizing process must have occurred.<sup>4</sup> Thus the *Hanc igitur* in the *Leonianum* for (Easter and) Pentecost reads as follows:

*Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro his quos ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto regenerare dignatus es, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quæsumus, placatus accipias eorumque nomina adscribi iubeas in libro viventium. Per.*<sup>5</sup>

In general, the formula shows great variability, both in the subordinate clause and in the main clause. Only the first few words, *Hanc igitur oblationem*, commonly remain unaltered. But in most cases the oblation was in some way more exactly defined in the subordinate clause, the determination having in view those who offer it up. As a rule, it was defined as an oblation which “we” offer up for someone; but it was also described as the oblatio of one person which we, in turn, offer up for a second

<sup>2</sup>Fortescue, *The Mass*, 333.

<sup>3</sup>Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 312: *Hic augmentavit in prædicationem canonis; disesque nostros in tua pace dispone, et cetera*. The same account in Beda, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 1 (PL, 95, 80).

<sup>4</sup>In the older examples, as a rule, the qualification in the introductory words is missing: *servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ*. The continuation *quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias* is found only in a part of the old texts. There is at least a

kinship between the Gregorian phrase and the clause in the *Hanc igitur* in the *Leonianum* for the anniversary of the bishop's consecration (Muratori, I, 426): *diesque meos clementissima gubernatione disponas*. *Per*. V. L. Kennedy, “The Pre-Gregorian *Hanc igitur*,” *Eph. liturg.*, 50 (1936), 349-358; Th. Michels, “Woher nahm Gregor d. Gr. die Kanonbitte: *Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas?*” *JL*, 13 (1935), 188-190.

<sup>5</sup>Muratori, I, 318.

person, or as the oblation of one person which he offers up for a second, or even as an oblation which the priest offers up.<sup>6</sup>

Even more pronounced was the variation in the main clause, which was regularly annexed. It appears that generally there was no basic scheme, but that one of the alternate texts was chosen at random and inserted, these texts being augmented at pleasure. In this main clause mention was made of the special intention which was connected with the particular celebration. Such an intention did not come into consideration for every Mass. The Mass on Sundays and feast days, for example, is not, and never was, for a special intention, but was simply the Mass of the congregation. This tallies with the fact that in pre-Gregorian sacramentaries the *Hanc igitur* does not appertain to the Sunday Mass or feast-day Mass as such, but to the Mass for special occasions and to the Votive Mass, as is especially plain from the evidence of the older *Gelasianum*,<sup>7</sup> and is also confirmed by the *Leonianum*.<sup>8</sup>

This also tallies with the form the *Hanc igitur* takes, and more particularly with the manner in which certain persons or groups of persons are introduced in it. These, whether named or not, appear either as offerers themselves or—and this especially often—as those for whom the Mass is offered; or else mention is made of persons for both functions. An offering for someone turns out to be plainly a characteristic of the *Hanc igitur* formula. It finds expression in the formulas for the Masses for the Dead

<sup>6</sup>The data in Kennedy, *loc. cit.*, 353 f.

<sup>7</sup>This Sacramentary of the 6th century is divided into three books: (1) *Proprium de tempore*; (2) *Proprium sanctorum*; (3) Masses for different purposes and occasions. In the whole Sacramentary there are 41 *Hanc igitur* formulas, and yet the formula is missing entirely in the second book. In the first book it is generally missing, e.g., on all days of Lent, and appears only, outside of Maundy Thursday, on such days when within the festal celebration a particular group of the faithful come forward and thus provide a special motive: those to be baptized (n. 26, 45), those who commemorate the anniversary of baptism (*pascha annotina*) (54), the newly ordained deacons or priests, the newly consecrated bishop, the anniversary of their ordination or consecration (97, 98, 100, 101; cf. 102) and likewise the consecrated virgins and their anniversaries (105, 106), the dedication of a church or baptistry (89, 90, 94), the commemoration of the deceased founder of the church (92). In the third book this list is continued. Not all, but

many, votive Masses have a *Hanc igitur* formula: the Mass for the anniversary of a priest's ordination (37), for the wedding itself and its anniversary (52), for one who undertakes a journey (24), for one who arranges an agape (49), the Mass for the childless (54), the birthday Mass (53), the Mass for the king (62), and for the monastery (50), the Mass *pro salute vivorum* (106), and, finally (with one exception), the whole list of Masses for the deceased (92-96; 98-106).—In the later *Gelasianum* the MS. of Rheinau appears to present a similar picture; Ebner, 413.—Cf. also Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, p. LVIII, LXVIII.

<sup>8</sup>Of the ten *Hanc igitur* formulas of this Sacramentary there is one each for those who are to be baptized on Pentecost eve (Muratori, I, 318), for the consecration of a virgin (331), the consecration of a bishop (421), a bridal Mass (446), two for the anniversary of the consecration of a bishop (426, 434), and four for Masses for the departed (451-454).

and in the Mass of the scrutinies of candidates for Baptism, both cases where those involved cannot themselves make the offering. Certain Votive Masses, too, from the very nature of the case, fit in here.<sup>9</sup> But neophytes also, although possessing all the rights of full Christians, do not appear as offerers themselves, and the same is true of newly-ordained deacons and priests,<sup>10</sup> and of the bride at a Nuptial Mass.<sup>11</sup> We discover here a fine piece of ancient Christian etiquette. It must have been accounted an honor to relieve those concerned of their duty of offering on this their great day, and to make the offering “for” them, in their stead and for their benefit.<sup>12</sup>

Further investigation finally brings to light the fact that the mention of those for whom the offering is made is missing in the *Hanc igitur* only where these persons are the same as the offerers, the sacrifice being offered for oneself and one’s own intentions.<sup>13</sup> It is only in such cases that the

<sup>9</sup> Of the two *Hanc igitur* formulas in the Mass *Ad proficiscendum in itinere* in the older Gelasianum (III, 24), the former has the traveler himself as the offerant and the second already supposes a substitute, who offers in his stead: *Hanc igitur oblationem. Domine, famuli tui illius, quam tibi offert pro salute famuli tui illius. The Mass pro sterilitate mulierum* (III, 54) does not permit the one to whom it pertains to be the offerant, probably to save her from embarrassment (*pro famula tua illa*).

<sup>10</sup> I, 24: *Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro famulis tuis, quos ad presbyterii vel diaconatus gradus promovere dignatus es . . .* Therefore, at that time the newly ordained did not concelebrate in their ordination Mass, or at any rate they did not co-consecrate. On the other hand, a Mass is provided for a newly consecrated bishop (I, 100): *quam pro se episcopus die ordinationis suae cantat*. Hence the corresponding formula begins with: *Hanc quoque oblationem quam offero ego tuus famulus et sacerdos ob diem in quo dignatus es . . .*

<sup>11</sup> The pertinent *Hanc igitur* is found in the Gelasianum, III, 52, as well as in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 446), and in another version also in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 200, 4). In the Leonianum it reads: *Hanc igitur oblationem famulae tuae illi, quam tibi offerimus pro famula tua illa, quaesumus Domine, placatus aspicias, pro qua maiestatem tuam supplices exoramus, ut sicut eam ad aetatem nuptiis congruentem pervenire tribuisti, sic consortio maritali tuo munere copulatam de-*

*siderata sobole gaudere perficias atque ad optatam seriem cum suo conjugē provehas benignus annorum. Per.*

<sup>12</sup> This is clear in the Bridal Mass of the Gelasianum, III, 52, where evidently the female relatives assumed the duty. Likewise (with a single female offerant) in the Leonianum (previous note). Ambrose, *In Ps. 118, prol., 2* (CSEL, 62, 4), already testifies to the custom of having the newly baptized, beginning with the eighth day, themselves make the oblation. The reason seems to be that they first had to learn the rite by an active participation during Easter week: *tunc demum suum munus sacris altaribus offerat, cum coeperit esse instructor, ne offerentis inscitia contaminat oblationis mysterium*. One would think that the offertory procession was no more difficult than the Communion procession of that period. The reason, however, may have been intended as an allegorical one; one becomes *instructor* through the mystery of the “eighth day” (eighth day = Sunday = day of resurrection), hence not by experience, but simply by waiting for this day.

<sup>13</sup> Thus, e.g., in the first *Hanc igitur* in the Mass for a successful journey: *Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, famuli tui illius, quam tibi offert . . . commendans tibi Deus iter suum . . .* Gelasianum, III, 24 (Wilson, 245). So, too, for the anniversary of baptism, ordination, and consecration. The bishop on the anniversary of his consecration even prays in the first person: *Hanc quoque oblationem, quam offero ego tuus*

offerer alone is mentioned, and even then he is mentioned not as such, but rather as one expecting the fruits of the sacrifice. Especially instructive is the case of the Mass of the scrutinies already cited, where the candidates for Baptism are, in the main, the only ones mentioned in the *Hanc igitur*. As already pointed out regarding this Mass,<sup>14</sup> at the *Memento* for the living the names of the sponsors were read out, and these could, of course, be offerers. Now at the *Hanc igitur* there follow the names of the children who are ready for Baptism, for whom the sacrifice is offered up.<sup>15</sup> Even if in other cases there is no evidence of such a distribution of names, and even if time and again in the *Hanc igitur* itself those who offer and those for whom the offering is made are both mentioned one after the other,<sup>16</sup> still this case makes it plain enough that the accent of the *Hanc igitur* is placed on naming the ones for whom Mass is offered and on the special intentions. Thus there exists a certain external parallel to the *Memento* for the living,<sup>17</sup> insofar as in either instance definite persons are mentioned and names are read out.<sup>18</sup> But there is more here than simply a doubling of the framework for such a listing of names.<sup>19</sup> The real matter is a determination of the aim of our action, the intention of the particular

*famulus et sacerdos ob diem in quo me . . .* Gelasianum, I, 100 (Wilson, 154).

<sup>14</sup> *Supra*, p. 161.

<sup>15</sup> Gelasianum, I, 26 (Wilson, 34): *Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, ut propitius suscipias deprecamur, quam tibi offerimus pro famulis et famulabus tuis, quos ad aeternam vitam . . . vocare dignatus es. Per Christum. Et recitantur nomina electorum. Postquam recensita fuerint dicis: Hos, Domine, fonte baptismate innovandos Spiritus tui munere ad sacramentorum tuorum plenitudinem poscimus praeparari. Per.*

<sup>16</sup> It is easily possible that in such instances, at least in the votive Masses, where other offerants did not come into consideration, the *Memento* concerning the offerants was omitted. There is a *Hanc igitur* formula in a Mass in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 454) with the caption *sancti Silvestri* that is still treated as a Mass of the Dead (*in famuli tui Silvestri depositione*) this points to the great antiquity of the *Hanc igitur*.

<sup>17</sup> The parallel to the *Memento* of the dead would be even closer. Actually in two rather late MSS. of the liturgy of St. Peter, which incorporates a Greek translation of the Roman Canon, the *Hanc igitur* is frankly treated as a *Memento* of the dead; the rubric that is added reads: *Ἐνταῦθα ἀναφέρει τοὺς κοιμηθέντας. Cod-*

ington, *The Liturgy of Saint Peter*, 141.

<sup>18</sup> The reading of the names is omitted, *inter alia*, where an exclusive group of the congregation has been singled out by an earlier listing of names, as at the Baptismal Mass on the eve of Easter and Pentecost, at an ordination, and, of course, in the case where the Mass is offered for oneself. No rigid rule, however, is apparent. In the Leonianum a reading of the names within the *Hanc igitur* is provided for in eight out of ten cases; in the older Gelasianum in something more than half of the 41 instances.

<sup>19</sup> The hypothesis proposed by Botte, *Le canon*, 59 that the *Memento* and *Hanc igitur* had served for the naming of the offerants in one and the same way and that they were possibly distinguished only inasmuch as the deacon read off the former and the priest the latter is therefore without foundation. The deacon could have read the names in both instances whenever there was a longer list; cfr. above, n. 15. It is contrary to the spirit of the Roman liturgy that the deacon should have said the *Memento*, because such prominence was not accorded to the deacon. In all Sacramentary MSS. that have survived, the *Memento* of the living belongs to the prayer text of the priest.

celebration, mention of which is aptly included here. It was a very thoughtful plan, one that lies close to the human heart, to use this climactic moment of the sacred action not only to join the little congregation with the large society of the earthly and heavenly Church (as had been done in the preceding prayers), but to add thereto a list of names and petitions to be specially recommended to the divine favor and thus to “join” a personal offering to that which would soon be made on the altar.<sup>20</sup>

In view of the marked distinctiveness and almost unlimited changeableness of the *Hanc igitur* formula, it must not always have been easy for the celebrant to find a satisfactory form to include the names of all the offerers and all those for whose benefit the offering was made, or to define all the various intentions. Interested ears would be cocked to catch every word, and woe if he missed something. The difficulty grew with the ever-increasing development of the Votive Masses which we discover in the *Gelasianum* in the sixth century. The desire of the faithful to have their earthly intentions—often all too earthly—included in the sacred sacrifice must not infrequently have become a source of deep embarrassment. It is the same difficulty encountered everywhere by present-day pastors trying to incorporate all the intentions that have been recommended to their prayers, from ailing pets to menacing school exams. So it is not hard to understand why Gregory the Great put an end to all this variety by one unswerving direction. Henceforth, at the altar only a broad and general recommendation would be made, by substituting for the diverse offerers and recipients the great Christian community consisting of both clergy and people, in which every special group is comprehended: *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ,<sup>21</sup> sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ.<sup>22</sup>* All offer for all. And in place of the variety of individual petitions, the enduring and common interests of the community, in which all particular requests are included: the universal plea for a peaceful life on earth:

<sup>20</sup> This salient mode of expression is clearly to be discerned in the caption that introduces the *Hanc igitur* of the consecration of virgins in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 331): *Coniunctio oblationis virginum sacratarum*. For another kindred explanation concerning the *coniunctio* cf. A. Dold, *Eph. liturg.*, 50 (1936), 372 f. In the Leonianum there is a *Hanc igitur* on the day of a bishop's consecration, (Muratori, I, 434) titled *Pro episcopo offerendum*; the designation *offerendum* is there, because the formula answers the question *pro quo est offerendum?*

<sup>21</sup> *Servitutis nostra = nos servi*. Botte, *Le canon*, 37, refers to the Gelasianum, I, 98, in which the priest prays on the day of his ordination: *ut tibi servitutis nostra com-*

*placeat*. The *servitutis* here is taken in an abstract sense; our menial service, our servitude. The expression presupposes the not infrequent use of *servus* for those invested with the priesthood; cf. *ZkTh*, 56 (1932), 603 f. In Leo the Great, *Ep.*, 108, 2 (PL, 54, 1012 A), we find in due form *per servitutem nostram* in the sense of *per nos*. This is, therefore, merely the same Latin usage of substituting an appellation for a person that we find in such expressions as “Your Holiness,” “Your Grace,” “Your Lordship.”

<sup>22</sup> God's people is here conceived as a domestic group with God as its *pater familias*; cf. Rütten, “Philologisches zum Canon missæ” (*StZ*, 1938, I) 45; Batifol, *Leçons*, 250.

*dies nostros in tua pace<sup>23</sup> disponas*; and the all-conclusive plea for our eternal welfare: *atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari*. And in this form—as we are forced to assume as a further direction of Gregory's—the prayer was to be said at every Mass.

Only in a very few Mass formularies was the right to a special formula subsequently permitted to remain. In the missal of today it is only in the two baptismal Masses of Easter and Pentecost, and (surprisingly) in the Mass of Maundy Thursday.<sup>24</sup> Besides these, the *Pontificale Romanum* retains a special *Hanc igitur* for the consecration of a bishop. The Gregorian Sacramentary of Hadrian I still exhibits additional formulas—traditional ones—for the ordination of a priest, for the Nuptial Mass and for the burial of bishops.<sup>25</sup>

The *Hanc igitur* formulas still in use are so constructed that the basic Gregorian form is retained even on these special days, a supplementary phrase derived from the ancient wording being incorporated into it.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, Gregory the Great himself appears to have retained for these special formulas only the conclusion of his common text, not utilizing the continuation of the introductory words in all cases.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, outside of Rome not only did a certain amount of the older *Hanc igitur* formulas survive for a time, due to Alcuin's supplement to Gregory's Sacramentary,<sup>28</sup> but actually in the milieu of the Gallic liturgies there was a whole new growth of formulas, as we can see from examples in Gallican and Irish Sacramentaries,<sup>29</sup> and from the formation

<sup>23</sup> The peace that God gives comprises also, though not exclusively, the peace of nations. The constant troubles caused by the Lombards may have been the motive for introducing a request that has been fervently re-echoed in every war-ravaged age; cf. Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 312.

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the “law of retaining the ancient in seasons of high liturgical worth” (Baumstark) was especially effective here as in so many instances during the Holy Week liturgy. Still, the formula may originally have been intended for the penitents, who were permitted to offer their gifts again for the first time. In the Gelasianum the formula reads, . . . *ut (familiæ tuæ) per multa curricula annorum salva et incolumis munera sua tibi Domine mereatur offerre*; Gelasianum, I, 39 (Wilson, 67, 70).

<sup>25</sup> Lietzmann, n. 199, 4; 200, 4; 224, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Compare the present-day text in the neophytes' Mass with the original, *supra*, p. 180.

The intention for the newly baptized and for the newly consecrated bishop, which in the pre-Gregorian texts as a rule was the only intention mentioned—Leonianum (Muratori, I, 318; 421); Gelasianum, I, 100 (Wilson, 154); cf. *supra*, note 13—now occupies only a secondary position: *pro his quoque; etiam pro hoc famulo tuo*.

<sup>27</sup> The amplification *servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ* is missing in the ordination and bridal Mass, and at least the second part in the formula for a deceased bishop. Lietzmann, *loc. cit.*

<sup>28</sup> Muratori, II, 188; 193; 195; 200; 219-223.

<sup>29</sup> Here the subordinate clause was amplified in a manner entirely contrary to the sense of the original formula, into formulations that express the offering in honor of the saints (mentioning their names) and also in honor of Christ and of God. Examples in Kennedy, 354-357; Botte, 36, Apparatus.

of new formulas even in the Carolingian period.<sup>30</sup> But the Roman Church adhered to Gregory's reform. The formulation of the particular intention for each celebration was excluded, thus to an extent shunting the formula away from its original and proper intent. But the loss was more than compensated for by the fact that the perpetual intentions of all Christendom—which are likewise those of every individual Christian—were firmly fixed therein, above all the decisive request for endless glory, a grace of which it is said that we can gain only by persevering prayer, and for which we therefore humbly beg, day after day, right before the sacred moment of consecration.

There was but one further change in the *Hanc igitur*, namely in the contours of the external rite. Because the sacrificial note was emphasized in the prayer, it was quite natural to employ the same bowed posture that was attached in other places to prayers of offering. For this bow there are various evidences throughout the course of the Middle Ages.<sup>31</sup> But since the close of the Middle Ages the present-day rubric of holding the hands outstretched over the offerings gradually prevailed, unless (as happened) objection was taken to every sort of accompanying rite.<sup>32</sup> The present rite was originally a pointing gesture, occasioned by the word *hanc*.<sup>33</sup> Thus the gesture indicates the gifts we wish to offer God, and insofar as an oblation rite, a very natural one at that, one we have come upon more than once in other connections.<sup>34</sup> But the meaning of the offering is not thereby more distinctly defined. In the Old Testament the same rite of laying the hands over the sacrificial victim is prescribed for various types of offering—for burnt offering and peace offering,<sup>35</sup> and more par-

ticularly for a sacrifice with propitiatory character,<sup>36</sup> pre-eminently the sacrifice of the scape-goat on the great Day of Atonement.<sup>37</sup> Still there is no real reason to interpret the gesture precisely in this last sense, as long as the accompanying text gives no hint of it.<sup>38</sup>

## 11. *Quam oblationem*

The last prayer before the account of the institution forms with it a grammatical unit. It is like an up-beat before the full measure, a final swell in human words before the introduction of the imposing phrases of the sacred account, which are attached by means of a simple relative pronoun. For this introductory prayer of our canon we have the early testimony of St. Ambrose, both for the prayer itself and for its introductory character, since when he cites it his chief concern is with the words of Christ thus introduced by it.<sup>1</sup> In the *eucharistia* of Hippolytus a preliminary of this kind is still lacking. There the account of the institution simply follows the words of praise regarding the redemption in the course of the prayer of thanksgiving. But meditation on the work of the divine omnipotence and favor which is about to be performed must have induced the notion of prefacing it with a formal prayer, much in the same way as we pray for our daily bread before we sit down to eat it.

The prayer *Quam oblationem* is the plea for the final hallowing of the earthly gift and, in the last analysis, a plea "that it may become for us the Body and Blood of Thy most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ." The main thought is clear, but the expression is not very sharply stamped. The present-day wording of the prayer is already to be found in the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great,<sup>2</sup> but it differs considerably from the earlier form presented by Ambrose. The old traditional formulations are not fitted together into the newer framework very smoothly.<sup>3</sup> In Ambrose we read: *fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu*

<sup>30</sup> A comprehensive formula dating back to the Patriarch Paulinus of Aquileja (d. 802) which mentions in the form of a prayer of intercession a long list of requests, is discussed more in detail by Ebner, 415-417; cf. *ibid.*, 23. In its original version it is also found in a Missal of Tortosa (11th cent.): Ferreres, 360. In the Sacramentary of S. Thierry, 9-10th cent.), Martène, 1, 4, X (I, 552-562), there are five formulas of a like nature within the compass of as many votive formularies, which in each instance include, along with the oration, a proper Preface and *Hanc igitur*. The Missa Illyrica has a *Hanc igitur* formula for the case of a lawsuit; *ibid.*, IV (I, 513 E). Further examples *ibid.*, 1, 4, 8, 17 (I, 408).

<sup>31</sup> *Ordo "Qualiter quaedam"* (Andrieu, II, 298; PL, 78, 1380 C): *Hic inclinatur usque ad altare*. Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 88 (PL, 986 D); Honorius Augustod., *Sacramentarium*, c. 88 (PL,

172, 793 B); *Liber ordinarius O. Præm.* (Waefelghem, 71 f.); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 94). Durandus, IV, 39, 1, testifies to the profound bow *in quibusdam ecclesiis*. According to Eisenhofer, II, 180, also in "countless" Mass books until the 15th century. Cf. also Lebrun, I, 384.

<sup>32</sup> This is the case, e.g., in the *Ordo* of Cardinal Stefaneschi (about 1311), n. 53 (PL, 78, 1166 A), also in the Dominican Rite of today: *Missale O.P.* (1889), 19.

<sup>33</sup> The Mass-*ordo* of York (about 1425) has the rubric: *parum tangat calicem dicens: Hanc*. Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, p. 106. The laying on of the hands appears in Mass books of the 14th century; Leroquais, II, 210; III, 41, 60, 82. Numerous examples of the 15th and 16th centuries, Lebrun, I, 384 f. Eisenhofer, II, 180.

<sup>34</sup> Above I, 29; II, p. 147, nn. 44, 45.

<sup>35</sup> Lev. 1: 4; 3: 2, 8, 13; 8: 18, 22.

<sup>36</sup> Lev. 4: 4, 15, 24, 29, 33; 8: 14.

<sup>37</sup> Lev. 16: 20 f.

<sup>38</sup> A reference to the sacrifice of the cross is included in such cases as when a Missal of Auxerre (14th cent) prescribes that the hands be imposed in the form of a cross; Leroquais, II, 262. The rite does not seem to have gained any extensive vogue. Regarding the warning bell rung at either the *Hanc igitur* or the *quam oblationem* see *infra*, chapter 13, n. 50.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, I, 52.

<sup>2</sup> With the exception that in the present-

day text the word (*Domini*) *Dei (nostri Jesu Christi)* is lacking; Botte, 38. But it is also wanting in one Vatican MS. of the Greg. Sacramentary, Codex Ottoboniani, 313; cf. E. Bishop, "Table of Early Texts of the Roman Canon," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1903, 555-578.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the complaints in G. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* (Berlin, 1900), 382, who declares the prayer "unintelligible." Suarez, too, thinks: *obscurior est reliquis*; De sacramentis, I, 83, 2, 9 (*Opp.*, ed. Berton, 21, 875).

*Christi*. Here the meaning is quite plain; an appeal<sup>4</sup> is made that God may turn the gift into a perfect offering, which<sup>5</sup> is the representation<sup>6</sup> of Christ's Body and Blood.<sup>7</sup> The expressions *adscripta*, etc., here describe the sacrificial gift in its already altered state.

It is not impossible to explain the present-day text in a similar sense. In the introductory phrase only the *fac* has been changed to *facere digneris* and the word *benedictam* added, in no way altering the meaning. The four-member expression has been changed into five, thus giving still greater force to the guarded legal terminology of the Romans which is here in evidence.<sup>8</sup> In the second clause a noteworthy addition, evoked doubtlessly by the nearness of the great, grace-filled event, is the emotional word joined to the mention of our Saviour, the word *dilectissimi*,<sup>9</sup> all the more remarkable because of the contrast to the legal language of the preceding phrase. Of greater importance, however, is the fact that, after the ambiguous *figura* was dropped, the *quod est* should be turned into *ut fiat*. Thus, according to the grammatical formulation now presented, the change into the Body and Blood of Christ is no longer contained amongst the properties of the sacrificial gift expected from God, but appears instead as the result of it (or as a goal to which that divine operation is ordered.) Still it is possible to consider this result as provided in that exaltation itself, so that only in concept would it be detached there-

<sup>4</sup> Ambrose, *De sacra.*, IV, 5, 21 (*supra*, I, 52). The amended text as edited by B. Botte (Sources chrétiennes, 25; 1950), 84, reads: *oblationem scriptam, rationabilem* (without *ratam*).

<sup>5</sup> The *quod* may be the Latin for *quæ*; O. Casel, "Quam oblationem" (*JL*, 2, (1922) 98-101) 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Figura* does not exclude the reality as does our word for "picture," but leaves room for it; in translation this is perhaps best expressed as "representation." A like mode of expression is known to occur frequently until into the 5th century. Cf. the parallels in Quasten, *Mon.*, 160, n. 1. Cf. also the equivalent expression in the *Liber ordinum* (Férotin, 322; *supra* I, 55, n. 20). Cf. W. Dürig, "Imago" (*Münchener Theol. Studien*, II, 5; Munich, 1952), 91 f.

<sup>7</sup> This explanation, which Casel adopted, *loc. cit.*, was later quietly toned down by him quite noticeably (*JL*, [for 1931] 1-19) 12 f.; now he stresses the point that the primitive meaning of the prayer was not "a petition for the consecration, but a prayer of sacrifice in the form of a petition for acceptance." The Church pleads for the

acceptance of its sacrifice as something fully valid and agreeable, "because it is really identical with the sacrifice of Christ." At the same time he strikes out from the Ambrosian text above the word *rationabilem* (10 f.), which is not easy to connect with *fac*. Still he treats the *fac* as well as the *facere digneris* of today, as though *habe, habere digneris* were in its place; cf. the proposed translation, *ibid.*, 17, note 30: "Look upon (or regard) this offering . . . as blessed . . ." In reality it is still a matter of God's action. We are compelled to say that even with Ambrose the prayer had a twofold character, insofar as expressions of an attitude of agreement are united with a petition for action; in other words, the prayer is conceived as though the consecration had already taken place, but we are once again praying for it.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, 84. The dying dedication of the Decians in Livy, VIII, 9, 6-8, presents a pre-Christian example of such a legal-sacral combination of terms.

<sup>9</sup> According to Matth. 3: 17; 17: 5 and parallels.

from as the sought-for consequence. Make this gift (we seem to say) into a perfect oblation in such a way that it becomes the Body and Blood of our Lord.

The attempt to wrest the ancient meaning out of the later wording is given special impetus by one expression which has survived in the first clause. Along with the other qualifications, our oblation gift should be *rationabilis*. Even in the Vulgate the word *rationabile* corresponds to the Greek λογικόν: spiritual, spiritualized, immaterial.<sup>10</sup> *Oblatio rationabilis* = λογική θυσία is an exact description of the spiritual sacrifice proper to Christianity, a sacrifice lifted high above the realm of matter.<sup>11</sup> In the Roman canon as quoted by Ambrose the same word reappears after the consecration begged for a divinely effected exaltation and spiritualizing the sense just indicated: *offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam*.<sup>12</sup> Thus, too, the prayer before the consecration begged for a divinely effected exaltation and spiritualizing of our sacrifice, beyond blood and earthly taint, and the other terms from the Roman legal language merely attempted to define this plea more exactly within the given context. *Adscriptam*, for instance, applied to citizens and soldiers, indicated that they were entered in the lists, and so here, too, it means recognized and accepted.<sup>13</sup> Still, it is precisely the meaning of the word *rationabilis* in our prayer which underwent a profound change between Ambrose's time and Gregory the Great. Already in the usage of Leo the Great, and definitely in Gregory's, *rationabilis* lost the shade of meaning it had in Christian cult and signified merely what was suited to reason or the nature of things.<sup>14</sup> So too in our *Quam oblationem*, where it is encircled by Roman legal terms, it reverts to the simple Roman signification, at least as far as it was understood in that era. Thus an opportunity was presented to see in what was petitioned by the *fac* or *facere digneris* not the completed transubstantiation but rather a preparation for that change, the condition by which the gift was made "serviceable" or "right." Furthermore, by means of the *ut*-clause, this latter was

<sup>10</sup> Rom. 12: 1; I Peter 2: 2.

<sup>11</sup> O. Casel, "Oblatio rationabilis," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 99 (1917-18), 429 to 437; *ibid.*, "λογική θυσία der antiken Mystik in christlich-Ziturgischer Umdeutung," *JL*, 4 (1924), 37-47.—Cf. *supra*, I, 24 f.

<sup>12</sup> Ambrose, *De sacra.*, IV, 6, 27.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Casel, *Quam oblationem*, 100. Contrariwise Batiffol, *Leçons*, 251, n. 1, would rather take it in the sense of "accredited," with reference to the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 361): *Omnipotens sempiterna Deus, qui offerenda tuo nomini tribuis et oblata devotioni nostræ servitutis adscribis*. Perhaps it is best, however, to take the word to mean "consecrated, dedicated,"

considering *ascribere* as equivalent to *attribuere*; cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, II, 772-776.

<sup>14</sup> But perhaps we ought rather to follow the argument of Botte, "Traduction du Canon de la Messe," *La Maison-Dieu*, 23 (1950), 41, 47-49, and take the word *rationabilem* in its older meaning even here in our present Roman Canon; after all, in the language of religion certain expressions do keep a more ancient significance even when in every-day use the meaning changes. Cf. Chr. Mohrmann, "Rationabilis-λογικός," *Revue internat. des Droits de l'Antiquité*, 5 (1950), 225-234.

defined as the proper goal,<sup>15</sup> but it is now spoken of not as the immediate object of the petition, but only as a consequence or intention. Once again the matter kept in view is a preparatory step to the consecration itself, with the latter mentioned only in the background. The train of thought is then the same as that which is manifested more than once in the *secreta*, the thought which is given full expression, for instance, in one of the secret prayers of the *Gregorianum*: *Munera, Domine, oblata sanctifica, ut tui nobis Unigeniti corpus et sanguis fiant. Per.*<sup>16</sup> But if one is unwilling to take the new version of the *Quam oblationem* in the original sense, even in the sense as thus half-buried,<sup>17</sup> it will then be necessary to accept a very weakened interpretation of the text, formulated somewhat as follows: Let this gift, O God, be in all blessed, approved, valid, right and acceptable, so that it (may) become for us the Body and Blood of Thy well-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>18</sup>

The goal of our petition is still the consecration, or more exactly the transformation of our sacrificial gift,<sup>19</sup> even though it is modestly pushed to the background in favor of the preparatory step. The formula thus represents the plea for consecration or—viewing the matter technically—the epiklesis of the Roman Mass. This is therefore the proper place to make a comparative study of what is generally called in other liturgies an epiklesis.

At two points in the Mass the sacramental world intrudes into the liturgical activity of the Church: at the consecration and at the Communion. God Himself is operative, giving us invisible grace by means of visible sacramental signs. Man can do nothing here except place the signs and—early reflection had soon deemed this proper—beg for the divine

<sup>15</sup> Preceding the change to the *ut* clause, there seems to have been a form with *quæ* and the subjunctive, one that is still presented in the Irish and Milanese tradition: *quæ nobis corpus et sanguis fiat*; Casel, 12; Botte, 38. The *ut* could not have come into its place until towards the end of the 6th century. A version with *quæ*, and even with the indicative in two texts of the Mozarabic liturgy; Botte, 37; see above I, 55, n. 20.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 10.

<sup>17</sup> The older interpretation of *rationabilem* also in E. Bishop, "The Moment of Consecration" (appendix to Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 126-163), 150 f. and in the earlier Middle Ages; also in Florus Diaconus (d. about 860), *De actione missæ*, c. 59 (PL, 119, 51), and in Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1260). In fact the word *rationabilis* is here clearly understood in the older meaning:

*ille quidem panis et illud vinum per se irrationabile est, sed orat sacerdos ut . . . rationabilis fiat transeundo in corpus Filii ejus.*

<sup>18</sup> Thus Botte in the article mentioned in note 14.—For the combination of *rationabilis acceptabilemque* proposed by Botte, cf. I Peter 2: 5: *spirituales hostias, acceptabiles Deo per J. Chr.*

<sup>19</sup> This *nobis* which appears already in the Ambrosian text is not without meaning. It is inserted to point out that the object is not merely Christ's presence as such, something that might have been sufficient for a later form of piety, but His presence as our sacrificial offering, in which our sacrifice is completed and into which He desires that we ourselves be finally taken up. Cf. P. de Puniet, "La consecration" (*Cours et Conférences*, VII; Louvain, 1929; 193-208), 198 f., 201 ff.

operation. Just how this appeal will be worded depends on the mode of theological thought, whether to call upon God in a formal request for this operation, or (more in line with pre-Christian forms of expression) to implore the assistance of divine power. Both of these modes of approach were designated in Christian antiquity as *ἐπιχαλεῖσθαι*, *ἐπικλήσις*, because in both cases God's name is invoked and God's power is elicited.<sup>20</sup> The earliest record of an epiklesis is found in reference to Baptism, in the consecration of the baptismal water,<sup>21</sup> but there is also early mention of it in reference to the Eucharist.<sup>22</sup>

Coming now to particulars, it could be sufficient simply and bluntly to implore God for the hallowing of the gift and for its salutary and fruitful enjoyment, as actually happens in the Roman Mass at the *Quam oblationem* and the *Supplices*. Or one could attempt to define and designate the divine power by name. Christian terms which could be considered include: the Spirit of God, the power or the grace of God or His blessing, the Wisdom or the Word of God, the Holy Ghost; one could even think of an angel of God.<sup>23</sup> In the early Christian era there was no hard and fast rule in this regard. In Greek, where *λόγος* and *πνεῦμα* appear with the meaning "spirit," where, besides, in the theological consideration of the matter, a major role was taken by the idea that God had created and accomplished everything through the Logos, it was natural that mention should be made oftener of the Logos as the power by which the gift is sanctified.<sup>24</sup> In the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, with which (according to the prevailing opinion) Cyril of Jerusalem concluded his baptismal instructions in the year 348, we find the earliest record of the basic form of that epiklesis which became typical of the oriental liturgies: "Then . . . we call on the good God to send the Holy Ghost upon the gifts, so that He might change the bread into the Body of Christ and the wine into the Blood of Christ."<sup>25</sup> This epiklesis, taken in the narrow sense as a plea to God

<sup>20</sup> Cf. O. Casel, "Zur Epiklese"; *JL*, 3 (1923), 100-102; *ibid.*, "Neue Beiträge zur Epiklesenfrage," *JL*, 4 (1924), 169-178; see also the entire question of the epiklesis in Gassner, *The Canon of the Mass*, 324-339.

<sup>21</sup> Tertullian, *De bapt.*, c. 4 (CSEL, 20, 204).

<sup>22</sup> In the broader sense the Eucharistia, like every prayer of dedication, is an *ἐπικλήσις*, namely, an invocation of the divine Name over the material elements. It is in this sense that Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.*, IV, 31, 4 (al., IV, 18, 5; Harvey, II, 205 f.), speaks of the bread that receives τὴν ἐπικλήσιν τοῦ θεοῦ and is no longer ordinary bread. Cf. Casel, *Neue Beiträge*, 173 f.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the problem below regarding *Supplices te rogamus*.

<sup>24</sup> *Euchologion* of Serapion, 13, 15 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 62 f.): 'Επιδημησάτω θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ ἄγιός σου λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, ἵνα γένηται ὁ ἄρτος σῶμα τοῦ λόγου . . . Further data in Quasten, *Mon.*, 62, n. 5. *Ibid.*, 18, n. 1, the literature concerning the much discussed passage in Justin, *Apol.*, I, 66: the bread becomes the body of Christ δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ. See also the materials in Bishop, *The Moment of Consecration*, 155-163.

<sup>25</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 7 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 101). Cf. Bishop, *The Moment of Consecration*, 126-150. The Holy Ghost epiklesis after the consecration is not again clearly certified until

to send the Holy Spirit, thereafter appears first in the liturgies in the region of Syria; when it does appear it is found (as we might already gather from the passage cited above) *after* the words of institution and the anamnesis and oblation prayer that follow, and the object of the formula is that the Holy Ghost might “make” the gifts into Christ’s Body and Blood ( *ποιήσῃ*: Liturgy of St. James) or “manifest” them as such ( *ἀποφύγῃ*: *Apostolic Constitutions VIII*; *ἀναδείξαι*: Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil) and that thus they might have a salutary effect on the recipients.<sup>26</sup> In the last sense, as a plea to the Holy Ghost to let the Communion strengthen the recipients in their faith, an epiklesis is to be found at the same point even in the *eucharistia* of Hippolytus. But there is no reference here to the transformation of the gifts.<sup>27</sup> The oriental liturgies, too, must have had originally in place of the epiklesis only a petition for the salutary effects of Communion,<sup>28</sup> from which a more general plea for blessing, with special reference to the transubstantiation, could easily have developed.<sup>29</sup>

Besides this consecratory epiklesis, which emerged from Syria, an

Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (Rücker, 32 f). Bishop calls attention to the fact that in the conflict with the Macedonians (condemned in 381) regarding the divinity of the Holy Ghost, the Eucharistic consecration as the work of the Holy Ghost was not stressed by the Catholics (140 f.). In view of the pronounced isolation of the testimony mentioned (although one must take into consideration the passage to which M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith*, II [London & New York, 1950], 412-413, notes 6 and 1, refers), we may again call attention to the question whether John of Jerusalem (d. 417) was the real author of the Catecheses rather than Cyril; cf. Quasten, *Mon.*, 70. That mystagogical catecheses were announced in the 18th catechesis and that a back reference is made to previous catecheses in the mystagogical one, proves little fundamentally, since these mystagogical catecheses generally followed after the catecheses of the symbol. In the meanwhile the question has been re-examined from the historical viewpoint by W. J. Swaans, “A propos des Catéchèses Mystagogiques,” *Le Muséon* 55 (Louvain, 1942), 1-43; the results do not favor Cyril.

<sup>26</sup> Critical survey of the relevant texts and an analysis of them in Lietzmann, *Messe*

*und Herrenmahl*, 68-81; cf. G. Rauschen, *Eucharistie und Buszsakrament* (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1910), 110-130; Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 454-463. A comprehensive summary of the theological problem in Th. Spacil, *Doctrina theologica Orientalis separati de ss. Eucharistia*, II (Orientalia christiana, 14, 1; Rome, 1929), 1-114.

<sup>27</sup> *Supra* I, 29.

<sup>28</sup> A Baumstark, *Le liturgie orientali e le preghiere ‘Supra quæ’ e ‘Supplices’ del canone romano* (Grottaferrata, 1913), especially p. 33; *idem*, “Zu den Problemen der Epiklese des römischen Messkanons,” *Theol. Revue*, 15 (1916), 337-350, especially 341. Similarly Hanssens, III, 354 f.

<sup>29</sup> It is to be noted that in the Antiochene-Byzantine group of liturgies the space before the words of the institution was monopolized by the (mostly Christological) continuation of the thanksgiving prayer. And thus, the only possibility for a prayer of blessing was after the words of institution and oblation. The more vividly the process of the consecration was conceived as an effect of the bestowal of the divine blessing and Spirit, the more did the need of a consecration epiklesis obtrude itself. Cf. J. Brinktrine, “Zur Entstehung der morgenländischen Epiklese,” *ZkTh*, 42 (1918), 301-326; 483-518.

epiklesis pronounced *after* the words of consecration, there was another in the Church of Egypt—originally, it is evident, the only one<sup>30</sup>—which *preceded* the words of consecration. The basic form of this reads as follows: Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory; fill this gift, too, with Thy blessing.<sup>31</sup> It was not till later that the Egyptian Liturgy of St. Mark also adopted the Syro-Byzantine epiklesis.

Thus the consecratory epiklesis following the words of institution became, by degrees, a distinctive feature of the entire Eastern Church, and in the dissident churches was given a theological interpretation consonant with the wording of the prayer.<sup>32</sup> But viewed in the light of tradition it represents the fourth century custom of only one of the three great patriarchates, namely, that of Antioch, while in the other two, Alexandria and Rome, the traditional practice, going back at least to the same early period, involved an invocation of the divine power *before* the words of institution.<sup>33</sup> The fact that more and more emphasis was given to the invocation of the Holy Ghost coincides with a basic trend of oriental theology, a trend noticed at a very early stage; for Eastern theologians are wont to consider the Holy Ghost as “the executor and accomplisher of every divine work,”<sup>34</sup> and in general their theological thinking is built more strongly on the mystery of the Trinity.<sup>35</sup>

However, there is no solid and unimpeachable evidence in the original sources of the Roman liturgy that the Roman Mass also at one time had an epiklesis of the Holy Ghost as a plea for the consecration.<sup>36</sup> The pertinent remark in a letter of Pope Gelasius I is indeed striking but not un-

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Lietzmann, 76; Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 7 f.—Hanssens, III, 462, expresses skepticism.

<sup>31</sup> *Supra*, p. 148. It is found in Serapion and in the Egyptian Mass liturgy, and besides also in the liturgical papyrus of Dêrbalyzeh (Quasten, *Mon.*, 40; a more complete text in C. H. Roberts-B. Capelle, *An early Euchologium* [Louvain, 1949], 24 f.; cf. 44 f.), and in a Coptic anaphora of the 6th century discovered by L. Th. Lefort in 1940 (Roberts-Capelle, 25, 44 f.).

<sup>32</sup> That the epiklesis was necessary for the consecration along with the words of institution was maintained by oriental theologians already at an early date; that it alone was necessary, was not generally advocated until the 17th century. Cf. Pohl-M. Gierens, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, III, (9th ed.; Paderborn, 1937), 278; see *ibid.*, 282-286, regarding the dogmatic judgment of the question.

<sup>33</sup> In this sense O. Heimig, *JL*, 15 (1941), 445-447.

<sup>34</sup> Thus the oriental theologian B. Ghius, *JL*, 15 (1941), 338 f.

<sup>35</sup> It must be granted that the basic notion is found in primitive Christianity. This is plain from the fact that in the Apostles’ Creed the Holy Ghost appears at the head of the list of the gifts of salvation and as their source. A priori, therefore, one could expect a similar Trinitarian composition would have asserted itself at an early date in the Eucharistic prayer, as a prayer rising to God the Father, with thanks for the work of the Son, and with the petition for the fulfillment of the same through the Holy Ghost. Cf. *supra*, I, 32, n. 17. The Eucharistia of Hippolytus in fact shows this plan, for which the Anglican liturgist W. H. Frere has again pleaded at the present time (see *ibid.*).

<sup>36</sup> Regarding the testimony of the Georgian liturgy of St. Peter so often mentioned before, cf. above, p. 150, n. 15.

equivocal.<sup>37</sup> At any rate, an epiklesis of this sort did not belong to the older tradition in Rome, and later the simple ancient form of the plea for the blessing of the gift before the consecration remained as decisive as the plea after the consecration for the fulfillment of the blessing in all who received the gift of the altar.

This blessing was given further outward expression by means of the gestures, the first three of the five attributes of the sacrificial gifts being each accompanied by a sign of the Cross, to which were added two demonstrative signs of the Cross at the mention of the Body and Blood of our Lord.<sup>38</sup>

## 12. The Consecration: The Account of Institution

In all the known liturgies the core of the *eucharistia*, and therefore of the Mass, is formed by the narrative of institution and the words of consecration.<sup>1</sup> Our very first observation in this regard is the remarkable fact

<sup>37</sup> Gelasius I, *Ep. fragm.*, 7 (Thiel, I, 486): *quomodo ad divini mysterii consecrationem caelestis spiritus invocatus adveniet, si sacerdos (et) qui eum adesse deprecatur, criminosis plenus actionibus reprobetur?* For an explanation of the passage cf. Casel, *Neue Beiträge*, 175-177; Geiselman, *Die Abendmahlslehre*, 217-222; J. Brinktrine, "Der Vollzieher der Eucharistie nach Gelasius," *Miscellanea Mohlberg*, II (1949), 61-69.—Taking the words at their obvious meaning, they certainly seem to include an express invocation of the Holy Ghost, which, as Eisenhofer, II, 169, assumes, could have existed in a transient extension of the *Quam oblationem*, e.g., *Quam oblationem . . . acceptabilemque facere eique virtutem Sancti Spiritus infundere digneris, ut nobis*. Or, with C. Callewaert, "Histoire positive du Canon romain" (*Sacris erudiri*, 1949), 95-97, we might see here a reference to other prayers, such as the several secret prayers of the Leonianum which invoke the Holy Ghost. Still, Gelasius, who places the consecration on a parallel with the effects of the Holy Ghost in the Incarnation, could conceive the calling down of the Holy Ghost as being presented throughout the canon with its many petitions for blessing, without any express invocation of the third Divine Person. Cf. Botte, *Le canon*, 60 f.; idem, *Bulletin de théol. anc. et méd.*, 6 (1951), 226.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. above, p. 143. It may seem strange that all five of the attributes were not accompanied with an individual sign of the cross. Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 14 (PL, 151, 987), gives the answer: *ut quinarium numerum non excederemus et quintam crucem super calicem quasi quinti vulneris indicem . . . faceremus*.

<sup>1</sup> The East Syrian anaphora of the Apostles forms an exception here, inasmuch as the account of the institution is omitted in the MSS. of that liturgy. The same thing seems to be the case in a Syrian anaphora fragment originating in the 6th century (Brightman, 511-518), though this contains a short paraphrase. The instance is so strange that Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 33, himself thinks the only motive could have been a reverential awe lest they profane the sacred words. A. Raes, S.J., "Le recit de l'institution eucharistique dans l'anaphore chaldéenne et malabare des Apôtres": *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 10 (1944), 216-226, thinks otherwise. He considers the possibility that the account of the institution was dropped after the defection of the Nestorians (431), at a time, therefore, when in Syrian lands there grew up an exaggerated esteem of the epiklesis (cf. above, p. 191 f.). Similarly B. Botte, "L'anaphore chaldéenne des Apôtres," *ibid.*, 15 (1949), 259-276; however, Botte places the origin of the anaphora itself in the 3rd century, but at the same time

that the texts of the account of institution, among them in particular the most ancient (whether as handed down or as reconstructed by comparative studies), are never simply a Scripture text restated.<sup>2</sup> They go back to pre-biblical tradition. Here we face an outgrowth of the fact that the Eucharist was celebrated long before the evangelists and St. Paul set out to record the Gospel story.<sup>3</sup> Even the glaring discrepancies in the biblical texts themselves regarding this very point are explained by this fact.<sup>4</sup> For in them we evidently find segments from the liturgical life of the first generation of Christians.

Later on, because liturgical texts were still very fluid, the account of the institution was developed along three different lines.<sup>5</sup> First of all, the two sections on the bread and the chalice were refashioned to gain greater symmetry. Such a symmetrical conformation, undoubtedly introduced in the interest of a well-balanced audible performance, is seen already in the phrases of the rather simple account of the institution as recorded by Hippolytus: *Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis confringetur—Hic est sanguis meus qui pro vobis effunditur*.<sup>6</sup> The parallelism was even more advanced in a liturgy a good hundred years after, namely, the Liturgy of Serapion, where the single account has been broken up into two independent parallel accounts separated by a prayer.<sup>7</sup> The trend reached a crest before the middle of the fifth century in the basic form of the main oriental liturgies, the anaphoras of St. Mark, St. James and St. Basil. Here, for example, in both passages we find εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἀγιάσας; and the additional phrase from Matthew 26:28 regarding the chalice, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, is transferred also to the bread.<sup>8</sup> Then came the second phase, wherein symmetry was abandoned in favor of a word-for-word dependence on the biblical accounts, some expressions from the Scriptures being interwoven bit by bit with the traditional text. And finally, along with these, a third phenomenon appeared, the effort to refit the

draws attention to various indications that the account of the institution was part of the primitive text. In modern times the Nestorians add an account of the institution from some other source to the anaphora of the Apostles (cf. Brightman 285); this was done in the Syro-Malabar rite since the 16th century. Concerning the manner of the insertion, or rather annexation, see Raes, S.J., *Introductio*, 91; 98 f. <sup>2</sup> See the textual criticism and the historical research of F. Hamm *Die liturgischen Einsetzungsberichte im Sinne vergleichender Liturgieforschung untersucht* (LQF, 23; Münster, 1928). A good review of the interrelationship of the texts in P. Cagin, *L'Eucharistie canon primitif de la messe*, (Paris, 1912), where, pages 225-244, the

four biblical and the 76 liturgical accounts of the institution are printed side by side in 80 columns; in this way 79 distinct textual parts in the account are differentiated.—An earlier work on the symmetrical development of the consecration formula in K. J. Merk, *Der Konsekrationsstext der römischen Messe* (Rottenburg a. N., (1915).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Hanssens, III, 440.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above I, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Hamm, 33 f.

<sup>6</sup> Above I, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Above I, 34 f.; Hamm, 94.

<sup>8</sup> Hamm, 16 f., 21 f., 95. Further examples in comparative juxtaposition in Hanssens, III, 417 f.

phrases in decorative fashion, to underscore certain theological concepts,<sup>9</sup> and to make more room for a reverential participation. In addition, elements of local table etiquette,<sup>10</sup> or elements from the customs of worship<sup>11</sup> were frequently re-projected into the biblical account.

Viewed against such a background, the account of the institution in our Roman Mass<sup>12</sup> displays a relatively ancient character. The trend towards parallelism and biblicism has made great progress, but further transformation has remained within modest limits. The parallelism is manifested in the double occurrence of the ornamental phrase, *in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas*; further, in the words, *tibi gratias agens benedixit deditque discipulis suis dicens: accipite*, of which only *gratias agens, dedit, dicens* are biblical, and only *dedit, dicens* are found in parallel in the scriptural text (of Matthew and Mark); and lastly in the words, *ex hoc omnes* and *enim*, both found in Matthew 26:28, but with reference only to the chalice.

The inclusion of the biblical wording is almost complete. Of the entire stock in the various biblical accounts, only one text-phrase is missing in our canon, aside from the command to "do this in remembrance of me" which is found in Paul-Luke right after the institution of the bread, and the remark in Mark 14:23, *et biberunt ex illo omnes*. However, this missing phrase, namely the words added to *Hoc est corpus meum* in the Paul-Luke report: *quod pro vobis datur*, is an amazingly significant omission. Its absence is all the more remarkable because it already appeared (in the form: *quod pro vobis* [resp. *pro multis*] *confringetur*) in both of the older texts of the Roman tradition. So it must have been expunged some time between the fourth and the seventh century, for a reason unknown to us.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, in the oldest known text of the Roman Mass, the one in Hippolytus, almost half the biblical text is wanting.<sup>14</sup> In refer-

ence to the bread, the words *benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis* are missing. In reference to the chalice, the words *postquam cœnavit, gratias agens, bibite ex hoc omnes* are omitted, as well as the words *enim* and *multis* from Matthew, the expressions *calix, novum testamentum* and *in remissionem peccatorum*. About midway between the text of Hippolytus and our present canon is the text recorded by Ambrose, insofar as it still shows none of the additions regarding the chalice.<sup>15</sup>

Another surprising thing in our Roman canon is the beginning of the words over the chalice: *Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi (et æterni) testamenti*. To the simple formula of the older Roman tradition, *Hic est sanguis meus*, the *calix* of Paul-Luke has been added. And following the model of Matthew-Mark, the notion of a covenant has been included.<sup>16</sup>

Even though these additions make the formula somewhat cumbersome from the viewpoint of grammar,<sup>17</sup> still there is a double reward, for the mention of the chalice directly characterizes the Blood of our Lord as a drink, and the mention of the covenant opens up a broader vista of the work of redemption, accomplished (in fulfillment of the Old Testament figure) by the Blood of our Lord. Furthermore, it is a *testamentum*, a "covenant," a new divine economy binding heaven and earth together.<sup>18</sup>

The further transformation of our Roman text of the institution was very limited. The time is given in the words, *pridie quam pateretur*. This manner of chronicling the time is as characteristic of the occidental texts as the Pauline expression, "On the night when He was betrayed," is, in general, of the oriental ones. In the interest of theological precision, the latter text is often augmented by a reference<sup>19</sup> to the voluntariness of the

<sup>9</sup> Of this type are the terms found in oriental liturgies where, besides the intention "for the forgiveness of sins," we find other paraphrases of the purpose of Christ's gift, "as an atonement of transgressions," "for eternal life," "for the life of the world," "for those who believe in me." Cagin, 231 ff., 235 ff. Also the attributes given to the hands of Our Lord, and the word *ἀγιάσας* = *consecrans* are the result of theological reflection.

<sup>10</sup> Oriental liturgies often mention the mingling (*κεράσας*) and also the tasting (*γευσάμενος, πίων*). The idea that the Lord as host drank from the chalice first of all was already advanced by Irenæus; that He also partook of the bread was frequently mentioned by the Syrians; Hanssens, III, 444; Hamm, 51; 59.

<sup>11</sup> In this category are included the raising of the eyes and the making of the sign of the cross (*benedixit*) over the gift-offerings.

<sup>12</sup> The present-day text is the same as that of the oldest sacramentary tradition with this difference, that in three places the verbs are often joined without a conjunctive word; they were amplified: *et (elevatis oculis)* and twice (*dedit*)*que*; in place of *postquam* we find *posteaquam* in the sacramentaries. Other departures are found only in isolated MSS.; see Botte, 38-40.

<sup>13</sup> Botte, 61, conjectures that the suppression is connected with the simplification of the rite of the fraction. The likelihood of this is slim.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *supra* I, 29.

<sup>15</sup> *Supra* I, 52. However, as Hamm, 95, emphasizes, the Ambrosian text and our canon text simply are not in the same line of development. In some points the former is even further developed than our canon text; namely, in the twice-repeated *ad te sancte Pater omnipotens æterne Deus* and *apostolis et discipulis suis*. Besides, it has the *fregit fractumque* and the *quod pro multis confringetur*.

<sup>16</sup> The same combination also in the Syrian texts: Hamm, 74, n. 145.

<sup>17</sup> The realization of this is probably the reason why the words *sanguinis mei* are in individual instances missing: Sacramentary of the 13th century of the Cod. Barberini, XI, 179 (Ebner, 417); Missale of Riga about 1400 (see Bruiningk, 85, n. 1).

<sup>18</sup> In view of the marked difference at this point between the tradition of Paul-Luke on the one hand and of Mark-Matthew on

the other, the question arises, what was the exact wording as spoken by Our Lord. The decision of the exegetes leans towards Mark 14: 24: *Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν*, because of its agreement with Ex. 24: 8, which Our Lord probably had in mind. The revamping in Paul seems to have been done with the view of bringing the spiritual consideration into greater prominence. Arnold, *Der Ursprung des christlichen Abendmahls*, 176f. For the rendering of *διαθήκη testamentum*, "alliance," as "divine economy," see *ibid.*, 181 f.—In favor of the form in Luke 22: 20, there is a late study by H. Schuermann, "Die Semitismen im Einsetzungsbericht bei Markus und bei Lukas," *ZkTh*, 73, (1951), 72-77.

<sup>19</sup> In the later text of the liturgy of St. Chrysostom and the anaphora of St. James: *τῆ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδότο, μᾶλλον δὲ*

Passion. Similarly there is in the occidental text a special addition which emphasizes the redemptive quality of Christ's Passion: *qui pridie quam pro nostra omniumque salute pateretur*. This addition is used at present only on Maundy Thursday, but in Gallic texts it is also employed on other occasions.<sup>20</sup>

In all probability it was formerly a part of the everyday text, and may originally have been incorporated to underscore the all-embracing character of the redemption as a protest against the gloomy predestinationism rampant in the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>21</sup>

An opening for the expression of reverence and awe was found by augmenting the word *accepit* with *in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas*. The same motif appeared even earlier in oriental texts, and especially in Egypt reached even richer expanses,<sup>22</sup> but as a rule this occurred only in reference to the bread because with it was to be joined an offering gesture which suited the bread: The Lord (it reads) takes the bread upon His holy hands, *looks up* (ἀναβλέψας) to His heavenly Father, or *shows* it to Him (ἀναδείξας σοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί).<sup>23</sup>

Our Roman text also makes mention of looking up: *elevatis oculis*, and the reason for its introduction here is probably the same, the idea of oblation.<sup>24</sup> It does not derive from the biblical account of the Last Supper, but is borrowed, as in some of the liturgies of the Orient, from other passages of the New Testament.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the attitude of prayer, which also dominates the account and gives it the note of worship, is emphasized by

ἐαυτοῦ παρεδίδου; Brightman, 51, 1. 24; 285, 1. 23. Cf. Hamm, 39-42.

<sup>20</sup> Hamm, 38 f.; Botte, 61 f.

<sup>21</sup> Thus G. Morin, "Une particularité inaperçue du 'Qui pridie' de la messe romaine aux environs de l'an DC," *Revue Bénédictine*, 27 (1910), 513-515.

<sup>22</sup> The Egyptian anaphora of St. Mark: ἄρτον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων (the Monophysite text adds besides καὶ μακαρίων καὶ ζωοποιῶν) αὐτοῦ χειρῶν; Hamm, 16; 69 f. The normal Armenian anaphora has "in his holy, divine, immortal, immaculate, and creative hands": Brightman, 436 f. The accumulation of these distinguishing attributes corresponds to the Monophysite efforts to accentuate the divinity of Christ as strongly as possible.

<sup>23</sup> Thus, above all, in the Syrian tradition, also already in the basic text of the anaphoras of St. James and St. Basil; Hamm, 21; 25; 66 ff. In this connection we must mention also the much-discussed passage in

Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27 (PG, 32, 187 B), about the words of invocation at the ἀνάδειξις of the bread and the chalice. The West Syrian anaphora of Dioskorus of Gazarta paraphrases the idea presented by the words ἐπὶ χειρῶν more exactly with *accepit panem et super manus suas sanctas in conspectu turbæ et societatis discipulorum suorum posuit* (Hamm, 67, n. 124). Cf. E. Peterson, "Die Bedeutung von ἀναδείξις in den griechischen Liturgien": *Festgabe Deissmann*, (Tübingen, 1927), 320-326; cf. in this regard JL, (1927), 273 f., 357. In the present-day West Syrian rite the priest first places the host in the flat of his left hand, makes the sign of the cross three times over it, and then takes hold of it with both hands; Hanssens, III, 422.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Hamm, 67 f.

<sup>25</sup> Matth. 14: 19; John 11: 41; 17: 1. Besides, such an upward glance towards heaven was a part of the prayerful posture of Christians in Christian antiquity. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 301 ff.

the form regarding the heavenly Father—not a mere mention of Him, but a formal address: *ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem*.

The solemn wording of this mention of God<sup>26</sup> somehow re-echoes the solemn address at the beginning of the preface. Then, in mentioning the chalice, the pathos hitherto suppressed breaks through in a single word: *accipiens et hunc præclarum calicem*. That expression, *præclarus calix*, is plucked from Psalm 22:5. And again it is quite natural to make mention of the venerable hands, since the meal ritual included raising the cup on high.<sup>27</sup>

The chief liturgies of the East also mention here the rite of admixture, usually balancing the commingling of the chalice against the taking of the bread: 'Ομοίως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, εὐλογήσας. . . .<sup>28</sup>

The blessing of the chalice, which is commonly expressed by the word ἀγιάσας, as in the case of bread, is given greater emphasis in one portion of the Greek texts after the Ecumenical Council of 381, the words πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου<sup>29</sup> being added. This practice parallels the development of the Holy Ghost epiklesis.

The most striking phenomenon in the Roman text is the augmentation of the words of consecration said over the chalice. The mention of the New Testament is turned into an acknowledgment of its everlasting duration: *novi et æterni testamenti*.<sup>30</sup> And then, in the middle of the sacred text, stand the enigmatic words so frequently discussed: *mysterium fidei*. Unfortunately the popular explanation (that the words were originally spoken by the deacon to reveal to the congregation what had been performed at the altar, which was screened from view by curtains) is poetry, not history.<sup>31</sup> The phrase is found inserted in the earliest texts of the sacra-

<sup>26</sup> The mode of expression in the Apostles' Creed has exerted its influence. The address in the Ambrosian text is even richer; above I, 52; cf. Hamm, 57.

<sup>27</sup> Above I, 21, n. 63. The critical remarks in Hamm, 68, may not be pertinent.

<sup>28</sup> Hamm, 28; 52-55. It is significant that the mention of water, καὶ ὕδατος, was suppressed in the version of the anaphora of St. James used by the strictly Monophysite Armenians; cf. above, p. 40.

<sup>29</sup> Hamm, 52.

<sup>30</sup> The *testamentum æternum* is frequently repeated in the Old Testament: Ps. 110, 9; Ecclus. 17: 10; 45: 8. 19. Further discussion in Gassner, 249-250.

<sup>31</sup> The idea goes back to A. de Waal, "Archæologische Erörterungen zu einigen Stücken im Kanon der hl. Messe, 3. Die Worte 'mysterium fidei,'" *Der Katholik*,

76 (1896), 392-395; regarding this see Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 169, n. 11a. Older attempts at an explanation are recorded by K. J. Merk, *Der Konsekrationstext der römischen Messe* (Rottenburg, 1915), 5-25. The explanation advanced by Merk himself, *ibid.*, 147-151, according to which the words are intended to exclude the epiklesis and accentuate the fact that the consecration was already completed by the preceding words, is without foundation. The explanation given by Th. Schermann, "Liturgische Neuerungen" (Festgabe A. Knöpfler zum 70 Geburtstag [Freiburg, 1917], 276-289), is no better; according to this the *mysterium fidei* originally belonged only to the Mass of Baptism, inserted to call the attention of the newly baptized to an action that was entirely strange to them.

mentaries, and mentioned even in the seventh century.<sup>32</sup> It is missing only in some later sources.<sup>33</sup>

Regarding the meaning of the words *mysterium fidei*, there is absolutely no agreement. A distant parallel is to be found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, where our Lord is made to say at the consecration of the bread: "This is the mystery of the New Testament, take of it, eat, it is My Body."<sup>34</sup> Just as here the *mysterium* is referred to the bread in the form of a predicate, so in the canon of our Mass it is referred to the chalice in the form of an apposition. It has been proposed<sup>35</sup> that the words be taken as relating more closely to what precedes, so that in our text we should read: *novi (et aeterni) testamenti mysterium (fidei)*. But such a rendering can hardly be upheld,<sup>36</sup> particularly because of the word *fidei* that follows,<sup>37</sup> but also because the whole phrase dependent on the word *mysterium* would then become a man-made insertion into the consecrating words of our Lord. *Mysterium fidei* is an independent expansion, superadded to the whole self-sufficient complex that precedes.<sup>38</sup>

What is meant by the words *mysterium fidei*? Christian antiquity would

<sup>32</sup> As the *Expositio* of the Gallican Mass (ed. Quasten, 18) shows, it was already contained in the 7th century chalice formula, which was taken over from the Roman into the Gallican liturgy. Such a general diffusion can be explained only by postulating a Roman origin; cf. also Wilmart, *DACL*, VI, 1086.

<sup>33</sup> In the Milanese Sacramentary of Biasca (9-10th cent.); in the *Ordo Rom. Antiquus* of Maundy Thursday, at least in the 11th century MS. edited by M. Hittorp (Cologne, 1586, p. 57; the other MSS. described by M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani* I, 27, etc., have still to be examined). The entire passage *novi et aeterni testamenti mysterium fidei* is missing in the *Sacramentarium Rossianum* (10th cent.); Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 194.

<sup>34</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 36 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 222): "Τούτο τὸ μυστήριον τᾶς καινῆς διαθήκης. Some few Ethiopian anaphora have similar elaborations for the same passage: *admirabile prodigium*, or *potus vitæ verus*. Cagin, 231 ff., div. 27, 33, 35.

<sup>35</sup> Hamm, 75 f.

<sup>36</sup> Despite all studies of philological possibilities, it still remains difficult to conceive the genitive *novi et aeterni testamenti* as dependent upon the *mysterium* immediately following, which is already associated with a genitive (*fidei*); whereas Paul-

Luke combine the words *sanguis (meus novi) testamenti* into a unit, at least as to sense, and Matthew-Mark do so even in form. Nevertheless the idea gains some support from the curious fact that it is precisely this group of words that is missing in the *Sacramentarium Rossianum* (above, n. 33).

<sup>37</sup> As a matter of fact, Hamm, 76, n. 147, also finds the *fidei* troublesome.

<sup>38</sup> The intrusion of such an addition into the very core of the words of consecration could be more easily explained, if, like the *aeterni (testamenti)* they were of Scriptural origin. The expression is in fact found in I Tim. 3: 9, where the deacons are admonished to preserve the mystery of faith in a pure conscience: *habentes mysterium fidei in conscientia pura*. Of course, something quite different is here meant, namely, the Christian teaching, and thus it becomes quite difficult to understand how the phrase was seized upon in this connection. Brinktrine, "Mysterium Fidei," *Eph. liturg.*, 44 (1930), 493-500, tries to establish points of contact; the passage at times was understood in a Eucharistic sense, and the naming of the deacons, to whom the chalice pertained, could have led to this chalice formula. See also Gassner, 278-288. Florus Diaconus, *De actione miss.*, c. 62 (PL, 119, 54), had already drawn I Tim. 3: 9 into the exposition of this passage.

not have referred them so much to the obscurity of what is here hidden from the senses, but accessible (in part) only to (subjective) faith.<sup>39</sup> Rather it would have taken them as a reference to the grace-laden *sacramentum* in which the entire (objective) faith, the whole divine order of salvation is comprised.<sup>40</sup> The chalice of the New Testament is the life-giving symbol of truth, the sanctuary of our belief.<sup>41</sup>

How or when or why this insertion was made, or what external event occasioned it, cannot readily be ascertained.<sup>42</sup>

The sacred account concludes with the command to repeat what Christ had done. The text is taken basically from St. Paul; however, the entire Roman tradition, from Hippolytus on, has substituted for the Pauline phrase "whenever you drink it," the phrase "whenever you do this." In some form or other our Lord's injunction is mentioned in almost all the liturgical formularies.<sup>43</sup> Where it is missing, it is presupposed. It is in the very nature of the Christian liturgy of the Mass that the account of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament should not be recited as a merely historical record, as are other portions of the Gospels. Indeed, the words of the account are spoken over the bread and a chalice, and, in accord with our Lord's word, are uttered precisely in order to repeat Christ's action. This repetition, is, in fact, accomplished in all its essentials by rehearsing the words of the account of the institution.

<sup>39</sup> This interpretation, which is generally supported today, is found already in Durandus, IV, 42, 20 and in Florus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> That the identification of *mysterium* and *sacramentum* is justified for the time that comes under consideration is clear from the fact that the series of catechetical instructions handling this matter is called in one case by Ambrose *De mysteriis* and then again *De sacramentis*. Opinions will differ, however, with regard to a narrower limitation of the idea *mysterium*. O. Casel, who in *JL*, 10 (1931), 311, agrees with Hamm, prefers in *JL*, 15 (1941) 302 f., to take the "mystery of the faith" as the new *mysterium* in opposition to the *mysterium* of the Gnosis. But it is still questionable whether the Gnosis is to be taken into account for this interpolation in the period under consideration.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Binterim, II, 1 (1825), 132-137. The

natural Englishing, "mystery of (the) faith," unfortunately suggests only the intellectual side and so seems to interrupt the train of thought.

<sup>42</sup> Th. Michels, "Mysterium fidei" im Einsetzungsbericht der römischen Liturgie," *Catholica*, 6 (1937), 81-88, refers to Leo the Great, *Sermo* 4, de Quadr. (PL, 54, 279 f.); the pope points out that at that time the Manicheans here and there partook of the body of Our Lord, but shunned "to drink the blood of our Redemption." He supposes that in opposition to them Leo wanted to accentuate the chalice by adding the words *mysterium fidei*.

<sup>43</sup> Hamm, 87 f.—In the Roman liturgy, until the Missal of Pius V, some indecision is apparent, whether the words *Hæc quotiescumque* are to be said over the chalice, or else during or after the elevation. Lebrun, I, 423 f.

### 13. The Consecration: The Accompanying Actions

A rehearsal of the sacred narrative is included in the Lord's injunction to do what He had done—that comes clearly to light in the actions accompanying the words as they are said at Mass.

As the priest mentions the Lord's actions, one after the other, he suits his own actions to the words in dramatic fashion. He speaks the words at a table on which bread and wine stand ready. He takes the bread into his hands, as also the chalice; the gesture of presentation that seems to lie hid in this "taking"<sup>1</sup> was and is made even plainer by thus acting it out.<sup>2</sup> Praying, he lifts his eyes to heaven, "unto Thee, God, His almighty Father." At the words *gratias agens* he bows, just as he had done in reverence at the *gratias agimus* and *gratias agamus* that he himself had spoken earlier in the Mass. At the *benedixit*, by way of giving to an older biblical expression a more modern interpretation, he makes the sign of the Cross.<sup>3</sup> The West Syrians and the Copts go even further, and acting out the *fregit*, crack the host without however separating the parts.<sup>4</sup> This imitating of the actions, which expresses as clearly as possible the priest's desire of fulfilling here and now the Lord's commission to do as He had done, is lacking in the East only in the Byzantine rite, and even there it would seem to have existed at one time.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is likely that in the ἀναδελξας mentioned above and in the gesture of raising the bread aloft connected with it in the oriental liturgies, we have a survival of a Palestinian table custom, a custom the Lord Himself observed. Likewise the taking and raising of the cup must have been done as one movement; cf. above I, 21, n. 63. Cf. Jungmann, "Acceptit panem," *Zeitschrift f. Asese u. Mystik*, 18 = *ZkTh*, 67 (1943), 162-165.

<sup>2</sup> In the Roman liturgy, too, before the elevating of the consecrated host came into vogue as a means of presenting it to the view of the people, the taking and raising at this point was understood as an oblation; see Honorius Augustod., *Sacramentarium*, c. 88 (PL, 172, 793 D): *Exemplo Domini accipit sacerdos oblatam et calicem in manus et elevat, ut sit Deo acceptum sicut sacrificium Abel* . . .

<sup>3</sup> In the biblical text (in Matt. and Mark) we find εὐλογῆσας without *gratias agens*. It indicates the short blessing formula that was said over the bread. Likewise

in place of the customary lengthy table prayer we have the εὐχαριστήσας without *benedixit* over the chalice; cf. above I, 9. <sup>4</sup> Hanssens, III, 422, 424; cf. Brightman, 177, l. 1; 232, l. 20. A hint of the breaking is found also among the Maronites; Hanssens, III, 423. Moses bar Kepha (d. 903) in his Mass explanations, *ibid.*, 447, already testifies to this breaking among the Jacobite West Syrians. The same practice can be proven to have existed within the Roman liturgy since the 13th century, chiefly in England and France, where different Mass books present the rubric: *Hic facit signum fractionis* or *frangat frangere*, or at least: *Hic tangat hostiam*; see anent this the excursus in Legg, *Tracts*, 259-261. Also in the *Ordinale* of the Carmelites (about 1312), ed. Zimmermann, 81; and still in the *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), p. XXX.

<sup>5</sup> Hanssens, III, 446, expresses the opinion that all this was removed in order to stress the exclusive consecratory power of the epiklesis. Similarly the signs of the cross

As the *dedit discipulis suis* is realized fully only in the Communion, and the *fregit* is usually carried out only at the fraction before Communion, so the *gratias agens* in its wider sense has already been anticipated,<sup>6</sup> and the *accepit* has been already portrayed in an earlier passage. But the heart of the process is renewed at this very instant. The narrative of what once took place passes into the actuality of the present happening. There is a wonderful identification of Christ and the priest. In the person of the priest, Christ Himself stands at the altar, and picks up the bread, and lifts up "this goodly chalice" (Psalm 22:5), *hunc præclarum calicem*.<sup>7</sup> Through this mode of speech clear expression is given to the fact that it is Christ Himself who is now active, and that it is by virtue of power deriving from Him<sup>8</sup> that the transubstantiation which follows takes place.<sup>9</sup>

for the blessing at the εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογῆσας, ἀγιάσας are missing only in the Byzantine Rite, *ibid.*, 447. Still the Byzantine Mass has the practice, that the deacon point with his oration to the disks, *resp.* the chalice, while the priest says the Λάβετε, φάγετε, *resp.* Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. The priest also takes part in this rite of "showing"; cf. J. Doens, *De hl. Liturgie van H. V. J. Chrysostomus*, (3rd ed.; Chevotogne, 1950), p. XIV f. The obvious meaning of these gestures is denied, however, in a note attached to these orthodox texts; Brightman, 386.—The purpose behind this dramatic copying of Our Savior's actions is perhaps best described by the term suggested in a recent study: *intention applicatrice*, applied intent, which plainly establishes the function of the words of institution; A. Chavasse, "L'épiclèse eucharistique dans les anciennes liturgies orientales. Une hypothèse d'interprétation," *Mélanges de science religieuse*, 1946, 197-206.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 115 ff.—Hanssens, III, 353 ff., 425 ff., espouses the opinion that from the beginning only the words of Christ spoken over the bread and wine at the time of the institution were considered as the fulfillment of Christ's mandate; that the prayer of thanks is not a copying of the εὐλογία, εὐχαριστία uttered by Christ; that the prayer said by Him over the chalice survives rather in the thanksgiving prayers after Communion. There may be a certain amount of justification for such a consideration if one has in mind only the ex-

ternal order in which the prayers follow one upon the other, but hardly when one considers the meaning and purpose of each separate part. Justin, e.g., attaches no significance to the prayer of thanks after Communion. On the other hand, it is hardly conceivable that the *eucharistia* in Justin, which in fact was underscored even before him and in the entire tradition after him, should have arisen without any relation whatever to the prayer of thanks spoken by Our Lord. Through the fusion of the two consecrations required by the circumstances and by the anticipation of the prayer of thanksgiving, the essence of the latter is not thereby changed; cf. above I, 16 f. The rather late and secondary origin of the prayer assumed by Hanssens, III, 355 f., is excluded not only by such considerations, but by the *Gratias agamus* which, in all likelihood, originated already in the primitive community.

<sup>7</sup> The same idea in the Ethiopian anaphora of Gregory of Alexandria (Cagin, 233, div. 35): *Similiter respexit super hunc calicem, aquam vitæ cum vino, gratias agens* . . . Cf. the pointing gestures in the Ethiopian liturgy with the same meaning, *supra*, p. 145, n. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe* 191, sees therein more definitely an indication "that the sacred words spoken by Christ at the Last Supper extend their efficacy to all Masses that would be celebrated in the future."

<sup>9</sup> In the West it is Ambrose especially, who with complete clarity utters the conviction that the consecration takes place by repeat-

Numerous usages in oriental rites are understandable only from this same viewpoint. Thus, for example, the fact that the whole eucharistic prayer (aside from the *Sanctus*, which is sung in common) is spoken softly by the priest up to this passage, and then the words "take and eat, this is My body," and the corresponding words over the chalice are spoken in a loud voice; in fact, they are chanted in a solemn melody. And this is done over the bread held in the hands, and over the chalice grasped by the hands.<sup>10</sup> In the West-Syrian anaphora of St. James the people answer *Amen* both times the priest says the words of consecration.<sup>11</sup> This was already an established custom in the ninth century, when Moses bar Kepha was vainly tilting against it, for he rightly saw in the custom an acknowledgment of the completed transubstantiation, for which he contended the epiklesis was still requisite.<sup>12</sup> This *Amen* is found also in the Byzantine and the Armenian Masses.<sup>13</sup> In the present-day Ethiopian liturgy the *Amen* is repeated three times on each occasion, and followed by acts of faith.<sup>14</sup> In the Coptic liturgy the dramatic element is heightened by inserting the *Amens* between the phrases of the introductory words of the priest: "He took bread . . . and gave thanks"—*Amen*; "blessed it"—*Amen*; "consecrated it"—*Amen*. And after the words of consecration in each instance comes a profession of faith: Πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ

ing the words of Christ; see above I, 52. Cf. Ambrose, *De mysteriis*, 9, 52; *In Ps. 38 enarr.*, c. 25 (PL, 14, 1052): *etsi nunc Christus non videtur offerre, tamen ipse offertur in terris, quando Christi corpus offertur; immo ipse offerre manifestatur in nobis, cuius sermo sanctificat sacrificium quod offertur*. In general Christian antiquity, even until way into the Middle Ages, manifested no particular interest regarding the determination of the precise moment of the consecration. Often reference was made merely to the entire Eucharistic prayer. It is Florus Diaconus, *De actione miss.*, c. 60 (PL, 119, 52 f.), in the Carolingian period, who with particular stress brought out the significance of the words of consecration; *ille in suis sacerdotibus quotidie loquitur*.

<sup>10</sup> Greek anaphora of St. James; Brightman, 51 f. The loud singing of these words is likewise found in the Byzantine liturgy already in the 9th century; *ibid.*, 328.

<sup>11</sup> Brightman, 52; cf. Hanssens, III, 420 f.

<sup>12</sup> Thus, according to the account of Dionysius bar Salibi, ed. Labourt (*Corpus script. christ. orient.*, 93), 62; 77; O. Heiming, *Orientalia christ.*, 16 (1950), 195, published a palimpsest fragment of the 8th

century with an anaphora text used even prior to the 8th century, which likewise displays the *Amen*.

<sup>13</sup> Said by the choir, *resp.* the clerics; Brightman, 385 f., 437. The *Amen* must have come into the Mozarabic Mass from the Syrian-Byzantine sphere. Here the *Amen* of the choir is said three times, after the command to do this that follows upon the words over the bread and those over the chalice, and again after the Pauline *Quotiescumque manducaveritis* that is added at the end; *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 552 f.). This appropriation must have taken place before the middle of the 7th century, i.e., before the Arabs rendered commerce over the Mediterranean impossible; this circumstance is significant for the antiquity of the practice in the Orient; cf. H. Pirenne, *Geburt des Abendlandes* (1939), 160 ff. The *Amen* to which Augustine testifies, *Serm.*, VI, 3 Denis, and which Roetzer, 124, refers to this instance, belongs to the conclusion of the canon.

<sup>14</sup> Brightman, 232 f. After the words over the bread "Amen, Amen, Amen: we believe and confess: we praise thee, our Lord and our God. This is true; we believe." After the chalice: "Amen, Amen, Amen."

δοξάζομεν—in Greek, and therefore a tradition from as early as the sixth century at least.<sup>15</sup>

In comparison with these we must confess that the Roman liturgy of the first millenary lacked the impulse to direct the attention at once to the completion of the sacramental process, or to draw ritual deductions from it.<sup>16</sup> Only in the eleventh century do we begin to find, hand in hand with an increased care for everything connected with the Sacrament,<sup>17</sup> the first signs of a new attitude. According to the Cluniac Customary, written about 1068 by the monk Bernhard, the priest at the consecration should hold the host *quattuor primis digitis ad hoc ipsum ablutis*.<sup>18</sup> After the consecration, even when praying with outstretched arms, some priests began to hold those fingers which had "touched" the Lord's Body, pressed together,<sup>19</sup> others even began this at the ablution of the fingers at the offertory.<sup>20</sup> In one form or another the idea soon became a general rule.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Brightman, 176 f.; cf. Hanssens, III, 421. Further details in Spáčil (see above n. 26), 108-111.

<sup>16</sup> There must have been a very lively sentiment in the Irish-Celtic tradition for the definitive meaning of the words of the institution. The Stowe Missal, ed. Warner (HBS, 32), 37; 40, stresses the fact that when the priest begins: *accepit Jesus panem*, nothing is to distract or divert him; for that reason it is called the *oratio periculosa*. The *Pœnitentiale Cummeani* fixed three days of double fasting, according to another version even *quinquaginta plagas*, as a penance for a priest who was guilty of a mistake in any passage *ubi periculum adnotatur*; Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 94 f.; 117, n. 232. A reminiscence of this is still retained in the *Pontificale Romanum* in the warning given to the newly ordained to learn carefully the rite of the Mass (*hostiæ consecrationem ac fractionem et communionem*); this warning begins: *Quia res, quam tractaturi estis, satis periculosa est*. Cf. *Pontificale* of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 372 f.); Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 42, 19. In view of this awe regarding the words of consecration it is strange that it was apparently not until the 14-15th century that it became the practice to make the consecration prayers more prominent by means of special lettering. P. de Puniet, "La consécration," *Cours et Conférences*, VII, (Louvain, 1929), 193.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. The rite regarding the preparation of the hosts, above, p. 35.

<sup>18</sup> I, 72 (Herrgott, *Vetus disciplina monastica*, 264).

<sup>19</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 16 (PL, 151, 987 C), opposes this: *Non ergo digiti sunt contrahendi semper, ut quidam præ nimia cautela faciunt . . . hoc tamen observato, ne quid digitis tangamus præter Domini corpus*. A fresco in the lower church of S. Clemente in Rome that presents a priest at the altar at the end of the canon shows him without this *nimia cautela*. Illustration in O. Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 27.

<sup>20</sup> Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, 149, 717 ff.); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 84, 86 (PL, 150, 1012 f.; 1017).

<sup>21</sup> Thus in the 13th century Durandus, IV, 31, 4; IV, 43, 5, enjoins that thumb and forefinger may be parted after the consecration only *quando oportet hostiam tangi vel signa* (signs of the cross) *feri*. The *Ordo* of Stefaneschi (1311), n. 53 (PL, 78, 1166 B), has the same rule. So, too, in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège and also in the Dominican source of the same, dated about 1256 (Volk, 95, 1. 5); in both passages it is also required from after the *Lavabo* on: *Cum digitis, quibus sacrum corpus tractandum est, folia non vertat nec aliud tangat* (Volk, 93, 1. 22). According to the *Missale Rom.*, *Rit. serv.* VIII, 5, even the *signa* no longer form an exception; the fingers simply remain closed. In the oriental liturgy similar prescriptions seem to exist only in the uniate communities; see Hanssens, III, 424 f.

Even in the twelfth century, however, the special takens of honor towards the Sacrament which began to appear were at first found not in this precise connection but rather in other parts of the Mass.<sup>22</sup>

Now, however, the people entered to dominate the scene. A religious movement swept over the faithful, prompting them, now that they hardly presumed to receive Communion, at least to look at the sacred species with their bodily eyes.<sup>23</sup> This impulse to see fastened upon the precise moment when the priest picked up the host and blessed it, as he was about to pronounce over it the words of consecration. The presentation of the Host by elevating it a little, which we find more clearly expressed in the oriental rites, had also become more pronounced in the Roman Mass.<sup>24</sup> Towards the end of the twelfth century<sup>25</sup> stories were in circulation of visions imparted at this very moment: the Host shone like the sun;<sup>26</sup> a tiny child appeared in the priest's hands as he was about to bless the host.<sup>27</sup>

In some places the priest was accustomed to replace the host upon the altar after making the sign of the Cross over it, and only then to recite the words of consecration; in other places, on the contrary, he would hold it aloft as he spoke these words.<sup>28</sup> Thus the people were not to be blamed if, without making any further distinction, they revered the host as soon as they were able to see it.

<sup>22</sup> The Cistercian Herbert of Sassari, *De miraculis*, III, 23 (PL, 185, 1371), about 1178, tells of a prescribed bow before the Blessed Sacrament after the breaking: *Et Agnus Dei iam dicto, cum iuxta illius ordinis consuetudinem super patenam corpus Domini posuit et coram ipso modice inclinando caput humiliasset*. . . Regarding Herbert's work, cf. now B. Griesser, "Herbert von Clairvaux und sein Liber miraculorum," *Cist.-Chr.*, 54 (1947), 21-39; 118-148.

<sup>23</sup> Regarding the ramifications of this movement see above, I, 120 ff. The history of the elevation was finally presented by E. Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, Paris, 1926; P. Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, (Munich, 1933, 26-69; = 2 Kap.: "Die Elevation," first published, *JL*, 9 (1929), 20-66). Cf. also Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 32 f., 100-105.

<sup>24</sup> This elevation was developed in the 12th century to such an extent that Radulphus Ardens d. 1215), *Homil.*, 47 (PL, 155) 1836 B), already regarded it as a representation of Christ's elevation on the cross. Further data in Browe, *Die Verehrung*,

29 f.; cf. Dumoutet, 47.

<sup>25</sup> An example cited among others by Dumoutet, 46 f., from Wibert of Nogent (d. about 1124), *De pignoribus sanctorum*, I, 2, 1 (PL, 156, 616), can also refer to the elevation at the end of the canon.

<sup>26</sup> Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* (written about 1230), IX, 33 (Dumoutet, 42, n. 3): vision of the nun Richmudis. In vouching for the story, he adds the remarkable note: *nequid puto factam fuisse transubstantiationem*.

<sup>27</sup> *Magna vita Hugonis Lincolnesis*, V, 3 (Dumoutet, 42, n. 2): This occurred at a Mass of the bishop, who died in 1200. The life was written by his chaplain.

<sup>28</sup> For the latter method see Hildebert of Le Mans (d. 1133), *Versus* (PL, 171, 1186); Stephan of Baugé (d. about 1140), *De sacris altaris*, c. 13 (PL, 172, 1292 D). Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 30. As numerous Mass-books testify, the practice continued for a long time: until into the 15th century: Dumoutet, 42 f. But, along with this practice, that of today was also followed; cf. Mass-ordo of York (about 1425; Simons, 106): the *Qui pridie* is said *inclinato capite super linteamina*.

To forestall this impropriety, the bishop of Paris in 1210 ordered that the priests should hold the host breast-high, before the consecration, and only *after* the consecration should they lift it high enough to be seen by all.<sup>29</sup> This is the first authentic instance of that elevation of the Host which is so familiar to us.<sup>30</sup>

The custom spread rapidly. A regulation of the year 1210 appears to have prescribed it for the Cistercians; for the Carthusians it was ordered in 1222.<sup>31</sup> From then until the middle of the century it was mentioned in various synods as a usage already in vogue.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, and on till the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, other synods continued in various ways to oppose any elevation before the consecration, "lest" (as a London synod of 1215 put it) "a creature be adored instead of the Creator."<sup>33</sup> The great theologians of Scholasticism speak of the elevation of the Host as a general practice of the Church.<sup>34</sup>

But that does not mean that there was a similar elevation of the chalice. The elevation of the chalice is found, indeed, even as early as the thirteenth century, but the usage was rare and exceptional.<sup>35</sup> However, it forced its way through, but only slowly, especially outside of France.<sup>36</sup> Even the

<sup>29</sup> Among the *Præcepta synodalia* of Bishop Odo (d. 1208), c. 28 (Mansi, XXII, 628): *Præcipitur presbyteris ut cum in canone missæ inceperint: Qui pridie, tenentes hostiam, ne elevent eam statim nimis alte, ita quod possit ab omnibus videri a populo, sed quasi ante pectus detineant, donec dixerint: Hoc est corpus meum, et tunc elevent eam, ut possit ab omnibus videri*. Cf. regarding this, V. L. Kennedy, "The Date of the Parisian Decree on the Elevation of the Host," *Medieval Studies*, 8 (Toronto, 1946), 87-96. Dumoutet, 37 ff. and Browe, 31 ff. espouse the explanation given above regarding this measure against Thurston, who in several publications referred to the teachings of Peter Comestor (d. 1178) and Peter Cantor (d. 1197), according to whom the transubstantiation of the bread actually occurs only after the words over the chalice have also been said. To counteract this teaching, the elevation of the host is supposed to have been ordered immediately after the words of consecration had been said over it. As is shown with great thoroughness by V. L. Kennedy, "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host," *Medieval Studies* 6 (1944), 121-150, the controversy can have influenced the decree only insofar as, in accordance

with the opposing teaching, which gradually gained the ascendancy, the elevation, already sought for other reasons, was prescribed right after the words over the bread.

<sup>30</sup> It is possible that the practice was in vogue already elsewhere before 1200. In the year 1201 Cardinal Guido, O. Cist., came to Germany as Papal Legate and promulgated in Cologne the order: *Ut ad elevationem hostiæ omnis populus in ecclesia ad sonitum nolæ veniam peteret*. It seems that all the Cardinal did here was to re-establish the genuflection and perhaps also the signal with the bell. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, IX, 51; cf. Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 35; Franz, 678.

<sup>31</sup> Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 34 f.

<sup>32</sup> Browe, 35, 37.

<sup>33</sup> Browe, 38.

<sup>34</sup> Browe, 36.—Still the Papal chapel knows nothing of the practice even in 1290; instead the oblatory elevation before the words of consecration is still clearly stressed: *levet eam* [s. *hostiam*], *levet calicem*; Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 204 f.

<sup>35</sup> Durandus, IV, 41, 52, recognizes it.

<sup>36</sup> The history of this advance in Browe, 41-46.

printed Roman Missals of 1500, 1507, and 1526 make no mention of it. Various difficulties stood in the way of a rapid spread of the rite, especially the danger of spilling the contents of the chalice. Then there was the fact that the chalice used to be covered with the back part of the corporal folded up over it.<sup>37</sup> But particularly cogent was the objection that in seeing the chalice one does not "see" the Precious Blood.<sup>38</sup> For this last reason, even where the elevation of the chalice took place, it was little more than a mere suggestion: the chalice was merely lifted up to about the level of the eyes.<sup>39</sup> Not till the Missal of Pius V was the second elevation made to correspond with that of the Host.

The desire of gazing upon the Lord's Body was the driving force which, since the twelfth century, brought about this intrusion of a very notable innovation into the canon which for ages had been regarded as an inviolable sanctuary. The oblatory elevation before the words of consecration lost its importance,<sup>40</sup> and the displaying of the Host after the words, instead became the new pivot and center of the canon of the Mass. From the intrusion of this new element a further development had to follow. It was at bottom only a pious idea to regard seeing the Host, "contacting" the species with the organs of sight, as a participation in the Sacrament and its streams of grace, and even to value it as a sort of Communion. But it was a logical conclusion that, the moment the consecration took place, all honor and reverence are owing to the Lord's Body and Blood. This conclusion, as we have seen, was actually realized in oriental rites.<sup>41</sup> So any further regulation of the new usage had to be directed to keeping

<sup>37</sup> Thus, a second corporal, or the pall that later developed from it, was required to be able to elevate the covered chalice; cf. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 210 f. Still, Durandus already recognizes the elevation of the uncovered chalice in his *Const. synodales* (ed. Berthel , 69); Browe, 40. Both methods were still in existence in the 14-15th century; Browe, 47.

<sup>38</sup> Durandus, IV, 41, 52.

<sup>39</sup> Browe, 47; cf. Franz, 105, n. 1. To this day the Carthusians recognize only this restricted elevation; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 16. However, the chalice was frequently held aloft until the *Unde et memores*. Thus according to Italian Mass-books of the 13th century: Ebner, 315; 329; 349.

<sup>40</sup> Strictly speaking, there is still an oblatory elevation at the consecration, since the priest "takes" the host in his hands. In fact, this original idea is not excluded even in the elevation for the view of others; now the oblatory elevation takes

place with the consecrated gift in place of the unconsecrated one, and is performed in such a way that it might be seen by more people. But this idea has not generally been fostered since the 12th century. However, traces of this older conception are still found even in modern times. Thus, among the Reformers, Karlstadt not only insisted that the elevation be dropped, but considered it an expression of oblation and therefore abominable and sinful; L. Fendt, *Der lutherische Gottesdienst des 16 Jh.* (Munich, 1923), 95; cf. also Berthold of Chiemsee, *Kelignpuchel*, (Munich, 1535), c. 20, 7: "Wenn der Priester eleviert, d.i. die Hostie . . . sacramentlich opffert . . ." Similarly also Martin von Cochem, *Medulla missæ germanicæ*, c. 29 (3d ed., Cologne, 1724; 441): "Oh, what an excellent gift the priest presents to the all-holy Trinity when he lifts the divine Host on high!"

<sup>41</sup> Above, 203 f.

this desire to gaze on the Host within proper limits<sup>42</sup> and to working out suitable terms for honoring It. This, then, was substantially what was done.

The longing to look at the Host soon received ecclesiastical approval and support in several ways. This we see not only in the ruling that the Body of our Lord should be lifted high enough to enable the faithful to see It—to "show" It to the people, as our present-day rubric puts it: *ostendit populo*. There was even a tendency to emphasize this "showing" by lingering a moment while elevating the Host, or by turning to right and left. But a stop was soon put to such efforts, since they involved too large a break in the course of the action.<sup>43</sup> But then we hear of another custom, especially in French and English churches, the custom of drawing a dark curtain behind the altar in order to make the white Host stand out clearly against the background.<sup>44</sup> The consecration candle, from which in many places the *Sanctus* candle developed, was originally intended to be lighted and lifted aloft by the deacon or the Mass-server at the early Mass, when it was still dark, *ut corpus Christi . . . possit videri*.<sup>45</sup> We hear of admonitions directed to the thurifer not to let the clouds of incense obscure the view of the species.<sup>46</sup> In monastic churches the doors of the choir, which were ordinarily kept closed, were opened at the consecration.<sup>47</sup> The signal of the bell at the elevation was likewise introduced for similar reasons. The first evidence for such a practice comes from churches in Cologne as

<sup>42</sup> Here we make mention only of those things which are of importance for the development of today's practice. Regarding other usages and customs elsewhere, see above I, 119 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 242): *Ipsam [sc. hostiam] vero non circumferat nec diu teneat elevatam*. Thus also in the *Liber ordinarius* of Li ge (Volk, 94 f.). Further data in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 63. It is only in the Papal Mass that the turning to the right and left at the elevation has been retained until the present time; Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 27.

<sup>44</sup> The practice was still retained in Chartres, Rouen, and other French cathedrals around 1700; de Mol on, 226 f., 367 f., 433, 435; Dumoutet, 58-60. In Spain it existed in some single instances even in the 19th century; Legg, *Tracts*, 234 f.

<sup>45</sup> Such was the arrangement of the Carthusians about the middle of the 13th century; DACL, III, 1057. According to the *Mass-ordo* of John Burchard (1502) the candle was to be lit at the *Hanc igitur* and extinguished after the elevation of the

chalice; Legg, *Tracts*, 155; 157; cf. Dumoutet, 57; Swiss church books of the 15-17th century mention "hebkerzen" and "kerten der ufhebung" (elevation candles); Kr mmler, *Der Kult der Eucharistie in Sprache und Volkstum der deutschen Schweiz* (Basle, 1949), 57. Elsewhere it was lit sooner, or also extinguished only after Communion. Hence it turned into an expression of veneration for the Blessed Sacrament; for this development see H. L. Verwilst, *Die Dominikanische Messe* (D sseldorf, 1948), 25 f. Concerning the history of this consecration candle, see P. Browe, *Die Elevation in der Messe* (JL, 9 [1929], 20-66), 40-43.

<sup>46</sup> The Carmelite Ordinal of 1312 (Zimmermann, 81 f.). Cf. Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 56. The incensing of the Blessed Sacrament at the consecration on feast days is already provided for in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 241 f.). However, for a long time, it was not customary; see more details in Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 264-266.

<sup>47</sup> Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 55 f.

early as 1201.<sup>48</sup> It makes its appearance first as a signal accompanying the elevation of the Host, and then the corresponding elevation of the chalice.<sup>49</sup> Soon we hear of the signal's being anticipated, when the priest makes the sign of the Cross over the Host and the chalice.<sup>50</sup> Further, the bell was used not only to direct the attention to the moment of the "showing," but also to call the people in to worship the Sacrament. So by the end of the thirteenth century the signal with the little bell<sup>51</sup> was augmented by a signal from the large church bell,<sup>52</sup> so that those who were absent, busy at home or in the field, might pause at this moment, turn towards the church and adore our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament.

It was self-evident from the start that honor should be paid to the Sacrament when It was elevated, all the more so when heresy had made an assault on faith in the Eucharist.<sup>53</sup> Clergy and faithful were to kneel down—this was the admonition of the first decrees and synods that dealt with the new consecration practices.<sup>54</sup> Or at least a humble bow was ordered, as in a regulation of Honorius III in the year 1219,<sup>55</sup> and in several later decrees.<sup>56</sup> Especially canons in various cathedral churches continued

<sup>48</sup> Cf. above, p. 207, n. 30. Cf. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 573-575.

<sup>49</sup> Durandus, IV, 41, 53. In England this was called the "sacring bell."

<sup>50</sup> *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 94, 1, 29). Cf. H(erbert) T(hurston) "The 'Cross Bell' in the Mass," *The Month*, 172 (1938), 451-454. More details regarding the ringing of the bell at the consecration in Browe, *Die Elevation* (JL, 9), 37-40. According to many a report it would seem the ringing of the bell at the *Sanctus* was to serve the same purpose, *ut populus valeat levationis sacramenti . . . habere notitiam*, as is recorded in a foundation established in 1399 at Chartres for the ringing of the *Sanctus*; Du Cange-Favre, VII, 259. Cf. above, p. 131, n. 22.

<sup>51</sup> Such a bell was, as a rule, fastened to the wall of the choir. Small hand bells, that the server used at the altar, are generally in evidence only since the 16th century. And only since then, so it would seem, was the signal given with these bells also in private Masses. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 573-580, especially 576.

<sup>52</sup> Pertinent stipulations of 13-15th century synods in Browe, *Die Elevation*, 39 f.; Krömler, *op. cit.*, 33 f. gives examples of present-day customs in Switzerland.—The Holy See grants an indulgence of 300 days to all, wherever they may be, who adore the Blessed Sacrament at the sound of the

elevation bell. *Enchiridion Indulgentiarum* (Rome, 1950), n. 142.

<sup>53</sup> *Supra* I, 119.

<sup>54</sup> The oldest report is the disposition made by Cardinal Guido in the year 1201; above, p. 207, n. 30. Further reports in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 34-39 in the notes. However, there is evidence as early as 1208 for kneeling down sooner, at *accepit panem*; see Kennedy, *The Moment of Consecration*, 149.

<sup>55</sup> Gregory IX, *Decretales*, III, 41, 10 (Friedberg, II, 642); cf. Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 37.

<sup>56</sup> P. Browe, "L'atteggiamento del corpo durante la messa" (*Eph. liturg.*, 50 [1936], 402-414), 408 f. As a minimum requirement it was expected that those who, according to the custom of the time were squatted on the floor, would, as a mark of respect, at least stand up. Still in many a place the Beghards and Beguines refused even this, a condition that induced the Council of Vienne (1311-12) to take a hand in the matter; Denzinger-Umberg, *Enchiridion*, n. 478. Likewise, according to a report from Flanders in the year 1349, the Flagellants refused to remove their head covering at the consecration; Browe, *loc. cit.*, 403; cf. 411. On the other hand again, a complete *prostratio* often became customary, especially in monasteries; see, e.g., the Statutes of the Car-

for a long time to follow their age-old practice of bowing: at Chartres this was done as late as the eighteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Here and there, too, the wish was expressed or even insisted on, that while kneeling the arms be stretched out and the hands raised.<sup>58</sup> But merely kneeling was the general rule. According to the thirteenth Roman *ordo*, which was written under Gregory X (d. 1276), the choir of clerics was to remain stretched out on the floor *quousque sacerdos corpus et sanguinem sumat* (unless, because of a feast day or a festal season, standing was prescribed).<sup>59</sup> According to the choir rules now in effect, where the influence of the ancient custom of standing bowed during the canon is at work alongside the newer attitude of special honor for the Blessed Sacrament, the choir usually kneels down at the *Te igitur*. Among the people, too, the idea of looking at the Sacrament was in many ways curbed, so that they knelt not only during the consecration but, where possible, from the *Sanctus* on, and remained

thusians: Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 633 C). Cf. also the illustration from S. Marco in Venice in Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, I (Paris, 1883), Tablet XVIII.

<sup>57</sup> Browe, "L'atteggiamento," 409 f. In the diocese of Basle in 1581 the Canons of St. Ursitz could be forced to kneel at the consecration only when threatened with ecclesiastical penalties (*ibid.*). Concerning French cathedrals cf. Cl. de Vert, *Explication simple*, I (Paris, 1706), 238 ff.; Martène, 1, 4, 8, 22 (I, 414 D); de Moléon, 230. This conservative retention of the older custom is explained by the recollection that from time immemorial the act of kneeling accompanied only prayers of petition and penance; cf. above I, 240. Even Durandus, VI, 86, 17, stresses the fact that one genuflected before the Blessed Sacrament only on Sundays and feast days and during the Pentecost season.

<sup>58</sup> Constitutions of the Camaldolese of 1233, c. 2, in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 53, n. 160. In France about 1220 the poet of the "Queste del saint Graal" has the hero cry out, as he extends his hands towards the priest, who holds the Body of the Lord up to view: "Biaus douz pères, ne m'oubliez mie de me rente!" Dumoutet, 45, n. 1. In England the Christian of the 13th century was instructed to "hold up bothe thi handes" at the consecration; *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Simmons, 38. The canon picture in a Sacramentary of the 14th century from St. Peter's in Rome, in Ebner, 191, portrays the priest at the consecration

and "four figures seated, and one kneeling at the right, with their arms uplifted toward the altar." The same gesture of raising the hands is also seen in a miniature of Cod. 82 (14th cent.) in the Heidelberg University Library, fol. 158. Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect. 50, recommends *manus suas in caelum tendere*, as a mark of reverence at the consecration. Sixtus IV, in 1480, granted an indulgence for saying five Our Fathers and Hail Marys *flexis genibus et elevatis manibus* at the consecration; Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 55. It is not clear, however, whether in all these instances the arms were held *outstretched*; it could mean a gesture that implied taking part in the oblation; cf. Balth. Fischer, "Liturgiegeschichte" und Verkündigung" (*Die Messe in der Glaubensverkündigung*, 1-13, 12, note 14, where O. Reinaldus, *Annales eccl.*, XIV (Cologne, 1694), 204, is cited for a practice of the English King Henry I (d. 1272), who was wont at the consecration *manum sacerdotis tenere*. The extending of the arms after the consecration (in the manner described below, p. 220, n. 15) is still customary in the monasteries of the Capuchins. The extension of the arms, when looking at the host, is also reported as a present-day custom in a southern Slavic country; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II), 360.

<sup>59</sup> *Ceremoniale* of Gregory X (d. 1276), n. 19 (PL, 78, 1116).

on their knees till the Communion.<sup>60</sup> After the close of the Middle Ages the desire to honor the Sacrament, which led to this kneeling, had gained the ascendancy over the desire to see,<sup>61</sup> so far, indeed, that by the beginning of the twentieth century it even became customary in almost all countries to bow the head while kneeling at the consecration. Even at the elevation hardly a thought was given to looking up at the Host,<sup>62</sup> and this was not changed until Pius X, in 1907, gave a new incentive by granting an indulgence to those who, while contemplating the sacred Host, recited the prayer "My Lord and my God."<sup>63</sup>

It would be quite natural to expect the celebrant also to participate in giving these signs of reverence to the Blessed Sacrament. Yet for a long time the only token thus given was a slight bow made to our Lord's Body after the words of consecration, just before elevating It.<sup>64</sup> Here and there the practice grew of kissing the Host;<sup>65</sup> this was during the thirteenth century, the time which witnessed the multiplication of the altar kisses.<sup>66</sup> But these well-intentioned efforts were countered at once by various prohibitions,<sup>67</sup> subsequently repeated.<sup>68</sup> Our form of genuflection—falling on one knee and then rising at once—was not at that time recognized as a religious practice, and therefore was not used at this moment.<sup>69</sup> To kneel on both knees during the consecration was demanded early of deacon and subdeacon, but appears to have been impracticable for the priest,

<sup>60</sup> This view apparently was far more generally accepted in countries outside of Germany than in any German territory; cf. Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern," 356 f. Here, 413 f., the reference to attempts to introduce among the people the complete *prostratio* after the consecration, cf. above note 56.

<sup>61</sup> Dumoutet, 73 f.

<sup>62</sup> Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit" (*Stz.*, 1926, II), 215 f. "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*ibid.*, 1927, II), 356.

<sup>63</sup> Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 68 f.

<sup>64</sup> *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 94, 1. 31): *aliquantulum inclinans*; likewise in the Dominican copy of the work done in 1256 (Guerrini, 242). The *Ordo* of Stefaneschi, which originated about 1311, also has the priest venerate the host *inclinato capite* just before the elevation, and likewise *inclinato paululum capite* before the elevation of the chalice. Numerous other proofs from the 13th century until about the 16th century in Browe, *Die Elevation*, 44-47.

<sup>65</sup> *Missale* of Evreux-Jumièges (14-15th cent.): Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 644 E). More examples in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 65. Cf. also below, n. 67.

<sup>66</sup> Above I, 316. In several places it became customary to kiss both the host and the chalice before the respective words of consecration; Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 65. The Pontifical of Laon, Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux*, (I, Paris, 1937), 167, notes a kissing of the chalice before the words *Accipite et bibite*.

<sup>67</sup> Synod of Sarum, 1217, can. 37 f. (Mansi, XXII, 1119 f.); Bonaventura, *Speculum disciplinae ad novitios*, I, 17 (Opp. ed. Peltier, XII [Paris, 1868], 467). Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 65 f.

<sup>68</sup> Examples until into the 17th century in Browe, 65 f.

<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, it was customary as a mark of respect before lay persons of rank. Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272), in a sermon, stresses this distinction and urges a double genuflection before the Blessed Sacrament; Berthold of Regensburg, *Predigten*, ed. Pfeiffer, I (1862), 457.

although the insertion of a lengthy prayer—as was sometimes done after the *Pater noster*—seems to have been thought desirable.<sup>70</sup> The first evidence of a short genuflection made by the priest at the consecration is found in Henry of Hesse (d. 1397), who was teaching theology at Vienna.<sup>71</sup> Still, even in the fifteenth century the simple bow was still prevalent, and provision is made for it even in some of the Mass ordinaries of the sixteenth century.<sup>72</sup> In Roman Mass books the genuflection appears from 1498 on, and from the start the arrangement is the one we have today, with a genuflection before and after the elevation of the species.<sup>73</sup> It was made definitive in 1570 by the Missal of Pius V.

While the priest genuflects, the Mass-server grasps the edge of the chasuble. Because of the shape which the chasuble has commonly assumed since the close of the Middle Ages, the precise sense of this little ceremony is no longer evident. Nowadays it gives the general impression of being a gesture of readiness, not at all out of keeping with the sacredness of the moment. The explanation usually offered is that the chasuble is lifted so the celebrant might not be impeded when genuflecting,<sup>74</sup> and this might be understandable on the supposition that—as was the case in the last years of the Middle Ages—the chasuble used to reach in back down to the heels.<sup>75</sup> But at that time this reason was not actually given,<sup>76</sup> but instead a very different one, the same reason still found in the Roman Missal. According to this, the server should take hold of the edge of the *planeta*, *ne ipsum Celebrantem impediatur in elevatione brachiorum*.<sup>77</sup> This explanation, it must be granted, is even less obvious today than the other. But that it is the true one can be deduced from the fact that the same gesture had already been prescribed for the deacon long before there was any thought of a genuflection.<sup>78</sup> And in the thirteenth century it was definitely

<sup>70</sup> Browe, *Die Elevation*, 47 f.

<sup>71</sup> Browe, 48 f.

<sup>72</sup> Thus, among others, in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances of 1557; in a Mass arrangement of the Cistercians in 1589; see Browe, *Die Elevation*, 46 f., 50. The Carthusians have retained only the bow to this day. *Ordinarium Carth.* (1932), c. 27, 5 f.; 9 f.; 12.

<sup>73</sup> Browe, 49 f. In several places, however, it was customary to elevate the host during the genuflection. Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 63. Cf. the Miniature of the *Legenda aurea* of Brussels in Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, Tablet 144.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Ph. Hartmann, *Repertorium rituum* (11th ed.; Paderborn, 1908), 773. In Tyrol it is customary to explain this action of holding the chasuble as a symbol of popular participation.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*,

110, who records the average length about the year 1400 as 1,40m (about 4'6") and about the year 1600, 1,25m (about 4'2").  
<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless at the end of the Middle Ages representations are found in which the server raises the chasuble as the priest genuflects; cf. the miniature cited above; a further representation in Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair et la vie liturgique au moyen-âge*, (Paris, 1932), p. 108-109.

<sup>77</sup> *Ritus serv.*, VIII, 6. Likewise in A. Castellani, *Sacerdotale Romanum* (appeared first in 1523; Venice, 1588), 68.

<sup>78</sup> *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (about 1285; Volk, 94, 1. 25): *diaconus retro sacerdotem levans eius casulam. Liber ordinarius* of the cathedral church of Essen (2nd half of the 14th century; Arens, 19): *levabit casulam presbyteri aliquantulum, ut eo facilius levet sacramentum*. Illustrations

in order. For then they still commonly used the bell-shaped chasuble, and when the arms were raised, the back part, being pulled away by the uplifted arms, presented a very ugly picture unless there was a helping hand to hold it neat. With the return of the ample chasuble the old ceremony is again regaining its full meaning, so that it is once more intelligible.

There remains yet another question: Should our worship of the Blessed Sacrament be manifested by prayers and songs? Prayers spoken aloud and songs during the consecration are not things that would explain themselves. The rule of silence during the canon had indeed been violated often enough in the thirteenth century, but it had not yet lost all its force. At all events, the celebrating priest was permitted to say special prayers, but only in a subdued tone.<sup>79</sup> Such an action was not at all strange in medieval times. True, the *apologia* which had cropped out everywhere between the various prayers had for the most part disappeared from the Mass books by the thirteenth century, and the injunctions, like those of Bernold of Constance, forbidding any and all insertions into the canon,<sup>80</sup> did not remain ineffective. But a short ejaculatory prayer right after the consecration still appeared admissible and was actually recommended and practiced by many,<sup>81</sup> although others again absolutely prohibited any such interpolation,<sup>82</sup> even before the appearance of the Missal of Pius V.<sup>83</sup>

But the faithful, at any rate, were admonished to pray, at first using prayers which they would recite quietly to themselves. About 1215 William of Auxerre, in his *Summa aurea*, mentions such prayers and asserts: *Multorum petitiones exaudiuntur in ipsa visione corporis Christi*.<sup>84</sup> According to Berthold of Regensburg, the faithful ought at this moment to pray for three things: for forgiveness of sin, for a contrite reception of the last

from a French Missal of the 14th century in Leroquais, IV, Tablet LXVII, 1.

<sup>79</sup> Regarding the attempts in the 15th and 16th centuries to have the priest say prayers in a loud tone of voice in the presence of the people, see Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 54.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. above, p. 165, n. 31.

<sup>81</sup> William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 338, even as his predecessor, Alexander of Hales, has the priest saying: *Adoro te Domine Jesu Christe Salvator, qui per mortem tuam redemisti mundum, quem credo esse sub hac specie quam video*. Durandus also as bishop in his *Constitutiones synodales* recommends prayers of this kind to his priests; Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 40; 53. A list of similar prayers in a Mass book of Valencia before 1411 (Ferrerres, 154f.). Cf. Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair*, 170-173. It is said of St. Francis Xavier

that he was accustomed to insert a prayer for the conversion of the heathens after the consecration; G. Schurhammer, *Der hl. Franz Xaver*, (Freiburg, 1925), 151.

<sup>82</sup> A commentary on the Mass in a 15th century MS. of Stuttgart (in Franz, 611) threatens those priests with excommunication who interpolate prayers at the elevation of the sacred Host, e.g.: *Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori, or Propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum Domine, or O vere digna hostia*.

<sup>83</sup> Even Ph. Hartmann, *Repertorium rituum*, (11th ed.; Paderborn, 1908), 380 f., directs the celebrant at the elevation of the sacred host (and of the chalice): "let him then pray: *Dominus meus et Deus meus*." But a decree of the Congregation of Rites, Nov. 6, 1925, expressly forbids any such additions henceforth: *Acta Ap. Sed.*, 18 (1926), 22 f.

<sup>84</sup> Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, 18.

sacraments, and for eternal beatitude.<sup>85</sup> As outward expression of their prayer, the faithful might strike their breast or sign themselves with the sign of the Cross.<sup>86</sup> The only vocal prayers commonly recommended were the usual formulas,<sup>87</sup> or else a simple greeting or invocation. One such salutation which recurs in various versions, both Latin and vernacular, in many prayer books towards the end of the medieval era is the formula: *Ave salus mundi, verbum Patris, hostia vera*.<sup>88</sup> Another is the formula: *Te adoro, te verum corpus Christi confiteor*.<sup>89</sup> Other more elaborate formulas were probably products of the monasteries. Take, for instance, the fourteen-part invocation which starts with the verse: *Ave principium nostræ creationis, ave pretium nostræ redemptionis, ave viaticum nostræ peregrinationis*.<sup>90</sup> Such pieces as *Adoro te devote*,<sup>91</sup> *Anima*

<sup>85</sup> Berthold of Regensburg, *Predigten*, ed. Pfeiffer, II, 685 (Franz, 656): cf. I, 459, where he even gives the wording of a prayer. Berthold of Chiemsee, *Keligpuchel* (Munich, 1535), c. 20, 7, 8, presents comprehensive prayers for the oblation and the memory of the Passion.

<sup>86</sup> Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect. 50, among other marks of reverence, recommends *pectora tundere*. Durandus (d. 1296) in his Pontifical (Andrieu, 646; Martène, 1, 4, XXIII [I, 620 A]), prescribed a comprehensive ritual of external marks of reverence for a bishop while present at the Mass of a priest. When the Body of the Lord is elevated, he should kneel upon the floor before his prie-dieu and having raised his eyes in adoration, he should strike his breast three times and then kiss either the floor or the prie-dieu. At the elevation of the chalice, after having raised his eyes, he should make the sign of the cross and strike his breast once. Here one recognizes the beginnings of that unnatural accumulation of pious antics so common today at the consecration.

<sup>87</sup> Indulgences are granted if an Our Father and Hail Mary, or five Our Father's and Hail Mary's are said during the consecration. Browe, *L'atteggiamento*, 411 f. Cf. above, p. 211, n. 58. The English *Lay Folks Mass Book* recommends the devout person of the 13th century to say a *Pater* and *Credo* (Simmons, 40); a prayer in rhyme is also supplied. Even the *Te Deum* is mentioned; see reference, *JL*, 3 (1923), 206 (according to M. Frost).

<sup>88</sup> Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair*, 151-

154; already verified at 1212 in V. L. Kennedy, "The Handbook of Master Peter, Chancellor of Chartres," *Medieval Studies*, 5 (1943), 8. Cf. also Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 24. In Germany this invocation is certified in the 15th century in the form of a distichon: *Salve lux mundi, verbum Patris, hostia vera, viva caro, deitas integra, verus homo*; Franz, 22; German also *ibid.*, 703. A prayer at the consecration beginning with *Salve lux mundi*, also in England in the meditations of Longforde (15th cent.); Legg, *Tracts*, 24. A German rhymed prayer in 12 verses beginning with "Got, vatr allir cristenheit" in a 13th century MS. of Weingarten in Franz, 23, n. 1. Cf. also the call of Parsifal in "Queste del saint Graal," note 58, above.

<sup>89</sup> Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair*, 166 f., with parallel French formulas of the 14-15th century.

<sup>90</sup> Evidenced at the beginning of the 13th century in an English rule for nuns (Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 19; cf. also 53, n. 160) and in Peter the Chancellor of Chartres (Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 9). Cf. also Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 22 f.

<sup>91</sup> F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, I, Freiburg, 1853, 275 f. The hymn appears for the first time in the 14th century, and precisely as a prayer at the consecration. The authorship of St. Thomas Aquinas is uncertain; see Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 361-414, especially 399 ff., and also the reference in *Bulletin Thomiste*, 7 (1943-46), n. 122 f. The last strophes (*Pie pelicane*) were at times combined with the elevation of the

*Christi*,<sup>93</sup> and *Ave verum corpus*<sup>94</sup> also served to salute the Blessed Sacrament at the elevation.<sup>94</sup>

Well-shaped texts of this sort were naturally an open invitation for common recitation and singing, even if they were not intended for this from the start. By the end of the Middle Ages a solemn salutation of the Blessed Sacrament at the elevation formed part of the ceremony of high Mass. According to a Strassburg statute of 1450, the antiphon *O sacrum convivium*, with versicle and oration, was to be sung on certain occasions *in elevatione immediate post Benedictus*.<sup>95</sup> A decree issued in 1512 by Louis XII of France ordained that at the daily high Mass in Notre Dame in Paris the *O salutaris hostia* was to be sung *in elevatione corporis Christi* between the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*. A Paris foundation of 1521 presupposes the *Ave verum*.<sup>96</sup> Other songs, too, are mentioned for the same occasion.<sup>97</sup> We must admit that these songs are all, in general, truly artistic works which fit into the setting with theological propriety. The break in the God-ward motion of the prayer and oblation made by the ceremony of elevating the sacred species and showing them to the people is intelligently shaped and filled out by these hymnic salutations, the product reminding one of a similar creation on Maundy Thursday where, after the holy oils are blessed, a greeting of veneration is likewise offered them.

Soon after the expiration of the Middle Ages, and with them, of the Gothic spirit, there was a rapid decline in the simple desire to contemplate the sacred Host at the moment of the consecration.<sup>98</sup> That meant the disappearance, too, of the hymns which had been sung in honor of the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>99</sup> The elevation ceremony was maintained, but was conducted in utter silence. Often even the organ was silenced, although

chalice; Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon le chair*, 165-169, especially 168, note.

<sup>92</sup> Dumoutet, *op. cit.*, 160-165; P. Schepens, "Pour l'histoire de la prière Anima Christi," *Nouvelle Revue théol.*, 62 (1935), 699-710. Further references and data in Balth. Fischer, "Das Trierer Anima Christi," *Trierer Theol. Zeitschrift*, 60 (1951), 189-196; Fischer edits a Middle High German text of the early 14th century which probably represents the original. Cf. also H. Thurston, *Familiar Prayers* (Westminster, 1953), 38-52.

<sup>93</sup> Dumoutet, *op. cit.*, 169 f. The title in the MSS. commonly reads *In elevatione corporis Christi*. Mone, *op. cit.*, I, 280. Other hymns to the Blessed Sacrament with similar assignment (*In elevatione Corporis, Quando elevatur calix*), *ibid.*, 271 f., 281-293.

<sup>94</sup> More data in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 53. Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair*, 164,

speaks of more than 50 prayers at the elevation, that are handed down from the Middle Ages. Short invocations of the Body and Blood of Christ were common even at an earlier date before the Communion of the priest (see below). Some of these were then transferred to the elevation; *ibid.*, 158 f.

<sup>95</sup> Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 53, n. 161.

<sup>96</sup> Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, 60-62. Both hymns, as a matter of choice among the Cistercians; so also according to a prescription even as late as 1584; see J. Hau, "Statuten aus einem niederdeutschen Zisterzienserinnenkloster" (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1935), 132.

<sup>97</sup> *Gaudete flores*: Dumoutet, *Le désir*, 61. The *Benedictus* was also intoned with the same intent, above, p. 137, note 44.

<sup>98</sup> Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, 72-74.

<sup>99</sup> The Synods of Augsburg, 1548 and 1567,

the decrees still in force would permit a soft playing of the instrument. The only perceptible sound was the server's little bell. The faithful venerated the sacred species, but did so in silent prayer.<sup>100</sup> Still there were some countries which maintained the old practice of saying certain designated prayers aloud. Thus in Spanish churches the following salutations are customary: "My Lord and my God, we adore Thee, Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, because by Thy holy Cross Thou hast redeemed the world.— My Lord and my God, we adore Thee, sacred Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed on the Cross for the salvation of the world."<sup>101</sup> So nicely suited are such prayers as these that they emerge, now here, now there, in other countries also, at least outside of high Mass.<sup>102</sup>

already speak of *altissimum silentium* (Hartzheim, VI, 369), of an *altum sanctumque silentium* (*ibid.*, VII, 172), that was not to be interrupted by hymns without reason. Elsewhere, though, they remained in use for a longer period. In the *Voyage liturgique* of de Moléon, which appeared in 1718, it is remarked as a peculiarity that in individual French cathedrals nothing is sung at the elevation of the host, but that it is adored in silence (117, 142, 147). Among the Premonstratensians the prescription of such a hymn (*O salutaris hostia*) was first incorporated in the *Liber ordinarius* in 1628 and again in 1739, where it still is found; Waefelghem, 122, n. 2. Even according to Roman directions hymns during the elevation were at first permitted. The question, *An in elevatione ss. sacramenti in missis sollempnibus cani possit, Tantum ergo, etc., vel aliqua antiphona tanti sacramenti propria*, was answered in the affirmative, April 14, 1753; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 2424 ad 6. A later decision of May 5, 1894, permits such hymns only *peracta ultima elevatione*, as soon as the *Benedictus* has been sung; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3827 ad 3.

<sup>100</sup> The official *Enchiridion Indulgentiarum* (Vatican City, 1950), has a prayerful address in three parts, "Hail, saving victim offered upon the cross . . ." (n. 132) and again the prayer which captivated St. Pius X, "My lord and my God" (n. 133). Cf. also *ibid.*, n. 142.

<sup>101</sup> Kramp, "Messopfergebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II), 361. In Portugal the prayer reads: "Here is the body, blood, and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, as true

and complete as in heaven"; "Here is the blood, body, soul, and divinity . . ."; *ibid.*, 362. In Colombia the prayer "My Lord and my God" is commonly said; *ibid.*, 365. B. Lebbe, *The Mass: A Historical Commentary* (Westminster, 1949), 81-82, lists several ejaculations traditional with the people of Eire, among them a curious expression: "All praise to thee, Lord Jesus, white and red."

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Egyptian liturgies above, p. 204. A similar greeting as in Spain, only more carefully devised from a theological standpoint, is contained in the present German catechism, beginning with "My Lord and my God! Hail, true body of Christ that was offered for me on the cross." It was taken up, e.g., in the diocese of St. Pölten and also in the diocesan hymnal (*Heiliges Volk*, [2nd ed.; St. Pölten, 1936] 67 f.) and was used in congregational Mass devotions. Noteworthy discussions have taken place in Germany in the last years from the viewpoint of the children's Mass, among others in the *Katechetischen Blättern*, 40 (1939) and 41 (1940). The discussion turned partly on the assumption that the idea of sacrifice, perhaps even with an address to God the Father, should be plainly expressed, but they inclined to the solution indicated above. However, Victor Schurr, C.S.S.R., in *Paulus*, 23 (1951), 65, suggests prayers of offering like those at the offertory. With the regulating of the prayers at the elevation must be joined the arrangement of external signs of respect. As a general rule it may be stated that besides the raising of the eyes to the Blessed Sacrament, a sign of the cross at most would be proper.

14. *Unde et memores*

In reciting the account of the institution, the priest simply relates what then took place, and only the actions which are coupled with the words, and the veneration which follows upon them, make it clear that the scene is being re-enacted. But once the Great Prayer is resumed after the consecration, the very first thing done is to interpret the mystery thus accomplished. The link with the preceding account is made by the word *Unde*, harking back to our Saviour's injunction which closes the account.<sup>1</sup> Now what is it we are doing at the altar in conformity with this injunction?

In almost all the liturgies two ideas are used to define the mystery, the two being placed side by side and contrasted in various ways. The mystery is a *commemoration* or *anamnesis*; and it is an *oblation*, a sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> In some few instances the oblation is mentioned first, as in the Armenian Mass, where, after pronouncing the words of institution, the priest pursues and expands the thought of the command to do what Christ had done; he takes the gifts in his hands and says: *Et nos igitur, Domine, secundum illud mandatum, offerimus istud salutiferum sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Unigeniti tui, commemoramus salutare eius pro nobis passiones . . .*<sup>3</sup> As a rule, however, the remembrance is mentioned first, but in participial form, so that, though it is first, yet the main stress will be on the oblation, expressed by means of a verb like *offerimus*, *προσφέρομεν*.<sup>4</sup>

For both ideas the connection with the command of our Lord is the same: we come before Thee, O God—that is the basic thought—with a grateful memorial of the redemptive work of Christ and offer up to Thee His Body and Blood. And both ideas contain an objective element as

<sup>1</sup> A similar link (*igitur, ergo*) in the oldest Roman formularies; above I, 29, 52; and mostly (*τοίνυν, οὖν*), though not without exception, in the oriental formularies; Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 50-55. The conjunction is missing for the most part in the Gallic texts, though they nevertheless establish, not infrequently, a close connection by the manner in which they take up the last word of Christ's injunction (. . . *facietis*, or something similar): *Hæc facimus, Hoc agentes* and the like; *ibid.*, 60-68.

<sup>2</sup> By way of exception, a definite enunciation of the anamnesis character of the celebration (frequently itself called anamnesis for short) is missing; thus, in the *Euchologium* of Serapion, 3, 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 62; see above I, 34-35), whereas the offering is announced twice therein, once after the consecration of the host and again after

the consecration of the chalice. In any event, the sacrifice in the first instance is designated at the same time as a Memento of the Dead: *διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ θανάτου ποιῶντες τὸν ἄρτον προσηγάχαμεν*; cf. O. Casel, *JL*, 6 (1926), 116 f. On the other hand, either the anamnesis or the offering has been frequently omitted in Gallican formularies; cf. e.g., *Missale Gothicum*: Muratori, II, 518, 522, 526, 544, 548, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Text according to Chosroe, *Explicatio precum missæ* (about 950) ed. Vetter (Freiburg, 1880), 32 f. For today's text see Brightman, 437: "We therefore, O Lord, presenting unto thee . . ., do remember the saving sufferings" . . .—For the accompanying rite see Hanssens, III, 452.

<sup>4</sup> The more ancient Byzantine liturgy (Brightman, 328 f.) has also the offering in the grammatical form of a participle:

well as a subjective one. What we hold here in our hands is a memorial<sup>5</sup> and an oblation. But memorial as well as oblation must be realized within ourselves as our own remembrance and our offering. Then, and only then, can a "worship in spirit and truth" in the fullest sense arise to God from our hands.

The *memorial* is usually referred to here in just a short phrase. This is only natural, for the whole Prayer of Thanksgiving is, in substance, a memorial prayer, particularly the Christological portion.<sup>6</sup> In fact, even the readings in the fore-Mass, especially the Gospel, have as their aim to revive the memory of our Lord, His word and His work.<sup>7</sup> The whole purpose of the yearly round of Church feasts is, at bottom, nothing other than an enlargement of that recollection, making room for an ever-increasing store of memories. The basic theme of the Church year, too, is precisely the *passio Domini*, the redemption accomplished by Christ's death and Resurrection. In the anamnesis this theme is treated very briefly, but its contents are not analyzed as a subjective memory, since it is taken for granted that the soul is already alive to everything contained therein. All that is stated here is that in the sacramental operation the divine charge to do this "in

Μεμνημένοι οὖν . . . τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες, σὲ (the people): σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν. Apparently the celebrant joined in with the people's phrase.

<sup>5</sup> O. Casel, "Das Mysteriengedächtnis der Messliturgie im Lichte der Tradition," *JL*, 6 (1926), 113-204, has collected the testimonies for the real character of the commemoration from both liturgical and extralitururgical sources, though Casel's interpretation of the real commemoration is still an object of controversy; cf. above I, 183 f. However, individual liturgical formularies clearly bring out the fact that an objective commemoration is in some way present. Thus we read in the East Syrian anaphora of Nestorius, just before the words of the institution: *Et reliquit nobis commemorationem salutis nostræ, mysterium hoc, quod offerimus coram te*; Renaudot, II, 623. Cf. also the *Euchologion* of Serapion, above I, 34 f. Furthermore, many expressions of the Fathers are quite plain. Thus Chrysostom, *In Hebr. hom.*, 17, 3 (PG, 63, 131), says: We offer every day, inasmuch as we consummate the memory of His death, (*ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμενοι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ*); or Theodoret of Cyrus, *In Hebr.*, 8, 4 (PG, 82, 736): It is clear that we offer no other sacrifice (than that which Christ offered), but celebrate the sole and sancti-

fying memory of it (*μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν*). In the 9th century Florus Diaconus, *De actione missæ*, c. 63 (PL, 119, 54 D): *Illius ergo panis et calicis oblatio mortis Christi est commemoratio et annuntiatio, quæ non tam verbis quam mysteriis ipsius agitur*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, p. 116. In this respect it is significant that in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 12, 35, the description of the redemptive Passion, which precedes the account of the institution, is summed up by means of *μνημένοι οὖν εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι*, as the true anamnesis that begins after the institution: *μνημένοι τοίνυν (προσφέρομέν σοι)*. Cf. above I, 36 f. In the Armenian normal anaphora, the prayer of thanksgiving which was prolonged before the account of the institution to include the Passion of Christ, is brought to a close after it by a reference to the descent into hell and the destruction of its gates (a favorite way the Orient has of representing the Easter victory); Brightman, 437.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also R. Guardini, *Besinnung vor der Feier der hl. Messe*, II (Mainz, 1939), 111 f. For a study of the interpretation of the anamnesis in the preaching and services of ancient Christendom, cf. N. A. Dahl, "Anamnesis," *Studia Theologica* I (Lund, 1948), 69-95.

remembrance of Me" (Luke 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24 f.) is being fulfilled, and that, moreover, we are thus doing what Paul had demanded in more detail, namely, to "proclaim the death of the Lord" (1 Cor. 11:26). Nevertheless, the concept of Christ's sacrificial death does undergo a certain development, for related—or shall we say component—concepts are disclosed in much the same way as in the ancient professions of faith.<sup>8</sup> The death of the Lord is His victory, it is His triumph over death. The Gallic Mass appears to have mentioned originally only the Passion.<sup>9</sup> Even in Hippolytus the Resurrection is already added: *Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius*.<sup>10</sup> In Ambrose's text of the canon there is the further addition of the Ascension, and the *passio*—or rather, the triplet beginning with it—is characterized by the word *gloriosissima*.<sup>11</sup>

The text of our present-day anamnesis follows the same lines.<sup>12</sup> The adjective *gloriosa* has been transferred to the Ascension, while the *passio* has acquired the attribute *tam beata*; we surely have reason for hailing the Passion as blessed, since it is the root of our salvation.<sup>13</sup> The later Middle Ages sought to emphasize the memory of the Cross also in the outward gesture, by reciting the anamnesis prayer, and sometimes also the *Supra quæ*,<sup>14</sup> with outstretched arms.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 50 ff.  
<sup>9</sup> Lietzmann, 61 f. Cf. the first Mass in the Gothic Missal (Muratori, II, 518): *Hæc facimus Domine ... commemorantes et celebrantes passionem unici Filii tui Jesu Christi Domini nostri, qui tecum*. So, too, several Mozarabic Masses; Lietzmann, 63. For the rest it is precisely the anamnesis of the Gallic liturgies, where they did not disappear entirely, that show the most advanced deterioration; Lietzmann, 62 f. There is merely a general mention of the mysteries of our Redemption in the East Syrian anaphora of Theodorus; Renaudot, II (1847), 613.

<sup>10</sup> Above I, 29.

<sup>11</sup> Above I, 52. For Mozarabic parallels see Lietzmann, 63.

<sup>12</sup> The wording, as it appears in the Sacramentaries, shows only insignificant variations; after *Unde et memores* there is an insertion of *sumus*. But that disturbs the construction. It is, moreover, missing in Hippolytus and Ambrose and was later crossed out, probably by Alcuin (Lietzmann, 59). Some of the old witnesses have inserted *Dei (nostri J. C.)* after *Domini*, The *eiusdem (Christi F. t.)* that still precedes today was first put in by the Humanists of the 16th century; Botte, 40 Ap-

paratus. The *eiusdem*, however, is still missing in the *Missale Romanum* of 1474; ed. Lippe, HBS, 17), 207. Neither is it noted in the later editions; see Lippe (HBS, 33), 111.

<sup>13</sup> Because, of course, the term *passio* includes the death of Christ; see Chr. Mohrmann, *Vigilia christiana*, 4 (1950), n. 21. The *tam* has been subjected to textual criticism, as if *quam* must have been omitted or lost. The criticisms, however, are not sound; see Botte, 63. It merely supplies an emotional re-enforcement in much the same manner as in the oriental anaphoras at the beginning of the preface: 'Ως (ἀληθῶς ἀξιῶν); see above, p. 125, n. 59. A Mozarabic anamnesis presents something similar with *Habentes ante oculos . . . tantæ passionis triumphos*; Férotin, *Le liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, p. 250.

<sup>14</sup> A *Missale Ursinense* cited by Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica* I, 363, puts before *Supra quæ* the notation: *Hic extende brachia quantumcumque potes*.

<sup>15</sup> End of the 12th century among the Premonstratensians (Waefelghem, 78); *Ordinarium*, O.P. of 1256 (Guerrini, 242); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 95). From then on the practice spread

In most of the oriental formulas the anamnesis underwent an extended evolution, but in the chief liturgies this did not go beyond a development of the theme of redemption. The three steps, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, continue as the permanent threesome around which every added thing is marshalled. Thus to the Passion is added, for example, "the life-giving Cross and the three-days' stay in the tomb" (in the Byzantine Liturgy of St. James). And after the Ascension, is added in both these cases—and similarly in most of the others—the sitting at the right hand of the Father and "the glorious and awesome second coming."<sup>16</sup> It is the description of the second coming which bursts the limitations of the anamnesis as such, particularly in West-Syrian formulas, as (for instance) in the fourth-century addition: "when He comes with glory and power to judge the living and the dead and to reward everyone according to his deeds,"<sup>17</sup> a description which grows ever richer and more fearsome<sup>18</sup> and which, in the Greek anaphora of St. James, is supplemented by a plea for mercy.<sup>19</sup> Later West-Syrian formulas even tacked on other events in Christ's life.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, His birth is mentioned also in the Occident, but this is not found till long after, in late Carolingian Mass books.<sup>21</sup>

widely; cf. Franz, 612; Sölch, *Hugo*, 93 f.; Leroquais, I, 315; II, 182, 262, etc. St. Thomas Aquinas defends it, *Summa theol.*, III, 83, 5 ad 5. The first leaning towards this practice is found in Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 16 (PL, 151, 987); Cf. Luykx (*Anal. Præm.*, 1946-1947), 68 f, 89. Dominicans, Carmelites, and Carthusians still do it. Contrary to the statements copied by Lebrun I, 428, it must have prevailed for a long time also at Rome; the strange mode of expression in the *Ordo* of Stefaneschi (about 1311), c. 71 (PL, 78, 1189 A), that certainly goes beyond n. 53 (1166 D): *Hic ampliet manus et brachia*, proves it, even as the Roman rubric of 1534 cited by Lebrun himself, *loc. cit.*: *extensis manibus ante pectus more consueto*, which is almost equivalent to a suppression.—Regarding the attempt to pantomime the resurrection and ascension, see above I, 107.

<sup>16</sup> Lietzmann, 50-57. The form in the *Apostolic Constitutions* is somewhat simpler; see above I, 37. The decorative adjectives in the Syrian formularies are worthy of note, e.g., in the anaphora of St. James (Brightman, 52 f.): Μεμνημένοι . . . τῶν ζῳποποιῶν αὐτοῦ παθημάτων, τοῦ σωτηρίου σταυροῦ, . . . τῆς δευτέρας ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβεροῦ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας.

<sup>17</sup> *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 38 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 223).

<sup>18</sup> In some of the West Syrian anaphoras of later origin the terrors of the second advent are depicted in glaring colors. The description at times is spread over half, in fact over an entire printed page. Renaudot, II (1847), 147, 165, 190 f., 205, 216, etc.

<sup>19</sup> Brightman, 53, l. 3: . . . κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ φεῖσαι ἡμῶν, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. A like petition from the people follows: see below, n. 31.

<sup>20</sup> The anaphora of St. Ignatius mentions birth and baptism (Renaudot, II, 216), the anaphora of St. Mark the conception, birth, and baptism (*ibid.*, II, 178), the anaphora of Maruthas the birth, the lying in the manger, baptism fasting, and temptation, as well as various phases of the history of the Passion (*ibid.*, 263).

<sup>21</sup> Botte, 40, Apparatus: *admirabilis nativitatis*. The adjectives vary. The *nativitas* was already read into the text by Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 25 (PL, 105, 1141 B). But Bernold of Constance (d. 1100), *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985 C) fights against this expansion. Nevertheless it survived until the late Middle Ages; see Leroquais, III, 420; Ebner, 418. Regarding the question whether a citation by

The mention of various phases in the work of redemption which are to be kept in remembrance is often matched in oriental liturgies by a well-rounded expansion of the words incorporating Christ's injunction to do as He had done. At first only the words of St. Paul are put on Christ's lips.<sup>22</sup> But then the addition is made of the Resurrection,<sup>23</sup> or of the Resurrection and Ascension, especially in Egyptian liturgies: "As often as you eat this bread . . . you shall manifest My death and profess My Resurrection and Ascension, until I come."<sup>24</sup> Similar formations made their way into the area of the Gallic liturgies;<sup>25</sup> thus a Milanese formula reads as follows: *Hæc quotiescumque feceritis, in meam commemorationem facietis, mortem meam prædicabitis, resurrectionem meam annuntiabitis, adventum meum sperabitis, donec iterum de cælis veniam ad vos.*<sup>26</sup>

The remembrance should be realized not only in and by the priest, but also in and by the entire congregation assembled. In the Roman Mass this is brought out by the fact that the subject of the anamnesis is defined as *nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta*. In Egypt, at an early date, it was revealed even more vividly; a solemn outcry of the people, corresponding to the expanded phrases of our Lord's injunction to do as He had done, followed immediately after it as a sort of response to it, and was then followed by the priest's prayer. Even today the Coptic Mass retains this anamnesis cry of the people, and since it still employs the Greek tongue it is evidently a heritage of at least the sixth century. Τὸν θάνατόν σου, κύριε, καὶ ἀγγέλλομεν καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σου ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦμεν.<sup>27</sup> In Egypt the anamnesis of the priest has likewise acquired its own special pattern by the use of the Pauline formulation. The main Egyptian liturgies not only begin with a *Memores*, Μεμνημένοι, but in addition use a rather expanded schema for what follows by announcing (καταγγέλλοιτες)

Arnobius the Younger (about 460), *In Ps. 110* (PL, 53, 497 B; Botte, 41), presupposes the addition in the Roman Mass, see Botte, 63 f. The probability is slight. More likely it was in some Gallic Masses (for Arnobius is generally regarded as a Gaul) that the birth was already then named. In any case, it is found in substance in the Gothic Missal of the 7th century (Muratori, II, 522): *Credimus, Domine, adventum tuum, recolimus passionem tuam*. Mozarabic examples stress the *venisse, incarnatum fuisse*, Lietzmann, 65 f. The *incarnatio* also appears here and there in Roman Mass books of the Middle Ages, e.g., in the Missal of Lagny (11th cent.; Leroquais, I, 171): *incarnationis, nativitatis*.

<sup>22</sup> Thus *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 37 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 223): . . . τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐμὸν καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρισ ἄν ἔλωθω. More refer-

ence and detailed analysis also for that which follows in Hamm, 90 f.

<sup>23</sup> The anaphora of St. James (Brightman, 52); Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil (*ibid.*, 328); Papyrus of Dêr-Balyzeh (Quasten, *Mon.*, 42).

<sup>24</sup> Egyptian anaphora of St. Mark (Brightman, 133).

<sup>25</sup> Hamm, 91 f.

<sup>26</sup> Hamm, 91.

<sup>27</sup> Brightman, 177. Cf. also in the Ethiopian liturgy: *ibid.*, 232 f. In a somewhat more original form (κύριε, ἅγιαν σου and καὶ ἀνάληψιν are missing) in the papyrus of Dêr-Balyzeh (Quasten, *Mon.*, 42). It is clear from the address to Christ that we have here a passage said by the people. The continuation after ὁμολογοῦμεν, which reads καὶ δεόμεθα is to be compared with the cry of the people in the Ethiopian Mass (Brightman, 233, 1. 1).

His death, by confessing (ὁμολογοῦντες), His Resurrection . . . by awaiting (ἀπεκδεχόμενοι) His second coming, we offer up to Thee . . .<sup>28</sup>

The second point that is expressed in the *Unde et memores* and then taken up and developed in the following prayers, is the *oblation* or offering. Here we have the central sacrificial prayer of the entire Mass, the foremost liturgical expression of the fact that the Mass is actually a sacrifice. In this connection it is to be noted that there is reference here exclusively to a sacrifice offered up by the Church. Christ, the high-priest, remains wholly in the background. It is only in the ceremonies of the consecration, when the priest all at once starts to present our Lord's actions step by step, acting as Christ's mouthpiece in reciting the words of transubstantiation—only here is the veil momentarily withdrawn from the profound depths of this mystery. But now it is once more the Church, the attendant congregation, that speaks and acts. And it is the Church *in concreto*, manifest plainly in its membership; it is the congregation composed of the "servants" of God and the "holy people," which has already appeared as the subject of the remembrance in the anamnesis. To show how aware the Church is of what she is, we must point to the significant words here used, *plebs sancta*, words which bring to the fore the sacerdotal dignity of the people of God in the sense implied by 1 Peter 2:5, 9.<sup>29</sup>

In oriental liturgies the priest's prayer does not contain any equivalent expression which so clearly states that priest and people alike are subjects of the remembrance and the oblation. But instead, both for the remembrance and the oblation, they have exclamations by which the people ratify the action of the priest—and these in addition to the primitive and universal *Amen* at the end of the canon. In the Byzantine Mass the priest utters the words of remembrance and oblation in the form of participles: Μεμνημένοι . . . προσφέροντες; the people complete the sentence with the cry: σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν, σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν, σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, κύριε, καὶ δεόμεθά σου, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.<sup>30</sup> It is an oblation of praise, of thanksgiving, of petition.

<sup>28</sup> Brightman, 133; 178.—Related formularies appear also in the Gallican and especially in the Mozarabic liturgy, where the anamneses begin with *mntiamus, prædicamus*, or with *credimus, confitemur*, respectively with (*venturum*) *præstolamur*. Lietzmann, 60-67.

<sup>29</sup> The phrase *ordo et plebs* for clerics and people, in Tertullian, *De exhort. cast.*, c. 7 (CSEL, 70, 138, l. 18); cf. Rütten, "Philologisches zum Canon missæ" (*StZ*, 1938, I) 44 f. For *plebs sancta*, cf. St. Augustine's address to the people, *sanctitas vestra*, or also the designations *sacrata plebs, populus sanctus Dei*, in other passages of the Roman liturgy. See also the data in

Botte, 64 f. The clergy's designation of themselves as *servi* finds its justification in Scripture, especially in the Old Testament: *servi Domini* for the Levites (e.g., Ps. 133: 1), perhaps even in the Lord's parable of the *fidelis servus*. The plural *servi* is in accord not only with the conditions of the Roman stationary services, but also with the rule that the priest must celebrate at least with a deacon; cf. above I, 208.

<sup>30</sup> Thus already in the text of the 9th century: Brightman, 329 (as a cry of the people); cf. 386 (now given to the choir). The phrase was also taken up by the remaining liturgies of the Orient.

In the West-Syrian Mass, too, the people add a cry of petition after the oblation;<sup>31</sup> this recurs in all West-Syrian anaphoras.

In the Roman Mass just a few impressive words are used for the oblation. In Hippolytus the terseness here as well as in the anamnesis borders on the extreme: *Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius offerimus tibi panem et calicem*. In the present Roman canon the expression has hardly blossomed out beyond this, and it is not till the concluding words, the five-part description of the sacrificial gifts, that the phrasing is caught up in the enveloping praise: *offerimus præclare maiestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam . . .* By the use of the words *maiestas tua* (which we encountered already in the preface) as a term of address, we are brought face to face with the divine greatness before which man crumbles into nothingness. In accordance with this consideration, the gifts which we undertake to present to Him must be regarded as already His own; they are *de tuis donis ac datis*. This is a biblical concept (1 Paral. 29:14) that reappears time and again in different forms on foundation inscriptions of Christian antiquity. Where the pagan founder of a sanctuary or a memorial, conscious of his own largess, has the words *de suo fecit* carved on the stone, the Christian benefactor humbly acknowledges that all he has given was granted him by God; his gift is *ex donis Dei*.<sup>32</sup> Thus, too, every sacrificial gift which we can proffer to God is already "a gift and a present" which He had loaned us. And this is surely true in an eminent way of the gift on our altars. Another concept that might be a contributing factor here is the one proposed by Irenæus in his opposition to Gnosticism; with regard to the material components of our sacrifice, he argues that we do not offer up an uncreated being, but rather we sacrifice to the Lord of creation something that He himself has created.<sup>33</sup>

Similar thoughts are given solemn utterance in the Byzantine Mass, where the priest, after softly finishing the anamnesis, continues in a loud voice: τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν ὁῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα; this is followed by the exclamation of the people already referred to.<sup>34</sup> The phrase is probably as old as the Roman *de tuis donis ac datis*. It even occurs, without any change whatever, on inscriptions. For instance, it

<sup>31</sup> The priest: "We offer this fearful and unbloody sacrifice that Thou deal not with us after our sins . . . for Thy people and Thy church (ὁ γὰρ λαὸς σου καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία σου, and καὶ ἡ κληρονομία σου) entreat Thee . . ." And the people answer "Have mercy upon us, O God, the Father almighty!" Brightman, 53; 88; Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, 18 f.

<sup>32</sup> Thus an evangeliary at Monza bears the inscription: *Ex donis Dei dedit Theo-*

*delenda reg[ina] in basilica quam fundavit*. More examples in H. Leclercq, "Donis Dei (de)": *DACL*, IV, 1507-1510.

<sup>33</sup> Irenæus, *Adv. hæc.*, IV, 18, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 347): προσφέρομεν αὐτῷ τὰ ἴδια. Cf. above I, 23 f.

<sup>34</sup> Brightman, 329. From the Byzantine liturgy the phrase passed over into the Egyptian and the Armenian: *ibid.*, 133, 1. 30; 178, 1. 15; 438, 1. 9.

decorates a silver chalice of the sixth century, discovered at Orontes. Later, it was to be found on the altar of the Hagia Sophia at Constantinople.<sup>35</sup> In either case, the words were meant to convey not only our acknowledgement that all we can offer God, whether it be celestial or terrestrial, comes from Him, but even more our proud satisfaction in being able to secure from this world of ours the visible garb for the sacred gifts that lie upon the altar.<sup>36</sup>

Next the gifts themselves are given mention, just as they are found in our hands, and the mention turns into a short hymn on the Blessed Sacrament. First, the sacrament is described in three phrases which stress the spotless purity and holiness of the sacrifice: *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam*.<sup>37</sup> Our sacrifice is not like that of the heathens or even that of the Jews, who could offer God only a material and bloody sacrifice; ours is spiritualized and therefore clean. Its positive content is next suggested, first of all by the word *hostia*, which originally implied a living being. The subsequent words also continue the same line of thought,<sup>38</sup> for they are a two-part expression (corresponding to the double form of the sacrificial gifts) proclaiming the preciousness of these gifts, pointing to the results of partaking of them, the everlasting life towards which they tend: *panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et calicem salutis perpetuæ*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> References in Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, 19 apparatus.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Gühr, 689. The same also in Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, II, 16, 1 (Schneider 203 f.). Similar expressions in the secreta formulas of the Leonianum: *Deus . . . accipe propitius quæ de tuis donis tibi nos offerre voluisti* (Muratori, I, 386); *Offerimus tibi, Domine, munera quæ dedisti* (*ibid.*, 370). It is therefore at least highly improbable that, as most interpreters declare, only the consecration gifts are meant by the *de tuis donis ac datis*.

<sup>37</sup> Less euphonious but theologically more precise is the terminology in the Armenian text of the canon (see above I, 52), where the Christian sacrifice is characterized as *immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam*. The word *rationabilis* describes the spirituality of the sacrifice (cf. above I, 24 f.); this same quality is indicated negatively in *incruenta* (ἀναίμακτος), an adjective also favored for the first word of the group; Casel, "Ein orientalisches Kultwort" (*JL*, 11, 1931), 2 f.

<sup>38</sup> H. Elfers, *Theologie und Glaube*, 33

(1941), 352 f., makes the whole expression refer to the gifts yet to be "transubstantiated," but this is an assumption without foundation in the text and against which Ambrose—here surely a reliable witness—firmly protests (cf. above I, 52). The oriental liturgies also are content in this prayer to designate the sacrifice as "clean," "unbloody," "fruitful"; cf. Hanssens, III, 451, who calls this mode of expression *vaga et obscura*. Is it not rather in substance a reverential reserve that prompted this mode of expression?

<sup>39</sup> Cf. John 6: 51 ff.

<sup>40</sup> This double expression, but in simpler form, is also in Ambrose's text of the canon; see above I, 52. Perhaps the text presented at this particular place in the fifth Sunday Mass of the Gothic Missal is the more original (Muratori, II, 654) . . . *offerimus tibi, Domine, hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationalem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem salutarem*. The designation of the chalice here according to Ps. 115: 13; it is evidently also the basis for the Roman text. Cf. Casel, *op. cit.*, 13 with n. 26.

In the *eucharistia* of Hippolytus the awareness that the possibility of offering such gifts is the greatest grace suggested the inclusion of a word of thanks at the close of the oblation: *gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare*.<sup>41</sup> Some formularies in the East also contain a thanksgiving in the same position.<sup>42</sup> And either then, or else right after the oblation, they make a transition to the epiklesis. The Roman Mass, on the contrary, lingers on the main theme, the oblation, without going into these subsidiary ideas.

## 15. *Supra quæ* and *Supplices*

For man—and even for the ecclesiastical congregation—to offer God gifts, no matter how holy these might be, is certainly the utmost daring. For this reason the oblation is expressed in yet another manner, in words that endeavor to show that it is nothing less than a grace of God to expect the acceptance of the gifts from our hands.

All we can do is make the offering; *offerimus*. It is up to God to cast a favorable glance<sup>1</sup> upon our offering (*respicere*) and to consider it with approval (*accepta habere*). Continuing in this figurative language, we add that it also pertains to God to have our gifts carried up to His heavenly altar of sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> The line of thinking manifested in these words follows easily and naturally from what precedes,<sup>3</sup> and it therefore belongs to the

<sup>41</sup> Cf. above I, 29, also retained in Greek in *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 38 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 223): ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἐστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἱερατεῦσιν σοι. The word ἱερατεῦσιν naturally signifies priestly service. But there is nothing here to prove that this word ἱερατεῦσιν refers only to the bishop and his priests, who with him spread their hands over the gift offerings (above I, 29), and still less, as Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 303 f., further argues, that the *offerimus* and lastly the prayer of thanksgiving in general is the function of the clerics only. If so, why, then, is the *Gratias agamus* addressed to all and answered by all? The ἱερατεῦσιν is the service of the ἱερεῖς. And under this term of ἱερεῖς not only Justin, but with special emphasis Origen, who is so close to Hippolytus, comprise the whole of God's people. Cf. E. Niebecker, *Das allgemeine Priestertum der Gläubigen* (Paderborn, 1936), 18-27; St. v. Dunin Borkowski, "Die Kirche als Stiftung Jesu" (*Religion, Christentum, Kirche*, edited by Esser and Mausbach, II; Kempten, 1913), 55-70.

<sup>42</sup> Besides the *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 38 (foregoing note), the Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil (Brightman, 329, 1. 14) and the Armenian liturgy (*ibid.*, 438, 1. 16). In these last texts it is clearly the thanks of the official priests who thus in prayer distinguish themselves from the general community.

<sup>1</sup> *Propitio ac sereno vultu*: with inclined (eager) and joyful countenance. The same picture in Ps. 30: 17: *illustra faciem tuam*; Ps. 66: 2: *illuminet vultum suum*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ambrose's text of the canon only the latter of the two ideas is expressed; see above I, 52. It is, therefore, the more original.

<sup>3</sup> A certain roughness of grammatical expression that was exploited by critics of the canon (Fortescue, *The Mass*, 153; cf. 348) does not really contradict this. It should, of course, read: *Supra quæ . . . respicere et quæ accepta habere digneris*, still this "more correct" sentence formation would be too draggy. A similar abbreviation of expression we found also at the beginning of the *Communicantes*.

most ancient portion of even the non-Roman liturgy.<sup>4</sup> And yet it gives occasion for more than one problem.

The first thing that strikes us is the fact that these prayers linger wholly over the external performance of the sacrifice, tracing each step of it prayerfully. They are concerned that the symbol be properly executed and also acknowledged by God. But regarding what is symbolized, that sacrificial sentiment from which our action must proceed, that spirit of sacrifice which rightly plays so great a role (perhaps not yet sufficiently stressed) in our present-day religious thinking and in our pastoral monitions regarding attendance at Holy Mass, the wholehearted subjection of the creature to the Creator, the ever-growing conformity of our will with that of almighty God, the resolute surge of our mind towards that mind "which was in Christ Jesus"—all this is here given no special consideration. But this should in no way astonish us. After all, in view of the sacrificial activity of the community, such a state of mind in the individual is taken for granted; it is presupposed, if not as something already acquired, then surely as something to be sought. Expression must be given not to the subjective striving (which varies from soul to soul), but to the objective act which is valid for all.

A further surprise is the fact that even after the gifts have been consecrated and changed there should still be a plea for acceptance. For there is question here really of the most sacred gifts, of the sacrificial oblation which Christ Himself makes *ministerium sacerdotum*. Certainly there can be no thought of pleading for its acceptance, since it is antecedently valid in full. On the contrary, all the sacrifices which are cited from the Old Testament, those of Abel and Abraham and Melchisedech, are only earthly shadows of its heavenly grandeur.

As a matter of fact, the Reformers who raised their voices against the Mass and canon also pounced on this point, that the priest undertook to play the part of mediator between Christ and God. Right down to our own day, therefore, modern commentaries on the Mass have assumed a tone of apology when explaining this passage.<sup>5</sup> But if we reflect for a moment that the sacrifice of the New Law, being an act of official worship,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 39 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 223): here, too, the προσφέρουμεν is expanded: καὶ ἀξιουμέν σε ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψης. Cf. above I, 37.

<sup>5</sup> See the summary presentation in Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, II, 16, 10-22 (ed. Schneider, 208-216). The learned Pope refers, among others, to Bellarmine, *Controv.*, II, 6, 24 (= *De sacrif. missæ*, II, 24; ed. Rom. 1838: III, 802), who states: In the *Supra quæ* we do not pray *pro reconciliatione Christi ad Patrem*, but for our own weakness; *etsi enim oblatio*

*consecrata ex parte rei quæ offertur et ex parte Christi principalis offerentis semper Deo placeat, tamen ex parte ministri vel populi adstantis, qui simul etiam offerunt, potest non placere*. Similar views expressed by Gehr, 691-696. The attack against the reality of the sacrifice of the Mass in the controversy with the Reformers served to bring the Sacrifice of Christ to the fore. But a consideration of the liturgical texts leads back to the sacrifice of the Church. Cf. above I, 180 ff.

is essentially placed in the hands of the Church, which in turn relies on the sacrifice of Christ, then it becomes clear at once that we possess therein, despite the solemnity of its essential core, only an external symbol by which the Church—or more immediately, the congregation—honors God. And God can really receive it from her hands as a gift of homage only when at least the lowest degree of an internal will to give on the part of the participants accompanies and quickens the external offering. In this sense, then, it would be quite understandable that the harsh words of the prophets, in which God rejects the purely external and soulless offerings of His people,<sup>6</sup> would refer with equal weight to the sacrifice of the New Law, were it offered by unworthy sacerdotal hands. Besides, in such a case little more would remain of this holiest of sacrifices than a new *hic et nunc* of Christ's sacrifice long since accomplished, a *hic et nunc* which is without its complete salvific meaning, since, contrary to its purpose, it is no longer the expression of a willing Christian mind, no longer has its roots in the earth, but hovers aimlessly in the air.<sup>7</sup>

Since corruptible and sinful man can never be sufficiently worthy of the great and holy God this humble plea for God's gracious glance is in any case well-grounded. Joined to it is a confident reference to the illustrative figures of the Old Testament, whose sacrifice had won God's pleasure. The outstanding types from the Old Dispensation are reviewed to encourage the soul, and a certain pride takes possession of our hearts as we link our action with the action of these biblical saints. Three figures are selected: innocent Abel,<sup>8</sup> who made a sacrifice of the firstlings of his flock (Genesis: 4:4) and himself succumbed to his brother's hate—our gift is "the Lamb of God," the first-born of all creation,<sup>9</sup> who turned His death, suffered at the hands of His own people, into a sacrifice of redemption. Next, Abraham who, as ancestor of all "who are of faith,"<sup>10</sup> is called "our patriarch," the hero of obedience to God, ready to make a sacrifice of his very son, but receiving him back alive (cf. Hebrews, 11:19)—our sacrifice, too, the most perfect expression of obedience unto death, has risen again and returned to life. Finally, Melchisedech who, as priest of the most high God,<sup>11</sup> offers up bread and wine<sup>12</sup>—our oblation also is taken

<sup>6</sup> Is. 1: 11; Jer. 6: 20; Amos 5: 21-23; Mal. 1: 10.

<sup>7</sup> This extreme case is, however, not entirely present even in an unworthy celebration of the priest, not so long as at least one participant takes part with proper dispositions.

<sup>8</sup> The adjective *justus* is applied to Abel by Christ Himself, Matt. 23: 35; cf. Herb. 11: 4. *Pueri tui* = of your servant, but as with *παῖς*, implying also a father-child relationship. In this sense the word is also applied to Israel in Luke 1: 54. Cf. also

J. Hennig, "Abel's Place in the Liturgy," *Theological Studies*, 7 (1946), 126-141.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hebr. 1: 6; Col. 1: 18; Romans 8: 29.

<sup>10</sup> Gal. 3: 7; cf. Leo the Great, *Sermo*, 53, 3 (PL, 54, 318): *nos spiritalis semen Abrahæ*. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 268.

<sup>11</sup> The canon calls him High Priest. Regarding the hypothesis which Baumstark builds upon this appellation, cf. I, 51, note 6.

<sup>12</sup> The biblical text of Gen 14: 18 speaks directly only of a "producing" or "bringing forward" by Melchisedech (Vulgata also:

from bread and wine.<sup>13</sup> May God (such is our prayer) look down upon our oblation with the same pleasure as He looked upon the oblation of these men; *respexit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera ejus*, as we read concerning the first of them:<sup>14</sup> on Abel, and on his offering, the Lord looked with favor. That prayer of ours will be fulfilled if the oblation proceeds from an intention pure as theirs, and if the temper of our own hearts accords in some measure with the incomparable holiness of our sacrifice.<sup>15</sup>

This comparative view of the Christian sacrifice in conjunction with the sacrifices of the Old Law, and in particular with those specially mentioned, was not alien to Christian antiquity. In fact, this consideration of the Old Testament as the antecedent shadow of the New was as self-evident to primitive Christianity as was the concept of the continuity of the history of grace. Abraham's sacrifice was one of the favorite subjects of ancient Christian iconography, and at least since the fourth century it appears predominantly as a type of the sacrifice of the Cross, and therefore, mediately at least, as a type of the eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>16</sup> But there is immediate reference to the Eucharist in the representation of the three types mentioned in the canon found in the two large mosaics in the choir of San Vitale in Ravenna. One of these shows Abel and Melchisedech, the former bringing a lamb, the latter bread and wine to the altar. The other pictures Abraham in two different scenes, in one case at the point of sacrificing his son, in the other as host to the three mysterious strangers.<sup>17</sup>

*proferens*). Still the reference to the priesthood gives reason and substance to the supposition that his deed involved a sacrificial action. Cf. the excursus on this question in P. Heinisch, *Das Buch Genesis* (Bonn, 1930), 222, and J. E. Coleran, "The Sacrifice of Melchisedech," *Theological Studies*, I (1940), 27-36. There is probably a similar relationship between the offering to God and the feeding of the assembled people as in the Jewish meal rites; cf. above I, 21, n. 63; II, p. 202, n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> The identity of the gift offering, which, as is known, is not mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews in the comparison of Christ with Melchisedech, is brought to the fore over and over again in Christian antiquity; thus Cyprian, *Ep.*, 63, 3; Ambrose, *De myst.*, VIII, 45 f.; Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, XVI, 22. Cf. also G. Wuttke, "Melchisedech der Priesterkönig von Salem. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Exegese" (*Beihefte z. Zeitschrift f. d. neutest. Wiss.*, 5; Giessen, 1927), 46 f.; J. Danielou, *La catéchèse eucharistique chez les*

*Pères de l'Eglise* (Lex orandi, 7; Paris, 1947), 33-72, especially 45 f.; idem, *Bible et Liturgie* (Lex orandi, 11, Paris, 1951), 196-201.

<sup>14</sup> Gen. 4: 4; cf. Deut. 26: 15. The expression is of course very common in the orations: *Respice quæsumus Domine*, etc.

<sup>15</sup> It is worthy of note that in the prophecy of Malachy regarding the cult of the future the announcement of a purified priesthood should find its place alongside the announcement of a new, clean oblation, through which the name of the Lord God should be great among all nations (1: 11); "and he will purify the sons of Levi and shall refine them as gold and as silver, and they shall offer sacrifice to the Lord in justice. And the sacrifice of Juda and Jerusalem shall once more please the Lord . . ." (3: 3 f.). Cf. Gühr, 693 f.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Th. Klauser, "Abraham": RAC, I, 18-27, especially 25.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Beissel, *Bilder*, 170 f., 178; cf. *ibid.*, 189, regarding the related representation in S. Apollinare in Classe.

A change will be made to the Ordinary Form of the Holy Mass in early 2014.



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