

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

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Part 4 of 5 — Volume II, from page 230 until the end

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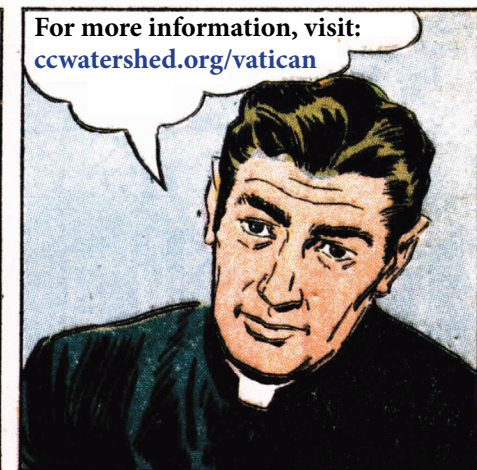
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It may be that the wording of the Roman canon itself gave an impetus to these portrayals at Ravenna,¹⁸ but the mention of Abel and Abraham (to whom Melchisedech was perhaps joined originally¹⁹) in an Egyptian offertory prayer brings us back to a much earlier period when Rome and Egypt had a liturgical practice in common.²⁰

In the Roman canon the name of Melchisedech is followed by a further clarifying phrase: *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*. This is an addition which the *Liber pontificalis* attributes to Leo the Great: *Hic constituit ut intra actionem sacrificii diceretur: sanctum sacrificium et cetera*.²¹ Older commentators frequently understood this addition as an attribute of the Christian sacrifice, as though meant in apposition to (*Supra quæ*, with the words in between, *sicuti . . . Melchisedech*, construed as parenthetical.²²) but the purport of the words demands rather a connection with the sacrifice of Melchisedech. For this reason there is no accompanying sign of the Cross.²³ True, to us nowadays such an addition might appear superfluous. But it was otherwise in the fifth century, when anti-materialist heresies were still causing trouble, when in particular the use of wine was still exposed to Manichean attacks,²⁴ and the

¹⁸ A parallel to this is offered in S. Apollinare nuovo at Ravenna, in the representation of a row of saints, that reproduce the list of the *Communicantes* as it was in the first half of the 6th century: Kennedy, 197. Prayer formulas with the names of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedech, that derive from the Roman canon, are presented also in the Mozarabic *Liber sacramentorum* (Férotin, p. 262) and in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 470); see Botte, *Le canon*, 43.

¹⁹ Baumstark, *Das Problem*, 230 f. Rather loosely linked with the idea of sacrifice, although always called ἀρχιερεὺς ὁς λατρεῖας, Melchisedech appears in *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 21-23 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 218), along with others named in the primitive biblical history, such as Abel, Noe, and Abraham. In the Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil there is also a petition of acceptance which refers, among others, to Abel, Noe, and Abraham (Brightman, 319 f.); so, too, in the anaphora of St. James (*ibid.*, 41; cf. 32; 48). The pertinent prayers are still found before the consecration. Cf. the survey in Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 81-93; Fortescue, 349 f.

²⁰ Brightman, 129. The prayer is now included within the prayer of intercession and accompanies an incensation. As in Am-

brose's text of the canon, (above I, 52), so here, too, the names are combined with the petition that the gifts be placed upon the heavenly altar. Cf. Baumstark, *Le liturgie orientale e le preghiere "Supra quæ" e "Supplices" del canone romano* (2nd ed.; Grottaferrata, 1913), 4 ff.; *idem.*, "Das 'Problem' des römischen Messkanons" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 229-231.

²¹ Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 239. That the words are an addition is clear from the use of the *Supra quæ* in the Mozarabic liturgy, where precisely these words are missing; Férotin, *Le liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, p. 262; *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 491 B).

²² More details about this in Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, II, 16, 16 f., 21 f. (Ed. Schneider, 211 f., 214 f.), who himself inclines to this explanation.

²³ Only in isolated instances is a (double) sign of the cross added: thus in the *Sacramentary* of the 10th century from Trier; Leroquais, I, 84.

²⁴ Duchesne, *loc. cit.*, thinks the supplement was directed against the Manicheans, to whom even an Augustine shortly before had given his adherence. The Manicheans, among other things, condemned the use of wine. The phrase, therefore, is on the same level as the *de tuis donis ac datis* of the

disuse of the chalice at Communion roused a suspicion of Manichean sentiment.²⁵

The oblation is set forth in a third way, in the *Supplices*. A gift is fully accepted not when it has drawn to itself a friendly glance, but when it is actually taken into the recipient's possession. In a daring illustration this final phase of human gift-giving is transferred to our sacrificial gift and to God to whom we offer it. The Apocalypse, 8:3-5, tells of an altar in heaven on which the angel deposits incense and the prayers of the saints: "And there was given to him [the angel] much incense, that he should offer of the prayers of all the saints, upon the golden altar which is before the throne of God."²⁶ This is but a figure of spiritual activity, just as it is only a figure to speak of the throne of God. But the figure serves as a device in the third prayer, where the offering of our sacrifice is now to be set forth as a petition for its final acceptance.

The wording of the older version in Ambrose shows clearly that we are dealing with a plea for acceptance: *Petimus et precamur, ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es . . .*²⁷ In our current text the figure, as against the reality, is even more sharply delineated. The prayer begs for the sending of a holy angel²⁸ to carry the gifts²⁹ to the heavenly altar which is erected before the face of the divine majesty.³⁰ Such a mode of expression, speaking of the heavenly altar, is to be found in various places in the Eastern liturgies since early times.³¹

preceding prayer, as a new proof of the earthbound character of the Christian sacrifice.

²⁵ Leo the Great, *Sermo 4 de Quadr.* (PL, 54, 279 f.); Gelasius I, *Ep.* 37, 2 (Thiel, 451 f.).

²⁶ The heavenly altar also in Is. 6: 6. It appears likewise in Hermas, *Pastor*, Mand., X, 3, 2 f.; Irenæus, *Adv. hæc.*, IV, 31, 5 (al. IV, 19, 1; Harvey, II, 210). Further passages in Righetti, *Manuale*, III, 336. The picture in the Apocalypse has nothing to do with the theological question whether there is a sacrifice in heaven. For avowedly in the biblical passage it is not a question of visible gifts but of prayer offered by the faithful that is symbolically represented as incense rising from the altar.

²⁷ Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, IV, 6 (above I, 52).

²⁸ The adjective *sancti (angeli)*, it is true, appears already in the early Irish tradition of the Roman canon, but is missing in the rest of the older texts. Botte, 42.

²⁹ These are simply designated by *hæc*. But that is more striking than the (*Supra*) *quæ* of the preceding prayer, which surely can be considered as combining *panem sanctum*, etc. This vagueness and mere hinting is apparently a manifestation of the reverent reserve which reappears throughout the history of religions in so many shapes and forms and which, in fact, is one of the sources of the discipline of the arcanæ; cf. W. Havers, *Neuere Literatur zum Sprachtabu* (Sitzungsber. d. Akademie d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil. hist. Kl., 223, 5). The isolated reading *jube hoc* appears in the late Middle Ages, wherein the *hoc* is understood to mean the Church on earth; Sölch, *Hugo*, 94 f.

³⁰ Thus according to the text of today. In the same passage some few MSS. have *in conspectum*. Moreover, the phrase is missing not only in Ambrose, but also in the *Cod. Rossianus*; consequently it is a later addition; see Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 204 f.

³¹ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 3 (Quasten, *Mon.*,

In the Roman liturgy, where the *Supplices* in the canon is the only instance of the use of this figure, medieval commentators ascribed a very wide significance to the heavenly altar in the performance of the sacrifice. This is correlated for the most part with the incomplete sacramental theology of the time. Remigius of Auxerre considered that after the Body and Blood of Christ were made present by the words of institution, a second act was necessary by which the Body of Christ on earth, sacramentally present in many different places, was drawn into unity with the glorified *corpus Domini* in heaven. This action was petitioned and consummated in the *Supplices*.³² The Cistercian abbot, Isaac of Stella, writing in 1165, also viewed the *Supplices* as completing our sacrifice, but in a different way. In the first step, which he likened to the altar of holocausts in the ancient Temple, we have offered up, with contrite hearts, bread and wine as tokens of our own lives; in the second step, which was compared to the golden altar of incense, we have offered up the Body and Blood of the Lord; in the third step, which corresponded to the Holy of Holies, our sacrifice was borne up by angel hands to be united to the glorified Christ in heaven, and thus was completed.³³ Just as the clouds of incense—another commentator takes up the theme—in which the high-priest stepped before the Ark of the Covenant on the great Day of Atonement, obscured his vision, so the earthly eyes of the priest can no longer at this point recognize anything; all that is left is to beg the angels to bear the sacrifice up before God's countenance.³⁴ Other theologians of this period also found that in this transfer of the gifts to the heavenly altar a real activity is connoted, in which the sacrifice attains its completion.³⁵

228): At the beginning of the preparation for Communion there is a summons to prayer, to the effect that God may accept (προσδέχεται) the gift, εἰς τὸ ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον. The Greek liturgy of St. James repeats the expression a number of times; (Brightman, 36, 41, 47, 58 f.), so, too, the liturgy of St. Mark (*ibid.*, 115, 118, 122, 123 f.) and the Byzantine liturgy (*ibid.*, 309, 319, 359). In the non-Greek liturgies the expression is less frequent. It is found in the West Syrian anaphoras of Timothy and of Severus (*Anaphoræ Syriacæ* [Rome, 1934-44], 23, 71), but they were originally likewise Greek. In several cases the ὑπερουράνιον θυσιαστήριον has reference to the offering of incense. But it is pushing things too far when Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 92 f., connects the origin of the expression regarding the admission of the gift upon the heavenly altar with the introduction of incense into the Christian liturgy of the

Orient (which he dates about 360). For the expression appears already around 300, not only in the Orient, but also in the West in Ambrose's text of the canon, a text which, after all, was not Ambrose's creation.

³² Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1262 f.); regarding this see, Geiselmänn, *Die Abendmahlslehre*, 108-111. Geiselmänn, 99 f., finds a cognate version in the commentary on the Mass "Quotiens contra se," (about 800).

³³ Isaac of Stella, *Ep. de off. missæ* (PL, 194, 1889-1896).

³⁴ Robertus Paululus, *De ceremoniis*, II, 28 (PL, 177, 429 D); Franz, *Die Messe*, 440-442.

³⁵ Paschasius Radbertus (d. 856), *De corp. et sang. Domini*, VIII, 1-6 (PL, 120, 1286-1292), Odo of Cambria (d. 1113), *Expositio in canonem missæ*, c. 3 (PL, 160, 1067 A). Cf. A. Gaudel, "Messe, III": DThC, X, 1034 f., 1041.

By the *Supplices* this activity is petitioned. Thus, under the influence, no doubt, of the Gallic liturgy, the prayer became a sort of epiklesis;³⁶ and actually there is a plea that the power of God might touch our sacrificial gift, but in reverse order, not by the descent of the Spirit, but by the ascent of the gift.³⁷

Closely allied to this in some way is the belief that in the "angel" something more is to be seen than just a created angel. It is Christ Himself who, as *magni consilii angelus*,³⁸ takes our sacrifice and bears it away to the altar celestial. This idea was repeated by several commentators, especially around the twelfth century,³⁹ and even in our own time it has been broached in the thesis which postulates a heavenly sacrifice into which our earthly sacrifice is merged.⁴⁰ Finally, taking the view that the *Supplices* is a consecratory epiklesis, as would appear by an external comparison with oriental and Gallic Mass formulas, the angel carrying the sacrifice aloft has been identified as the Holy Ghost.⁴¹

³⁶ Botte, 'L'ange du sacrifice et l'épiclèse de la messe romaine au moyen âge': *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 1 (1929), 285-308. On the part of the Orient the attempt was already made at the Council of Florence to find in our *Supplices* a real epiklesis with which the consecration would be completed. F. Cabrol, "Anamnèse": DACL, I, 1892.

³⁷ Cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 182.

³⁸ Is. 9; 6, in the text form of the Introit of the third Christmas Mass.

³⁹ It appears first in Ivo of Chartres (d. 1116), *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, 162, 557 C) and the interpretation indeed becomes understandable here because of its connection. Ivo sees in the canon the renewal of the customs of the great day of atonement (cf. above I, 110), among them the scapegoat, laden with the sins of the people and driven out into the solitude of the desert; thus Christ, laden with our sins, returns to heaven. The reference to Christ, also held by Honorius Augustodunensis, Alger of Liège, Sicard of Cremona and others; see Botte, "L'ange du sacrifice et l'épiclèse," 301-308.

⁴⁰ M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith and Human Opinion* (London, 1934), 59-79; report of an allied discussion, see *JL*, 4 (1924), 233 f. According to de la Taille, Christ is in heaven in the condition of a sacrifice; by the word *perferri* we are to understand the transubstantiation in which our sacrifice on the altar converts into a

heavenly sacrifice. Under these two suppositions, poorly substantiated it must be granted, the reference to Christ is self-evident. In view of a hypothetical primitive form of the prayer, J. Barbel, "Der Engel des 'Supplices'," *Pastor bonus*, 53, (1942), 87-91, is also inclined to make the "angel" refer to Christ. He supposes that the plural form, as testified by Ambrose (*per manus angelorum tuorum*), was preceded by a singular form, in which the *angelus*, according to the paleo-Christian fashion, was as a matter of fact understood to refer to Christ, until the Arian misconception occasioned the change to a plural form and so the reference of the word to the whole world of angels. Cf. also J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos, Die Anschauung von Christus als Engel und Bote in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums* (Bonn, 1941). But if we do not follow de la Taille in linking the *perferri* to the consecration, then there is naturally no occasion for this special interpretation, for ample expression is given to the idea that we offer our prayer for acceptance through Christ (and therefore hope that our sacrifice will be offered through Him) when we end the prayer with *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*.

⁴¹ L. A. Hoppe, *Die Epiklesis der griechischen und orientalischen Liturgien und der römische Konsekrationskanon* (Schaffhausen, 1864), 167-191; P. Cagin, "L'an-

Since all these meanings are founded on certain assumptions which, to say the least, are very questionable, there is no good reason for departing from the natural sense of the word, which is supported by the reading in Ambrose (*angelorum*) and by parallel passages in oriental liturgies;⁴² as the prayers of the faithful are deposited on the heavenly altar by the angel of the Apocalypse, so may the same be done by the holy angel with our sacrifice.⁴³ Without doubt this means that there is some participation of the angelic world in our oblation. But that can no longer be surprising, after the *Sanctus* that was sung by earth and heaven conjointly. Well known are Chrysostom's descriptions of the "awesome mystery," with the altar surrounded by angels. Gregory the Great pictures the hour of the sacrifice, with the heavens opening and choirs of angels coming down.⁴⁴ It is also in accord with the solidarity of the Christian order of salvation that the angels who (of course) have a very different relationship to man's redemption, should yet in some way take part in the sacrifice of redemption. But to try to define this participation in more detail or to single out the participating angels by name would be unbecoming curiosity.⁴⁵

The second half of the *Supplices* takes a new turn; bringing our sacrifice up to the heavenly altar should give rise to a *fruitful reception* of the holy gift by the assembled congregation—such is the prayer we take up. Our view thus turns away to the concluding act in the celebration of the Eucharist, the Communion. Criticism in the past generation saw in this re-orientation a break in the thought which offered an opportunity for bold theorizing.⁴⁶ Actually, however, although there is progress in the

tiphonaire ambrosien" (*Paleographie musicale*, 5 [1896]), 83-92; cf. Cagin, *Te Deum ou illatio*, 221. As a basis for regarding the *Supplices* as an epiklesis Hoppe looks essentially to the fact that it occupies the same place as the epiklesis in the Orient. Hoppe was not in a position to know that the Holy Ghost epiklesis, even in the Orient, was of a relatively late date; see above, p. —Cagin directs attention to the Gallican angel epikleses. But here the thing to be kept in mind is that even a pre-theological conception need not necessarily have had the Holy Ghost in view under the term of "Angel"; cf. above, p. 69, note 151, and below note 43.

⁴² In the anaphora of St. Mark the transfer of the gifts to the heavenly altar is prayerfully requested διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας. Brightman, 129.

⁴³ B. Botte, "L'ange du sacrifice," *Cours et Conférences*, VII (Louvain, 1929), 209-221. Here, p. 219 f., also examples from

Latin liturgy in which the intervention of the angel, who is obviously thought of as a created being, is requested at the sacrifice. More illustrations in Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 103. See references also in Batiffol, *Leçons* (1927), p. XXIX f.

⁴⁴ Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, IV, 58 (PL, 77, 425 f.).

⁴⁵ Suggestive considerations on this subject in Gihl, 697-699.

⁴⁶ R. Buchwald, *Die Epiklese in der römischen Messe* (Weidenauer Studien I, special printing; Vienna, 1907), 34 f.; cf. 352. According to Buchwald a consecratory epiklesis must have had a place here, one that would then be concluded with a petition for a Communion replete with graces. He refers, among others, to the expression *ex hac altaris participatione*, which has something strange about it, because of its allusion to a temporal altar, where at the present moment we are deal-

thought, it is a thoroughly natural and uninterrupted transition, as we can see by comparison with the *eucharistia* of Hippolytus, where the oblation likewise turns shortly to a Communion plea.⁴⁷ Besides, we could regard this prayer in either case, both in Hippolytus and in the present Roman canon, as an epiklesis. But it is not a consecration but a *communion epiklesis* and so (to look at the heart of the matter) there is nothing significant about the fact that the invocation of the Holy Ghost is missing in our *Supplices*, though found in Hippolytus.⁴⁸ The Communion is the second great event which the celebration of the Eucharist comprises, the second intervention of God in the activity of the Church. The Christian sacrifice is so constituted that, from the very beginning, the congregation making the oblation is invited to the sacrificial meal. As soon, then, as the oblation is completed, the expectant gaze is turned without further ado to the sacrificial repast, and it is quite seemly that this expectation should become a humble prayer.

Next, the idea that all who wish can receive the Body and Blood of the Lord is introduced as something taken for granted. We receive this double gift *ex hac altaris participatione*, from this sharing at the altar. If the gifts of today's sacrifice, our very own, are carried up to the heavenly altar, *i.e.*, are accepted by God, then this sharing, the association thus established in God's heavenly table upon which our gifts rest, grants us the possibility of receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord truly as God's table guests,⁴⁹ and thus procuring not only the external appearance of the

ing with the heavenly altar. We shall presently return to the expression. A similar trend of thought already in F. Probst, *Die abendländische Messe vom 5. bis zum 8. Jh.* (Münster, 1896), 177-180. In favor of the idea that here a consecratory epiklesis was dropped, it is pointed out that the gifts are only now designated as the "Body and Blood" of the Son of God; still, as Batiffol, *Leçons*, 270, correctly notes, the consecration and transubstantiation is clearly enough supposed in the words *panem sanctum* of the first prayer.

⁴⁷ Above I, 29. That the consecratory epiklesis of the oriental liturgy is a later interpolation is plainly seen by comparing this basic text with the *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 39 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 223 f.), as well as the Ethiopian anaphora of the Apostles (Brightman, 233); cf. the tables in Cagin, *L'eucharistia*, p. 148-149.

⁴⁸ Above, p. 191 f.—J. Brinktrine, "Zur Entstehung der morgenländischen Epiklese," *ZkTh*, 42 (1918), 301-326; 483-518, has attempted to show that the *Supplices* has

the character of an epiklesis by a comparison with the Gallic *Post pridie* and *Post secreta* prayers, which clearly occupy the place of an epiklesis and which, moreover, plead for an acceptance of the gifts (as the *Supplices* does) and again for their consecration. That this acceptance and consecration should guarantee a beneficial result is, according to Brinktrine, a part of the concept of every epiklesis, which he thinks grew out of older prayers of blessing, like those said over various foods (489 f.). It may be worth while to distinguish between the consecration and communion epiklesis in the sense developed above.

⁴⁹ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 271, also emphasizes the fact that the wording in the text of today's canon refers to the altar of heaven. True, the passages he cites for the *participatio altaris*, I Cor. 9: 13; Hebr. 13: 10, form only distant parallels. In this connection cf. also Lebrun, I, 446 f.; Hellriegel, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass* (St. Louis, 1945), 56.

mystery, but also its inmost power.⁵⁰ More simple was the thought as transmitted in the text of the Irish and Milanese canons, where we read: *ex hoc altari sanctificationis*,⁵¹ thus signifying the earthly altar on which the gifts were hallowed. Still the greater simplicity of the thought is no guarantee of its originality. It is not likely that the word "altar" would be used in one and the same breath to signify first the heavenly and then the earthly altar. Rather it must be said that in the metaphorical language of our prayer the earthly altar wholly disappears from view and is absorbed, so to say, in the heavenly one which alone has validity.

What we ask for is that the reception may be for our good, so that we may be filled with every heavenly blessing and every grace. The "heavenly blessing" again corresponds to the heavenly altar. In the restrained enthusiasm of expression there are echoes of phrases from the introductory paragraph of the Epistle to the Ephesians (1:3).

Whereas the preceding prayers had but few ceremonial accompaniments—at present simply the crosses at *hostiam puram*, etc.—the *Supplices* once more brings movement into the bodily bearing of the priest. Bowing the body, which (according to olden custom) was usually linked with the humble oblation and therefore was at one time begun here at the *Supra quæ*,⁵² is at present required at *Supplices te rogamus*. Here it is a practice of long standing.⁵³ To the profound bow is added a kiss of the altar. This

⁵⁰ Cf. possibly the Postcommunio of the feast of the Ascension: *ut quæ visibilibus mysteriis sumenda percipimus, invisibili consequamur effectum*.

⁵¹ Botte, 42; Kennedy, 52. The Bobbio Missal of about 700 shows a mixture of the two readings: *ex hoc altari participationis*. The Sacramentary of Rocarosa (about 1200) has the simplified reading: *ex hac participatione*; Ferreres, p. CXII.

⁵² Above, p. 142. Later there is mention of a raising of the eyes on the part of the priest at the *Supra quæ* (Benevent. MS. of the 11-12th cent.: Ebner, 330). According to Balthasar of Pforta it was the practice of the priest in 15th century Germany to spread the hands over the host at the *Supra quæ*; Franz, 587. Such also the direction in the Missal of Toul: Martène, I, 4, XXXI (I, 651 D) and in Premonstratensian sources since the 14th century: Waefelghem, 79, n. 1.

⁵³ Above, p. 142. In the later Middle Ages frequently a bow was made here *cancellatis manibus ante pectus*; *Liber ordinarius O. Præm.* (Waefelghem, 79); a Paris Missal of the first half of the 13th century: Leroquais, II, 66; cf. 163, 232, etc.; *Ordi-*

narium O. P. of 1256 (Guerrini, 242) and *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 95); for Cologne, see Peters, *Beiträge*, 78; for England, Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 81; Maskell, 146 f.; also already in the Sarum Missal of the 13th cent. (Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 232). The usage also found entrance in Rome: *Ordo* of Stefaneschi, n. 71 (PL, 78, 1189 B). It is generally in connection with the extension of the arms in the form of a cross at the *Unde et memores*; cf. above.—In Paris the *cancellatio* remained in use until 1615 (Lebrun, I, 442); cf. also de Moléon, 288. It is still found in the Dominican, Carthusian, and Carmelite rites of today. The fundamental idea of the practice was the representation of the Crucified. A Lyons Missal of 1531 explains the *manibus cancellatis* in the same terms as for the extending of the arms after the consecration: *quasi de seipso crucem faciens*: Martène, I, 4, XXXIII (I, 660 BC); cf. Durandus, III, 44, 4.—The direction in the Pontifical of Christian of Mainz (1167-1183), is noteworthy: *Hic [at the *Supplices*] inclinet se ad dextram*; Martène, I, 4, XVII (I, 601 E). So, too, in the Missale Ursi-

kiss is probably suggested by the *Supplices*, as an expression of deep, reverent petition.⁵⁴ The mention of the holy gifts that follows again occasions the demonstrative gesture, added here in the form of two crosses at *corpus et sanguinem*. There are indications of this gesture here and there even in Carolingian texts, but it spread only very slowly and is still missing even in manuscripts of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵ In like manner, the priest's signing himself at *omni benedictione cælesti*—a gesture that conveyed even by action the notion of pleading for heavenly blessing—did not become prevalent till towards the end of the Middle Ages.⁵⁶ Therefore, to consider the crossing of the gifts as a manifestation of our hope to transfer the blessing from them to ourselves is only a secondary interpretation, although not inadmissible.⁵⁷

After the oblation has been completed and the Communion plea has been pronounced, at once, according to the most ancient pattern, the conclusion of the *eucharistia* follows, with a solemn doxology and the *Amen* of the people.⁵⁸ In our Roman Mass however, we find here only an anticipated *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*, which is repeated again after each of the two insertions that follow. Our prayer rises aloft to God through our high-priest when His servant at the altar, as His representative, has spoken the words of consecration.

16. The Memento of the Dead

The first of three inserts which precede the doxology in the present Roman canon is the *Memento* of the dead. That this is an insertion of a

nense of the 13th century in Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 363: *inclina te ad dextrum cornu altaris*. The latter document gives the explanation at the *Te igitur* (*op. cit.*, 341): *Hic deoscula angulum corporalis et patenam illi suppositum simul*.

⁵⁴ In ancient times they seem to have recognized a double gesture of homage in the bowing and the kissing; cf. Mohlberg, *Theol. Revue*, 26 (1927), 63. This kissing of the altar appears first (and still without a similar kiss at the *Te igitur*; cf. above in the Cod. Casanat., 614 (11-12th cent.): Ebner, 330, and in a 12th century Sacramentary of the city of Rome: *ibid.*, 335; see, moreover, Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, V, 4 (PL, 217, 890 C), and so, too, for the 12th-13th cent. Martène, I, 4, XVII XXV (I, 601, 633). Since the 13th century (if we except the isolated instance in the *Ordo Cluniacensis*

of Bernard; see above, I, 316, n. 36), both kissings of the altar appear in the canon; see Ebner, 314 f., 349 f. Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 89; 95. It is, of course, conceivable that the mentioning of the altar provided the first occasion for the kissing of the altar.

⁵⁵ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 299. This restraint is perhaps explained by the fact that there is no demonstrative pronoun here with the words.

⁵⁶ A note regarding this appeared already in 12th century MSS. (See Ebner, 330; 335), but is often missing even at a much later date. From the commentary on the Mass by Balthasar of Pforta, which appeared in 1494, we learn that in Germany at least the practice was not uniform. Franz, *Die Messe*, 587.

⁵⁷ This interpretation, among others, in Brinktrine, 205 f.

⁵⁸ Above I, 23; 29.

later date is evident on several grounds. First of all, there is nothing corresponding to it in the *eucharistia* of the primitive age.¹ Secondly, it is missing in a considerable portion of older manuscripts, e.g., in the sacramentary which Pope Hadrian I had sent to Charlemagne;² indeed it is wanting in some text-sources here and there as late as the eleventh century.³ And even where it appears, it is sometimes wedged into other spots than its present location.⁴ This sporadic appearance of the remembrance of the dead can hardly be explained on the supposition that at one time it was placed on a special tablet, the *diptychon*,⁵ for if that were the case similar vestiges would be found in the *Memento* of the living. Rather the explanation is to be sought in a fact which is sustained by several accounts of the Mass, namely, that the *Memento* of the dead for a long time had no place in the Mass on Sundays and feasts, that is to say, in public service properly so called. Since the turn of the fifth century a general remembrance of the dead had a place in the *Kyrie* litany.⁶ But a special mention within the canon itself was probably regarded as a peculiarity of the Mass which was offered in some way for the dead; it was looked upon as something concerning only the group of relatives rather than the full community.⁷ Its standing was similar to that of the pre-Gregorian *Hanc igitur*, which in many cases, in fact, was revamped and inserted for the

¹ The first examples of a *Memento* for the Dead in the Mass appear in the 4th century *Euchologion* of Serapion (see below) *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 6. Accounts also in Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.*, V, 9, and in Chrysostom, *In Phil. hom.*, 3, 4 (PG, 62, 204), who certainly sees in the *Memento* for the Dead an apostolic practice. Regarding Augustine see Rötzer, 125 f.; cf. below.—Botte, 45. Without a particular formulation within the Eucharistic prayer the offering for the deceased is certainly attested already in much earlier times; see above I, 217 f.

² Botte, *Le canon*, 44. The *Memento etiam* accepted into the version supervised by Alcuin; Lietzmann, I, 28 Apparatus.

³ Ebner, 7; 247; 421; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires* (see List III, 389); Ménard (PL, 78, 280, n. 70); also in two sources published by A. Dold: the Palimpsest Sacramentary of Mainz (*Texte u. Arb.*, I, 5, p. 40) and the Zurich and Peterling fragments of a Mass-book (*ibid.*, I, 25, p. 16); also in the Greek liturgy of St. Peter, which rests upon a Latin basis of the 9-10th cent. (Codrington, 109, 125, etc.).

⁴ Attached to the *Memento* for the Living (examples from the 8th and 10th centuries

in Ebner, 421 f.), after the *Nobis quoque* (an instance from the 10th cent., *ibid.*, 43, 423).

⁵ Thus L. Delisle, *Memoir sur d'anciens sacramentaires* (Paris, 1886), 174; Duchesnes, *Christian Worship*, 182, n. 1; H. Lietzmann, 'Auf dem Wege zum Uregregorianum' (*JL*, 9, 1929), 136.

⁶ Above I, 337, n. XIV.

⁷ In the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Andrieu III, 121 f.) the following is given as the practice of the Roman Church: *In diebus autem septimanæ, de secunda feria quod est usque in die sabbato, celebrantur missa vel nomina eorum commemorant. Die autem dominica non celebrantur agendas mortuorum nec nomina eorum ad missas recitantur, sed tantum vivorum nomina regum vel principum seu et sacerdotum . . .* If, however, a burial service is necessary on Sunday, the priest should fast *cum parentibus ipsius defuncti usque ad horam nonam* and then hold the *oblatio* and burial. Cf. on this matter Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 96 ff., especially 99; M. Andrieu, *L'insertion du Memento des morts au canon romain de la messe*, *Revue des sciences relig.*, 1 (1921), 151-154.

dead.⁸ In some documents which introduced the *Memento* of the dead into the canon there is a definite rubric limiting it to weekdays only⁹ and barring it on Sundays and feasts.¹⁰ This old rule had not entirely vanished from memory even as late as the fourteenth century. The Mass commentary of Melk, from the year 1366, testifies to the practice of some priests of omitting the *Memento* of the dead on Sunday; even the author himself is inclined to give his approval, although he is unable to allege any authentic decisions in its favor.¹¹

On the other hand, the oldest extant texts of our Mass book do contain the *Memento* for the dead. The Irish tradition of the canon, including the Bobbio Missal which was written about 700, contains it. In the case of the Bobbio Missal the presence of this *Memento* is not surprising, at least in the light of what was just explained above. For the Bobbio Missal is one of the first Mass books in which the needs of the private monastic Masses were given prime consideration. In this book the Roman canon is found within a Mass formula captioned *missa Romensis cottidiana*, hence one not intended for Sunday.¹² Therefore, in Rome even at an early period the *Memento* must have formed part of the *missa cotidiana*, which even then was most frequently devoted to the dead.¹³

But there remains one striking fact, namely, that the remembrance of

⁸ In the Worms Missal of the 10th century the canon of which has no *Memento* for the Dead, a proper *Hanc igitur* is provided for the Mass of the Dead; Leroquais, I, 62 f.

⁹ *Ordo Rom.*, IV (PL, 78, 983) = *Ordo "Qualiter quædam orationes"* [see Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, I, 6] notes with regard to the *Memento* for the Dead: *Hæ orationes duæ dicuntur, una super dipticos, altera post lectionem nominum, et hoc quotidianis vel in agendis tantummodo diebus.* That the first part is to be said *super diptica* and the second *post lectionem* is also stated in the Gregorianum at the place where the *Memento etiam* appears, namely in the Mass for a deceased bishop; Lietzmann, n. 224, 4; 5. The same superscriptions in part still in the Sacramentary MSS. of the 10-11th century; Ebner, 105; 213; 214; 289. The Gregorian Sacramentary of Padua has indeed taken up the *Memento* for the Dead into the canon, but prefaces it with the rubric: *Si fuerint nomina defunctorum, recitentur dicente diacono: Memento.* Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 885.

¹⁰ A Florentine Sacramentary of the 11th century has this rubric before the *Memento*

to: Hæc non dicit in dominicis diebus nec in aliis festivitatibus maioribus; Ebner, 34, who mistakenly refers the rubric to the preceding prayer (418). The Anglo-Saxon Canones Theodori (7-8th cent.; Finsterwalder, 273, cf. 265) affirms: *Secundum Romanos die dominica non recitantur nomina mortuorum ad missam.*

¹¹ Franz, *Die Messe*, 510. As a reason those priests allege the Sunday repose that is already granted to the souls in Purgatory anyway. Concerning this popular medieval belief see Franz, 147; 452. The same reason is given by Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 132), why the priest is to mention no names at the *Memento* for the Dead on Sunday, while he may do so on week days. A note from the 13th century in a central Italian Sacramentary MS. (Ebner, 204) corresponds to this: *Hic recitentur nomina defunctorum non dominico die.*

¹² Cf. in this same sense Batiffol, *Leçons*, 225. In the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, which also comes into being about 700, the *Memento etiam* is already wrought into the Gallican Post nomina formula; Muratori, II, 702.

¹³ Cf. above I, n. 217 ff. The linguistic for-

the dead was inserted here and not in connection with the intercessory prayers before the consecration, where it might have been yoked with the remembrance of the living or with the recollection of the saints in heaven,¹⁴ or where a permanent *Hanc igitur* formula might have performed the same function. This is all the more true if we are to regard the *Nobis quoque* not as a part of the intercessory prayer, but as a special independent prayer, so that the *Memento* must be looked upon as isolated, as a segregated part of that block of prayers which were inserted before the consecration.

It is true that in the Orient—except Egypt—the memorial of the dead is not only actually linked with the other intercessions after the consecration, but its location in this spot is emphasized and justified by argument. Thus we read in the *Mystagogic Catecheses* of Jerusalem: "Then we remember also those who have fallen asleep, first the patriarchs and prophets . . . and in general all who have fallen asleep amongst us, because we believe it is of the greatest value for the souls for whom the prayer is offered while the holy and tremendous sacrifice lies before us."¹⁵ The same idea appears in Chrysostom: "When . . . that awe-inspiring sacrifice lies displayed on the altar, how shall we not prevail with God by our entreaties for them [the dead]?"¹⁶ Preceding the *Memento* both in the Liturgy of St. James at Jerusalem and in the Byzantine liturgy, we have the petition for a fruitful reception (μετέχειν, μεταλαμβάνειν) of the Eucharist by the congregation.¹⁷ Perhaps we have to suppose that the thought of the Sacrament of union more or less consciously concurred in placing the remembrance of the dead right here; the sacramental proof of their membership in the communion of saints is no longer theirs to have,¹⁸ but a substitute for it would be offered if the living would remember them at this moment. It is this idea precisely which Augustine suggests when he remarks that the dead are remembered at the altar *in communicatione corporis Christi*, because they are certainly not separated from the Church.¹⁹

mulation also points to ancient Christian Rome; see the research of E. Bishop in the appendix to A. B. Kuypers, *The Book of Cerne*, Cambridge, 1902, 266-275.

¹⁴ Cf. the striking considerations in Kennedy, 28 f., 35 f., 189 f.

¹⁵ Cyrillus of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.*, V, 9 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 102).

¹⁶ Chrysostom, *In Phil. hom.*, 3, 4 (PG, 62, 204).

¹⁷ Brightman, 54, l. 14; 330, l. 13. In the Byzantine Mass, both in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom and that of St. Basil the *Memento* of those (saints and all) who have passed away (332, l. 3) follows im-

mediately upon the petition for Communion which concluded the epiklesis.

¹⁸ The notion that the departed themselves yearn for the Sacrament seems to have been particularly fostered among the Syrians; cf. the bold version of it in James of Batna (d. 521), *Poem about the Mass for the Dead* (BKV, 6, p. 312): the departed are called forth by the priest, "and at the resurrection, which the body of the Son of God causes to shed forth, the deceased breathe in life day after day and are thus purified."

¹⁹ Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, XX, 9 (CSEL, 40, 2, p. 451, l. 15). Likewise serm. 172, 2, 2 (PL, 38, 936): It is an old practice in

A corroboration of this opinion worth noting is to be found in the oldest Egyptian formulary, that of Serapion. Although the main traditional liturgies of Egypt generally place the intercession before the consecration, this most ancient text commemorates the dead likewise after the consecration,²⁰ attaching this commemoration immediately to a somewhat expanded petition for a fruitful communion, as follows:

. . . and grant that all who participate (κοινωνοῦντες) might receive a medicine of life for curing every sickness and for strengthening every forward step and every virtue, not unto damnation, O God of truth, and not unto denunciation and shame. For we have called upon Thee, the uncreated, through Thy only-begotten in the Holy Ghost, that this people might find mercy and might be granted improvement; may angels be sent to assist the people to annihilate the evil one and to fortify the Church. We also cry out (Παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ καὶ) for all who have fallen asleep, who are also remembered. [Then, after the reading of the names:] Sanctify these souls, for thou knowest them all. Sanctify all who have died in the Lord, and number them among Thy holy troops and give them place and dwelling in Thy kingdom.²¹

Although the phrasing is quite different, yet there is a close kinship in the structure and in the train of ideas between this commemoration of the dead and the Roman *Memento*. In both cases there is the immediate attachment to the petition for Communion, the division of the remembrance into two parts, the reading of the names between these two parts, whereupon the prayer turns towards *omnibus in Christo quiescentibus* and closes with a picture of the life to come, conceived in local terms. This is not mere coincidence, but the result of a common tradition, as we can gather from those closer relationships between Egyptian and Roman liturgy which were established above.²² But whereas in Egypt the *Memento* of the dead later on disappeared from this position,²³ at Rome it was retained except at Sunday service, and then later on it became general.

In regard to the wording, the word *etiam* in the introduction immediately arrests our attention. Usually this *etiam* is regarded as a coupling which establishes the connection with the *Memento* of the living, which is supposed at one time to have followed immediately.²⁴ The Egyptian parallel just quoted shows that this supposition is unnecessary. The line of ideas is rather as follows: When we are being filled "with every

the Church universal *ut pro eis, qui in corporis et sanguinis Christi communione defuncti sunt, cum ad ipsum sacrificium loco suo commemorantur, oretur ac pro illis quoque id offerri commemoretur*. Cf. Rötzer, 125 f. These observations of Augustine permit one to argue that the remembrance of the dead occupied a place similar to that in the Roman Mass, at the end of the offering, where mention is made of the *communicatio (participatio)*.

²⁰ The same exception, moreover, in the

Arabic *Testamentum Domini* that originated in Egypt; ed. Baumstark (Oriens christ., I [1901], 1-45), 21.

²¹ *Euchologion* of Serapion, 13, 15 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 63).

²² Above I, 55 f.

²³ Nevertheless also in the form (perhaps 4th cent.) of the anaphora of St. Mark of the papyrus fragments, where prayers are said for the deceased already before the *Sanctus* (Quasten, *Mon.*, 46).

²⁴ Fortescue, *The Mass*, 354 f.

heavenly blessing" through the power of the Sacrament, we think also of those who can no longer have a part in the Sacrament. And the idea is extended: Even if they can no longer eat the hallowed bread, yet they have gone into the beyond with the seal of faith, *præcesserunt cum signo fidei*.

This *signum fidei*, σφραγίς τῆς πίστεως, is not just a "sign of faith" in an indefinite and general sense; it is the seal which in Baptism is impressed upon the profession of faith;²⁶ thus it is Baptism itself.²⁷ Baptism is the completion, the sacramental authentication or "sealing" of faith. At the same time it is the mark with which Christ has stamped those who are His own, and it is therefore both a guarantee against the perils of darkness and a proud badge of the Christian confessor.²⁸ The *signum fidei* gives assurance of entrance into life everlasting provided that it is preserved inviolate.²⁹ In any case, those for whom we petition have not disowned their Baptism; the seal of Christ is shining on their souls.³⁰ It is indeed for this reason that the burial places of Christians in the catacombs and the primitive Christian sarcophagi are decorated with the allegorical symbols of Baptism.³¹ In that age of adult baptism the reference to this

²⁶ Cf. the rite of questioning at baptism; Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 189 ff.

²⁷ F. J. Dölger, *Sphragis. Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung* (Paderborn, 1911), especially 99-104; K. Prümm, *Der christliche Glaube und die altheidnische Welt*, II (Leipzig, 1935), 401-405. Taken very precisely baptism is a seal (cf. Hermas, *Pastor*, Sim., IX, 16, 4: "The seal therefore is water") and being baptized is the print of the seal, the imprinted χαρακτήρ. In the dismissal formula at the end of the liturgy of St. James of the Syrian Jacobites the faithful are designated as "stamp-ed with the sign of holy baptism"; Brightman, 106, l. 15. The *signum fidei* could be rendered by "the baptismal character," if it were understood that the latter word included the grace of baptism. Since the 3rd century (*con*)signare, σφραγίζειν was predominantly understood to pertain to Confirmation, (Dölger, 179-183). But in the combination *signum fidei* the older meaning evidently survives.

²⁸ The word σφραγίς or *signum* (the word *sigillum* more common with us is only a diminutive of *signum*), *signaculum* has its complete meaning from the part that the *signatio* (a sealing) played in the contemporaneous profane culture. Not only the animals of a herd, slaves, but in particular the soldiers that belonged to a cer-

tain troop, were distinguished by a mark of recognition; the latter, for example, had the insignia of the emperor impressed upon their hands or forearms, or even on their foreheads (Dölger, 18-37), a circumstance that without much ado could have been transferred over to Christ, since it was customary to regard Christian life as a *militia Christi*. Above all else baptism was compared to the impression made by a seal upon wax or sphragide, which then was attached to an endangered object to preserve it from harm (*ibid.*, 7-14; 109-111). To the seal impress were then added qualifying words that properly belonged to the ornamental seal-ring; thus Bishop Abericus on his tomb inscription calls the congregation of Rome "the people with the radiant seal" (*ibid.*, 80-88).

²⁹ Hence Irenæus already, *Epideixis*, c. 3 (BKV, 4, 585), calls Baptism "Seal of eternal life"; cf. Dölger, 141-148.

³⁰ In the East Syrian Mass also the departed faithful are designated as those "that have been signed with the living sign of holy baptism"; Brightman, 287, l. 13. On the other hand, Chrysostom, *In Phil. hom.*, 3, 4 (PG, 62, 203), remarks that those of the dead must be mourned who passed away χωρὶς σφραγίδος.

³¹ Here we must cite the representations of

sacrament on the Christian grave was as natural an expression of Christian hope as in our own day the reception of the last sacraments is. It is quite in keeping with our changed circumstances to regard those sacraments in general by whose reception the preservation of our Baptism is made manifest, as the sacramental seal of faith, the *signum fidei* with which our brethren have departed this life.

The intercession here made for the dead is primarily for those who have departed this life as Christians. This coincides with the practice of the Church, which even from oldest times has offered the sacrifice only for those who have remained in communion with her, and who thus have a right to her treasures of grace. Only those, at any rate, can be mentioned by name. But then the circle is widened: *et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus*, so that all are included who are waiting their final purification, since there is none among them who could have attained his salvation except "*in Christo*."

In this short sentence the other phrases, too, echo the first Christian centuries as closely as do the words *signum fidei*. Thus *præcessit in pace* or *præcessit nos in pace* is an expression which also occurs in the grave inscriptions.³² Following our Lord's example,³³ the Church of old was wont to call the death of the just, from which they would arise after a short while, a sleep.³⁴ And it is a sleep of peace, not only because the struggle and strife of earthly life are past, but also because only in death is that peace which Christ willed to bring finally secured. *Et dormiunt in somno pacis*.³⁵ Countless are the inscriptions which employ the word peace: *requiescit in pace*,³⁶ *in somno pacis*,³⁷ *præcessit in somno pacis*.³⁸ An inscription from the year 397, at St. Praxedes' in Rome, begins: *Dulcis et innocens hic dormit Severianus XP in somno pacis. Qui vixit annos p.m.L, cuius spiritus in luce Domini susceptus est*.³⁹

The deceased faithful are *in Christo quiescentes* in the same sense that

Noe, Moses at the spring, Susanna, the baptism of Jesus, the healing of the blind man, and the one afflicted with the gout (pardon of sins). The controversy regarding the meaning of Christian art is today gradually coming to recognize its symbolical meaning; cf. perhaps J. P. Kirsch, "Der Inhalte der ältesten sepulkralen Darstellungen in den römischen Katakomben," *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 36 (1928), 1-20. In passing we might say that baptism deserves more consideration in this connection than is accorded it.

³² E. Diehl, *Lateinische altchristliche Inschriften*, 2 ed. (Kleine Texte 26-28; Bonn, 1913), n. 14; 71; cf. 20.

³³ Matt. 9: 24 and parallel.; John 11: 11.

³⁴ In the word *cæmeterium* (κοιμητήριον) the expression survives to this day. But we will not examine here to what extent the picture of sleep exerted its influence upon the representation that was commonly made in Christian antiquity regarding the condition of those who passed away.

³⁵ That the *pax* is to be understood as peace with the Church in opposition to heresy and excommunication, as Gühr, 709-10, assumes, is excluded by its original meaning and has absolutely no foundation in the wording here.

³⁶ Diehl, n. 2, 37, 41, 43, etc.

³⁷ Diehl, n. 34, 42, 81, 116, 173.

³⁸ Diehl, n. 96 (from Spoleto about 400).

³⁹ Diehl, n. 166.

Holy Writ speaks of *mortui qui in Christo sunt* (1 Thess. 4:17) and of those *qui in Domino moriuntur* (Apoc. 14:13). They are forever joined to Christ's Body, forever inspired by His life. But those for whom we pray have not yet attained the consummation. The dust of their earthly pilgrimage still clings to their feet. They have not yet been allowed to enter *in locum refrigerii lucis et pacis*. In the torrid lands of the South the word *refrigerium* was early employed as a designation of the state of those blessed who have been granted "coolness."³⁹ The word light, which is universally regarded as the epitome of joy, is given still greater prominence by the images used in the Apocalypse 21:23 f.; 22:5.⁴⁰

The mention of personal names in the commemoration of the dead, as in that of the living, is also an ancient practice. An evidence of this is found in the text which the Irish tradition of the Roman canon presents: *Memento etiam Domine et eorum nomina qui nos praecesserunt . . .*⁴¹ The celebrating priest at a Mass for certain deceased persons would therefore insert their names in place of the word *nomina* or else after *in somno pacis*. But the other textual form, with *famulorum famularumque*, as we have it in the tradition of the Roman canon⁴² outside the Irish, had no such indication for the insertion of names. The first case of the use of *ill. et ill.* (equivalent to the present *N. et N.*) is presented in the group of sacramentaries which goes back to Alcuin, who had inserted the remembrance of the dead into the Hadrianic Sacramentary as a permanent part.⁴³ It was about this time that the custom began of saying the canon half-aloud or even silently; hence no surprise would be caused by such a

³⁹ A Parrott, *Le 'refrigerium' dans l'au-delà* (Paris, 1937). Originally the expression *refrigerium* referred to the libation by which, it was believed, the deceased obtained coolness (170). From this is derived the use of the word in the sense of a meal, a funeral feast. Cf. *supra* I, 218. Gassner, *The Canon*, refers also to Scripture allusions, e.g., Luke 11:23 f.; Apoc. 7:16 f.

⁴⁰ Obviously we cannot presuppose as a background for this prayer the clear representation of a soul mounting from place of purgation to the blissful vision of God. Rather we are concerned with a much less definite notion that in general the redeemed have not reached their final goal. Cf. A. Michel, "Purgatoire" (*DThC*, XIII, 1163-1326), 1212 ff.; B. Bernard, "Ciel" (*DThC*, III, 2474-2511), 2483 ff.; J. de Vuippens, *Le paradis terrestre au troisième ciel* (Fribourg, 1925), 17 ff.

⁴¹ Botte, 44. The word *nomina*, that is missing in the *Sacramentarium Rossianum*

must originally have been a rubric. It is equivalent to the later *N. et N.* That becomes clear in the Stowe Missal, ed. Warner (HBS, 32), 14, where the word *nomina* likewise appears here, whereas the singular is regularly designated by *N.*; cf. above n. 19. In the printed edition of the *Missale Francorum* in Muratori, II, 694, the word *nomina* is enclosed in brackets.—The same version of the text also in later testimonies; *Ordo Rom.*, IV (PL, 78, 983 C); Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 994). Several examples in Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 367 f.

⁴² Kennedy, 52.

⁴³ Strangely Botte, 44, has inserted this *ill. et ill.* in his critical text, although only Cod. Ottobon. (the one MS. that presents Alcuin's version) is the sole witness to the reading of all the 19 textual witnesses, once we have discounted all the *lacunae* and variants (Cod. Pad., also has the Irish version). Lebrun, I, 453, note b, names

cataloging of names, if it actually occurred," "or by the appearance of the *Memento* itself on Sundays and feasts.

Nevertheless there is evidence, even in the pre-Carolingian Roman liturgy, of the custom of formally reciting the names of the dead with the aid of diptychs (except on Sundays and feast days). The reading was done by the deacon,⁴⁴ and in this case as a rule not in the place where the *N. et N.* now stands, but between the two sentences of the prayer, in the same place where today silent prayer is suggested.⁴⁵

Until late in the Middle Ages we not infrequently find the rubric here: *Hic recitentur nomina defunctorum*.⁴⁶ Less often we find the heading *Super diptychia* placed above the *Memento etiam*.⁴⁷ Insofar as this recitation of names found a place in public services, it must have been occupied, like its counterpart, the reading of the diptychs in the Orient, with the names of outstanding personalities and special benefactors.⁴⁸ The deacon's role

French Missals of 1702 and 1709 that do not have the *N. N.* in the text.

⁴⁴ For the present time Gihl, 706, n. 5, notes that the priest should recall to mind particular dead not after the *N. et N.*, but after the *in somno pacis*. Cf. Fortescue, 355.

⁴⁵ Sacramentary of Padua (Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 885): *Si fuerint nomina defunctorum, recitentur dicente diacono*. This rubric which was preferred to the *Memento etiam* probably goes back to the 7th century. We cannot conclude from this that the *Memento etiam* was also assigned to the deacon as Baumstark, "Das 'Problem' (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 237, n. 51 (likewise *Liturgie comparée*, 53, n. 4), assumes; this is not necessarily contained in the text and would be entirely contrary to Rome's well-known attitude towards the office of the deacon. In a Sacramentary of the 9-10th century from Tours, about which Martène, 1, 4, 8, 23 (I, 415 B), reports, the rubric appears in the form: *Si fuerint nomina defunctorum, recitentur; dicat sacerdos: Memento*. Cf. Leroquais, I, 49. Likewise (instead of *dicat: dicet*) in a Sacramentary of the 10th century from Lorsch: Ebner, 248. There is an outward resemblance, but nothing more in the case of the Bishop of Amiens, 1574, who states in his last will, that after his departure from this life, the deacon should address the celebrant *Memento Domine animarum servorum tuorum Johannis et Antonii de Crequy*. Elsewhere the choir boy had the

same task; Martène, 1, 4, 8, 24 (I, 415). Cf. de Moléon, 195; 374.

⁴⁶ The Missal of Bobbio already has the note at the place: *commemoratio defunctorum*; Botte, 44. As a practice of the Roman Church at the time (in contrast to the Frankish) the reading of the names *ex diptychis* is mentioned here by Florus Diaconus (d. about 860), *De actione miss.*, c. 70 (PL, 119, 62 C). Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1264 A), repeats the same.

⁴⁷ Examples since the 9th century in Leroquais, I, 44; 84. Examples from the 10-15th centuries from Italy in Ebner, 17, 27, 109, 137, 149, 163, 204, 280, 292, 330, 335. The same notice in the *Ordo Rom.*, IV (PL, 78, 983 C; cf. note 9 above): *Et recitentur nomina. Deinde, postquam recitata fuerint, dicat: Ipsis*. Likewise, Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 994). The formal entry of the name in a Sacramentary at the *Memento* of the Dead was sometimes stipulated in pious bequests of the Middle Ages; Martène, 1, 4, 8, 24 (I, 416 D). Names actually often inserted as annotations in the manuscripts. Examples from 9-10th century in Ehrensberger, *Libri liturgici Bibliothecae Apost. Vaticanae* (Freiburg, 1897), 394, 401, 409, 412, 451. Cf. also above, p. 164 f.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 239, n. 9.

⁴⁹ Martène, 1, 4, 8, 23 (I, 415 D) mentions a MS. that adds after *ill. et ill.* of the canon text: *episcoporum praesentis ecclesiae*. *Ibid.*, 24 (I, 415 f.) reports from

in this could not have lasted very long. Soon interpolated formulas, more or less comprehensive, were developed, so that the priest himself could combine them with the recitation of the names,⁵⁰ or could even substitute them for the latter,⁵¹ unless perhaps a detailed catalogue or recitation of names of the dead with a similar formula was already joined to the remembrance of the living.⁵² Finally, instead of all these interpolations, there remained a personal recollection by the priest according to his own judgment,⁵³ just as at the *Memento* of the living,⁵⁴ but for this, in turn—as in the case of the other *Memento*, too—special formulas to be used were worked out.⁵⁵

Just as the *Memento* for the living became a basis for all sorts of additions, so the *Memento* for the dead, too, served as the groundwork to which a variety of interpolations could be affixed. For example, an *apologia* was widely used in this connection, inserted generally before the *Memento*.⁵⁶ Insertions of this type had already appeared within the

the 9-12th century and the text of a diptych of the dead from Amiens of the year 1120. Insertion of a list of Bishops of Rheims (until about 1100) in Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, I, 147. Cf. also the example from Arezzo in the following note.⁵⁷ An 11th century Sacramentary of Arezzo inserts after the *in somno pacis* the words: *illorum et omnium fidelium catholicorum qui tibi placuerunt, quorum commemorationem agimus, quorum numerum et nomina tu solus, Domine, cognoscis et quorum nomina recensemus ante sanctum altare tuum*. Before the *Memento* we find over an erasure an *apologia* (in place of an older list of names?) and then 19 names of the cathedral clergy of Arezzo; Ebner, 225; 419; 421. Here we should also mention the fourth *Memento* formula of the Missa Illyrica; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 514 D). Numerous other examples in Leroquais, See Register, III, 389.—An interpolation of this period in the Mass-ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 443, shows that in the 10th century the priest himself made such insertions; after the naming of some bishops and spiritual communities there follows *patris mei et matris*, etc.

⁵¹ Mass orders from the region of Montecassino insert (in place of the *N. et N.*) *quorum vel quarum nomina scripta habemus et quorum vel quarum elemosinas accepimus, et eorum qui nos praecesserunt*. Ebner, 203; 421. Fiala, 211. A sacramen-

tary of the 11th century from Echternach names the benefactors of the church and those *quorum corpora in hoc loco requiescunt at in circuitu ecclesiae istius*; Leroquais, I, 123. More examples, *ibid.* (see Register, III, 389 f.); Ebner, 420. Cf. also the second formula in the Missa Illyrica. Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 514 B). A lengthy insertion, but one that turns into a Gallican intercessory prayer, also in the Stowe Missal; see above, p. 163, n. 17; Botte, 44, Apparatus.

⁵² Ebner, 401-403; 421 f.; cf. above, p. 164, n. 24.

⁵³ Thus in the Mass arrangement of Bec in the late Middle Ages: Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 674 B).

⁵⁴ Thus expressly Hugo of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 40); cf. above, p. 165.

⁵⁵ The 1539 *Directorium divinarum officiorum* of Ciconiolanus has the formula: *Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum illius vel illorum vel illarum, pro quo vel qua vel quibus specialiter orare teneor, parentum, propinquorum, amicorum, benefactorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, quibus aeternam requiem donare digneris. Qui nos praecesserunt*. Legg. *Tracts*, 211. A more detailed designation in the Regensburg Missal about 1500: Beck, 273.

⁵⁶ It is entered in the margin of the Cod. Ottobon. of the Gregorianum in its original form (Lietzmann, n. 1, 28, Apparatus):

preceding *Supplices*,⁵⁷ or even in front of it.⁵⁸ Ancient and widespread was a rubric which enjoined a pause after the words *Supplices te rogamus*; the rubric reads: *Hic orat apud se quod voluerit, deinde dicit: iube . . .*⁵⁹ The obtrusion of personal intentions had thus been inaugurated very early.

The conclusion of the remembrance of the dead is also *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*.⁶⁰ In this instance, the phrase is accompanied by a bow on the part of the priest. That is unusual. Many explanations have been offered.⁶¹ Some suggest that the bow is meant for the preceding *deprecamur*, or for the humble self-accusation of the following *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, or else that it is intended for the word *Christus*. The last postulate can appeal to several parallels since the fifteenth century.⁶² But why, then, is this the only place that the bow is prescribed?⁶³ We should rather seek our explanation in the allegorical treatment of the Mass-liturgy, the same sort of thinking that led the later Middle Ages to give a symbolic representation of the Crucified by means of the outstretched arms after the consecration, and the crossed hands at the

Memento mei quæso, Domine, et miserere, et licet hæc sacrificia indignis manibus meis tibi offeruntur, qui nec invocare dignus sum nomen sanctum tuum, quæso iam quia in honore gloriosi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tibi offeruntur, sicut incensum in conspectu divinæ maiestatis tuæ cum odore suavitatis accendantur. Also in the Sacramentary of Metz (9th cent.): Leroquais, I, 17, and already in garbled form about 800 in the Sacramentary of Angoulême (ed. Cagin [Angoulême], 1919), p. 118; Botte, 44, Apparatus). More sources since the 9th century in Leroquais, I, 48 f., 54, 63, etc. (see Register, III, 390); sources of the 10-12th century besides discussion of the same in Ebner, 419 (with n. 1-3); also Ferreres, 155 f.; Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 364; Martène, I, 4, 8, 24 (I, 416 E) and *ibid.*, IV, V, IX (I, 514 C, 527 C, 547 E). In the Missa Illyrica a second *Memento*-apology: *ibid.*, IV (I, 514 A). In Ebner, 420, also another formula that belongs here, half apology, half offering of the type of the *Suscipe* formulas described above, beginning here with *Omnipotens s. D. dignare suscipere*; the same formula less garbled in Bona, II, 14, 1 (788 f.). A shorter expression of the same idea is presented in a Sacramentary of the 12th century from lower Italy; before the *Memento etiam* the priest prays three times: *Deus omnipotens, propitius esto mihi peccatori*; Ebner, 149, 420. Here we

see the influence of the Byzantine Mass; see Brightman, 354, 1. 41; 356, 1. 17; 378, 1. 26; 393, 1. 7. By the 12th century these apology insertions have disappeared; Durandus, III, 45, 1, knows of the formula *Memento mei quæso* only in *antiquis codicibus*.

⁵⁷ An example with intercession in Ebner, 418 f.

⁵⁸ A Missal from Lower Italy in the 12th century has the priest make a bow and repeat three times: *Deus omnipotens, propitius esto mihi peccatori*; Ebner, 149, 418. Cf. above, n. 56.

⁵⁹ *Ordo "Qualiter quædam"* (Andrieu, II, 300; PL, 78, 983 C). Further data, see Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 204; Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 363 f.

⁶⁰ Since the age of the Humanists: *Per eundem Chr. D. n.*; see Botte, 44.

⁶¹ L. Brou, "L'inclination de la tête au 'Per eundem Christum' du Memento des Morts," *Miscellanea Mohlberg*, I, (1948), 1-31; eleven different explanations are cited p. 3-9.

⁶² The Missal of the Bursfeld Congregation and the Mass-order of Burchard both have a bow of the head at the *Per Christum D. n.* in the preface; The Dominican Missal since 1705 similarly has such a bow after the *Communicantes*; Brou, 9-13.

⁶³ It appears for the first time in the Missal of Pius V, in the Antwerp edition of 1571; Brou, 2 f.; 28 f.

Supplices. Towards the end of the canon some externalization had to be made of the moment when the dying Redeemer bowed His head.⁴

17. *Nobis quoque*

In the present-day text of the Roman canon, the *Nobis quoque*, the last of the large prayers of the canon, is appended to the remembrance of the dead without giving the least impression of a skip or break. After we have prayed for the dead, that they may attain the place of light and peace, we pray also for ourselves, that we may obtain a part with the saints of heaven. But simple and natural though this thought transition appears at first, still upon closer study we encounter several problems. Why is this prayer put here at all? Has not its main theme already been expressed in the *Supplices*, with the appeal for "every heavenly blessing?" The problem grows even more vexing when we turn our attention to the history of the text, for we discover that the remembrance of the dead did not even belong to the permanent parts of the canon, whereas the *Nobis quoque* is found in all our text sources and must therefore have followed immediately after the *Supplices*.

The most obvious conclusion would then be that our prayer arose as a continuation of the *Supplices* and is to be explained as such, and this opinion, despite the difficulties already hinted at, has been maintained even in most recent times.¹ There is indeed a forward step in the thought of the second prayer, since the petition is not only for blessing and grace from heaven, but for eternal bliss itself in the company of apostles and martyrs. Besides, it is possible to point to oriental parallels which likewise extend the plea for the fruits of Communion into a plea for heavenly happiness,² and thus pursue the biblical concept of a bond between the Eucharist and heavenly life (John 6: 48-51). In one case, in fact, the wording reminds one of the phrases of our *Nobis quoque*.³

⁴ This explanation in Gihl, 710. The leading commentators of the Middle Ages quite remarkably say nothing further about the little ceremony. Still Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 25 (PL, 105, 1142 C) and later Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 16 (PL, 151, 987 D) look for a liturgical expression in the fact that Christ, *inclinato capite*, gave up the ghost and find it probable because of the absence of any other ceremony of like nature, in the bow at the *Supplices*. Likewise Honorius Augustod. *Gemma an.*, I, 46 (PL, 172, 558). Durandus, IV, 7, 6 f., links the 13 *inclinaciones*, established by him with the corresponding actions in the life and passion of the Lord, and among them also, that He rendered

His soul to God. Still he mentions no special bow for it. Cf. further statements below.

¹ By Baumstark, "Das 'Problem' des römischen Meszkanons" (*Eph liturg.*, 1939), 238 f.

² Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 239. Baumstark stresses particularly the turn of expression in the liturgy of St. Mark (Brightman, 134): may the Communion redound to the recipients *εις κοινωνίαν μακαριότητος ζωής αιώνιου*, which he compares with the *societas* of the Roman text.

³ In the Egyptian anaphora of St. Basil (Renaudot, I, 1847, 68), the words follow immediately after the epiklesis: Make us

On the other hand, it is certainly very surprising that an imposing construction like the *Nobis quoque*, an independent sentence, well-rounded in its phrases, should be set up for the simple continuation of a thought which was already expressed in substance, when it would have been more than sufficient to follow up the words *omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur* with a phrase like *et vitam æternam consequamur*. That this should have been the original pattern seems almost excluded by the fact that the *Supplices*, unlike the prayers that precede it, has the concluding formula *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*. Add to this the puzzling *quoque*, which is understandable on the supposition that the remembrance of the dead precedes, and a prayer is included "also" for us as for the dead; but remove the remembrance of the dead and the word *quoque* loses its point of reference, since "we" have already been named as recipients of the favor petitioned in the *Supplices*.⁴

But it is possible—and perhaps necessary—to take a different view, in which the *quoque* receives a satisfactory meaning. Is it so sure that the same group of persons is referred to in both the *Supplices* and the *Nobis quoque*? The terms *nos peccatores*, or more correctly *nos peccatores famuli tui*,⁵ "us, thy sinful servants," could *per se* designate the whole congregation assembled, as many commentators suppose either by their silence or even expressly.⁶ But amongst all the designations for the congregation represented by the priest in prayer—we possess thousands of examples in the sacramentaries—this would be the only case of the kind.⁷ On the contrary, *peccator* had been used as a term of self-designation, especially as the self-designation of the clergy. At the close of his work on

worthy to partake in thy mysteries, ἵνα . . . εὐρωμεν μέρος καὶ κληρον ἔχειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

⁴ P. Leo Eizenhöfer, a letter of Sept. 5, 1943, calls attention to the possibility that the *quoque* was equivalent in late Latin to a mere *-que*, and refers confirmation to Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik* (5th ed., by Leumann-Hofmann; Munich, 1928), 662. This would solve the difficulty of the "also," but an appended *-que* seems to be excluded by the foregoing conclusion formula, *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*, which is found in all the texts, the Stowe missal excepted (Botte, 42), and which can therefore hardly be considered as a later addition.—Baumstark, 239 f., among others, interprets the *quoque* in such a way as to anticipate the list of apostles and martyrs mentioned near the end of the prayer, after several intervening phrases: we pray God may vouchsafe us a part along with them. However, there

is nothing in the text to warrant such a dislocation of the thought.

⁵ Rütten, "Philologisches zum Canon missæ" (*StZ*, 1938, I), 46, pointing out that to this day the missal has no comma before the *famulis*. A very similar adjectival use of *peccatores* is found e.g., in Augustine, *Sermo*, 215, 4 (PL, 38, 1074): God became man *pro reis et peccatoribus servis*, and again, *ibid.*, *pro peccatoribus servis*. It is also to be discovered in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 329): *famuli peccatores*. ⁶ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 182; Baumstark, "Das 'Problem,'" 238 f.; also Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 222, with the rather weak argument that the *Sacramentarium Rossianum* (11th c.) has the addition: (*famulis*) *et famulabus*—an absolutely solitary reading; see Botte, 44.

⁷ This impression is confirmed when, e.g., one examines the cases recorded in the word register of the Gregorian sacramentary of Lietzmann, p. 159, s. v. *peccator*.

Baptism, Tertullian begs *ut cum petitis, etiam Tertulliani peccatoris memineritis*.⁸ For centuries, it was the practice in clerical circles to add the word *peccator* to one's signature.⁹ Therefore here, too, the clergy must be meant by the *peccatores famuli*—the celebrating priest and his assistants.¹⁰ If this be true, then the addition of a *quoque*, even right after the *Supplices*, takes on an acceptable meaning; *quoque* then signifies something like "and especially." To the prayer for all, we priests now add a particular appeal for ourselves, poor sinners.

Such a recommendation of self, pleading for one's own person, combined at the same time with the acknowledgment of one's own unworthiness, was part of the intercessory prayer already in the fourth century, at least in the Orient.¹¹ In the Syrian Liturgy of St. James it is inserted at the very beginning,¹² while in Egypt it appears near the end of the intercessions.¹³ In the Alexandrian Greek Liturgy of St. Mark it consists of two members: "Remember, O Lord, in grace and mercy also us, thy sinful and unworthy servants (καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀναξίων δούλων σου), and blot out our sins, good and loving God; remember, Lord, also me, thy lowly and sinful and unworthy servant . . ." ¹⁴ The similarity of expression is astonishing. In view of the connection—already verified more than once—between Egypt especially and Rome, this similarity can hardly be accidental. Thus we are forced to accept in the Roman Mass too, the meaning which is unequivocally given in the oriental text, the meaning of self-recommendation. Moreover, this was the meaning given the *Nobis quoque* by medieval commentators.¹⁵

In this way we make room for the possibility that the *Nobis quoque*

⁸ Tertullian, *De baptismo*, c. 20 (CSEL, 20, 218).

⁹ See, e.g., the signatures from the 6th century in Mansi, IX, 867 ff.—In Greek documents the word τ(απεινός), abbreviated, was sometimes added in the same sense; this is the word from which, as we know, was derived the cross that bishops and abbots place before their signatures.—Cf. also the *peccator* formulas (which are, however, much later in date) in the *Orate fratres*, above, p. 83.

¹⁰ From the word *famuli*, however, we cannot draw the same conclusion, as P. Maranget, "La grande prière d'intercession," *Cours et conférences*, VII (Louvain, 1929), 188, note 19, attempts to do. For *famuli tui* is not equivalent to *servi tui*, *servitus tua*, which are found in two earlier passages of the canon; cf. above, pp. 184, 222.

¹¹ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 41 (Quasten, *Mon.*,

225): καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντος οὐδενός.

¹² Brightman, 55: Μνήσθητι, κύριε, κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου καὶ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀρχαίου δούλου σου . . . ; cf.

ibid., 90. Regarding the numerous variants, see Rücker, *Die Jakobusanaphora*, 27.

¹³ Brightman, 130. Likewise in the Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil, while the Byzantine liturgy of St. Chrysostom does not contain the petition.

¹⁴ Brightman, 130.—The Coptic text is expanded in a different way, *ibid.*, 173.—Cf. also the related reading in the Egyptian Mass from the Arabian Testamentum Domini edited by Baumstark, *Oriens christ.*, 1 (1901), 23; Quasten *Mon.*, 256 note. Here the notice is given that the priest says the petition *secreto*.

¹⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, III, 83, 4. A reference to this still in Gihl, 711, note 2.

was originally attached to the *Supplices*. But the fact is not therefore assured—not at all. It would be certainly very surprising to find this solitary instance where, in order to admit this recommendation of self, the oblation prayers would be concluded before the close of the canon and another special prayer would be introduced at once.¹⁶ Such a fresh start might be brought about more easily if the remembrance of the dead were inserted first and if then the *Nobis quoque* followed as "a kind of embolism."¹⁷ Thus, the order of the prayers as we have them at present would be nothing but a return to the original situation. To be sure, we would then be forced to admit that both prayers were at first alien to the Sunday and feast-day Mass. Then, about the turn of the sixth century, when the original number of the saints' names in the *Nobis quoque* began to be expanded into the present well-ordered double series and the list set consciously side by side with the series in the *Communicantes*, this parallel would have furnished a reason for including the *Nobis quoque* in the canon as a permanent part.

Related evidences in Egypt also lend a color of probability to such a connection with the remembrance of the dead. For it is worthy of note that there too a prayer which is remarkably reminiscent of the *partem aliquam et societatem cum sanctis apostolis et martyribus* in our Roman formula is frequently¹⁸ attached to the remembrance of the dead, not indeed as a self-recommendation on the part of the clergy, but as a petition for the congregation. This appears in the fourth century.

In the papyrus fragment of the anaphora of St. Mark which comes from this period, we read near the end of the intercession: "[1] Give peace to the souls of the deceased, [2] remember those [for whom] we keep a memorial on this day, [3] and those whose names we speak and whose names we do not speak, [4] [above all] our very faithful fathers and bishops everywhere, [5] and permit us to take part and lot (μερίδα καὶ κληρὸν ἔχειν), [6] with [the assembly] of the holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs."¹⁹

This wording recurs in later Egyptian texts, but with amplifications and several inversions.²⁰ We might mention in passing that as a matter

¹⁶ The blessing of natural goods that then followed hardly ever became a fixed constituent of every Mass; see below, p. 261 ff.

¹⁷ Botte, 69.—Besides Botte we can cite for this opinion Kennedy, 34 f.; Fortescue, 160 f., 355; Eisenhofer, II, 190-192.

¹⁸ This is not the case exclusively; see *supra*, note 3, where however the textual relationship to the *Nobis quoque* is not so close as with the reading to be cited directly.

¹⁹ Quasten, *Mon.*, 46-49. Cf. the first publication by M. Andrieu and P. Collomp,

"Fragments sur papyrus de l'anaphore de S. Marc," *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 8 (1928), 489-515, and the commentary of the editors on this passage, p. 511 f.

²⁰ In the textus receptus of the Greek anaphora of St. Mark four of the six members of the text cited are found again in the sequence 1, 2, 5, 4 (Brightman, 128-130). After No. 1—apparently as a substitute for No. 6—there is inserted: May God "be mindful of the forefathers from the beginning, the fathers, patriarchs, prophets . . ." (1 a); after No. 2 the names

of fact the West-Syrian Mass is also familiar with similar expansions of the remembrance of the dead.²¹ Thus it is not impossible that the prayers added to the *Memento* of the dead in the Roman canon simply began: *Nobis quoque partem et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus* . . .²² However, on the evidence of the oriental parallels cited at the start, it is patent that contemporaneously a self-recommendation was added to the preceding intercessory prayer, and the plea itself was restricted to the narrower circle of the clergy by means of the words *peccatoribus famulis*.

With the prayer certain names were probably linked from the very beginning. It is a striking fact that the first two names in the Roman prayer, John and Stephen, also appear in Egypt, in the corresponding prayer of the Coptic Mass; although the precise point of insertion here is slightly different and the name of Mother of God precedes.²³ It is very probable

of St. Mark and the Mother of God are added, and then follow the "Diptychs of the Departed" and another petition for the bliss of heaven. Between No. 5, which has the simple form: *δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κλήρον ἔχειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου*, and No. 4 there are oblation prayers and a petition for patriarchs and bishops.—The old element recurs in even more faithful fashion in the Coptic version (Brightman, 169 f.), where the sections follow in the order 1, 1a, 4, 5, 2, 3, and again 5, but with the insertion of numerous expansions. In No. 1a the names of Mary, John the Baptist, Stephen and a series of bishops and abbots have been added. The diptychs stand between No. 2 and No. 3. A still simpler form of the Coptic tradition in H. Hyvernat, "Fragmente der altcoptischen Liturgie," *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1 (1887), 339 f., with the sections of the text in the order 1, 1a, 5, 4, 2, 3, 5.—Andrieu-Colomp, p. 512, are inclined to view sections N. 5 and 6 of the papyrus fragment (which are of special interest to us here) as the original text.

²¹ In the anaphora of St. James the last of the priest's petitions beginning with *Μνήσθητι κύριε* which follow upon the reading of the diptychs in the intercessory prayer after the consecration pertains to the deceased "whom we have remembered and whom we have not forgotten," that God may grant them rest in His kingdom, where there is no pain; "but grant us," it continues, "a Christian, pleasing, and sinless death in peace, Lord Lord, and lead

us together to the feet of Thy elect, when Thou wilt and as Thou wilt, only without abashment and without failure." Brightman, 57; sharply expanded in the Jacobite text, *ibid.*, 95 f.; in a different form in the later Jacobite anaphoras.

²² The language echoes Biblical expressions: Col. 1: 12; Acts 20: 32. Some of the older sacramentary manuscripts have *partem aliquam societatis* (Botte, 46), which is perhaps an attempt to follow Col. 1: 12 even more closely.—Cf. moreover Polycarp, *Ad Phil.*, 12, 2 (Funk-Biehlmeyer, I, 119; Greek text not preserved): *det vobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos*.

²³ Here the wording of the portion of the prayer marked No. 1 and 1a in note 20 above is as follows: "To our fathers and our brethren who have fallen asleep, whose souls Thou hast taken, give rest, remembering all saints who have been well-pleasing to Thee since the world began: our holy fathers the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, the preachers, the martyrs, the confessors, all just spirits who have been made perfect in the faith, and most chiefly her that is holy glorious mother of God and ever virgin, the holy *theotokos* Mary, and St. John the forerunner and baptist and martyr, and St. Stephen the protodeacon and protomartyr, and St. Mark the apostle and evangelist and martyr, and the holy patriarch Severus and St. Cyril and St. Basil and St. Gregory, and our righteous father the great abba Antony . . ." The

that at an early period these two or three names were added to the wording as it appears in the papyrus fragment already quoted,²⁴ and that the remembrance of the dead, along with the appendage thus expanded, belonged to the ancient fund of prayers which the Roman and Alexandrian churches had in common as early as the fourth century.²⁵ The general designation, *cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus*, is Roman and corresponds to the *beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum* in the *Communicantes*. But then, feeling that the very first of the names that followed was beyond the announced group of apostles and martyrs, a new start was made by inserting a preposition, *cum Joanne*, another indication that a series of special names had already been supplied beforehand.²⁶

As long as the emphasis was put on the remembrance as such, only a few names could possibly be brought forward for mention with the holy apostles and martyrs. Even here the earliest saints to be considered were those who already enjoyed a devotion at Rome. But then, in the period when the veneration of martyrs flourished so vigorously, there was a rapid growth in the list here, just as there was in the *Communicantes*. Of the saints in the *Nobis quoque* list, besides the Baptist and Stephen, those who had such honor paid them around the end of the fifth century were the following Roman martyrs: Peter and Marcellinus, whose grave on the Via Lavicana had been decorated with verses by Pope Damasus, and whose feast on June 2 was contained in the sacramentaries; Agnes, over whose grave on the Via Nomentana a basilica had already been erected by Emperor Constantine's daughter Constantia; Cecilia, whose grave in the catacomb of Callistus had been honored at a very early date, but whose veneration at any rate reached a peak about the turn of the fourth century (this was when a new basilica was built and dedicated to her at the old Titulus Cæcilie in Trastevere, and thus in the end foundress and martyr became identified); further, a Roman lady, Felicity, over whose grave Pope Boniface I (d. 422) had built an oratory, and whose feast was celebrated in the oldest sacramentaries—as it is at present—on

continuation (No. 4 and 5) here reads: "Remember, Lord, our holy and right-believing fathers and archbishops who have long ago passed away, who have justly administered the word of truth, and give us a share and lot with them." Brightman, 169.

²⁴ To No. 6 before the transposition by which No. 1a arose, and in a simpler form than that shown in the text cited in the previous note. For this derivation see also Kennedy, 144; 148.

²⁵ Cf. *supra*, I, 55 f.—Kennedy, 34 ff., 189 f., 197, thinks that the *Nobis quoque* (along with the remembrance of the dead)

was first inserted into the canon by Gelasius I (492-496) in the same way as the *Communicantes*. As far as the *Communicantes* is concerned his thesis has been disputed. It is also untenable for the *Nobis quoque*; for at so late a date there is little likelihood of any transfer from Egypt to Rome, and this is the matter to be considered, for an older text, without the names, is already to be found in Egypt. ²⁶ This assumption has more in its favor than the opinion of Baumstark, *Das "Problem,"* 218, who sees in this second start with *cum* an indication that the names were inserted in the Roman text only later.

November 23.²⁷ Here again as in the case of the *Communicantes*, the list of saints in the Milanese Mass offers a confirmation of what we have established. The Roman martyrs are there set down plainly in their historical sequence; they show the following succession: Peter, Marcellinus, Agnes, Cecilia, and Felicity; and only after that some other names follow.²⁸

Of the rest of the names in the Roman *Nobis quoque*, an Alexander is mentioned at least three times in the fourth-century Roman lists of martyrs. For two who bore this name there is also an annual commemoration in the sacramentaries, although they enjoyed no other special veneration. The Alexander in the canon appears to be the Alexander of the group of seven martyrs, who for a long time have been commemorated on July 10, and whom later legends linked with St. Felicity, as seven brothers; since the sixth century, Alexander stood out in this group.²⁹ Of the two women martyrs of Sicily, Agatha and Lucy, the former was honored at Rome in the fifth century, when the Goth Ricimer built a church in her honor, and the latter about the sixth century; although both had surely been venerated previously in their native cities of Catania and Syracuse. The rich possessions of the Roman church in Sicily probably led to this transfer of cult.³⁰ To Felicity the name of Perpetua was added. Perhaps the name of the Roman martyr drew after itself the name of the great African lady whose *Passio*, one of the most precious documents in the history of the martyrs, was known even at Rome at quite an early date. But that the names in the list are not to be referred to both the African martyrs, Perpetua and her slave Felicity,³¹ is clearly deduced from the way they are mentioned, for if they did they would certainly have been left in their usual order.³² Anastasia is the martyr of Sirmium whose body was brought to Constantinople in 460, and whose veneration had probably received an impetus in Rome during the period of Byzantine domination.³³

²⁷ Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon*, 141-188; 197.—Especially for Cecilia and Felicitas see also J. B. Kirsch, *Der stadtrömische christliche Festkalender im Altertum* (LQ, 7-8; Münster, 1924), 89 f.

²⁸ Kennedy, 62. In the Milanese list the names that head the list are: *Johannes et Johannes, Stephanus, Andreas*. The names of Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius and Alexander are missing in the Milan text.

²⁹ Kennedy, 151-158. This is the Alexander reputedly martyred on the Salarian way. Another Alexander, of Ficulea (a village north of Rome), from the group commemorated on May 4, certainly emerges more prominently about this same time, but only by reason of his identification (certainly false) in the legend as Pope Alexander I (d. 115), who was not a mar-

tyr and who cannot be intended in our list because, as bishop of Rome, he would certainly be placed ahead of Ignatius; *ibid.*, 155 f. For the same reason we consider unacceptable the supposition of Baumstark, *Das "Problem,"* 238, that *a priori* the pope was meant because the martyrdom of Ignatius, who is mentioned just before him, was probably erroneously dated in his reign.

³⁰ Kennedy, 169-173.

³¹ This assumption also in Hosp, 189-205; see especially 204 f.; so also Gassner, 391.

³² Kennedy, 161-164. In the sequence Perpetua and Felicitas, the two lady martyrs, are found at Rome in the *Deposito martyrum* drawn up about 336. But they received no special veneration.

³³ Kennedy, 183-185.

Regarding the two Sicilian martyrs, a trustworthy account expressly tells us that Gregory the Great placed their names in the canon.³⁴ Nor can the rest of the names in this later layer have come into the canon much earlier than this. Regarding Alexander and Agatha, we might think of Pope Symmachus (498-514), who had provided funds for the memorial places of both, as he had also done for Agnes and Felicity.³⁵ On the other hand, Matthias and Barnabas, who appear as representatives of the "holy apostles,"³⁶ evidently did not acquire this role until the twelve Apostles had all found a place in the *Communicantes* series. To these two saints no particular veneration was paid in the liturgy of the city of Rome during the first millenary,³⁷ and the same is true of Ignatius, martyr-bishop of Antioch, in spite of his connection with the city of Rome.³⁸ Still, in view of the manuscript evidence,³⁹ their insertion into the canon cannot have been substantially later. So everything points to Gregory the Great as having undertaken the final revision here as in the *Communicantes*.⁴⁰ Duplication of the names was avoided, but the same principles regarding the disposition of names held in both instances: at the top of the list an outstanding name, John the Baptist;⁴¹ then a double column of seven (the scriptural number)—seven men and seven women; among the men the hierarchical order once more: first the apostles, then the martyr-bishop Ignatius, then Alexander, who is designated by the legend as a priest (or bishop); likewise the pair of martyrs who are otherwise generally named in this order, Peter and Marcellinus, but in line with the legend are reversed according to their hierarchical standing: Marcellinus the priest and Peter the exorcist. Amongst the women a certain territorial division is recognizable. In the first pair, the names of the two African women seem to have been decisive; then follow the two martyrs from Sicily, Agatha and Lucy, then the two Roman maidens, Agnes and Cecilia, and finally the oriental Anastasia.

³⁴ Aldhelm (d. 709), *De laud. virg.*, c. 42 (PL, 89, 142; Kennedy, 170): *Gregorius in canone . . . pariter copulasse [Agatham et Luciam] cognoscitur, hoc modo in catalogo martyrum ponens: Felicitate, Anastasia, Agatha, Lucia.*

³⁵ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 229.

³⁶ Along with Paul, Barnabas is also called an apostle in Acts 14: 4, 13.

³⁷ Their commemorative days first appear on Frankish ground, for Barnabas since the 11th century, for Matthias since the 12th; see Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 212, 219.

³⁸ Ignatius the Antiochene, known as ὁ θεοφόρος, was considered by early Christians a disciple of St. Peter, from whom he was believed to have received episcopal

consecration (St. Chrysostom, *Hom. in S. Ign.*, IV, 587 [PG, 50, 58]). He was martyred at Rome. His body was translated to Antioch but brought back to Rome in the 7th century at the time of the first Moslem invasion, and was placed near St. Clement's. A feast-day was assigned to him as early as the 9th century; see Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 210.

³⁹ The manuscript tradition is rather uniform, aside from two witnesses of the Irish group, the Stowe missal and the Bobbio missal, which have grouped the names of the seven lady martyrs, but without any apparent principle. Botte, 46, *Apparatus*.

⁴⁰ Kennedy, 198.

⁴¹ The identity of this John as the Baptist

As is already clear from what has been said, those named (with the exception of the biblical characters, of Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch and author of seven letters [d.c. 107], and of the African lady Perpetua [d. 202-3]) are all martyrs of whom little is known beyond their name, the place of their confession and—through the annual commemoration of their death—perhaps the day of their death; no year, no history of their suffering, no biographical details. Not till later did legend sketch out a picture.⁴² These are properly the true representatives of the unknown heroes of the first Christian centuries who, because of their glorious death for Christ, continued to live on in the minds and hearts of men. But their death for Christ was likewise their triumph with Christ, and that is enough to have their names serve as symbols of that blessed lot which we beg God we, along with our own departed, might, to some extent at least, share.

As in the case of the *Communicantes*, the list of the *Nobis quoque* was enlarged during the Middle Ages by the addition of favorite medieval names, particularly at the end of the list. But as a rule these additions stayed within modest bounds.⁴³

The parallelism with the *Communicantes* and its series of saints extends also to the general features of both prayers. In both cases the prayer represents a continuation of the *Memento*, in such wise that a certain connection with the saints in heaven is represented. But the connection is different in the two cases. After the *Memento* of the living, the assembled congregation, looking up humbly to the saints, offers up its

whom Christ Himself exalted above all others and whose name is attached to the cathedral of Rome (the Lateran basilica) is now little more than an academic problem. It is plainly indicated by the parallel to the Mother of God. Add to this the evident effort not to duplicate the *Communicantes* list, since not even Mary has been carried over from it, while the Baptist is plainly kept out of it. Further there is wanting any special reason for such an exceptional preference for one of Zebedee's sons. Last, but not least, there is the parallel with the Eastern liturgies, and not only that of Egypt with its combination of the Baptist and Stephen. Cf., e.g., the intercessory prayer in the liturgy of St. James, where the Greek text has the following series: Mary, John the Baptist, apostles, evangelists, Stephen (Brightman, 56 f.); the Syrian has: John, Stephen, Mary (*ibid.*, 93; Rücker, 35; the Armenian has: Mary, John, Stephen, apostles

(Rücker, 35, Apparatus). Further data in Kennedy, 37 f.; cf. also Fortescue 356 f.—Medieval commentators for the most part saw in this John generally the evangelist; Durandus, IV, 46, 7. In more recent times Baumstark, *Liturgia Romana e liturgia dell' Esarcato* (Rome, 1904), 144 f., in line with his theory on the canon, declared for the evangelist, but later after abandoning his theory he dropped him in favor of the Baptist (*Das "Problem,"* 238). The Congregation of Rites, being asked about the matter because of the bow on the respective feast, spoke out in favor of the Baptist, March 27, 1824 (Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum SRC*, n. 485; 1166), but this decree was not retained in the collection of the *Decreta authentica* of 1898 ff.

⁴² More detailed information in Hosp, *Die Heiligen im Canon Missæ*, 103 ff., 128 ff., 205 ff., 254 ff. See also the authors cited *supra*, p. 252, note 22.

⁴³ MSS. from Fulda mention St. Lioba. In

sacrifice in common with them; the only connection here is that already established by association in the one kingdom of God. After the *Memento* of the dead the concept is raised a degree and the plea is for a final participation in the blessedness of the elect. Being about to eat the bread of life everlasting, we have prayed for the dead that God might be mindful of them and vouchsafe them entry into the place of light and peace. And it is this place of light and peace, viewed as the home of the saints, that we beg also for ourselves, *nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis*.

Regarding the rest of the wording of the prayer, the only thing to notice is that the note of modest retirement and humble self-accusation which was struck by the word *peccatores* sets the tone of the whole prayer. The petition is spoken only with the utmost trust in the fullness of divine mercy,⁴⁴ and the only object sought is that God may grant *partem aliquam*, and even this not as a reward of present merit, but solely because He is the giver of grace (cf. Psalm 129:3-4). All this is quite in keeping in a prayer spoken before the people for one's own person, whereas in a prayer said in the name of the congregation it would sound rather unusual.

The words *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* are lifted out of the quiet of the canon, for the priest says them audibly, meanwhile striking his breast. There is scattered evidence of this striking of the breast as early as the twelfth century, and soon thereafter it became a general practice.⁴⁵ In some places, since the thirteenth century, there is mention even of a triple striking of the breast.⁴⁶

And the custom of saying the first words aloud goes back even further. We hear of it already in the ninth century,⁴⁷ and since that time it has

Italy we frequently find Eugenia and Euphemia. Ebner, 423 ff.; Botte, 46 Apparatus.—Several names are added in the Milanese text. Most numerous seem to be the additions in France. Here we find, among others, Denis, Martin, Genevieve; Martène, I, 4, 8, 25 (I, 416 f.); Ménard: PL, 78, 28 note. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, III, 394, manages to assemble a list of 36 different names from French Mass-books alone.—Spanish Mass-books of the 13th-15th century from Gerona have after *omnibus sanctis tuis* the addition: *vel quorum sollemnitas hodie in conspectu tuæ maiestatis celebratur, Domine Deus noster, toto in orbe terrarum*; Ferreres, 156. Likewise in two MSS. of the 11-12th century from Vich; *ibid.*, p. CCI. —The Irish Stowe missal sets St. Patrick at the head of the list, with Peter and Paul; Kennedy, 62.

⁴⁴ The use of the Biblical wording *de multitudine miserationum tuarum* (Ps. 50: 3,

et al.) has its oriental correspondence in the self-commendation of the liturgy of St. James (*supra*, note 12) and in that of the Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil (Brightman, 336, 1. 14). For the concluding words *intra quorum nos consortium*, etc., see the parallel in Ps.-Jerome, *supra*, I, 52, note 9.

⁴⁵ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, V, 15 (PL, 217, 897); a sacramentary of the 12th century from Rome in Ebner, 335. Data from the following period in Sölch, *Hugo*, 97 f.

⁴⁶ Sölch, 98.—On the other hand, we hear nothing of the bystanders striking their breast, although their participation in other movements of the priest, as at the gospel, is generally stressed. Is this because even in the Middle Ages the prayer was regarded only as a self-commendation of the priest?

⁴⁷ Amalar, *Liber off.*, III, 26, 14 (Hanssens, II, 347 f.).

become and remained an almost universal usage.⁴⁸ However, there is no account at all prior to this of such a practice, which would be explained on the assumption that the whole canon was said aloud, and thus the words were already perceptible. But why is it that precisely these words are given special prominence? What passes at present as the reason for emphasizing these words is of no importance.⁴⁹ The real and adequate reason must be sought in the circumstances of the past. The survival of the practice is a typical case of the great endurance of liturgical customs even when the basis for them has long since been removed—in fact, when that basis was in existence only a short time.

In the Roman *Ordines* of the seventh century the plan supposed that the subdeacons, who, at the start of the preface, had ranged themselves in a row opposite the celebrant on the other side of the free-standing altar, and who during the canon bowed profoundly, would straighten up at the *Nobis quoque* and go to their assigned places so that they might be ready to assist in the fraction of the bread as soon as the canon was over.⁵⁰ This rule, which naturally had no meaning except at the grand pontifical services, was retained even when, at the end of the eighth century, it became customary to recite the canon in a low tone. So, to give the subdeacons the signal when the time came, the celebrant had to say these words in an audible voice: *aperta clamans voce*.⁵¹ This relationship between the two was still to be seen in the Roman *Ordines* at the end of the tenth century.⁵² Once admitted, the custom stayed, even though, in accordance with the Romano-Frankish liturgy, the subdeacons usually did not have to change their places till after the closing doxology,⁵³ and even though later on, in consequence of the introduction of unleavened bread and lastly of the small particles, the fraction became unnecessary and the assistance of the subdeacons superfluous. Its survival was sustained by the allegorical interpretation which saw in it the confession of the centurion beneath the Cross,⁵⁴ and thus the practice was transferred not only to the simple high Mass celebrated without assistants, but even to the private Mass.

This also makes it easier to understand the striking of the breast. The

⁴⁸ Information regarding this practice and other exceptions (the Carthusians, for instance, continued the soft tone for these words too) in Sölch, 96 f.

⁴⁹ Eisenhofer, II, 191, considers the words at present as an "admonition to the bystanders to join themselves in sorrow to the prayer of the priest"—an idea that is hardly in keeping with the course and conduct of the canon.—In some places this serves as a signal for the Mass-servers to return from the place where they had been kneeling during the consecration.

⁵⁰ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 16 (Andrieu, II, 95 f.; PL, 78, 944 f.); *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 103 f.).

⁵¹ *Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 10 (Andrieu, II, 222; PL, 78, 974 B).

⁵² *Ordo sec. Rom.*, loc. cit.; cf. *Ordo "In primis"* for the episcopal Mass (Andrieu, II, 334; PL, 78, 988 C).

⁵³ Amalar, *Liber off.*, III, 26, 19 (Hanssens, II, 349 f.); *Ordo "Postquam"* for an episcopal Mass (Andrieu, II, 366; PL, 78, 993 C).

⁵⁴ Thus already Amalar, *Liber off.*, III, 26

medieval interpreters since the thirteenth century explicitly cited, along with the centurion's outcry, the statement in Luke 13:48 that all the people went home beating their breasts.⁵⁵ And finally this throws light on the puzzling bow of the head at the words just before this, in the conclusion of the *Memento*:⁵⁶ this becomes the moment when our Lord bowed His head and died.

18. Concluding Doxologies

The canon closes with two formulas, both of which give the impression of a summary and a conclusion, the second formula quite plainly, since it is a true doxology (*omnis honor et gloria*), and even the first, with a wording (*hæc omnia*) that suggests a recapitulation. Neither of these formulas are prayers in the usual sense of petition or oblation, as were the foregoing formulas; rather they display the traits of a commendatory statement, a "predication": Thou workest, it is. Thus, even a superficial examination of the first formula reveals the same character of a doxology which is patent in the second. In its wording, however, the first presents a picture of God's gifts streaming down from heaven through Christ's mediatorship, while the second brings into relief how, through Him, all honor and glory surge from creation up to God. The *admirabile commercium* which has just been given reality once again on the altar, thus gains expression in the very words of the canon and gives them their worthy crowning.

If we turn now to study the first of these two formulas, *Per quem hæc omnia*, we are confronted with certain obscurities. We do not see at first glance just where the emphasis is placed. Nor is it clear what idea this word of praise is unravelling, whether the creative work and the blessing of God, or perhaps the activity of Christ (with which the nexus is made to the preceding *Nobis quoque*). In any case, the *Per Christum Dominum nostrum* is seized upon as the opportunity for appraising, in retrospect, the divine grace which has again come and is coming to us in this hour "through Christ." He is the invisible high-priest who has exercised His

(Hanssens, II, 344 f.; 347); Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 17 (PL, 151, 988 A).—Later the interpretation is made to include the confession of the Good Thief; Durandus, IV, 46, 1; 2.—The position and the change of place of the subdeacons is likewise supported and maintained for a long time by the allegorical interpretation of their role as the pious women who gazed upon the crucified Redeemer until He bowed His head and died,

and who then again sought His body in the tomb (paten for the fraction). This interpretation likewise proposed by Amalar, loc. cit., is still in evidence in John of Avranches, (d. 1079), *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 35 f.).

⁵⁵ John of Avranches, loc. cit. (36). But cf. also Amalar loc. cit. (345).—Durandus, IV, 46, 2. Further references in van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 340, note 294.

⁵⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 247.

office anew and is exercising it; through Him, God has sanctified these gifts once more and is now ready to distribute them—for reference has already been made to receiving *ex hac altaris participatione*. Now it is our task to examine how these salient ideas, patent as they are, are to be expounded in detail.

In order to make clear the exact meaning of the words, we must first of all note the important fact that in the earlier stage of the Roman canon, and for that matter right on to the late Middle Ages and even after, a blessing of natural products was on occasion inserted in this spot.¹ In the oldest sacramentaries we find a blessing of water, milk and honey on the occasion of solemn Baptism,² and a blessing of fresh grapes on the feast of St. Xystus (Aug. 6)³; the latter blessing also appears as a formula *ad fruges novas benedicendas*⁴ and as *benedictio omnis creaturæ pomorum*,⁵ but in particular as a blessing of beans.⁶ The "Easter lamb" was also blessed at this point on Easter Sunday.⁷ In the declining Middle Ages the blessing of other gifts of nature, which was customary on certain occasions, was sometimes inserted here: the blessing of bread, wine, fruits, and seeds on the feast of St. Blase; of bread on the feast of St. Agatha; of fodder for cattle on St. Stephen's; of wine on the feast of St. John Evangelist.⁸

¹ The practice of a special blessing within the canon seems to have remained restricted to the Roman liturgy. The Egyptian Mass has a recommendation of the gifts offered by the faithful in a similar place, namely within the intercessory prayer, and also a petition for the donors, but no formal blessing of the gifts. Brightman, 129, 170 f., 229.

² In the baptismal Mass of Pentecost (like-wise to be presupposed for Easter) in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 318); as *benedictio lactis et mellis* also in the *Pontificale* of Egbert, ed. Greenwell (Surtees Society, 27; Durham, 1853), 129; thus also together with the blessing of meat, eggs, cheese, in a Hungarian Missal of the 11-12th century; Morin, *JL*, 6 (1906), 59, and likewise in a Missal of the 14th century from Zips; Radó, 72.

³ Gregorianum, ed. Lietzmann, n. 138, 4. The custom of blessing grapes in this place must have insinuated itself early within the Carolingian sphere, since Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, I, 12 (PL, 105, 1013 A), explains the blessing of oil on Maundy Thursday with the words: *In eo loco ubi solemus uvas benedicere*. It is still, e.g., in the Missal of Regensburg of 1485 (Beck, 244). On this day new wine was also used for the consecration, Durandus, VII, 22,

2; or grape juice was actually mixed into the consecrated chalice, an abuse that Berthold of Chiemsee fought against in 1535. Franz, 726. A 14th century Styrian Missal requires the grapes to be placed upon the altar after the consecration and so close to the priest that he can make the sign of the cross over them. Köck, 48; cf. *ibid.*, 2, 47. Numerous peculiarities in France about 1700, in part yet surviving, in de Moléon, Register, p. 560, s. v. "raisin."

⁴ The older Gelasianum, III, 63, 88 (Wilson, 107; 294).

⁵ Missale of Bobbio (Muratori, II, 959). The text is changed considerably.

⁶ On the feast of the Ascension in the older Gelasianum I, 63 (Wilson, 107).

⁷ As *benedictio carnis* in the Sacramentary of Rotaldus (10th cent.; PL, 78, 243 D); cf. Missal of Bobbio (Muratori, II, 959); *Pontificale* of Egbert, ed. Greenwell (see note 2 above, 129. Walafried Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 18 (PL, 114, 938 f.), fought hard against the practice as a Judaizing one.

⁸ *Sacerdotale Romanum* of Castellani (first published in 1523), in the Venice edition of 1588, p. 158 ff. As Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 210, n. 1, remarks in reference to the *Rituale Warmiense*, 270, the so-called

To this day the consecration by the bishop of the oil for the sick on Holy Thursday has continued in this location.⁹ In all these cases the prayer ends with the mention of Christ's name and then, without any concluding formula of its own, continues with our *Per quem hæc omnia*, which thus plainly forms a unit with the respective prayers of blessing.

The question, therefore, that presses for an answer is, whether the *Per quem hæc omnia* is nothing else than the unchanging conclusion of the more or less variable prayer of blessing, perhaps because the latter was part of the plan of the canon, perhaps because both formulas originally arose as occasional inserts. Recently the question has been answered in the affirmative, particularly by Duchesne,¹⁰ who stresses the point that without such a prayer of blessing there would be a hiatus between our formula and what precedes it in the canon, and moreover that the word *omnia* in particular could hardly be understood simply of the consecrated sacrificial gifts.¹¹

A further point in favor of such an opinion is presented in the *Church Order* of Hippolytus of Rome. Here, as we have already seen,¹² mention is made of that custom, then very vigorous and alive, of which the blessing of water, milk, and honey is only a later relic. But in addition, right after the text of the *Eucharistia*, we find a rubric which tells about the blessing of natural products: If someone brings oil, the bishop should pronounce a prayer of thanksgiving similar to that for bread and wine, with the proper changes, and the same if someone brings cheese or olives. For both cases a short prayer-text is offered, to suggest the spiritual meaning of the natural gift, and a Trinitarian doxology is presented to be used for the conclusion.¹³ These blessings apparently were independent liturgical creations, having only an extrinsic connection with the Mass. But perhaps they had been attached thus to the Mass even at an early period. At any rate, in the Egyptian Mass they were incorporated into the canon.¹⁴ At

Agatha bread and Agatha water are still to this day blessed at this place in the diocese of Ermland on the feast of St. Agatha. The practice seems to be widespread in Poland; see Thalhofer-Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, II (Freiburg, 1912), 191.

⁹ Already in the Gelasianum, I, 40 (Wilson, 70) and in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 77, 4 f.).

¹⁰ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 182-183; cf. *Liber pont.*, ed. Duchesne, I, 159.

¹¹ C. Callewaert, "La finale du Canon de la Messe," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 39 (1943), 5-21, especially p. 7 ff., without being fully convincing, disputes the presence of the hiatus. The *omnia* can be explained by the greater quantity of offer-

tory gifts at the time; with the *hæc* the *jube hæc perferri* was again resumed. The hiatus is narrowed, if we accept the conjecture advanced by J. Brinktrine, "Über die Herkunft und die Bedeutung des Kanongebetes der römischen Messe 'Per quem hæc omnia,'" *Eph. liturg.*, 62 (1948), 365-369; he assumes that the formula once followed the *Supplices* immediately.

¹² Above I, 29.

¹³ Dix, 10 f.; Hauler, 108.

¹⁴ In the Ethiopian tradition of Hippolytus' Eucharistia, the pertinent rubric with blessing prayer follows immediately upon Hippolytus' concluding doxology, but then is added the conclusion with *Sicut erat* (cf. note 79 below). Brightman, 190; cf. 233, 1. 23.

least in this case the same thing happened which (as we saw) occurred everywhere in regard to the intercessory prayers which were placed just before the Sacrifice-Mass and then later were drawn into it. The blessings, too, which followed after the Mass proper were at last brought into the narrower compass of the canon. The same process obviously occurred also in the Roman Mass. This is shown by the remarkable agreement, sometimes word for word, between the basic text in Hippolytus and that in the Latin liturgy of Rome for the blessing of oil,¹⁵ and also for the blessing of grapes, *resp.*, new fruits.¹⁶ They represent a direct continuation of the practice found in Hippolytus.

Therefore, the evolution must actually have been such that first the blessings of produce were inserted before the end of the canon, then later our *Per quem hæc omnia* was developed. The insertion of the blessing took place at this precise point because of the desire to link the ecclesiastical blessings with the great blessing which Christ Himself had instituted and in which He (and God through Him) grants to earthly gifts the highest hallowing and fullness of grace. This interconnection is brought out strikingly by the closing phrase: *Per quem hæc omnia*—the Eucharistic gifts are thus included—*semper bona creas*. By taking up again the antithesis against Gnosticism and Manichæism, our retrospective meditation leads to a statement of praise, proclaiming that the gifts which lie before us, sanctified, are God-created, and that God always has done well in His creative labors, and continues to do so.¹⁷ This He does through the Logos,

¹⁵ Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 10): *Si quis oleum offert . . . gratias referat dicens: Ut oleum hoc sanctificans das, Deus, sanitatem utentibus et percipientibus, unde unxisti reges, sacerdotes et prophetas, sic . . .* In the blessing of the oil today's Roman Pontifical still reads: *Emitte quæsumus Domine, Spiritum Sanctum . . . ut tua sancta benedictione sit omni hoc unguento cælestis medicinæ peruncto tutamen . . . unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, prophetas et martyres . . . in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Per quem.* The prayer also in the older Gelasianum, I, 40 (Wilson, 70) and in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 77, 5): —Regarding the way this prayer has been preserved cf. Jungmann, "Beobachtungen zum Fortleben von Hippolyts Apostolischer Überlieferung": *ZkTh*, 53 (1929), 583-585.

¹⁶ Near the end of the work, Hippolytus offers still another complete formula for thanksgiving he demands for fruits; it begins (Dix, 54): *Gratias tibi agimus, Deus, et offerimus tibi primitivas fructuum quos*

dedisti nobis ad percipiendum . . . The blessing of the grapes in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 138, 4) reads: *Benedic Domine et hos fructus novos uvæ* (in the Bobbio Missal: *et hos fructus novos ill.*) *quos tu Domine . . . ad maturitatem perducere dignatus es et dedisti ea ad usus nostros cum gratiarum actione percipere in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Per quem.*

¹⁷ As against the usual rendering of *hæc bona* by "these goods," Rütten, "Philologisches zum Canon missæ" (*StZ*, 1938, I), 47, rightly emphasizes the words, "God has created these (gifts) as good." An elaborated version in the Mozarabic *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 554 A) confirms this: *quia tu hæc omnia nobis indignis servis tuis valde bona creas, sanctificas . . .* Cf. also Callewaert, *La finale*, 10 f. Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, XV, 22 (CSEL, 40, 2, p. 108) cites from a *laus cerei* which he himself had composed the words: *Hæc tua sunt, bona sunt, quia tu bonus ista creasti.*—However, the opposite conception must also have been combined with the text at an

through whom all things came into being,¹⁸ and through Him who Himself became man and a member of our earthly cosmos, He also hallows all things. The Incarnation itself was the grand consecration of creation.¹⁹ But a new wave of blessing pours out over creation whenever the Church makes use of the power of sanctification granted her by her founder. The words *vivificas*²⁰ and *benedicis* are probably thought of only as re-enforcing the *sanctificas*. Sanctification is a herald of that new and everlasting life in which earthly creation has a share; indeed, the consecration of bread and wine has filled these figures, these species, with the noblest, the highest life.²¹ Lastly, the word *benedicis* receives the cardinal stress. It was a blessing that was inserted, and this word makes the tie-in with it. In the chief formulas this blessing takes the following shape: *Benedic et has tuas creaturas fontis . . .*²² *Benedic Domine et hos fructus novos . . .*²³ In other words the preceding activity, the completion of the *Eucharistia*, was also such a blessing, only of an incomparably higher kind. Already in the *Te igitur* the petition had been made *uti accepta habeas et benedicas*, just as we find it in the *Quam oblationem* and not seldom even anticipated in the *Oratio super oblata*.²⁴ The finale is presented by the words *præstas nobis*,²⁵ with the suggestion that every hallowing and blessing which proceeds from Christ has but one aim, namely, to enrich us. Communion, for which we are now preparing ourselves, is only the most wondrous example of this.

So we see that the words of the *Per quem hæc omnia* got their full meaning in connection with the preceding prayer of blessing, and that they

early date; cf. the Post-Secreta formula of the *Missale Gothicum* (Muratori, II, 534; note 25 below), in which the *bona* is missing.

¹⁸ John 1: 3; Hebr. 1: 2; 2: 10. The formulation that relates the creation to Christ, more plainly according to Col. 1: 16 f. Cf. Callewaert, 9 f.

¹⁹ Cf. *Martyrologium* for Christmas Eve: *Mundum volens adventu suo piissimo consecrare*. The idea is already found in another form in I Cor. 8: 6; Col. 1: 15 f.

²⁰ As Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 133 f.), reports, some priests inserted *mirificas* after the word *vivificas*.

²¹ Cf. the expression *panem sanctum vitæ æternæ* in an earlier passage. In the Mozarabic Post-Pride formularies the consecration is described as a restoration to life: *vivificet ea Spiritus tuus Sanctus. Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 605 A; cf. 205 A, 277 D).

²² Muratori, I, 318.

²³ *Supra*, note 16. Notice the word *et* in these phrases: "Bless also . . ."

²⁴ Cf. P. Alfonso, *L'Eucologia romana antica* (Subiaco, 1931), 83. It is therefore purely arbitrary to try to conclude from this *et* that a Roman epiklesis formerly preceded and then was omitted, one that must have begun with *Benedic Domine has creaturas panis et vini*. Thus R. Buchwald, *Die Epiklese in der römischen Messe* (Weidenaur Studien I, special printing, Vienna, 1907), 31.

²⁵ The Mass of Milan on Maundy Thursday has here as well as in the following final doxology of the canon a notable variant: *benedicis et nobis famulis tuis largiter præstas ad augmentum fidei et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum. Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 154. Cf. Muratori, I, 134. A Post-Secreta formula of the Gothic Missal (Muratori, II, 534) concludes with the following variation of the Roman text: . . . *Unigeniti tui, per quem omnia creas, creata benedicis, benedicta sanctificas et sanctificata largiris, Deus.*

obviously owe to it their origin in the form we have at present. On the other hand, taking into consideration what we have said so often, that because of the consecrated gifts the connection with earthly creation is never lost sight of, we could still leave the words in the text of the canon even without any such blessing preceding them,²⁶ regarding them merely as a glorification of our Redeemer. In this case, however, the word *omnia* would lose some of its significance, since only the species of bread and wine are before us. The words are the counterpart of the plea for the consecration in the *Quam oblationem*; they are a thanksgiving for the consecration, a "thank you" to God and to our high-priest through whom He does all and through whom He grants all.²⁷ They are a doxological acknowledgment that every grace comes to us through Christ, and thus they form a preliminary to the greater doxology that follows, wherein we acknowledge further that all praise and glory return to God through Christ our Lord.

It is an old rule of public prayer that such a prayer should close with praise of God and thus revert to the grand function of all prayer, in which the creature bows before his Creator. Even the prayers in the *Didache* have this structure, and in oriental liturgies there is scarcely one prayer of the priest to be found which does not end in a solemn doxology: "For Thou art a kind and loving God and we offer up praise to Thee, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and always and unto all eternity"—thus we read in the Byzantine liturgy. In the Roman liturgy, as in the rest of Christendom, this has been the rule for a long time in regard to the Psalms, where the *Gloria Patri* regularly forms the final verse. The closing formula of the priestly prayer, on the contrary, is somewhat less rigid in construction, bringing the mediatorship of our Redeemer to the fore usually in such a way that a doxological reference to His eternal dominion is worked into the formula. Only the main prayer of all liturgy, the Great Prayer of the Mass, has retained a formula of praise in the Roman style, a formula where simplicity and grandeur are combined most felicitously. The present form is that already found in the earliest tradition of the canon. An indication of its antique structure is the fact

²⁶ The meaning of canon 23 of the Council of Hippo (cf. above, p. 10) is probably that at such a blessing of the gifts a clear line of demarcation was to be made from the Eucharistic offerings; cf. Botte, 49; 69. The gifts concerned were presented at the offertory procession. In regard to the one exception granted by this canon of Hippo—honey and milk at the Easter Mass—the canon mentions an *offerri* that actually occurs in *altari*, whereas in Rome special tables were prepared for the oblations of the people. The line of separation was then

secured by providing a special blessing for the gifts.

²⁷ It is probably not necessary to follow C. Ruch (*Cours et Conférences*, VII [Louvain, 1929], 93) in supposing a new interpretation of the word *creas* after the dissociation of the formula from the prayer of blessing, i.e., insofar as the act of consecration results in a kind of creation. For the word *omnia*, even after such a new interpretation, still retains a certain inflexibility.

that it not only includes a praise of God, but insists that this praise is offered through Christ, a turn of thought which was lost in most of the oriental liturgies in consequence of the Arian turmoil, lost not only in this passage, but generally in all prayer-endings.²⁸

As a matter of fact, the closing doxology of the Roman canon is closely akin to that which marks the end of the *Eucharistia* in Hippolytus. The connection is made apparent by setting the two side by side (with a slight transposition in the present text of the canon).

*Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso
est tibi
omnis honor et gloria
Deo Patri omnipotenti
in unitate Spiritus Sancti
per omnia sæcula sæculorum.*

*Per quem
tibi
gloria et honor
Patri et Filio cum Sancto Spiritu
in sancta Ecclesia tua
et nunc et in sæcula sæculorum.*²⁹

The chief difference is that the Trinitarian names, which in Hippolytus are grouped together in the address, in our present canon, in accordance with the Christian economy of salvation, are fitted stepwise into the very structure of the encomium itself. The "unity of the Holy Ghost" in the modern Mass is only another way of saying the "holy Church," as in the Hippolytan text. The Church is brought to unity and communion in the Holy Ghost: *Sancto Spiritu congregata*,³⁰ and is sanctified by His indwelling. She is the unity of the Holy Ghost.³¹ From her arises all honor and glory to God the Father almighty.³² And it arises "through Him," for Christ is the Head of redeemed mankind, yea, of all creation, which is summed up in Him (Eph. 1: 10). He is her high-priest, standing before the Father. Therefore, *per ipsum* is more clearly defined by *cum ipso* and *in ipso*. He is not standing before His Father as a lone petitioner, as He had been during His earthly pilgrimage when He spent quiet nights on the mountain praying alone; now His redeemed are around Him. They have learnt how they can, with Him, praise the Father who is in heaven. In truth they are in Him, taken up into the living union of His Body and therefore drawn into the fervent glow of His prayer, so that they are really

²⁸ Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, especially p. 151 ff.

²⁹ Above I, 29. A remarkable expansion of the Roman version is presented by the Milan form of the concluding doxology of the canon (Kennedy, 53; Botte, 46, unaccountably omits it): *Et est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso omnis honor virtus laus gloria imperium perpetuitas et potestas in unitate Spiritus Sancti per infinita sæcula sæculorum.*

³⁰ Oration on the Friday of Pentecost week.

³¹ In contrast to the concluding formula of

the oration where the *unitas Spiritus Sancti* is limited by its association to the Church in heaven (above I, 383), the idea here attains its full breadth inasmuch as it embraces the Church on earth and in heaven. Cf. J. Pascher, *Eucharistia* (Münster, 1947) 146-152. To the objections raised by Botte, "In unitate Spiritus Sancti," *La Maison-Dieu*, 23 (1950, IV) 49-53, see my reply *ZkTh*, 72 (1950), 481-486.

³² Cf. Eph. 3: 21. See the further development of the idea in the chapter, "In der Einheit des Heiligen Geistes" in Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 190-205.

in a position to worship the Father "in spirit and in truth." *In ipso* and *in unitate Spiritus Sancti* therefore designate one and the same all-encompassing well-spring, whence arises the glorification of the Father, in one case viewed in relation to Christ, whose Mystic Body the redeemed form, in the other case viewed in relation to the Spirit, whose breath inspires them.³³

It is not by chance that this encomium stands at the end of the Eucharistic prayer, nor is it by chance that it has the indicative form (*est*) instead of the subjunctive or "wishing" form.³⁴ Here, where the Church is gathered, right in front of the altar on which the Sacrament reposes, gathered indeed to offer the Body and Blood of Christ in reverence—here God does actually receive all honor and glory. In this moment the word of Malachias (1:11) is fulfilled: The name of the Lord is great among the peoples.

This connection is represented also in the rite. The priest grasps the chalice and Host and lifts them aloft. This is the so-called "little elevation"—little not because it is of less importance or because it is the remnant of a larger one, but because it does not, like its younger sister, the "big elevation," consist in showing the holy gifts to the people, but only in raising them up to God as an oblation.³⁵ By its very nature this elevation can be a symbolic one, as we have already found on various other occasions,³⁶ even though at the same time it must always be a visible one.

At present, this elevation occurs only during the words *omnis honor et gloria*. Here we have a certain contraction. Its history is a long one.

³³ Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 178-182. I would not wish to uphold the attempt made there, 181 f., to interpret the Milanese *ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso* (note 29 above) as equivalent in meaning to the Roman version, since the Milan form is obviously secondary. In it the *cum ipso* has been lost. Regarded from the standpoint of the history of the doxologies, the explanation of the Roman concluding doxology as it is presented by Eisenhofer, II, 193, and similarly by Brinktrine, 211 f., is impossible; according to this exposition the *cum ipso* unites Father and Son and the *in ipso* should be understood to pertain to the Trinitarian perichoresis. While the *cum ipso* could indeed in and by itself unite not only the redeemed world with Christ, but just as well, as happens in the oriental doxologies, unite Father and Son, the sense of the *in ipso* (and consequently, by its association, the sense also of the *cum ipso*) is absolutely unequivocal, as is seen

by the comparison with the Milanese version and also with Eph. 3: 21. Besides, such an explanation falls to pieces when we consider that *in unitate Spiritus Sancti* implies more than *cum Spiritu Sancto*, therefore cannot signify a mere association of the Holy Ghost in receipt of glorification; cf. above I, 383, n. 37.

³⁴ Cf. above I, 328, n. 41; 351.

³⁵ Amalar, *Liber off.*, III, 26, 18 (Hanssens, II, 349) paraphrases the meaning of the rite that immediately follows the doxology: *Hoc ipsum volendo tibi omni nris monstrare tota fide me ita tenere, elevo presentia munera ad te*. The Cod. Ratoldi of the Gregorianum (10th cent.) says of the deacon: *sublevans calicem in conspectu Domini* (PL, 78, 244 A). Regarding the oblationary character of the rite cf. also Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, II, 147, who even derives from this the name *offertorium* for the cloth used by the deacon in this rite.

³⁶ Above I, 21, n. 63; II, 42, n. 4.

It is in the seventh-century liturgy of the city of Rome that we first find the original and full form of the rite in unimpaired clarity.³⁷ The assisting archdeacon, who at *Per quem hæc omnia* had raised himself erect from his bowed position, at the words *Per ipsum*,³⁸ with hands covered with a linen cloth, grasps the chalice,³⁹ and raises it up while the pope at the same time picks up the bread, that is, the two consecrated breads from his own oblation, and raises them to the height of the chalice brim, and while touching the latter with them, finishes the doxology.⁴⁰ But gradually the rite was obscured and interrupted by the intrusion of the sign of the Cross which gradually grew more prominent. At first, and until the eleventh century, only the three signs of the Cross are mentioned, those made over Host and chalice at the words *sanctificas, vivificas, benedixis*,⁴¹ which do not yet disturb the procedure at the doxology. But then appear, here and there, the crosses made with the Host at *Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso*, and these became a more general practice after the year 1000. In the beginning, there were but two,⁴² later on regularly three as now-

³⁷ In the life of the Gaulish Bp. Evurtius of Orleans (4th cent.) we find a report somewhat less clear in meaning, but which probably has some pertinence here: *in hora confractionis panis celestis, cum de more sacerdotali hostiam elevatis manibus tertio Deo benedicendum offerret, super caput eius velut nubes splendida apparuit*. F. Cabrol, "Elevation": DACL, IV, 2662, 2666. On the contrary, the elevation of the sacred species, as was done for ages in the oriental liturgy in conjunction with the call *Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις* has no relationship here, as its entire sense discloses, despite Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 147, since it is not directed as a doxology and offering to God, but as an invitation to the people for Holy Communion. It is evident, of course, that nothing in this is altered by the fact that in the later Middle Ages our Western rite was here and there, in passing, given a similar interpretation; see below, p. 291; closer is the relationship with the *ὑψωσις τῆς παναγίας*, to which Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 216, n. 1 refers.

³⁸ According to the *Ordo "Qualiter quædam"* (Andrieu, II, 302; PL, 78, 983 f.) the archdeacon raises the chalice already at the *Per quem hæc omnia* and, in fact, *contra domnum papam*, that is, he has his position on the opposite side of the open altar.

³⁹ Other Mass arrangements have the deacon wash his hands and then take hold

of the chalice without a cloth; Durandus, IV, 44, 5. Cf. above, p. 77 f.

⁴⁰ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 16 (Andrieu, II, 96, PL, 78, 945 A): *Cum dixerit 'Per ipsum et cum ipso' levat [archidiaconus] cum offertorio calicem per ansas et tenens exaltat [Stapper: tenet exaltans] illum juxta pontificem. Pontifex autem tangit a latere calicem cum oblatis dicens, 'Per ipsum et cum ipso' usque 'Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'* The same prescriptions, but in different words in the *Capitulum Eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 104), whose later recension (*ibid.*, III, 182) says of the elevation of the chalice: *sublevans eum modice*. The two hosts (c. above, p. 7) are expressly mentioned in the *Ordo "Qualiter quædam"* (Andrieu, II, 302; PL, 78, 984 B): *Hic levat dominus papa oblatas duas usque ad oram calicis et tangens eum . . .*

⁴¹ *Ordo "Qualiter quædam"* (Andrieu, II, 302; PL, 18, 983 f.). The deacon, at the words, already holds the chalice elevated. —Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 300, names a number of Sacramentary MSS. that mention these signs of the cross. Further examples without the sign of the cross at the *Per ipsum* until into the 11th century in Leroquais, I, 62; 71; 97; 118; 123, also in a Sacramentary of the 11th century; *ibid.*, I, 209.

⁴² Amalar, *Liber off.*, III, 26, 10 (Hanssens, II, 346), mentions altogether only

adays.⁴⁵ Finally, since the eleventh century, a fourth appears, and not much later a fifth came into general use, those, namely, which now are tied in with the words *Deo Patri* and *in unitate Spiritus Sancti*.⁴⁶

While the meaning of the crosses that accompany the words of blessing is clear—they are not, of course, an exercise of the power of blessing, but they do illustrate the statement contained in *sanctificas, vivificas* and *benedicis*—there is no directly convincing explanation of those which are joined to the doxology, not even in the sphere of their origin. The circumstances do, to some small degree, explain the triple cross made at the thrice-repeated *ipse*; here we probably have a strengthening and stylizing of the demonstrative or “pointing” gesture which is inherent in the elevation itself, and thus receives added stress at the word *ipse*.⁴⁵

More obscure, however, is the origin of the last crosses. They go back to certain symbolic considerations. Obviously, the starting point hinged on the old rubric which enjoined that the priest was to touch with the Host the chalice lifted by the deacon: *tangit a latere calicem*.⁴⁶ This puzzling action of touching the chalice with the Host, originally intended, no doubt, to express the connection between the two species, invited further elaborations. The chalice was touched in all four directions.⁴⁷ The resulting sign of the Cross signified that the Crucified is desirous of drawing mankind to Himself from all the four winds.⁴⁸ If we add this fourth cross to the three made at *Per ipsum*, we again have the number four—another representation of the four corners of the earth. This system of

these two signs of the cross, made *juxta calicem*, but does note the preceding three. In other cases these three are added to the other two: *Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 10 (Andrieu, II, 222; PL, 78, 974 B); likewise in the Sacramentary of Angoulême (about 800) and in isolated later MSS.; see Brinktrine, *loc. cit. Ibid.*, 214, the supposition that the reason for this dual number was the number of hosts; see below, note 53. Amalar, *loc. cit.*, adduces only one symbolic reason; because Christ died for the Jews and the Gentiles.

⁴⁵ Brinktrine, 330. Examples of these three (without any other) signs of the cross in Leroquais, I, 84; 86; 96; 100; 103; 108, 120. In the rite of the Carthusians according to the *Statuta antiqua* (before 1259): Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 634 A), the host remains above the chalice during the following words until the *Per omnia*, when both chalice and host are elevated.

⁴⁶ Examples in Brinktrine, 330 f.; Sölch, Hugo, 99 f.

⁴⁵ Cf. above, p. 145 f. However the beginning of this twofold sign of the cross remains obscure. Perhaps they, too, were intended as an extension of the three signs of the cross at the *sanctificas* into a five-fold sign.

⁴⁶ *Supra*, n. 40. *Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 10 (Andrieu, II, 222; PL, 78, 974): *tangit a latere calicem cum oblatis duas faciens cruces*.

⁴⁷ John of Avranches (d. 1079), *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 36 B): *Sacerdos 'Per ipsum' dicendo oblata quattuor partes calicis tangat*.

⁴⁸ Ivo of Chartres (d. 1116) *Eph.* 231 (PL, 162, 234): *quod vero cum hostia iam consecrata intra vel supra calicem signum crucis imprimitur a latere calicis orientali usque ad occidentale et a septentrionali usque ad australe, hoc figurari intelligimus, quod ante passionem Dominus discipulis suis prädixit: Cum exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum*.

four crosses was certainly widespread until the Missal of Pius V.⁴⁹ In the thirteenth century a four-part sentence from Augustine on God's infinity was linked with the ceremony⁵⁰ and given some circulation; in its turn, this had an influence on the rite of the four crosses.⁵¹ In accord with the catch-words: *Deus infra omnia non depressus*, at least the fourth cross had to be made at the base of the chalice.

The rubric of touching the chalice is also the starting-point for a second explanation, which in turn led to the five crosses. The rubric enjoined touching the chalice *a latere*. At a time which was able to discover everywhere reminiscences of the Passion of Christ, particularly near the close of the canon, this phrase, *a latere*, must have been a reminder of the wound in our Lord's side, and consequently of the five wounds.⁵² To complete the representation of the five wounds, two more crosses had to be added to the three already in use.⁵³ These two complementary crosses appear in the manuscripts since the end of the eleventh century.⁵⁴ It is

⁴⁹ Brinktrine, 301 (with n. 2), mentions for this MSS. of the 11-14th centuries. The fourth sign of the cross appears sometimes at the *Deo Patri*, sometimes at the *in unitate*. The number four also among the Cistercians of the 12th century and in the older Dominican rite; see Sölch, Hugo, 99 f., where a further reference is made to the *Ordinarium* of Coutances (not Constantine) of 1577 (Legg, *Tracts*, 64).

⁵⁰ Hugo of S. Cher cites it as a reason for his localizing of the signs of the cross (see next note), in the form: *Deus est extra omnia non exclusus . . . super omnia non elatus . . . intra omnia non inclusus . . . infra omnia non depressus*; Sölch, 101 f. In a somewhat different version in William of Meltona, “Opusc. super missam,” ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 341 f.; further citations and references to sources in Augustine, *De Gen. ad lit.*, 8, 26 (PL, 34, 391 f.); cf. *Ep.* 187, 4, 14, (PL, 33, 837). Here, then, we have very free renderings, or rather recastings of the words used by Augustine.

⁵¹ In the older Dominican rite three or four signs of the cross are made over the chalice, each one somewhat lower than the preceding one, the third one within the chalice and the fourth in front of the chalice; Sölch, 100. This localization was still retained in the later Dominican rite (since 1256) when a fifth sign of the cross was added, one that was made at the foot of the chalice; Sölch, 101. The same rite in the

Liber ordinarius of Liège; Volk, 95. The first three signs of the cross made at different elevations were later referred to Christ, who was first elevated upon the cross, then was taken down, and finally placed in the tomb. Thus M. deCavalieriis, *Statuta sacra missam iuxta ritum O.P. . . expendens* (Naples, 1686), 408, sees in this a glorification of Christ that compensates for the omission of the *elevatio*; Sölch, 106; cf. also Verwilt, 30 f. Elsewhere three signs of the cross were made at the same height over the chalice; Sölch, 100.

⁵² Cf. *supra* I, 109, 32; et al.

⁵³ Where the three signs of the cross at the *Per ipsum* did not come into use, those at the *sanctificas*, etc., could be adduced. Probably this explains the twofold sign of the cross at the *Per ipsum*, of which there is frequent notice (note 42 above).

⁵⁴ The earliest certain example is the Cod. 614 of the Bibliotheca Casanatensis (11-12th cent.): *Hic faciat duas cruces in latere calicis cum oblata tangens illum*. Ebner, 330. These signs of the cross are found more frequently in the 13th century; Brinktrine, 301. Perhaps, too, we should cite here Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 72, which appeared about 1068 (Herrgott, 265, 1. 13: *duas cruces imprimit*, instead of *dum crucem imprimit*). Noteworthy is the Pontifical of Christian of Mainz (about 1170): Martène, I, 4, XVII (I, 602 A): three signs of the cross at different eleva-

precisely in this period that we come upon explicit witnesses to the explanation about the five wounds, and we hear of differences of opinion as to the manner of executing the last sign of the Cross in order to represent the wound in the side more closely.⁵⁵ Since, according to a widespread custom, the chalice stood to the right of the Host, there was a double reason for making at least the last cross at the side of the chalice.⁵⁶ Thus it was kept until finally the law of symmetry won the upper hand over the symbolism.

However, as early as the twelfth century, there arose still another explanation of the system of the five crosses.⁵⁷ In harmony with this, we find a corresponding change in form, in which the size of the crosses played a role.⁵⁸ In the course of this change the last two crosses (of which especially the latter had not been definitely placed in position) received not only their exact placement, but also their proper connection with the text. For it is clear from what we have said that at first no precise relation to the text was looked for.⁵⁹ But now this was remedied, even though

tions over the chalice, *alias duas in labro calicis dicens: Per ipsum . . . Spiritus Sancti. Hic tangat calicem cum hostia ad dexteram partem.*

⁵⁵ Bernold of Constance (d. 1100), *Micrologus*, c. 17 (PL, 151, 988 A): *Postea cum corpore dominico quattuor cruces super calicem facimus dicendo: 'Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso,' et quintam in latere calicis, videlicet iterum vulnus Domini[ci] lateris significando.* The fact that the signs of the cross number five is an established matter with Bernold. He then continues disparagingly: *Multi tamen tres tantum cruces super calicem et duas in latere eius faciunt; that it is incorrect, since Christ had only one wound in His side; besides Pope Gregory (VII, d. 1085), as he knew for certain, advocated the first method.*

⁵⁶ Nevertheless the *Liber ordinarius O. Præm.* (12th cent.) gives a *quintam ante oram calicis*; Lefèvre, 12; Waefelghem, 80.

⁵⁷ Richard of Weddinghausen, *O. Præm., De canone mystici libaminis*, c. 8 (PL, 177, 465 f.): the first sign of the cross signifies the eternity of the Son together with the Father, the second the equality, and the third the essential unity, the fourth the same *modus existendi*, the fifth the unity of the Holy Ghost with the Father and the Son. Regarding the question of authorship cf. Franz, 418 f.

⁵⁸ Richard of Weddinghausen, *loc. cit.*,

(466 A): *Prima quidem crux ex utraque parte ultra calicem protenditur. Secunda calici cœquatur. Tertia infra calicem coarctatur. Quarta eadem est ac prima. Quinta ante calicem depingitur.* This rule, moreover, which the *Liber ordinarius O. Præm.* (last note but one) has not as yet heard of, became standard in England; Missale of Sarum, Legg, *Tracts*, 13; 225; 263 f.; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 669 B); cf. Maskell, 152 f. So in Sweden, Missal of Upsala, 1513; Yelverton, 19. With a more exacting version of the rubric in the Missal D of Pressburg (15th cent.): Jávör, 117. This arrangement of the signs of the cross still holds good in the rite of the Carmelites: *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), 311.

⁵⁹ This is clearly apparent in the Mass-ordo of the papal chapel about 1290, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. Liturg.*, 1937), 206, where it merely says: *Hic cum ipsa hostia bis inter se et calicem signet*, without marking the usual sign of the cross in the text. The same thing occurs in the Sarum Ordinary of the 11th century (Legg, *Tracts*, 13), where a rubric before the *Per ipsum* gives only the direction for the five signs of the cross that follow without inserting in the text the signs generally used. In the somewhat later Sarum Missal in Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 669) the signs of the cross are marked in the place where they are usually set at present. Robert Paululus (d. about 1184), *De Cæremoniis*, II, 37 (PL,

in other ways the theologico-trinitarian explanation did not become universal.⁶⁰ Thus, just as the three crosses were made at the mention of the Son in the word *ipse*, now the last two crosses were joined to the mention of the Father and the Holy Ghost.

All that we have said so far forces the conclusion that in the later Middle Ages the old rite which accompanied the closing doxology, a simple rite indeed, had been overwhelmed by this luxuriant growth of crosses.⁶¹ There is some consolation in the fact that the number of crosses, now increased to five, in the last analysis serves to emphasize the naming of Christ (*ipse*) all the more by a reference to the mystery of the Cross in which finally "all honor and glory" mounts to God.

In the Middle Ages, however, the rite which originally accompanied the doxology was often entirely absorbed by the signs of the Cross.⁶² Or else it was turned into a demonstrative rite⁶³ which then in many cases was ejected from its original position (for example, we will meet the old ceremony again at the *Pater noster*). When there was no deacon to help along, the elevation of the chalice had to be postponed until after the celebrant was through with the signs of the Cross, that is, until the closing words of the doxology. And soon even at high Mass the assistance of the deacon shrank into insignificance, until at last⁶⁴ he did no more than sup-

177, 434), connects the last two signs with the Father and the Holy Ghost and views this as the reason why these signs have to be made outside the chalice.

⁶⁰ Along with it the interpretations indicated earlier remained in force, as well as others, e.g., a reference to the Passion, as advocated by Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, V, 7 (PL, 217, 894): the first two times the threefold sign of the cross is used to signify the crucifixion by the Jews and the heathens, the last two crosses indicate the separation of the soul from the body.

⁶¹ At the time, we might add, not only was an excessive importance attached to the signs of the cross and their prescribed symbolical distribution, but the movements with the host were sometimes even increased, so that circular motions were added. One of those who battled this abuse was Louis Ciconiolanus in a special chapter of his *Directorium divinatorum officiorum* that appeared at Rome in 1539 (Legg, *Tracts*, 210). But even Henry of Hessen (d. 1397) in his *Secreta Sacerdotum* raises his voice against those priests who made *cruces longas*, so that the people might see them, as well as against the prac-

tice of elevating the host at *omnis honor et gloria* as high as they do at the consecration. The ceremony in England was therefore called a "second saking." The English Reformers giped at the "dancing God" of the Roman Mass; see the excursus in Legg, *Tracts*, 263 f.

⁶² The Dominican rite no longer had this elevation since the middle of the 13th century. It is likewise missing in the rite of Sarum; Sölch, *Hugo*, 105; Legg, *Tracts*, 225, 262-264; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 224. Cf. also Volk, 95.

⁶³ Cf. note 61 above.

⁶⁴ Among the earliest witnesses to this manner of acting is John of Avranches (d. 1079), *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 36 B): *uterque calicem levant et simul ponant.* On the other hand, according to the first appendix to *Ordo Rom.* I (Andrieu, II, 115; PL, 78, 948), the elevation of the chalice is already entirely discontinued in the case where the Pope himself does not celebrate; cf. *Ordo* of St. Armand (Andrieu, II, 169, l. 14). Especially stressed was the setting down of the chalice by both together, because it was regarded as a representation of the taking down from the cross by Joseph of Arimathea and Nico-

port the celebrant's arm or concur in touching the foot of the chalice.⁶⁵ And on the other hand, this service of the deacon, in accordance with court etiquette, was finished off with a kiss on the celebrant's shoulder.⁶⁶

Later, however, this mark of subservience was allowed to disappear.⁶⁷ So even in the eleventh century, when the present full number of crosses first appears, the rule was that the priest lifted the chalice only when he said the words *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*.⁶⁸ This was the prevailing practice during the height of the Middle Ages, was adopted by the old monastic liturgies,⁶⁹ and did not cease till the Missal of Pius V. The advantage of this practice was that the rite of elevation was joined to the final words of the canon, the words spoken aloud, and immediately answered by the time-honored *Amen*, so that it retained its importance and made a clear impression on one's consciousness. It was only later that the present method appeared, which joined the elevation with the words *omnis honor et gloria*, and the final words *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* were not spoken till the chalice and Host had been replaced in their proper position.⁷⁰ This practice did not become general in Rome till the fifteenth century.⁷¹ Through it, the elevation of the gifts marked the very climax of the doxology. But there was certainly a double disadvantage in the fact that the final words were not joined to the rite, but were separated from it—by the action of replacing the chalice and Host,⁷² as well

demus; Hugo of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 45); Sölch, *Hugo*, 106.

⁶⁶ Ritual of Soissons: Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 612 C).

⁶⁷ The shoulder kiss appears, as far as I am aware, for the first time in the Pontifical of the Beneventan Cod. Casanat. 614 (11-12th cent.; Ebner, 330), in which different signs point to a Norman origin; here the kiss is still added after the deacon himself has elevated the host. It is further verified among others in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 85); in Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 134 C); in Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, V, 13 (PL, 217, 895); in Hugo of S. Cher (*loc. cit.*). In some churches this shoulder kiss was given both before and after the deacon rendered assistance; it was partly customary at the presentation of the paten to the celebrant that followed, where today a kissing of the hand is prescribed. Sölch, 107-109. There is an isolated instance in the *Ordinarium* of Chalon: Martène, I, 4, XXIX (I, 647 C), where a kissing of the altar was joined with the kissing of the shoulder.

⁶⁷ The uncovering and recovering of the chalice by the deacon, as it continues to this day, became his function in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (about 1140; Fischer, 85); cf. also *Ordinarium* of Bayeux (13-14th cent.): Martène, I, 4, XXIV (I, 629 C), where it is a matter of folding back the corporal.

⁶⁸ Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 72 (Herrgott, 265); Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 17, 23 (PL, 151, 988 B, 994 D); likewise about 1140 in the *Ordo* of the Lateran basilica (Fischer, 85).

⁶⁹ References in Sölch, 104. So also in the 16th edition of the Roman Missal up to that of Venice, 1563; see Lebrun, I, 467, n. c.

⁷⁰ Stephan of Bauge (d. 1136), *De sacr. altaris*, c. 17 (PL, 172, 1301), is the earliest witness. Further proofs in Sölch, 104.

⁷¹ Through John Burchard; see Legg, *Tracts*, 159 f. Cf. P. Salmon, "Les 'Amens' du canon de la messe," (*Eph. liturg.*, 1928), 501 f., 506.

⁷² So, e.g., clearly in the *Ordo* of Card. Stefaneschi (about 1311), n. 53 (PL, 78, 1167 C).

as by the genuflection, added since the fifteenth-sixteenth century.⁷³ First of all, the elevation was once more overshadowed. And secondly, the detached words *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, which by the prominence given them should signalize the conclusion of the canon, now appear to be joined to the *Oremus* that introduces the *Pater noster* as though they were an inaugural piece.⁷⁴ In some localities, e.g., in France, it was customary to signalize the *omnis honor et gloria* along with its accompanying rite by ringing the altar bell.⁷⁵ The altar missal, prepared by the Abbey of Maria Laach in 1931, has sought to recapture some of its original importance for the whole closing doxology by artistic designing, and particularly by the size of its lettering.

The importance of these words is shared also by the *Amen* in which, according to age-old custom, all the people now join to affirm and corroborate what had been said and done. We have already seen⁷⁶ what significance was attached to this *Amen* in ancient times. In the third century we hear a voice enumerating in one breath the several privileges of the people: to listen to the eucharistic prayer, to join in answering *Amen*, to stand at the table and stretch out their hands for the reception of the sacred food.⁷⁷ This *Amen* is the people's signature.⁷⁸ It was to permit the *Amen* to be shouted aloud that, even in Carolingian times, these final words were not included in the silence which prevailed throughout the rest of the canon.⁷⁹

⁷³ It is still missing, e.g., in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances of 1557 (Legg, *Tracts*, 64.

⁷⁴ In point of fact, priests have in all seriousness asked me the question, where does this *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* belong. The difficulty would be solved if the genuflection were placed after the conclusion of the doxology. This suggestion was also made by M. Del Alamo, "La conclusion actual del Canon de la Misa," *Miscellanea Mohlberg*, II, (1949), 107-113.

⁷⁵ J. Kreps, "La doxologie du canon," *Cours et Conférences*, VII (Louvain, 1929), 223-230, especially p. 230, with a reference to an affirmative statement of the Congregation of Rites, May 14, 1856.—Lebrun, I, 465, reports the use of incense in French cathedrals, as well as the custom of the deacon and subdeacon kneeling at the right and left in a posture of adoration. According to the Stowe Missal of the 9th century the entire doxology beginning with *Per quem* was sung three times: *ter canitur*; Warner (HBS, 32), 16 f.

⁷⁶ Above I, 23; 236.

⁷⁷ Dionysius of Alexandria (d. 264-265),

in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 9 (PG, 20, 656.—Also Chrysostom, *In I. Cor. hom.*, 35, 3 (PG, 61, 300), speaks of this *Amen*. Further witnesses in F. Cabrol, "Amen": DACL, I, 1554-1573, especially 1556 ff.

⁷⁸ Augustine, *Serm. Denis*, 6, 3 (PL, 46, 836 Roetzer, 124): *Ad hoc dicitis Amen. Amen dicere subscribere est*.

⁷⁹ This is all the more evident, since really only the last words *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* are said in a loud tone, words that by themselves betray no meaning. Since the time of the canon began to be said in a subdued tone of voice, there has been no attempt to have the loud recital begin with *Per ipsum*, as one would expect from the viewpoint of the text and as Del Alamo (see note 74) actually suggests.—It is quite different in the oriental liturgies, in which silent praying has likewise made great inroads. Here the loud recital in such cases regularly sets in at least at the beginning of the doxology. That holds also for the conclusion of the canon, where, e.g., already in the Byzantine Mass of the 9th century the ἐκφώνησις begins: "and permit us with

one mouth and one heart to praise and extol thy venerable and glorious Name, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, now and forever unto all eternity," to which the people answer *Amen* (Brightman, 337). Only in the Armenian Mass is the proper concluding doxology of the canon, along with the *Amen* of the people, included in the silent prayer of the priest, but nevertheless there follows a blessing formula prayed aloud, and the *Amen* of the clergy (Brightman, 444). On the other hand, in the Egyptian Mass, the *Amen* of

the people is broadened in such a way that the people join in the doxology of the priest with "Ὡςπερ ἦν (corresponding to our *Sicut erat* in psalm singing), which even in the Coptic liturgy is still also used in the Greek form (Brightman, 134; 180). The same response of the people also became customary among the Syrian Jacobites at an early date (Brightman, 96), for James of Edessa (d. 708) already testifies to it (*ibid.*, 493; Hanssens, III, 476). Cf. Hanssens, III, 481.

Part III

THE COMMUNION CYCLE

1. The Beginnings of a Communion Cycle

IT IS NOT ESSENTIAL TO THE NOTION OF SACRIFICE THAT THE OFFERERS should be invited afterwards to be God's guests at table. But the Sacrifice of Christendom was so instituted, for it is a family celebration, the celebration of the family of God, namely, those who belong to Christ and who, because of Baptism, are bound to Him by ties of most intimate fellowship. Thus they stand before God, a holy people. The *communio sanctorum*, which is holy Church, has to be made manifest in the *sacra communio* of the Sacrament.¹ It has always been regarded as a requirement of every Mass celebration that at least the celebrating priest must receive Communion, and every contrary practice has been condemned, time and again, as an abuse.²

In the biblical texts the meal feature of the Eucharist was so much in evidence that its sacrificial nature has had to be proved. True, even in the nascent Church the oblation was manifestly more than a mere introduction to the meal. It was a first step, to be followed at once by the second step, the meal. Or rather, both formed so complete a unit that participation in one appeared unthinkable without sharing also in the other. There is a clear relationship between this and the fact that those who were unworthy of the Sacrament—not only the unbaptized but often also the penitents—were excluded at the very beginning of the Sacrifice-

¹ The word *communio* therefore, even in its application to the Sacrament, denotes in its primary sense not the "union" of the individual with Christ—for then it would have to be *co-unio*—but rather the sublime Good that holds together the society of the faithful. This meaning of the word is still clearly recognized by Bernold of Constance, (d. 1100), *Micrologus*, c. 51 (PL, CLI, 1014 D): *Nec proprie communio dici potest, nisi plures de eodem sacrificio participant*. Similarly Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, III, 73, 4 corp.

² The XII Synod of Toledo (681), can. 5 (Mansi, XI, 1033), legislates against those

priests who, in celebrating more than one Mass on one and the same day, communicate only at the last Mass. In the ensuing centuries the omission of Communion seemed to be rather frequent among priests who for some reason or other celebrated Mass though their consciences were grievously burdened. Numerous ordinances against such a procedure are found even as late as the 10th century, and here and there even in the 14th. Franz, 77 f.; P. Browe, "Messa senza consecrazione e comunione," *Eph. liturg.*, 50 (1936), 124-132.

Mass,³ and that even before the start of the Prayer of Thanksgiving there was another warning by the deacon directed to all those who were not clean of heart.⁴ Coming to particulars, in the oriental rites even at present the kiss of peace comes at the very beginning of the Sacrifice-Mass, whereas the western form of the ceremony was relocated in the course of time. In all rites, however, a series of prayers and practices eventually developed around the Communion, as preparation and sequel to it.

According to the oldest accounts, the Communion simply formed the conclusion of the eucharistic service, with no special prayers to accompany it.⁵ The preparation consisted in the thankful oblation to God. But already in the fourth century, in the ambit of the Greek Church, we meet with several arrangements of the Mass where the Communion is preceded by at least a prayer of the celebrant begging for a worthy reception, or even by a special prayer as a blessing of the recipients, and after the Communion there follows at least a thanksgiving prayer.⁶ Other details of the later oriental order of Communion are also to be noticed in the same documents, in particular the invocation, Τὰ ἄγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, which the priest pronounces after the preparatory prayer, and the psalm chant which accompanies the Communion. Likewise, before the end of the fourth century there appeared in certain Greek sources the prayer which soon became a permanent part of the preparation for Communion in all Mass-liturgies, a prayer which indeed forms the very center of that preparation, namely, the *Pater Noster*.⁷

³ *Supra*, I, 476 f.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 114. However, the tendency to limit the admonition to the Communion, made itself felt in the East also. In the *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 274) the warnings that are sometimes given before the anaphora, precede the Communion.

⁵ *Supra*, I, 22-3, 29. The Gallican church of the 6th century presents an equivalent idea by putting the Communion at the end of Mass: *peractis sollemnibus, expletis missis*. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 55, cf. 65.

⁶ The *Euchologion* of Serapion, n. 14-16 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 64-66) contains before Communion a prayer that goes with the breaking of the Host (ἐν τῇ κλάσει εὐχῆ) and a prayer of blessing (χειροθεσία) over the people, together with a prayer of thanks after Communion beginning Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι. The same pattern is presupposed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones Catech.*, IV (Rücker, 34-38); similarly it is found in the Egyptian recension of Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradi-*

tion which goes by the name *Egyptian Church Order* (Ethiopian version: Dix, 11 f.; Brightman, 190-193; cf. Coptic version: Funk, II, 101 f.), but with this difference, that the prayer preceding the blessing is doubled and that after the prayer of thanksgiving there follows once again the prayer accompanying the laying on of hands over the people.—In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 13-15 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 227-233) only a prayer by the bishop with a litany as an introduction, precedes Communion, but a thanksgiving and blessing prayer follow. Only a single special form of prayer before and after Communion is presented in the Testamentum Domini (Quasten, *Mon.*, 258 f.). The Our Father does not appear in any of these liturgies.

⁷ The oldest testimony would be found in the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, V, 11-18 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 103-107), if they were really conducted by Cyril of Jerusalem, but the old doubts (above p. 191, n. 25) recur again; for his testimony would be an

2. *Pater noster*

In the Latin area, too, there is evidence since the fourth century of the use of the *Pater noster* at the celebration of the Eucharist.¹ Augustine mentions it time after time.² In regard to the Roman Mass there is, indeed, no direct testimony outside the tradition of the canon itself, but it would surely have been remarkable if the Our Father had not by that time come into use at Rome, too.³ Only in Spain is there any evidence of fluctuation even at a later period, since the IV Council of Toledo (633) had to insist that the Lord's Prayer was to be said every day and not merely on Sunday.⁴

isolated one for a half century, a circumstance that is very suspicious in view of the contradictory evidence found in the very Syrian sphere even in later times (see previous note). The next oldest and clearest testimony from the Eastern Church is in the utterances of Chrysostom: *In Gen. hom.*, 27, 8; *In Eutrop. hom.*, 5; Faustus of Byzantium, *Hist. Armeniae* (circa, 400), V, 28. Cf. the data in Hanssens, III, 491-493.—For the different readings of the Our Father and its early use in Christian worship, see Frederic H. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Texts & Studies, 1, No. 3; Cambridge, 1891).

¹ Optatus of Mileve, *Contra Parm.* (written 366), II, 20 (CSEL, 26, 56), where he confronts the Donatist bishops with their own practice which contradicts their teaching on Penance, for they grant the remission of sins and then even say the prayer of pardon for themselves, *mox ad altare conversi dominicam orationem praetermittere non potestis et utique dicitis: Pater noster qui es in caelis, dimitte nobis debita et peccata nostra*. Regarding the allocation of the African Rite of Reconciliation within the Mass cf. Jungmann, *Die Lateinischen Bussriten*, 32; 300 f. If, as can hardly be doubted, a practice in common with Catholics is here presupposed, one is forced to place its beginning already before the outbreak of the Donatist schism (311). Whether Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 11, 18, testifies to the *Pater noster* in the same location (50 Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 59 f.) is doubtful; see G. F. Dierks, *Vigilia christiana*, 2 (1948), 253.—Ambrose, *De Sacramentis* (about 390), V, 4, 24 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 168): *Quare ergo in oratione do-*

minica, quae postea [= after the words of consecration] *sequitur, ait: Panem nostrum?*—Jerome, *Adv. Pelag.* (about 415), III, 15 (PL, 23, 585); cf. *In Ezech.*, 48, 16 (PL, 25, 485) and *In Matth.*, 26, 41 (PL, 26, 198).

² Augustine, *Serm.*, 227 (PL, 38, 1101): *ubi peracta est sanctificatio, dicimus orationem dominicam*.—Again in *Ep.*, 149, 16 (CSEL, 44, 362) he says of the principal prayer of the Mass: *Quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia dominica oratione concludit*. The *fere* shows that Augustine recognizes exceptions. Further passages in Roetzer, 128-130; cf. also *infra*, notes 30, 34 ff.

³ Jerome, *Adv. Pelag.*, III, 15 (PL, 23, 585), sees in the position of the Pelagians, who regard the Our Father before the Communion as superfluous, a departure from the general custom. If it was not already in the Roman Mass during his stay in Rome (382-385), then Jerome had sufficient opportunity from his contacts with the numerous priest pilgrims of the West to keep abreast of Roman practice. Besides, we have every reason to take the testimony of Ambrose, *De sacr.*, V, 4, 24, as a reference to the Roman Mass.—That the Our Father in any event was in the Roman Mass before Gregory the Great, something that Batiffol, *Leçons*, 278, doubts, is already clear from the fact that one Mass of the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 359) contains an embolism between the Preface and the Postcommunion, *Libera nos ab omni malo propitiusque concede, ut quae nobis poscimus relaxari, ipsi quoque proximis remittamus*. *Per*.

⁴ Can. 10 (Mansi, X, 621).

In the Roman Mass the *Pater noster* stands at the beginning of the preparation for Communion. This is not a categorical position, and as a matter of fact in other liturgies there is a different arrangement. In the non-Byzantine liturgies of the East, as a rule, at least the fraction of the species precedes the Our Father.⁵ Even in the non-Roman rites of the West the fraction comes before the *Pater noster*.⁶ Thus the gifts are first readied for distribution, the table is set, and only after that does the prayer begin.

The present arrangement of the Roman Mass in this regard goes back to Gregory the Great. As he himself relates, he had been accused of introducing Greek practices; in particular, it was charged that he wanted the Lord's Prayer said right after the canon: *orationem dominicam mox post canonem dici statuisitis*. In his letter to Bishop John of Syracuse the pontiff defends himself as follows:

Orationem vero dominicam idcirco mox post precem⁷ dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis⁸ hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconueniens visum est, ut precem, quam scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem diceremus et ipsam traditionem, quam Redemptor noster composuit, super eius corpus et sanguinem non diceremus.⁹

What Gregory means to say is: The Mass of the Apostles consisted simply in this, that they consecrated with the *oratio oblationis*; everything else is a later addition. If some other prayer is to be said over the consecrated gifts, certainly the first prayer to be considered, before any human composition,¹⁰ is the Lord's Prayer. Since Gregory's time this

⁵ Cf. The survey in Hanssens, III, 504. Originally not only in Byzantium but also in Egypt, the breaking of the Host seems to have taken place after the Our Father; *ibid.*, 517.—On the other hand, the preparations preceding the Our Father are particularly lavish in the East Syrian Mass. They begin with thanksgiving and penitential prayers by the priest, the Psalm *Miserere* among others; then, with more prayers, follows the priest's self-lustration through the washing of the hands, incensing, and then the ceremonious Breaking of the Host and the *Consignatio*. Only then, after a litany and preparatory prayer, is the Our Father said (Brightman, 288-296).

⁶ *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 558); *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 179. For the Gallican Mass see the comparative study in H. Lietzmann, *Ordo missae Romanus et Gallicanus* (4th ed.; Kleine Texte, 19; Berlin, 1935), 27. The same arrangement

probably also for Africa; see Augustine, *Ep.*, 149, 16 (CSEL, 44, 362).

^{7,8} *Prex* as well as *oratio oblationis* are designations for the canon; cf. *supra*, p. 102.

⁹ Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, IX, 12 (PL, 77, 956 f). The history of the many blunders regarding this text and a final comprehensive clarification of its meaning in Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre*, 209-217. A detailed discussion of the text from a different angle in Batiffol, *Leçons*, 277 f. There is a different but scarcely happier explanation of the words of Gregory in C. Lambot, *Revue Bénéd.*, 42 (1930), 265-269, who is followed by B. Capelle, *ibid.*, 60 (1950), 238 f.; they interpret as follows: it was the apostles' practice to consecrate the *oblationis hostia* with (*ad* not in the instrumental but in the concomitant sense; the meaning demanded would be: with added) the Lord's Prayer.

¹⁰ The *prex quam scholasticus composuerat* and for which the *Pater noster* is now

prayer, the Our Father, is said right after the canon, and therefore *super oblationem*, that is, over the sacrificial gifts still lying upon the altar, whereas formerly the prayer was not said till immediately before the Communion, after the consecrated breads had been removed from the altar and broken.¹¹ It might be that Gregory was impelled to make this change by the practice among the Greeks as he had got to know it in Constantinople.¹² But Gregory went beyond his model. Whereas in Byzantium, as in nearly all the rites of the East, the new prayer-group which starts after the closing doxology of the canon is preceded not only by a renewed invitation to prayer, but also, prior to this, by another greeting of the people,¹³ the Roman arrangement omits every such salutation and is satisfied with a simple *Oremus*. This call to prayer, therefore, still comes under the *Dominus vobiscum* and *Sursum corda* of the Great Prayer, the *Eucharistia*. Thus the connection with the canon is quite close. By these means the weighty words which constitute the Our Father are emphasized all the more. The priest pronounces the prayer at the altar in the same fashion as he did the canon. Indeed, the first part of the Lord's Prayer actually forms, to a certain extent, a sort of summary and recapitulation of the preceding eucharistic prayer. The *sanctificetur* is a synopsis of the triple *Sanctus*; the *adveniat regnum tuum* is a kind of epitome of the two epiklesis prayers: *Quam oblationem* and *Supplices*¹⁴; and the *fiat voluntas tua* sets forth the basic idea regarding obedience from which all sacrifice must proceed. The spirit and disposition in which our Lord Himself had offered up His sacrifice and which we must draw from our co-performance of it, could hardly have been expressed more cogently.

But it would be a mistake to think that the Our Father in this new location right after the canon had acquired an essentially different function and given up its purpose as a preparation for Communion, or even to

substituted was probably of the same sort as the prayers before Communion mentioned above, p. 276, n. 6, or as the *proœmium fractionis* that precedes the fraction and the Our Father in the Coptic Mass (cf. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 486 f.). Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 13 f., believes he can even point out a definite text from Roman tradition.

¹¹ E. Bishop-A. Wilmart, *Le génie du rit romain* (Paris, 1920), 84-87. Thus also F. Cabrol, *The Clergy Review* 1 (1931), 364-366.

¹² Nevertheless a similar pattern appears in a fragment which G. Morin, *Revue Bénéd.*, 41 (1929), 70-73, claims had its origin in N. Africa about 500: *non poteris per orationem dominicam mysterii sacramenta complere, ut dicas ad plenitudinem*

perfecti holocausti orationem dominicam; PL, 125, 608 B; cf. *ibid.*, 610 B.

¹³ In Byzantium in solemn form: *Καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἑλὲν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν*, whereupon follows the customary answer of the people: *Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σου* (Brightman, 337). Similarly in other rites, apparently since earliest times, as can be concluded from *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 1 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 227). Only the Egyptian liturgies are satisfied with the usual salute to the people: *Εὐεγγήν παῖσιν*. Brightman, 135, 180.

¹⁴ A biblical variation of Luke 11: 2 substitutes a petition for the coming of the Kingdom of the Holy Ghost, for "Thy Kingdom Come:" *ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρῶς ἡμᾶς*.

suppose that Gregory had intended something of the sort when making the new arrangement.¹⁵ The pope's own account of his action gives no hint of such a thing. The canon remains an absolute unit (and therefore it concludes with a doxology), and the Our Father remains a Communion prayer, as it is in all liturgies, only with a closer nexus to the canon than in other rites.¹⁶

In the life of the ancient Church the Our Father had a close connection with the Communion, even aside from the Mass-liturgy; this is shown by the treatment of the petition for bread in the commentaries on the Our Father, and also in other pertinent remarks of the Fathers. Beginning with Tertullian, the Latin Fathers generally correlate this petition to the Eucharist. The same is done by some of the Greeks.¹⁷ This is certainly very remarkable in regard to a text whose literal meaning obviously signifies the material bread; it seems to presuppose that the faithful were accustomed to recite the Our Father at the reception of Communion, even before it appears in liturgical monuments as part of the liturgy. This

¹⁵ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 230-233, indeed thinks that Gregory in the given declaration regards the Our Father (which he thinks is meant in the phrase *ad ipsam solummodo orationem consecrant*) as the prayer of the consecration, not precisely in the sense of transubstantiation, but nevertheless in the sense of a further blessing of the consecrated gifts. In this he follows the commentators of the Middle Ages with whom he is also on common ground regarding the application of this broader conception of the consecration to the fraction and commingling. Brinktrine, therefore, includes the *Agnus Dei* and the Kiss of Peace in the second main division of the Mass, the "eucharistic consecration." But that is no way to gain a better understanding of the original meaning of such customs.—Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 131, contends that the *Pater noster* was in a certain sense part of the Eucharistic Prayer from the fact that it is said not by the people, but essentially by the priest. But this is only in line with the general exclusion of the people's prayer in the Roman Liturgy.

¹⁶ Certain indications that the Our Father is included in the Eucharistic Prayer appear in Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. Myst.*, V, 18; Ambrose, *De sacr.*, VI, 5, 24; Augustine, *Ep.*, 149, 16. But they cannot stand up under closer examination; see I.

Cecchetti, *L'Amen nella Bibbia e nella Liturgia* (special printing of Bollettino Ceciliano, vol. 37; Vatican City, 1942), 21 ff., note 28.

¹⁷ J. P. Bock, *Die Brotbitte des Vaterunsers* (Paderborn, 1911); cf. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer*, 42-53.—Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 6; Cyprian, *De or. Dom.*, c. 18; Juvenius, *Ev. hist.*, I, 595; Chromatius, *In Matth. tr.* 14, 5; are all cited for the eucharistic sense of the bread petition; furthermore a whole series of passages from Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine (Bock, 110 ff.). An explicit denial of the eucharistic sense even among the Greeks is to be found in Gregory of Nyssa (100 f.).—The much-discussed word (τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον, that is found in Matth. 6: 11 as well as in Luke 11: 3, as is well known, is often explained by the Fathers since Origen (under the influence probably of the practical application of the Lord's Prayer) to the effect that there is question of a bread that is adapted to the οὐσία, the spiritual nature of man. Ambrose, *De sacr.*, V, 4, 24, renders its *supersubstantialem* . . . *qui animae nostrae substantiam fulcit*.—For philological discussions see Quasten, *Mon.*, 169, note 1; W. Foerster, *ἐπιούσιος: Theol. Wörterbuch z. N. Test.*, II (1935), 587-595; Th. Soiron, *Die Bergpredigt Jesu* (Freiburg, 1941), 348-352.

would have been done at the daily house Communion, but also at Communion in church in connection with the Eucharist. The first prayer that the neophytes said in the bosom of the congregation before their first Communion appears to have been the Our Father, even in earliest times, and at least on this occasion it must have been recited by all in common and aloud.¹⁸ In the earliest commentaries on the Mass which mention the Our Father—the *Mystagogic Catecheses* of Jerusalem and the exposition of the Bishop of Milan—the petition for bread is emphatically explained in a sacramental sense;¹⁹ it was therefore also recited in this sense. Ambrose attaches long additions to the passages in question, in which he exhorts to daily reception.²⁰

A thing that clearly shows that the Our Father was looked upon as a Communion prayer in the Roman liturgy of the Middle Ages as well as in the extra-Roman liturgies of the West and those of the East, is the fact that it also makes an appearance among the preparatory prayers—in fact, as the most important of them—even where only the Communion is celebrated.²¹ That is the case in the *missa præsantificatorum* (which is nothing else except a Communion service²² and in most rites of Communion for the sick.²³

In the Orient, too, the way the Lord's Prayer is fixed in the Mass confirms its role as a Communion prayer. Here as a rule it is inserted in an even older group of prayers. Amongst these there are generally a prayer for a worthy reception and the prayer of inclination said at the blessing

¹⁸ Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 2 (1930), 148 ff., with an appeal to Rom. 8: 15; Gal. 4: 6. Cf. The whole discussion, "Das erste Gebet der Tauffing in der Gemeinschaft der Brüder": *ibid.*, 142-155; A. Greiff, *Das älteste Pascha-ritual der Kirche* (Paderborn, 1929), 126-130.

¹⁹ *Supra*, n. 7 and 1.

²⁰ Ambrose, *De sacr.*, V, 4, 24-26 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 168-170).

²¹ Cf. the chapter "Das Pater noster im Kommunionritus," in Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 137-164.

²² According to the oldest Latin revision of the *Missae Præsantificatorum* of Good Friday (which originated from the East), in the older Gelasianum, I, 41 (Wilson, 77) the priest after having kissed the cross, should say, *Oremus et sequitur: Præceptis salutaribus moniti. Et oratio dominica. Inde: Libera nos Domine quæsumus. Hæc omnia expleta adorant omnes sanctam crucem et communicant*. Consequently, the entire garniture of prayer, as it were, consisted originally of the *Pater noster*. The

conclusiveness of this fact is not disturbed by the remark of Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 256, to the effect that it is no surprise that in the Liturgy of the Presanctified the principal prayer is said.

²³ Jungmann, *op. cit.*, 146 ff. In the Roman liturgy the oldest regulations that have come down to us regarding the Communion of the Sick have their origin in the 9th century. But among them, too, there are those that use the *Pater noster* as the very core of the preparation. And this continues into the 16th century. In some cases, as in the 11th century Pontifical of Narbonne, the Communion part of the Mass beginning with the *Oremus* is made to serve for the immediate preparation for the Communion of the Sick. Martène, I, 7, XIII, (I, 892). As a trace of the old custom the *Pater noster* is still to be found in a passage of the Roman Ritual (V, 2, 12), namely at the end of the Extreme Unction, where formerly it introduced the Communion.

of the faithful. The Our Father is regularly attached to the first of these;²⁴ so it belongs to the preparation for Communion. Next the prayer begging for a worthy reception is often so reconstructed that the cleansing of the heart which is sought in view of the reception of the heavenly food, at the same time becomes the preparation for saying the Lord's Prayer worthily.²⁵ Or else, as in the main Greek liturgies, a transition to the Our Father, having much the same content as the prayer, is spoken aloud: "And make us worthy, Lord, to be able, with trust and without reproach, to venture to call on Thee, the God of heaven, as Father, and to say . . ."²⁶ Thus we begin to see more pointedly the great esteem displayed for the Lord's Prayer. The independence of the Our Father which we see beginning here was fully achieved in the Greek liturgies of the Syrian milieu, where the Our Father does indeed follow in the same location, after the attention has been directed to the Communion, but where it alone determines the contents of the preceding prayer of preparation. In the East-Syrian anaphora of the Apostles, the prayer reads as follows:

Let Thy rest, O Lord, dwell amongst us and Thy peace inhabit our hearts, and may our tongues proclaim Thy truth, and Thy Cross be the guard of our souls, since we make our mouth into new harps and speak a new language with fiery lips. Make us worthy, Lord, with the confidence that arises from Thee, to pronounce before Thee this pure and holy prayer which Thy life-giving mouth has taught Thy faithful disciples, the children of Thy mysteries: when you pray, you should pray and confess and say: . . .²⁷

The enthusiasm for the grandeur of the prayer which such words as these manifest is also proclaimed, but in a more restrained way, in the introductory words of our Roman Mass.²⁸ For a man of dust and ashes a certain boldness (*audemus*) is implied in making his own a prayer such as

²⁴ See the comprehensive proofs in Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 156 f.

²⁵ Thus in the Liturgy of St. Mark (Brightman, 135 f.): "Enlighten the eyes of our spirit, that without fault we may partake of the immortal and celestial food, and sanctify us wholly in soul, body, and spirit, that with Thy holy disciples and apostles we may utter this prayer to Thee," whereupon the priest in a low voice joins the Our Father to his prayer (which was also said quietly), and then praying again aloud that he might do so properly, introduces the Our Father recited in common by the people.

²⁶ Thus in the Byzantine Mass (Brightman, 339). In an expanded version in the Liturgies of St. Mark and St. James (*ibid.*, 135 f.; 59); similarly in the Armenian

Mass (*ibid.*, 446).—A kindred introduction precedes the Our Father in the Syrian Order of Baptism: see H. Denzinger, *Ritus orientalem*, I (Würzburg), 278, 308, 315.

²⁷ Brightman, 295. Similar in tone is a version of the Our Father in the East Syrian rite of Baptism, where the introductory words appear in a very expanded form. G. Dietrich, *Die nestorianische Tauf liturgie* (Giessen, 1903), 4.

²⁸ In the Gallic Liturgy also the Our Father is preceded by an introductory formula but one subject to the variation of the formulary and changeable also in content. Still in the Gothic Missal the *audere*, the confident obedience, often constitutes its basic tone. Muratori, II, 522; 526; 535; etc.

this, in which he approaches God as a child does its father.²⁹ That reference to boldness we have already encountered in the liturgies of the East. In the Fathers it recurs very frequently when they talk about the Our Father.³⁰ We can better understand the reverence for the Lord's Prayer which is thus manifested, and which is surely appropriate, if we recall that in those days it was not only kept secret from the pagans but was even withheld from the catechumens until shortly before the time when, by Baptism, they became children of the heavenly Father.³¹ But even the baptized must always remain conscious of the immense distance separating them from God. Nevertheless, God's Son Himself had put these words on our lips and it was He who ordered us to recite them. It was salutary counsel, it was indeed a divine instruction.³² The attitude and spirit which this prayer embodies is fitting at this hour when we have in our hands the offering with which the Son Himself met His heavenly Father and meets Him still.

But besides the petition for bread there is another passage in the Our Father which receives special stress in its use at Mass. This is the petition for the forgiveness of sins. Even Optatus of Mileve gives this petition prominence above all.³³ Augustine refers to its presence in the Our Father, and asks impressively: "Why is it spoken before the reception of Christ's Body and Blood? For the following reason: If perchance, in consequence of human frailty, our thought seized on something indecent, if our tongue spoke something unjust, if our eye was turned to something unseemly, if our ear listened complacently to something unnecessary . . . it is blotted

²⁹ A. v. Harnack (in A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 3rd ed.; Breslau, 1897, 371) calls attention to the fact that in Hermas (Vis. III, 9, 10; Sim., V, 6, 3, 4; IX, 12, 2) only the Church and the Son of God call God Father; see also Ambrose, *De sacr.*, V, 19 (Quasten, 168): *Solius Christi specialis est pater, nobis omnibus in commune est pater . . . Ecclesiae contuitu et consideratione te ipse commenda: Pater noster*. Cf. *Const. Ap.*, VII, 24, 2 (Funk, I, 410): Thus say the Our Father three times a day and prepare yourselves that you may be worthy of the filiation of the Father, lest calling Him Father unworthily, you may, like Israel, be rejected by Him (Mal. 1, 6, follows).

³⁰ Jerome, *Adv. Pelag.*, III, 15 (PL, 23, 585). *Sic docuit apostolos suos, ut quotidie in corporis illius sacrificio credentes audeant loqui: Pater.*—Augustine, *Sermo*, 110, (PL, 38, 641): *audemus quotidie dicere: Adveniat regnum tuum.*—Reference

to kindred utterances of the Greek Father in O. Rousseau, "Le 'Pater' dans la liturgie de la messe" (*Cours et Conférences*, VII [Louvain, 1929], 231-241), 233 f.

³¹ Rousseau, *op. cit.*, 235, is inclined to look for the origin of this mode of expression with *audere* (τολμᾶν) in the practice of the Catechumenate and more especially in that of the Orient.

³² The expression in our Roman introductions is already found in Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 2 (CSEL, 3, 267), who says of Christ, *Qui inter cetera salutaria sua monita et praecepta divina, quibus populo suo consulit ad salutem, etiam orandi ipse formam dedit*. Nevertheless it is possible to construe *praeceptis salutaribus* as meaning *pr. Salvatoris*, in parallel to *divina institutione = Dei inst.* See Bonifatius Fischer, O.S.B., "Praeceptis salutaribus moniti," *Archiv. f. Liturgiewiss.*, 1 (1950), 124-127.

³³ *Supra*, n. 1.

out by the Lord's Prayer in the passage: Forgive us our debts, so that we may approach in peace and so that we may not eat or drink what we receive unto judgment."³⁴ For Augustine, the Our Father is like washing the face before going to the altar.³⁵ For that reason it was the practice at Hippo for all, priest and faithful, to strike their breast while pronouncing the words, *dimitte nobis debita nostra*.³⁶ That the Roman Mass also gave special importance to the final petitions introduced by these words, is shown by the supplement, the so-called *embolism*,³⁷ which has its counterpart in all the liturgies except the Byzantine.³⁸

In the extra-Byzantine liturgies of the East, this supplement regularly accentuates not only the last petition, but the last two, sometimes by just repeating the words,³⁹ sometimes by a marked expansion. Thus, in the anaphora of St. James, the priest continues: "(Yea, Lord, our God), lead us not into a temptation which we are not able to bear, (but with the temptation grant also the issue, so that we may be able to remain steadfast, and) deliver us from the evil,"⁴⁰ thereupon a doxology follows as in all oriental texts. Thus the continuation of the petition for forgiveness is taken up and, with an eye on the future, a plea is made for preservation especially from that evil which would bar us from approaching the sacred repast.

The same is also to be found where (as in the West) only the last petition is taken up. In the Gallic Liturgy the formula in question was again subjected to the variations of the Mass-formulary. Its basic outline, however, for all the various additions made to it, was mostly the same as that which appears in the simplest form in a Sunday Mass of the

³⁴ Augustine, *Serm.*, Denis, 6 (Miscell., Aug., I, 31; Roetzer, 129).

³⁵ Augustine, *Serm.*, 17, 5, 5 (PL, 38, 127).

³⁶ Augustine, *Serm.*, 351, 3, 6 (PL, 39, 1541); *Ep.*, 265, 8 (CSEL, 57, 646). Inspired probably by Augustine, the Augustinian Hermit Gottschalk Holden required the same in the 15th century. Franz, 22. A similar stressing of the petition of pardon in St Benedict, *Regula*, c. 13; still Benedict does not speak of the Mass, but of Lauds and Vespers, where one should say the *Pater noster* in a loud tone of voice, because of the words *dimitte nobis sicut et nos dimittimus*, so that one may cleanse oneself of the offenses against charity.

³⁷ ἐμβολισμός (from ἐμβολή, ἐμβάλλειν) = interpolation.—*Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 11 (Andrieu, II, 223; PL, 78, 974), speaks of the Lord's Prayer *cum emboli*.

³⁸ The Byzantine Mass concludes the Our Father simply with a doxology; see below note 49.

³⁹ So in the East Syrian and the Armenian Mass—Brightman, 296; 446.

⁴⁰ Rücke, *Die Syrische Jacobosanaphora*, 49. The brackets indicate those things, like the citation 1 Cor. 10: 13, which are presumably a later addition. In the Greek anaphora of St. James there is the same fundamental text with other amplifications, in which "the evil" is described as a personal principle: ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσης ἐπιτηρείας καὶ μεθοδεύας αὐτοῦ; Brightman, 60. The conclusion of the Syrian anaphora of St. James is adopted, with further embellishments, in the Coptic anaphora of St. Cyril: *ibid.*, 182.—Jerome says in two passages, we pray in the Lord's Prayer *ne nos inducas in tentationem, quam ferre non possumus*. Cf. *In Ezech.*, c. 48, 16 (PL, 25, 485 C); *In Matth.*, c. 26, 41 (PL, 26, 198). The addition was also spread elsewhere; see Brightman, 469 f.

Missale Gothicum; it reads: *Libera nos a malo, omnipotens Deus, et custodi in bono. Qui vivis et regnas*.⁴¹ Nor is the Roman form of the embolism to be judged different. That its plea to be freed *ab omnibus malis* is concerned above all with evil in the moral order is clearly seen from the added words: *præteritis, præsentibus et futuris*. Only moral evils, even when they are "past," still lie heavy on the soul. Therefore, in the word *præteritis* there is a renewed stressing of the petition for forgiveness, just as in the *futuris* there is an echo of the petition to be safeguarded from overly hard trial. Then, on the positive side, an all-comprehensive good is included in the petition, the same good already mentioned in the *Hanc igitur* formula: *da propitius pacem in diebus nostris*. Our human wants are all of equal value for the kingdom of God. If a proper peace surround us within and without, then, as we hope, a double result will be more easily forthcoming: we will remain free from sin and will be protected against every disturbance and error. This will then be the correct disposition to have in order to eat the heavenly bread with benefit.

Just as we are accustomed to find it in the orations of Roman saints' feasts, the petition is strengthened by reference to the intercession of heavenly helpers. Here, besides the Mother of God and the protectors of the Roman community, Peter and Paul, the Apostle Andrew is also mentioned. Of course Andrew is mentioned in the *Communicantes* list, being named right after the Princes of the Apostles, just as in the two biblical catalogues (Matthew 10:2; Luke 6:14) his name stands right after Peter's. But it is surely unusual to find his name mentioned right after theirs, all by itself. It is well known that the New Rome on the Bosphorus, in rivalry with the old Rome on the Tiber, had early laid claim to the Apostle Andrew, Peter's brother, and "first called" (πρωτόκλητος)⁴² of the Twelve, as its founder. This accounts also for the honor paid to the apostle at Rome; the prominence given to him—after Peter and Paul, of course—was halfway in opposition to Byzantium, halfway as a gesture of concord. That we are on the right track in our conclusion is shown by a related occurrence among the prefaces of the *Gregorianum*, where special prefaces are provided for only two saints besides the Princes of the Apostles—Anastasia, who was likewise highly revered in Byzantium, and Andrew.⁴³ Some have thought that the addition of *atque Andrea* was due to Gregory the Great who, before his election as pope, had founded a monastery in honor of St. Andrew and had been abbot there.⁴⁴ But the

⁴¹ Muratori, II, 649.

⁴² Jno. 1: 35-40.—N. Milles, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiæ*, I, (2nd ed.; Innsbruck, 1896), 338. In the year 357 the relics of St. Andrew and at the same time those of St. Luke—therefore those of the brother of St. Peter and the companion of St. Paul—were transferred to Byzantium.

B. Kraft, "Andreas": *LThK*, I, 410 f.

⁴³ *Supra*, n. 26.

⁴⁴ H. Grisar, *ZkTh*, 9 (1885), 582; 10 (1886), 30 f.—That the insertion is not mentioned among the objections that were raised against him speaks rather against Gregory.

addition could have been made earlier than this, since even in the fifth century there was at Rome not only this somewhat uneasy relationship to Byzantium, but even an explicit devotion to the Apostle Andrew.⁴⁵ The Middle Ages not seldom added other names here, and this was done even in later times, since the *Micrologus* offered the liberty just for this passage.⁴⁶ But in the end they were satisfied with the supplementary phrase, *cum* (later: *et*) *omnibus sanctis*, which was wanting originally, but which appeared here and there even in early manuscripts.⁴⁷

The conclusion is formed by the ordinary formula *Per Dominum nostrum*.⁴⁸ This acts as a close not only for the embolism itself, but also for the *Pater noster* which is merely extended into the embolism. Thus it is an exact parallel to the doxology which, in most oriental liturgies, follows in the same location after the Our Father or its supplement, as the case may be.⁴⁹ By this formula we give expression to the fact that even in the

⁴⁵ J. Beran. "Hat Gregor d. Gr. dem Embolismus der römischen Liturgie den Namen des hl. Andreas beigefügt?" *Eph. liturg.*, 55 (1941), 81-87. The shrines of St. Andrew in Rome go back to Popes Simplicius (468-483), Gelasius, I, (492-496); Symmachus (498-514).—For the *atque Andrea* and still more for the selection of just these two prefaces, the only other epoch that comes to mind is the late seventh century when oriental influence of the Vat. Reg. (beginning of the 8th cent.). The words are missing among others in the manuscripts that present the Irish tradition of the canon (Botte, 13; 50). It is not likely that they were stricken out only later on. That there was in the 6th century a version of the embolism without any names of Saints is shown by the example of the Leonianum (above, note, 3).

⁴⁶ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 994 D): *Hic nominat quotquot sanctos voluerit*. The same direction already in the *Roman Ordo*, IV (PL, 78, 984). Already at an early date it appears elsewhere in the form of a supplement; *et beatis confessoribus tuis illis*; Botte, 50 apparatus; Ebner, 425-428, where there are a large number of examples of names from different countries. Michael, John the Baptist, Benedict are especially numerous, in addition at times to the specific patrons of dioceses or convents. Cf. Ferreres, 165; numerous names listed by Leroquais, III, 382.

⁴⁷ Botte 50.

⁴⁸ With the older position of the word *Deus* in all the old textual sources; *qui tecum vivit et regnat Deus*. Botte, 50. Cf. *supra*, I, 383, n. 38.

⁴⁹ This is missing only in the Ethiopian Mass. Otherwise there are two versions. Predominant is the form that made its way into several biblical texts of Matth. 6: 13 and is found already in the Didache, c. 8, 2 (without the ἡ βασιλεία): ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Cf. Chase, 169 ff. The Armenian Mass gives this wording exactly; Brightman, 446.

The Greek anaphoras of St. James and St. Mark, the East Syrian and the Byzantine Masses present amplifications; the Byzantine doxology (which follows the Our Father without any intermediate text) has in the concluding words the expanded form: . . . δόξα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Brightman 339 f.—The second version that appears among the Copts and West Syrians, inserts a mention of Christ as a connecting link and then continues with the Greek Doxology of the 4th century customary in this area; ὅτι οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ πρόκειται δόξα . . . Rücker, *Die Jakobosanaphora*, 49; Brightman, 100; 182. This last version therefore is close to the Roman *Per Dominum nostrum*.—Conjectures (that are hardly tenable) regarding an original identity of this doxology with the conclud-

Lord's Prayer we direct our petition to the heavenly Father through Christ, just as with His encouragement, *divina institutione formati*, we pronounced it.

If the Our Father at Mass was designed to serve as a preparation of the assembled people for the reception of Holy Communion, this had to be made clear also in the manner of performance. Actually, the Lord's Prayer was frequently said at Mass by all the people, and in any case it was always said aloud. This might not be entirely expected in ancient Christendom, since the Our Father still remained under the discipline of the secret. Thus a loud rehearsal of the Our Father was excluded from the fore-Mass. True to the command to guard it as a sacred mystery and not even to write it down, it would seem that outside of Mass it was only said quietly, just as the symbol was said only quietly outside of Baptism.⁵⁰ Within the Mass, where only those could be present who were full citizens of God's kingdom, there was nothing to hinder its being said aloud. The only question was, by whom was it to be said: whether, like the *Sanctus*, by all the assembly or, like the other prayers of the *Ordo missæ*, by the celebrant in the name of the faithful. Since the prayer was intended as a preparation for everyone to receive the Sacrament, it certainly was appropriate that everyone—the whole people—should take part immediately in the Lord's Prayer, especially since it was certainly quite familiar to everyone.

This solution was the one that became standard in the Orient. Everywhere the rubrics assigned the Our Father to the people,⁵¹ except in the Armenian Mass, where clerics were to sing it with arms outstretched.⁵² However, in the Byzantine Mass, too, it became customary for the choir to say it,⁵³ but always as representative of the people. In the old Gallican

ing doxology of the Canon are found in F. Probst, *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren Reform* (Münster, 1893), 198; 264 f.; cf. 221, n. 21. Cf. in opposition Srawley, 163 f.

⁵⁰ This explains the still existing custom of saying the Our Father and the Symbol *sotto voce* at the beginning of the Office (before Matins and Prime) and at the end. Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 167 ff. Similarly the further custom belongs here of saying aloud only the beginning and end when it occurs before an oration after the *Kyrie* in the Preces or the corresponding alternating prayers. This later method was first mentioned by St. Benedict, *Regula*, c. 3, who ordered, as an exception, that at both Lauds and Vespers, because of the summons for mutual forgiveness, the whole Our Father be recited in a loud

voice, otherwise only the last part, *ut ab omnibus respondeatur: Sed libera nos a malo*.

⁵¹ In the West Syrian Liturgy it is done in this way: the celebrant speaks the first words, "Our Father who art in heaven," and the people then continue. Brightman, 100. The same arrangement among the Maronites. Hanssens, III, 489.

⁵² Brightman, 446.—Here also the practice does not seem entirely unanimous. In the Italian translation supplied by G. Avedighian: *Liturgia della messa armena* (4th ed.; Venice, 1873), 53, we read: *Il popolo a braccia stese canta il Pater noster*.

⁵³ Mercenier, Paris, I, 224. Only the director (or chief person) says the Our Father among the Ukrainians; Harnykevitch, 90. In the Byzantine-Slavic Liturgy

Liturgy also, the Our Father was pronounced by all the people in common,⁵⁴ but in the remainder of the West, by the celebrating priest. This was the method already followed in Augustine's African Church,⁵⁵ although with provision for both a vital interest and ritual participation by the people.⁵⁶ In the old Spanish Mass this participation was manifested by responding *Amen* to every section of the prayer.⁵⁷

Even in the Roman Mass there is not wanting an indication that the Our Father belongs to the people. It is apportioned between priest and people, although in rather unequal parts. Whereas the old sacramentaries and most of the *ordines* contain no reference to this division of the text,⁵⁸ and Gregory the Great, in his frequently quoted letter, says tersely that at Rome, in contrast to the practice of the Greeks, the Lord's Prayer is said *a solo sacerdote*,⁵⁹ yet we find the responsorial method in the *Ordo* of John the Arch-chanter, therefore at the very latest in the eighth century; the Our Father is concluded *respondentibus omnibus: sed libera nos a malo*.⁶⁰ Basically, therefore, the people say the Our Father along with the celebrant.⁶¹ It is the people's Communion prayer.⁶²

the Lord's Prayer is frequently sung by all the people together.—Even in the present-day liturgy, as in the older ones, the Greek rubrics mention the people: ὁ λαός. Brightman, 339; 391.

⁵⁴ Gregory of Tours, *De mir. s. Martini*, II, 30 (PL, 71, 954 f.): A mute woman was miraculously cured on a Sunday at the moment when the *Pater noster* was begun which she then joined the others in praying: *cœpit sanctam orationem cum reliquis decantare*. Cf. Gregory of Tours *Vitæ Patrum*, 16, 2 (PL, 71, 1076), and also Cæsarius, *Serm.*, 73 (Morin, 294 f.; PL, 39, 2277).

⁵⁵ Augustine, *Serm.*, 58, 10, 12 (PL, 38, 299; Roetzer, 129): *ad altare Dei quotidie dicitur ista dominica oratio et audiunt illam fideles*.

⁵⁶ Above, p. 284.

⁵⁷ The *Amen* occurs in five places in the Mozarabic Mass of the *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 559) but after the petition for bread the answer is instead, *Quia tu Deus es*, and after the petition against temptation the concluding answer is, *Sed libera nos a malo*.

⁵⁸ Among them, strangely enough, is the Codex Pad. of the Gregorianum, which otherwise gives the responses of the people so carefully. It also gives the concluding

petition without any remarks whatever. Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 891; on the other hand cf. n. 874, 893.

⁵⁹ Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, IX, 12 (PL, 77, 957).

⁶⁰ *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 109). This rubric, we are forced to submit, may be of Frankish origin, perhaps a compromise with old Gallican methods. However, the silence of the sacramentaries is explained by the fact that the priest himself had to say the concluding prayer along with the rest and that the sacramentary merely supplied the text for the priest, even though the people also took part in it. Therefore a reference to the people is also missing at the *Sanctus*.

⁶¹ On that account it is a mistake, when Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 250, considers it "reserved to the priest," and "elevated to a solemn prayer of oblation." Even in Augustine, with whom there is no question at all of the people's joining in, it still remains in the fullest sense a Communion Prayer of the Community. That the Our Father was included in the canon during the Middle Ages is evident; (but that does not necessarily turn it into an oblation prayer) see above, p. 106.—The last phrase which the people pronounce cannot be accounted as equivalent to a simple. *Amen*.

⁶² It is therefore a sound solution, if the

In the mouth of the priest the rendition of the Lord's Prayer takes on the distinction of a special musical form, reminiscent of the chant of the preface. Manuscript evidence of our *Pater noster* melodies is not to be found before the peak of the Middle Ages, but on intrinsic grounds, particularly in view of the characteristic cadences, the origin of the melodies is put as early as the fifth to the seventh century. Of the two melodies, the more elaborate one is the earlier.⁶³ Perhaps even in the days of Gregory the Great this tune served to accent the value of this great prayer.

As is self-evident, the loud rendition of the prayer was continued through the appended embolism.⁶⁴ But in the Roman Mass⁶⁵ this was done not in the solemn melody of the *Pater noster*, but in a simple recitative tone, like that which we inferred regarding the canon at the *Te igitur*. This manner of performance has been retained till now in the Milanese rite⁶⁶ and in the rite of Lyons,⁶⁷ as well as in the *missa præsanctificationum* of our own Good Friday liturgy. But about the year 1000 the Roman Mass changed to a quiet recitation of the embolism, except for Good Friday.⁶⁸ It seems that the factor that led to this change was the consideration that the embolism was still within that portion of the Mass which represented the Passion of Christ. The termination of the Passion was the Resurrection, which since the sixth century was increasingly considered as symbolized in the ceremony of commingling,⁶⁹ while the fraction that preceded it continued to be referred to the Passion.⁷⁰ This whole

Our Father after a long period, a period that has very much lost sight of its function as mentioned, should be prayed almost in its entirety by the people in the community Mass of today. Ellard, *The Mass of the Future*, 203 f., reports also of Masses said by the Pope in St. Peter's (Nov. 5, 1921; May 26, 1922) at which the people were permitted to say the Our Father with him.

⁶³ Besides today's melodies in the Roman Missal various others appear in medieval manuscripts. The Mass books of the 11th century from Monte Cassino record three of them; Ebner, 101; Fiala, 193, 223. A missal of Minden printed in 1513 contains four *Pater noster* melodies. F. Cabrol, "Le chant du Pater à la messe," III, *Revue Gregorienne*, 14 (1929), 1-7; cf. *JL*, 9 (1929), 304 f.—In contrast to the solemn melodies of the Preface (see above, p. 107) the *Pater noster* melody did not share the development into the double tuba which started in the 12th century. Ursprung, *Die Kath. Kirchenmusik*, 58 f.

⁶⁴ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 29 (PL, 105,

1148-1150); *Ordo Rom.*, II, n. 11 (PL, 78, 975 A); Commentary of the Clm. 14690 (10th cent.): Franz, 411.

⁶⁵ In the Mozarabic Mass the variable embolism has the melody of the *Pater noster*: *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 559).

⁶⁶ *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 180 f.

⁶⁷ *Missale* of Lyons (1904), 315 f.

⁶⁸ The transition was not universal nor simultaneous. The earliest evidence is in the Penitential Sangallense tripartitum (MS. of 9th cent.) H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* (Düsseldorf, 1898), 189. Also according to the *Ordo Rom.*, IV (PL, 78, 984) the embolism is said *interveniente nullo sono*. Bonizo of Sutri (d. about 1095), *De sacr.* (PL, 150, 862 C), considers Gregory the Great as the one who introduced the silent praying of the embolism.—By way of exception it is also said silently on Good Friday according to the *Ordo Eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 58).

⁶⁹ *Infra*, p. 318.

⁷⁰ Lupin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la messe*,

section—the canon in the medieval sense, also called the *secreta*—would as far as possible continue in silence. The silence was indeed interrupted by the preface and the *Pater noster*, for which chant was prescribed long before, but thus a more mysterious image was created, a triple silence, during the *secreta*, from the *Te igitur* to the *Pater noster*, and during the embolism, which seemed to refer to the three days of rest in the tomb.⁷¹

An *Amen* appears after the *Sed libera nos a malo*, first in Alcuin's recension of the sacramentary, then by degrees generally.⁷² It must have been taken over from the Vulgate edition of the Our Father in the Bible; there is no *Amen* in the original Greek. The question next came up, who was to say this *Amen*. Sometimes it was added to the people's response, and then it was said out loud.⁷³ But finally, probably because of the growing practice in the Roman liturgy of leaving the *Sed libera nos a malo*, when said aloud, without an *Amen*,⁷⁴ it was shifted to the priest, who says it softly before beginning his quiet embolism.⁷⁵

In the later Middle Ages the *Pater noster* was attended by certain external rites, not counting those which today are associated with the embolism.⁷⁶ Widespread was the custom of combining with the Lord's Prayer the elevation of chalice and Host, which had been separated from the closing doxology by the signs of the Cross.⁷⁷ Various methods were used; sometimes chalice and Host were lifted only during the words *Fiat voluntas tua*,⁷⁸ sometimes all through the first three petitions, up to the words *sicut in caelo et in terra*.⁷⁹ Whereas in these two cases the doxo-

113-121; 154 f. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 106; 113 f. Cf. *supra*, I, 184, n. 31. —Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 235, has misunderstood my meaning.

⁷¹ Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 106 f. ⁷² Lietzmann, n. 1, 31; Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 252, n. 1.

⁷³ According to the *Lay Folks Mass Book* (13th cent.), ed. Simmons, 46, the faithful, and not only the choir, were supposed to answer *Sed libera nos a malo, Amen*. The *Amen* is joined to the answer also in John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 47 (PL, 202, 54). That the one praying himself joined the *Amen* to his prayer is not unheard of even in the older Christian tradition; cf. precisely for the Our Father already Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. Myst.*, V, 18 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 107).

⁷⁴ The Liturgy of Baptism excepted; cf. Eisenhofer, I, 175. In this *Amen* of the *Pater noster* we are dealing with a clearly settled arrangement, but not with a convincing and pervasive principle.

⁷⁵ Thus already Wilhelm of Hirsau (d.

1091), *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, 150, 1018); *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 243); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 95).

⁷⁶ Regarding the sign of the cross and the kissing of the paten, see below.—The look directed to the host during the Lord's Prayer as prescribed at present is not associated with this prayer as such: cf. *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 8, where this look is ordered, as far as possible, from consecration to the Communion.

⁷⁷ Above, p. 267.

⁷⁸ Still so today in the Rite of Lyons; Bünner, 239. So also according to the Rite of Vienne, Martène, I, 4, 8, 27 (I, 418 A): the priest holds the Sacred Host over the chalice during the first petitions of the Our Father and then raises both at the words *sicut in caelo et in terra*. Cf. de Moléon, 11; 58.—The showing of the Host *cum incipit Pater noster* appears in 1562 in the first catalog of Abuses of the Mass; *Conc. Tridentinum*, ed. Görres, VIII, 919.

⁷⁹ Hugo of St. Cher., *Tract. super mis-*

logical import of the ceremony still remained clearly visible, this was less so when, as happened elsewhere, the elevation was continued during the whole *Pater noster*.⁸⁰ Probably quite consciously a new sense was given to the action. Just as in the case of the elevation at *omnis honor et gloria*, where, at the end of the Middle Ages, even the rubric sometimes directed the change, so here, too, the oblatory elevation was turned instead into a "showing" to the people, as at the consecration.⁸¹ This new signification is even more sharply projected when, as happened in some places, the elevation was linked to the words *Panem nostrum*:⁸² here (it seemed to indicate) is the bread which we are asking for. In some places, especially in northern France, a practice akin to this arose, namely, that the cleric who held the paten, or the subdeacon to whom he gave it, held it up high, *in signum instantis communionis*, as we read in one place.⁸³ On the other hand, since the thirteenth century the doxological gesture which accompanied the *per omnia saecula saeculorum* of the doxology at the end of the canon, was sometimes duplicated at the end of the embolism, the chalice and the little particle of Host being raised when the same words were repeated.⁸⁴

sam (ed. Sölch, 44); Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 103. As a reason for the prolonged elevation Hugo alleges that the first three petitions referred *ad vitam æternam*, whereas those that follow, when host and chalice are again upon the altar referred *ad vitam præsentem*.—The same custom in the *Ordinarium* von Chalon-sur-Saône: Martène, I, 4, XXIX (I, 647 C); Durandus, IV, 46, 23; 47, 8.

⁸⁰ Missale of the 12th century from Amiens; Leroquais, I, 225. Equally obscure is the meaning of the Elevation, which, according to a Laon Pontifical of the 13th century, lasts from the *Per omnia s. s. to the audemus dicere*: Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux*, I, 168.

⁸¹ Monastic Missal of Lyons, 1531; Martène, I, 4, XXXIII (I, 660 D): *Ostendat populo hostiam*. Similarly in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances of 1557; Legg, *Tracts*, 64. Further examples see Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 64; Dumotet, *Le desir de voir l'Hostie*, 63-65. Cf. also the elevation of the Body of Christ in the Mozarabic Mass during the Profession of Faith, that is said between the canon and the *Pater noster*; *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 556 a). *et elevet sacerdos corpus Christi, ut videatur a populo*. In this connection we must mention also the custom of our Good Fri-

day liturgy, according to which the sacred Host is elevated after the embolism, *ut videri possit a populo*.

⁸² Premonstratensian missal of 1578: Legg, *Tracts*, 241. Later on, still so in Langres, France; de Moléon, 58.

⁸³ Thus according to a Parisian Missal with which a later Premonstratensian custom is in accord. In the latter the elevation occurred at the *Panem nostrum*. See the reference, *JL*, 4 (1924), 252 (according to K. Dom); cf. Waefelghem, 83, n. 2. The custom continues in the Order of the Premonstratensians even to the present day.—According to the *Ordinarium* of Laon: Martène, I, 4, XX (I, 608 E), the subdeacon raised the paten at the words *sicut in caelo et in terra*. According to the Missal of Evreux (circa 1400): *ibid.*, XXVIII (I, 644 E), the priest himself elevated it at the *Amen* of the *Pater noster*. The Sarum Missal of the late Middle Ages: *ibid.*, XXXV (I, 669 C), orders the deacon to keep the paten elevated during the entire *Pater noster*; cf. Maskell, 154. A similar custom prevailed at Rouen about 1700; de Moléon, 368. According to the missal of Liège, 1552, the priest elevated the paten during the *Libera*; de Corswarem, 139.

⁸⁴ Mainz Pontifical about 1170: Martène,

In some churches, a considerable emphasis was put on the bodily posture to be taken during the *Pater noster*. On days that did not have a festal character, a *prostratio* was expected of the people.⁸⁵ A Mass *ordo* of Bec even demanded the *prostratio* of the celebrant at the embolism.⁸⁶

This is bracketed with the fact that at the height of the Middle Ages, prayers for help were often inserted here during times of stress. At first this was done right after the embolism,⁸⁷ but later, when the connection of the embolism with the *Pater noster* was no longer so strongly realized, the prayers were inserted between the *Pater noster* and the embolism.⁸⁸ Since the Lord's Prayer was less and less conceived as a Communion prayer, this universal prayer of Christendom became the starting point for adding a special prayer in times of need. In 1040 the *consuetudines* of Farfa laid down the rule: After the *Pater noster* a crucifix, Gospel book, and relics are to be set out in front of the altar, the clergy are to throw themselves on the floor and recite Psalm 73: *Ut quid Deus repulisti in finem*, with the corresponding prayer, while the priest at the altar remains silent.⁸⁹ In 1194, during the high tide of the Crusades, the Cistercians in-

1, 4, XVII (I, 602 B). Statutes of the Carthusians: *ibid.*, XXV (I, 634 C); cf. Legg, *Tracts*, 102.—Also still in Gabriel Riel, *Canonis expositio*, lect., 80, and in the commentary "Indutus planeta" (after 1500): Legg, *Tracts*, 187.

⁸⁵ *Capitulum Monasticum* of 817, n. 74 (PL, 97, 392).—John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 47 (PL, 202, 54): *animadvertere oportet, cum sacerdos ait: Oremus. Præceptis etc., nos debere prostratos orare usque ad finem orationis dominicæ, si dies fuerint profesti*. On feast days the congregation stood.—Sicard of Cremona repeats the same; *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 134 D).—*Prostratio*, or at least a kneeling position was demanded during the entire canon until the *Agnus Dei* by the Synod of Trier (1549), c. 9 (Hartzheim, VI, 600). Cf. Synod of Cologne (1536), c. 14 (*ibid.*, VI, 255).

⁸⁶ Just as before in the prayer at the foot of the altar and at *In spiritu humilitatis* and as after the Communion at the prayer *Domine Jesu Christi qui ex voluntate*: Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 674 E; cf. 672 C, 673 B, 675 B).

⁸⁷ In a Sacramentary from Tours at the close of the 9th century (Leroquais, I, 53) it is ordered that the deacon *antequam Agnus Dei* should say a long prayer directed to Christ for the afflicted Church, a prayer that begins with *In spiritu humili-*

tatis. The same is found as *proclamatio antequam dicant Pax Domini* among the works of St. Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1029; PL, 141, 353 f.); also in Farfa (*infra*, n. 89). As an 11th century entry in the Pontifical of Halinardus: Leroquais, *Les pontificaux*, I, 143. A text from Verdun (11-12th cent.) is given by LeClercq, *Revue Bénéd.*, 57 (1947), 224-226. More detailed (with Ps. 119, 120, 122 and oration *contra persecutores* as *clamor in tribulatione* in an Admont manuscript of the 15th century, printed by Franz, 206 f. Cf. The chapter *Quomodo fiat clamor* in Bernhard, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 40 (Herrgott, 231).

⁸⁸ This shift also embraced the Nuptial Blessing, which, as prescribed today, is likewise to be inserted before the *Libera nos quæsumus*. In the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 220, 5) this blessing is given *ante quam dicitur Pax Domini*. The mode of expression in the older Gelasianum, III, 52 (Wilson, 226 f.) likely means the same: *dicis orationem dominicam et sic eam benedicis*, and after the formula of the blessing, *Post hæc dicis, Pax vobiscum*. Cf. 10th century, Sacramentary text with the same wording: PL, 78, 268 f. The obscure formulation has probably contributed to the shift.

⁸⁹ Albers, I, 172 f. The prayer is the one above (n. 87): *In spiritu humilitatis* (with amplifications).

roduced at this same spot Psalm 78: *Deus venerunt gentes*, as a prayer for the Holy Land.⁹⁰ A similar prescription was enjoined by the Dominican General Chapter of 1269.⁹¹ In the same sense John XXII in 1328 extended a decree of Nicholas III,⁹² and ordered that at every Mass, after the *Pater noster*, Psalm 121—probably because of the final verse: *Rogate quæ ad pacem sunt Jerusalem*, etc.—be recited by the clerics and other *literati*, along with *Kyrie*, the versicle *Domine salvos fac reges*, and the orations *Ecclesiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine preces* and *Hostium nostrorum*.⁹³ Likewise the General Chapter of the Franciscans in 1359 enjoined this prayer, and added that the celebrating priest should meanwhile kneel down before the Blessed Sacrament.⁹⁴ In the reform of the Mass book in the sixteenth century, these and other similar additions were allowed to drop,⁹⁵ but in some places the custom still continued for some time longer.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Schneider (*Cist. Chr.*, 1927), 109. Cf. *ibidem*, 108-114, the whole chapter "Das Suffragium pro pace nach dem Pater noster."

⁹¹ E. Martène, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, IV (Paris, 1717), 1754. Here also Ps. 78, *Deus venerunt*, should be said *cum prostratione*, versicle and oration. Likewise at Sarum in 13-15th century; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 209 f.; Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 90 f. The same crusader prayer appears among the Carmelites: Ordinale of 1312 (Zimmermann, 86); among the Calced Carmelites it has survived to the present day; B. Zimmermann, "Carmes": DACL, II, 2171. Cf. also *infra*, with n. 44.

⁹² Bona, II, 16, 4 (825): Before the *Agnus Dei* Ps. 121 and Oration, to obtain peace among Christian Princes.

⁹³ E. Martène, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, II (Paris, 1717), 748 f.; *Corpus Iur. Can.*, Extrav. comm., III, 11 (Friedberg, II, 1284 f.).—The same prayers were especially enjoined upon the Chapter of the Cistercians. Clement VI added a further Oration; Martène, *De Antiquis eccl. ritibus*, I, 4, 9, 5 (I, 420).—In the 14-15th century the Psalm was part of the established rite of the Papal Curia; see *Ordo* of Peter Amelii, n. 44 (PL, 78, 1295); cf. the exact instructions when the Psalm falls out: *ibid.*, n. 1, 9, 10, etc. (1275, 1278 f., etc.).—These prayers were retained by the Cistercians up to the 17th century, and

even later by the Spanish Cistercians as well as by the Calced Carmelites; Schneider (*Cist. Chr.*, 1927), 112-114. In French cathedrals they still pertained to the High Mass rite at the beginning of the 18th century, as a prayer for peace and for the king; so in Auxerre (with Ps. 121, 122); in Sens (with Ps. 121, 66); in Chartres (with Ps. 19); de Moléon, 159; 169; 230. Also the example from Seville, above I, 134, n. 37.

⁹⁴ *Analecta Franciscana*, 2 (1887), 194. References in Browe, *JL*, 9 (1929), 47 f. Elsewhere similar prayers were said in connection with the *Agnus Dei*; see *infra*, p. 339 f.

⁹⁵ Clearly these are the hymns and prayers (apparently further developed) that were referred to when, as part of the reform resolutions proposed in Germany at the time of the Council of Trent, the suggestion was made that the antiphons and prayers for peace and the thriving of the fruits of the field should be placed, not after the consecration as heretofore, but in some other place. H. Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des römischen Messbuches" (*Liturg. Leben*, 1939), 42 f.

⁹⁶ On June 11, 1605, the Congregation of Rites decided against an ordinance of the Bishop of Osca, who prescribed prayers for rain before the *Libera nos quæsumus* in all conventual Masses. *Decr. auth. SRC*, n. 182.

3. Preparatory Activities in Other Liturgies

In different liturgies, especially those of the East, the reception and distribution of Communion is preceded by a series of preparatory acts and prayers. In the Roman liturgy these acts and prayers either never developed¹ or were reduced to very modest forms and compressed between the embolism and the more immediate Communion prayers. In order to be able to evaluate the meaning of those forms that were retained, it will be worthwhile to make a brief survey of the richer development in the liturgies outside the Roman.

In the rites of the East, the celebrant, after the Lord's Prayer, turns his attention first to the congregation. He pronounces a blessing over the people, then lifts up the species of bread with the words at once invitatory and warning, "The Holy to the holy!" Then follows the fraction (or in some part of the rites it precedes the Lord's Prayer). The fraction is primarily a portioning out of the breads for the Communion of the people, but it also serves as a symbolic expression of certain ideas. With this symbolic fraction there is connected a crossing of the holy species, sometimes very pretentious, and then finally the commingling by putting a particle of the bread into the chalice.² After the celebrant's Communion which follows, some of the rites have still another formal invitation to the faithful "to approach in godliness, faith and love."³

The blessing of the congregation before the Communion is already developed in some sources of the fourth century.⁴ Its original meaning, "that we may be made worthy to take Communion and share in Thy holy mysteries,"⁵ is unmistakably expressed in one portion of the oriental liturgies. It is regularly preceded by the usual greeting of the celebrant and the deacon's admonition: Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν, to which the response Σοὶ κύριε is generally given.⁶ The benediction then concludes with the usual doxology.

This blessing is found in the Gallic liturgies too. It was given by the bishop, with a solemn formula that varied with each Mass,⁷ or by the

¹ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 186 (with note) supposes that the reason for the absence of such prayers in the older Roman Mass is because the Our Father alone was considered the proper preparation immediately preceding the Communion. Because of its forward shift to its present place a hiatus occurred.

² In the rites of the East other than the Byzantine, this group of rites bound up with the breaking of the Sacred Host precedes the Lord's Prayer either partially or entirely. Hanssens, III, 503-518; Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 156-162.

³ Thus in the Byzantine Mass; Brightman,

395. Similarly with the Armenians and the West Syrians; Baumstark, 164.

⁴ Above, p. 276.

⁵ Liturgy of St. James; Brightman, 61, 1. 3. Similarly the Liturgy of St. Mark: *ibid.*, 137; Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil: *ibid.*, 340.

⁶ West Syrian liturgy: Brightman, 60; 100; cf. 136, 182.

⁷ To the most important remnant of the old episcopal benedictions belongs the collection of *benedictiones episcopales* that originated in Freising (7-9 cent.); see G. Morin, *Revue Bénéd.*, 29 (1912), 168-194. The individual formularies of the Gallican

priest, using a simple unchanging formula.⁸ Here, however, the blessing was no longer looked upon as a preparation for Communion,⁹ but rather as a substitute for it for those who did not communicate, and who therefore could leave right afterwards.¹⁰ Despite the protest which Pope Zachary had addressed to St. Boniface in 751,¹¹ the episcopal blessing made its way in northern countries from the Gallic liturgy into the Roman, as a climax of the solemn pontifical service.¹² Therefore the sacramentaries and *ordines* of the Carolingian area which were intended for episcopal use henceforth often contain a reference to this benediction, which usually followed the embolism,¹³ but later in many churches was not given till after

and Mozarabic Masses, for the most part, also contain a proper formula of blessing.

⁸ According to the *Expositio* of the Gallican Mass (ed. Quasten, 22) the sacerdotal blessing formula is as follows: *Pax fides, caritas et communicatio corporis et sanguinis Domini sit semper vobiscum*. The II Synod of Seville (619), can. 7 (Mansi, X, 539) permits that the priest in the absence of the bishop should also be allowed to impart such a blessing, and the practice is presupposed since then to other Gallic law sources. J. Lechner, "Der Schlussegen des Priesters in der hl. Messe" (*Festschrift E. Eishmann zum 70. Geburtstag* [Paderborn, 1940], 651-684), 652 ff.

⁹ The *Expositio* of the Gallican Mass (ed. Quasten, 22) as the formula (preceding note) shows, has preserved a further trace of the original meaning of the blessing; it is given *ut in vas benedictum benedictionis mysterium ingreditur*.

¹⁰ Already in Caesarius of Arles (d. 540), *Serm.*, 73, 2 (Morin, 294; PL, 39, 2276 f.): he who would participate in the Mass with profit must persevere *usquequo oratio dominica dicatur et benedictio populo detur*. Similarly Synods of the 6th century. Cf. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 53-55; Lechner, 651 f.; 673.

¹¹ Zachary, *Ep.*, 13 (PL, 89, 951 D).

¹² See chapter on Episcopal Benedictions in P. de Puniet, *Le Sacramentaire romain de Gellone* (Special printing from *Eph. Liturg.*, 1934-1938), 80-88; also tables regarding their occurrences in the Gelasian Sacramentary; *ibid.*, 218*-235*. Alcuin also in his edition of the Gregorianum contributes an extensive collection of benedictions, some of which were partly taken from Mozarabic material; these then reap-

peared in Latin Mass books either as a supplement or distributed among the Mass formularies; Muratori, II, 362-380. Episcopal benedictions from different sources: PL, 78, 601-636. Eisenhofer, I, 97 f., mentions further forms of benediction: See also the collection derived from manuscripts of the 14th century with 287 formulas which, for the most part, are not to be found earlier; edited by W. Lüdtke, "Bischöfliche Benediktionen aus Magdeburg und Braunschweig," *JL*, 5 (1925), 97-122. The *benedictiones episcopales* ultimately made their way into Italy, as testified by Bonizo of Sutri, *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels, 60), and Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, III, 7 (PL, 213, 138 f.). In Rome itself they were unknown.—How highly they were prized in northern countries is seen in the case of Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma an.*, c. 60 (PL, 172, 562) who introduces the *benedictio episcopi* as the sixth of the seven *officia* of the Mass.

¹³ Gregorianam of Cod. Ratoldi (PL, 78, 244 B); *Ordo Rom.*, II, n. 11 footnote, as (PL, 78, 975 A); *Ordo Rom.*, VI, n. 11 (PL, 78, 993 f.). The *Pax Domini* appeared as the conclusion of the episcopal blessing, and probably received the form, *Et pax eius sit semper vobiscum*; thus in a Pontifical of Mainz about 1300: Martène, I, 4, XVIII (I, 603 D); thus also in the Pontifical of Durandus (*ibid.*, XXIII [I, 623 C]; Andrieu, III, 655); cf. PL, 78, 30, n. f.—The Abbot of Gregorienmünster also imparted the Pontifical blessing at this place; Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 656 f.). Such, too, was the case at St. James in Liège; Volk, 97. A miniature of the 9th century from Marmoutiers, with

the *Pax Domini*.¹⁴ The Gallic pontifical blessing, like the blessing in the Orient, was usually preceded by the deacon's exhortation: *Humiliate vos ad benedictionem*,¹⁵ which was answered by a *Deo gratias*; then the bishop, with mitre and staff, turned to the people and read the formula of blessing from the *Benedictionale* held before him; at the concluding sentence he made the sign of the Cross three times in three directions.¹⁶ The formula of blessing itself was regularly composed of three members, following the model of the great priestly blessing in the Old Testament (Numbers 6:22-26), which also appeared in the most ancient collections.¹⁷ After each of these three members (usually consisting of well-rounded periods) there was a response, *Amen*, and at the end a special concluding clause. As for content, most of the formulas clung to the pertinent festal thoughts.¹⁸ Thus the original connection with Communion was nowhere visible even in the oldest Latin formulas. Hence this pontifical blessing could be transferred to other positions.¹⁹ But it remained in its original location often²⁰

the annotation: *Hic benedic populum*, shows Abbot Raganaldus imparting the blessing; H. Leclercq, *DACL*, I, 3205; III, 75.

¹⁴ Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 514 f.); Mass order of Séz: PL, 78, 250 A. Both cases deal with the same rubric.—Sicard of Cremona, *loc. cit.*, testifies to the same arrangement.

¹⁵ First in the Sacramentary of Rataldus (PL, 78, 244) and in the *Ordo Rom.*, VI, n. 11 (PL, 78, 993 f.). But cf. already Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo.*, 76, 2 (Morin, 303; PL, 39, 2284): *Quotiens clamatū fuerit, ut vos benedictioni humiliare debeat, non vobis sit laboriosum capita inclinare*.

¹⁶ Thus according to the Pontifical of Durandus (Martène, I, 4, XXIII [I, 622 f.]; Andrieu, III, 653-655), where the conclusion is added: *Et benedictio Dei Patris omnipotentis et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper*. Here also directions for an enhancement of the ceremony on solemn feasts.

¹⁷ de Puniet, 82.

¹⁸ Let the first of the episcopal benedictions from Magdeburg and Brunswick, for the First Sunday of Advent, edited by Lüdtke, *JL*, 5 (1925), 99 f., serve as an example: *Omnipotens Deus, cuius Unigeniti adventum et praeteritum creditis et futurum expectatis, eiusdem adventus vos illustratione sanctificet et sua benedictione locupletet*.

Amen.—*In praesentis vitae stadio vos ab omni adversitate defendat et se vobis in iudicio placabilem ostendat. Amen*.—*Quo a cunctis peccatorum contagiis liberati illius tremendi examinis diem expectetis interiti. Amen*.—*Quod ipse praestare dignetur, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen*.

¹⁹ According to the *Ordinarium* of Laon in the late Middle Ages: Martène, I, 4, XXI (I, 610 B), it was given after the Gospel; cf. above I, 494. As the IV Council of Toledo (633), c. 18 (Mansi, X, 624), remarks with disapproval: *nonnulli sacerdotes* in the 7th century in Spain already tried to push it to the end of the Mass. In the Pontifical of Valencia, written in 1417, it is placed after the *Ite Missa est* as the final blessing. So also in the Parisian manuscript 733 of the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 164 f.). The same seems to have been the case until modern times in Trier, where even today, as I am told, the invitation of the deacon before the Pontifical blessing at this place is retained: *Incline vos ad benedictionem*.

²⁰ There is evidence of this at Salzburg, 1535, in Berthold of Chiemsee (Franz, 727). The abbots of the Cistercians imparted it until 1618; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 136-139. De Moléon, *Voyage* (see Register, s. v. Bénédiction) found it still in the 18th century in various French episcopal churches. Further references in Bünner, 278, note 1.

even after the end of the Middle Ages. In the cathedrals of Lyons and Autun this blessing has been retained right down to the present.²¹

After the blessing, all oriental liturgies have an invitation to the faithful: *Τὰ ἄγρια τοῖς ἁγίοις!*²² This exclamation of the celebrant is attested even in sources of the fourth century,²³ and it probably goes back much further.²⁴ The importance of the occasion is often further accented, as before the reading of the Gospel, by the deacon's call to attention: *Πρόσχωμεν*, or else by other preparatory prayers.²⁵ Then, without turning around, the priest raises the Body of the Lord so that all might see.²⁶ The people respond with a prayer of praise, in the older form of which, still preserved in the Byzantine Mass, the holiness demanded by the reception of Communion is referred back to our Lord Himself: "One is holy, one the Lord, Jesus Christ, to the honor of God the Father."²⁷ In the remaining liturgies of the East this response of the people has almost everywhere taken a trinitarian turn,²⁸ which does not let the basic idea stand out so clear.

The chief liturgies of the West, in the more ancient form in which they have come down to us, show no parallels to this elevation or to the words which correspond to it.²⁹ In later developments the Roman liturgy has

²¹ Bünner, 277 f.; Schneider, 137.

²² This form still in use today in the Coptic and Byzantine Mass. Brightman, 184; 393. Elsewhere somewhat altered; see Hanssens, III, 498.

²³ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 12; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 19; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (Quasten, *Mon.*, 107; 229). For further references see Hanssens, III, 499 ff.

²⁴ Cf. Didache, 10, 6 (*supra*, I, 12).

²⁵ Both in the Byzantine and in the remaining Greek liturgies; Brightman, 61; 137 f.; 341; cf. Hanssens, III, 494 ff.

²⁶ The custom is found since the 6-7th century. Previously, as Chrysostom, *In Hebr. hom.*, 17, 4f. (PG, 63, 132 f.) shows, the priest raised only his hand: *καθάρει τὴν χεῖρα ἁγίων*. Hanssens, III, 501. —The performance of the elevation today is varied. In the Byzantine Mass the priest elevates the host upon the diskos. Among the Copts he raises a particle above the chalice. Among the West Syrian Jacobites a double elevation takes place; first the host is elevated upon the diskos and then the chalice; so also among the Maronites. Among the Uniate Armenians the priest, after having elevated the host, takes hold of the chalice and host and turns toward

the people; among the dissident Armenians the host is dipped instead into the Precious Blood and then elevated once more. Hanssens, III, 494-499.

²⁷ Brightman, 341; 393; also already *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 229 f.), where Luke 2: 14 is appended.—Cf. the discussion about *tu solus sanctus*, above I, 354 f.—Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenlande*, 158, indicates the possibility that the words of the Apostle, I Cor. 8: 6; Phil. 2: 11, already present an echo of the liturgical formula.

²⁸ Already in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (Rücker, 36) there is evidence of this: *Unus Pater sanctus, unus Filius sanctus, unus Spiritus sanctus*, where in the catechetical explanation, the same as in a number of later liturgical texts, it was no longer the holiness, but the oneness of the divine nature that was given prominence. Here, as in the later West Syrian liturgy, the formula is extended by adding *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*; Rücker, *Die Jakobosaphora*, 73. See details in Hanssens, *loc. cit.*, especially 498 f., where also further amplifications are presented.

²⁹ G. Morin, *Revue Bénéd.*, 40 (1928) 136 f., repeatedly refers to traces from the

created counterparts in two different acts: in the elevation of the two species which we join to the consecration, and in the “showing” of the bread before Communion, where the words *Ecce Agnus Dei*, along with the acknowledgment of our personal unworthiness, to some extent correspond to the *Sancta sanctis* and its response.³⁰

Among the preparatory acts regarding the Sacrament itself, the oldest and most important one, the one that therefore reappears in all the liturgies, is the fraction or the breaking of the consecrated bread. This is but a continuation of an action which, according to all four New Testament accounts, our Lord Himself performed at the Last Supper: He took the bread, broke it, and gave it to His disciples. The Breaking of the Bread is, in fact, the oldest name used for the celebration of the Eucharist. The more immediate occasion for the breaking or fraction was the necessity of dividing the whole breads for the Communion of the congregation,³¹ and, in any case, for the purpose of having a particle to keep for the rite of commingling which followed.³² The example of the breaking of the bread in the supper room and in the primitive Church must surely have been the factor which determined that the rite would continue not as a *cutting* of the bread, as might easily have been, but as a “breaking”; in other words, this is what determined and determines the choice of a form of bread which could be broken, so that there would be question only of a “breaking” of bread.³³

In its ritual form, the fraction which was designed to prepare the par-

5th century which lead one to conclude to Latin *Sancta sanctis* and the answer *Unus sanctus* in certain isolated cases. The question has been investigated afresh by L. Brou, “Le ‘Sancta sanctis’ en Occident,” *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 46 (1945), 160-178; 47 (1946), 11-29. As Brou proves, the one certain evidence of the *Sancta sanctis* in the West is found in the British Bishop Fastidius (beginning of the 5th cent.; he calls it a *præfatio*: cf. *infra*, p. 318, n. 33); an uncertain instance is in Nicetas of Remesiana in Dacia (d. after 414). The late Mozarabic commingling formula which somehow appertains here he traces in the *Liber ordinum* (Férotin, 241) and in several of the French Mass-books (since the 11th cent.) described by V. Leroquais. According to Brou the basic text, frequently subjected to variation, must have read: *Sancta cum sanctis et coniunctio corporis et sanguinis D. n. J. C. sit edentibus et bibentibus in vitam æternam. Amen.* (*op. cit.*, 1946, 17). If, therefore, it is conceivable that the *Sancta sanctis* was used

here and there in the Gallic sphere with the complete meaning of the oriental liturgies, a similar assumption (as Brou rightly remarks) would be excluded at Rome where the formula *Si quis non communicat det locum* (see *infra*, p. 341) already fulfilled the same function.—The inscription *Digna dignis* was found in the excavation of the floor of a North African apse; J. Sauer, “Der Kirchenbau Nordafrikas in den Tagen des hl. Augustinus” (*Aurelius Augustinus*, ed. by Grabmann and Mäusbach [Cologne, 1930], 243-300), 296.

³⁰ It has already been emphasized above, note 37, that the elevation of the chalice and host at the *omnis honor et gloria* is not pertinent here.

³¹ In this sense the breaking of the host is already intimated by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, I, 1 (PG, 692 B). Cf. Haberstroh, *Der Ritus der Brechung und Mischung nach dem dem Missale Romanum* (St. Gabriel, 1937), 11-33.

³² Hanssens, III, 513-515.

³³ Nevertheless in the Byzantine Prosko-

ticles for the Communion of the congregation continued along simple lines. In the oriental rites it appears to have been done generally by the celebrant himself. Probably in view of greater Communion days, when more time was required, rather lengthy prayer-texts are in part provided to accompany the rite.³⁴

But the fraction which served for symbolism and which culminates in the commingling of the two species is much more elaborate. There are three parts: first, the fraction itself, performed on the Host intended for the celebrant, which is divided into from two to four portions; then the crossing (*consignatio*), very detailed, especially in the Syrian Liturgy, the particle of Host being crossed either over the chalice or in the chalice;³⁵ finally, the commingling, in which a particle is dropped into the chalice.

Various ideas are combined in this symbolic rite. Its purpose is, first of all, to manifest and proclaim the unity of the sacrifice performed under the two species. It is, *in se*, a rather obvious assumption that this is the original meaning of the commingling and therefore the starting-point for the development of the rite. This assumption is confirmed by witnesses from fifth-century Syria, who can hardly be far removed from the source of the rite either as to time or place,³⁶ and who make the same basic statements regarding the signs of the Cross.³⁷ Likewise, certain corresponding

side, the bread is cut; the knife used in this instance is called *λόγχη*, Slavice, *kopyo* = “lance.” Brightman, 356 f.; cf. above, p. 44.

³⁴ In the Greek Liturgy of St. James they are Psalms 22, 33, 150. (Brightman, 366). Also in the Greek Liturgy of St. Mark (*ibid.*, 138, 1 20), Psalm 150 is intoned.—Extensive prayers accompany the process among the Syrian Jacobites (*ibid.*, 97-99). They revolve about different recollections of Christ's Passion, the piercing with the lance, the Cross, the Resurrection, our guilt and the atonement through the suffering of Christ, the Lamb of God.—In other Mass arrangements, as in the Abyssinian, in general no particular formulas for the fraction are apparent (*ibid.*, 237 f.; cf. nevertheless Hanssens, III, 512 f.); so too in the East Syrian, where, however, the lengthy prayers (among others, Ps. 50; 122; -3; 25; 6, with a washing of hands), that precede the rite of breaking the host, could here be brought in (Brightman, 288 f.).

³⁵ In the Liturgy of the Syrian language and also in the Egyptian liturgies the particle referred to is today dipped in the

chalice and then the sign of the cross is first made with it. So likewise in the Greek Liturgy of St. James in which the cross is first made with the particle that has been dipped in the chalice over the undipped particle and then the process is reversed (Brightman, 62; MS. of the 14th century; more complicated in the 10th century MS. presented by Hanssens, III, 516 f.). Among the Maronites 18 crosses precede the breaking of the host. In the Ethiopian Mass a special prayer ritual is combined with the breaking of the host and the sign of the cross in which the invocation, *Domine miserere nostri Christe* is sung by priest and people alternating according to a fixed pattern forty-one times; Hanssens, III, 503-513. Cf. Haberstroh, 13-24; Raes, *Introductio*, 94-103.

³⁶ Hanssens, III, 514, hazards the supposition that the rite of the breaking of the host originated in Syria.

³⁷ Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), *Sermones catech.*, VI (Rücker, 54) *cum pane signat super sanguinem figura crucis et cum sanguine super panem et coniungit et applicat eos in unum, qua re unicuique manifestetur ea, quamquam duo sunt, ta-*

texts which accompany the commingling in some of the rites emphasize this point of unification in the sacrifice.³⁸ There is no need, then, to seek a reason for the practice in the merely material order.³⁹

A commingling rite of a peculiar sort is the admixture of warm water (ζέον) to the consecrated chalice in the Byzantine liturgy.⁴⁰ The practice is ancient.⁴¹ But its meaning is obscure; seemingly its aim is to affirm that the fulness of the Holy Spirit is in the Sacrament or is effected by the Sacrament.⁴²

In the Syrian source mentioned, the fraction—taken at first in the sense of an apportionment for the Communion—was given a deeper significance. According to this, it is meant to show how the Lord distributes His presence among many, just as after the Resurrection He made Himself known and “distributed His appearance among many”: the women, the disciples

men unum esse virtualiter et memoriam esse mortis et passionis . . . Ea de causa fas est deinceps in calicem immittere panem vivificantem, ut demonstretur ea sine separatione et unum esse virtute et unam gratiam conferre accipientibus ea.—Narsai (d. about 502) “He unites them—the Body with the Blood, and the Blood with the Body—that every one may confess that the Body and the Blood are one.” Cf. *Hom.*, 21 (*ibid.*, 59).

³⁸ The Liturgy of St James has the priest say at the same time: “Ἐνωσις τοῦ παναγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Then follows a second similar text; Brightman, 62. Cf. the text for the joining of the elements in the East Syrian Mass (*ibid.*, 292). It accompanies the ceremony of the joining of the two now moistened halves of the host; an actual division is missing.

³⁹ Eisenhofer, II, 201, endeavors to find the origin of the rite of the commingling in the necessity to soften the bread, because (fermented) bread, when kept any length of time (when transported to other churches: *fermentum*, see *infra*.) easily becomes hard; similarly Lebrun, I, 504 f. However, there is clearly question in the oriental rite of a particle from the present Mass. In the Roman liturgy, too, the second mingling was of the same nature. The *fermentum* could be brought only to nearby churches.—Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 134, supposes that the oriental custom of mingling a particle from one's own Mass was a substitution for the *fer-*

mentum rite which disappeared early. That would be a parallel to the development in the West; see *infra*, p. 309, n. 34. In any event we would then have at the beginning a commingling intended symbolically.

⁴⁰ Brightman, 349.

⁴¹ There are evidences of it since the 6th century. Hanssens, II, 235 f.; III, 518 f.

⁴² The action is accompanied with the words “Fervor of faith, full of the Holy Ghost”; cf. Rom. 12: 11. Perhaps there is some significance in the fact that the commingling with the particle of the Host, that occurs under a similar formula, immediately precedes, inasmuch as the union of the Body and Blood from which proceeds the warmth of life, is there pushed into relief. K. Burdach, *Der Gral* (Stuttgart, 1938), 148 f., refers to Cyril of Alexandria, *In John* 1, IV, 6, 54 (PG, 73, 580 A), who compares the change of the communicant to the change that takes place when cold water is placed over a hot fire.—Further confirmation is found in something mentioned by L. H. Grondijs, *L'iconographie byzantine du Crucifié mort sur la croix* (Brussels, 1941); see the penetrating review by Countess E. Luchesi-Palli, *ZkTh*, 70 (1948), 369-375. According to Grondijs the custom of the ζέον originated in connection with the teaching of the Aphthartodocetæ promoted by Justinian; according to this teaching the Body of Christ remained incorrupt in death and of course did not become frigid, and therefore warm blood and water issued from it

at Emmaus, the apostles.⁴³ On the other hand, the symbolism inherent in the primitive Christian and pre-Christian meal ceremony of the breaking of the bread, namely, the fellowship of all at table in the one bread,⁴⁴ is nowhere mentioned in the liturgies that have survived.⁴⁵ Nor did the symbolism of the Resurrection last long, at least in the ceremony of the fraction itself. By the sixth century, if not earlier, the fraction began to be viewed among the Greeks not as a division and distribution, but rather as a violent separation, a splitting, a sundering, and consequently as a figure of Christ's death on the Cross.⁴⁶

The thought of the Passion is frequently expressed in the prayers and songs with which the oriental liturgies have surrounded the fraction rite in the course of time; this is especially true in regard to the West-Syrian liturgy. “Thus truly has the Word of God suffered in the flesh and was sacrificed and broken upon the Cross . . . and His side was pierced by a lance. . . .”⁴⁷ “Father of truth, see Thy Son as a sacrifice that conciliates Thee. . . . See His Blood that was shed on Golgotha.”⁴⁸ In particular, the connection with the idea of “the Lamb of God that taketh away”⁴⁹ the sins

(76 f.). Inasmuch as later according to the teaching of Niketas Stethatos, the Indwelling of the Holy Ghost, which also speaks warmth, and which also continues after death, was substituted in the place of the physical warmth of the body, another symbolic practice could be preserved: In Communion one received the Precious Blood, filled by the Spirit as indicated by the ζέον just as one would not wish to receive the Body of Our Lord under the appearance of ἄζυμα—ἄψυχα (see above, note 19). As a starting point for the custom a profane table practice has been suggested; Hanssens, II, 235.

⁴³ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *loc. cit.* (Rücker, 34 f.); cf. Narsai, *Hom.*, 17 (Connolly, 24): “and now He appears in the reception of His Body, to the sons of the church; and they believe in Him and receive from Him the pledge of life.”

⁴⁴ Above I, 11. Cf. also I Cor. 10: 17; Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Eph.*, 20, 2.

⁴⁵ Nevertheless A. Beil, *Einheit der Liebe* (Colmar, 1941), 53, reports a Lettish folk custom on Christmas Eve, in which expression is given to the same fundamental idea; the father of the family hands the mother a piece of baked goods which they break in two; the father hands his half to the eldest son, which they break in the same way, while the mother follows the

same procedure with the eldest daughter, etc. This Christmas custom, as I have ascertained through research, is found with insignificant variations (a wafer; the father of the family only starts the breaking; the servants have their own bread, that they also break) in Upper Silesia, Poland, and Lithuania.

⁴⁶ Eutychius (d. 582), *De Pasch.*, c. 3 (PG, 86, 2396 A): ἡ κλάσις . . . τὴν σφαγὴν δηλοῖ. A suggestion along the same lines is Chrysostom, *In I Cor. hom.*, 24, 2 (PG, 61, 200): In explaining κλώμεν of I Cor. 10: 16, he says: What He did not suffer on the cross, that for your sake He endured in the sacrifice.—Suggestions of such an interpretation are found moreover in earlier times. Here also belongs the expanded variation of I Cor. 11: 24, (τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν) κλώμενον, that predominates especially in Egyptian manuscripts and recurs in the Eucharistia of Hippolytus (*supra*, I, 29) and in the *Euchologion* of Serapion (*supra*, I, 34). Cf. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 81; 132 f.

⁴⁷ Brightman, 97. The prayer was already extant in the 9th century; Hanssens, III, 518.

⁴⁸ Brightman, 98. Also in the Ethiopian Mass, *ibid.*, 239 f.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 99. Similarly in the Greek Liturgy

of the world.” The thought is even more closely linked with the fraction in the Byzantine Mass, where the priest accompanies the rite with the words: Μερίζεται καὶ διαμερίζεται ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ θεοῦ, continuing with the antithetical phrase: “It is divided and yet not separated. It is continually devoured and yet never consumed, but sanctifies the partaker.”⁵⁰ Still the thought of the Resurrection was not entirely obliterated. The *Ordo communis* of the West-Syrian Mass sees in the fraction a picture of the crucifixion, but then, apparently in reference to the consignation, it also speaks about the Resurrection.⁵¹

The thought of the Passion was early associated with the fraction rite also in the Gallic liturgies; in fact, it here gained a particular development in connection with the fraction itself. The seventh century *Expositio* of the Gallican Mass even tells of a certain case in which, while the priest was performing the fraction, an angel was seen cutting the limbs of a radiant little child and catching its blood.⁵² At the Council of Tours (567) a warning was given to the priests to arrange the particles at the fraction not *in imaginario ordine* but in the shape of a cross.⁵³ The cruciform arrangement remained as the fundamental one also in the Mozarabic Mass. But it was further elaborated into a representation of all the main points in the work of redemption, in much the same way as the idea of *passio* at the anamnesis (as we have already been able to settle) in many cases gathered around itself all the mysteries of the redemption. Thus arose a second anamnesis, but this one in the language of symbolism. Nine particles were supposed, seven of them composing the cross. Each particle signified a mystery, beginning with the Incarnation and birth down to the glorious reign in heaven.⁵⁴ So, here too, the Resurrection has a place beside the Passion. Much more complicated was the arrangement in the Irish-Celtic liturgy.⁵⁵ The fraction was accompanied by a special song which is called *confractorium* in the Milanese Mass; it was subject to the

of St. James (*ibid.*, 62): Ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄμνος τοῦ θεοῦ . . . σφαγιασθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς.

⁵⁰ Brightman, 393. Reference was already made *supra*, p. 37, to the persistent designation “Lamb” for the Host.

⁵¹ Renaudot, II (1847), 22.

⁵² Quasten, 21. The legend is taken over from the Orient; see *Vitæ Patrum*, c. 6 (*ibid.*, n. 4).

⁵³ Can. 3. (Mansi, IX, 793); cf. also *supra*, p. 37. It seems that a human figure was formed with the Sacred Body of Our Lord, an abuse against which Pope Pelagius I, about 558, expressed opposition in a letter to the Bishop of Arles; Ph. Jaffé, *Regesta pont. Rom.*, I, (2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1885),

n. 978; cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 219; P. Browe, *JL*, 15 (1941), 62, note 4.

⁵⁴ *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 557). The names for the particles are: 1. *corporatio*, 2. *nativitas*, 3. *circumcisio*, 4. *apparitio*, 5. *passio*, 6. *mors*, 7. *resurrectio*, 8. *gloria*, 9. *regnum*. They are arranged as follows:

	1	
6	2	7
	3	8
	4	9
	5	

⁵⁵ The number of particles is regulated according to the rank of the feast day; on ordinary days there were only five particles; on the feast of the Saints, 7-11; on Sundays and feasts of Our Lord, 9-13; on

variations of the Church year.⁵⁶ In the Mozarabic liturgy the commingling is separated from the fraction by the *Pater noster*; here the former is accompanied by a short variable chant.⁵⁷ The thought of the Passion remained conjoined to the fraction even in the explanations of later commentators.⁵⁸

Of the rites here described which developed in the various liturgies between canon and Communion, only the fraction and commingling gained any special importance in the Roman Mass.

4. The Fraction

In the Roman Mass since Gregory the Great, as in the Byzantine Mass, the fraction does not take place till after the *Pater noster* and its embolism have been recited.¹ Years ago on great feast days, when all the people partook of Holy Communion, it must have been a very important activity, which was then carefully regulated, and which led, towards the end of the seventh century, to the introduction of a special chant, the *Agnus Dei*.

The older Roman *ordines* have carefully outlined the proceedings. After the *Pax Domini* was said and the kiss of peace given, the pope took the two Host-breads, now consecrated, which he had himself presented, and after breaking off a small piece, which remained at the altar,² laid the two breads on the large paten held out for him by the deacon; then he made his way to his *cathedra*, the deacon following with the paten. Now acolytes stepped up to the altar, taking their stations at both sides of it. They had scarfs over their shoulders, for they were about to bear a

the solemn feast of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost there are 65. Appendix in the Stowe Missal written in Celtic in the 9th century, ed. Warner (HBS, 32), 41; cf. the kindred provisions regarding the number and arrangement of the hosts at the Offertory, *supra*, 51 f. From this we understand the warning the bishop gives the newly ordained after their ordination that they should learn *totius missæ atque hostiæ consecrationem ac fractionem et communionem* from well-instructed priests. This admonition came into the Roman Ordination rite through the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, III, 372f.) and thus clearly originated from the Gallican tradition.

⁵⁶ This hymn is verified through the *Expositio* of the Gallican Mass (ed. Quasten, 21): *Sacerdote autem frangente supplex clerus psallit antiphonam, quia «Christo» patiente dolorem mortis omnia terræ testata sunt elementa*. In the Mozarabic Mass

the Credo took the place of the fraction chant (PL, 85, 557 f.).

⁵⁷ *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 119; 560 f.).

⁵⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 309, note 33.

¹ The pre-Gregorian, or rather the Gallic arrangement, is still in the 9th century basically the one found in the Stowe Missal, where the breaking follows immediately upon the concluding doxology; Warner (HBS, 32), 17. The same obtains in the Milanese Sacramentary of Biasca; Botte, 46 Apparatus. To some extent the supposition of Botte, “L’Ange du sacrifice” (*Cours et Conférences*, VII), 218 f., is rather arbitrary; he argues that the breaking formerly followed upon the first half of the *Supplices* and the continuation of the prayer with *ut quotquot* was the conclusion of the prayer for the breaking of the bread.

² Until the end of the Mass (Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 35; PL, 105, 1155 A). A

precious burden.³ They all carried linen bags⁴ which, with the subdeacons' help, they held open and ready, and in which the archdeacon placed the breads which lay on the altar. Then they divided to right and left among the bishops and priests who, at a sign from the pope, began the fraction. At the same time, deacons also began the fraction over the pope's paten.⁵ This paten was very large; for that reason the first *ordo* stated in one place that two subdeacons brought it over, and obviously it was also held by them during the fraction. In the larger Roman basilicas there was no dearth of such large patens made of gold and silver.⁶ One is inclined to wonder why patens were not used in place of the linen bags. As a matter of fact, in the Mass *ordines* of the later Carolingian-Ottonian period,

gloss in the older recension of *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 19 (Andrieu, II, 101; PL, 78, 946 B) offers a not very enlightening reason for the rite; *ut, dum missarum sollemnia peraguntur, altare sine sacrificio non sit*. Cf. B. Capelle, "Le Rite de la fraction dans la messe romaine" (*Revue Bénéd.*, 1941, 5-40), 15 f., who supposes that this refers to the *fermentum* (see *infra*) that the pope lays aside. However, the circumstance that there is mention here of only one particle argues against this supposition. Cf. also Batiffol, *Leçons*, 92.

³ Similarly somewhat later other acolytes appear, carrying larger beaker-shaped supplementary vessels for the chalice Communion (*scyphi*); *Ordo* of S. Amand (Andrieu, II, 164). In this *Ordo* the large paten of the pope is carried by the first acolyte (not as in the *Ordo Rom.*, I, by two subdeacons) and held during the breaking of the host. This acolyte wears a silk scarf adorned with a cross; cf. Batiffol, 88.

⁴ These appear as the insignia of their office at the consecration of the acolytes, *Ordo Rom.*, VIII, n. 1 (PL, 78, 1000 f.).

⁵ Such is the picture the main sources present *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 19 (Andrieu, II, 98-100; PL, 78, 945 f.); *Capitulum eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 105 f.); *Ordo* of S. Amand (*ibid.*, II, 164 f.). According to these latter, along with the bishops and presbyters, when necessary, subdeacons also could help along in the breaking. According to a later Frankish appendix in the *Ordo Rom.*, I, (PL, 78, 959 f., n. 50; Andrieu, II, 132, n. 4) the pope also could take part in the fraction; that occurred

on the altar with the use of the paten, and then some of the presbyters and deacons likewise would help along at the altar.

⁶ These are among the articles the donation of which has been continuously recorded in the *Liber Pontif.*, beginning with Pope Sylvester I and Emperor Constantine; see the enumeration in Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 216. The Lateran Basilica was most richly furnished by Constantine; it received seven golden and 30 silver patens, each of which weighed 30 (Roman) lbs. = 9.82 kg. = about 21½ lbs. avoirdupois. Other patens donated weighed between 10 and 35 (Roman) lbs.; thus they corresponded to our large monstrances. In some cases the rim was set with precious stones. A silver vessel from Tomi (6th century) is preserved that measures 60 cm. in diameter, a vessel whose inscription and figurative ornamentation prove it to be liturgical. In other similar cases we are dealing rather with profane objects; Braun, 216-218. The older patens according to the meaning of the word, were more in the form of a deep dish or pan (*patena* = *πάτηνη*). Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, c. 85 (PL, 71, 781), tells us of a count, who, having foot trouble had a paten brought to him from the church that he might bathe his feet therein, because he hoped that thus they would be cured. This dish-form of the paten was closely connected with its purpose, a purpose different from that of the paten today and corresponding rather to our present ciborium. In humbler circumstances a smaller paten suffices; thus Gregory the Great *Ep.*, VIII, 4 (PL, 77, 909), required for a church of a nuns' convent in Lucca

patens⁷ or (at least optionally) chalices⁸ were used in their stead. But then, all of a sudden, the paten loses its function. The introduction of unleavened bread was followed, perhaps not everywhere at once,⁹ but certainly not too much later, by the introduction of the small hosts, which changed the whole rite of the fraction as performed up till then, and so likewise rendered the use of the paten superfluous. In the Romano-German Pontifical which originated at Mainz about 950 there is a plan for the bishop's Mass which gives us a glimpse of the new procedure.¹⁰ The subdeacons took their usual place right after the concluding doxology of the canon, and the deacons right after the *Pater noster*, since their function at the fraction dropped out. The archdeacon took the paten as he had always done, but simply handed it to the bishop (*patenam illi accommodans*) after the *propitius pacem*, and nothing special was done with it as far as we can see, but the Gallic episcopal blessing and the kiss of peace followed at once. However, the paten reappeared again at the Communion, along with the chalice held by an acolyte. From the paten the bishop, as the first to receive, took his Communion; the particles had therefore been deposited on it.¹¹ But a hundred years later, in the Mass *ordo* of John of Avranches (d. 1079), this last use has also disappeared. The paten now is used only as a resting-place for the large

a paten of two pounds and a chalice of one-half pound. Individual patens with diameters as high as 31 cm. are still preserved even from the time since the 11th century; Braun, 219 f.—Since the breaking of the particles still plays an important role even today in the Byzantine Liturgy, the disks used for the purpose (which corresponds to our paten) is considerably larger, with a diameter almost as high as 40 cm. (222). ⁷ *Ordo Rom.*, V, n. 10 (PL, 78, 988); after the embolism the bishop takes the paten (that up to this point was carried by the acolytes) from the deacon, kisses it and breaks upon it the Body of Our Lord (*dividat inter eas sacrosanctum corpus consecratum*). After the kiss of peace, the archdeacon hands it to the acolytes (*iubeatque unam ante presbyteros et aliam diaconibus coram tenere ut frangat [read frangant] scilicet oblatas superimpositas*). It appears, therefore, that there is question here of two patens. The one is used thereupon for the Communion of the bishop and the clergy and the other is intended for the Communion of the people. Still provision is made that the particles lying upon them might be distributed upon two or four patens depending upon the number of

priests distributing Communion; n. 11 (*ibid.*, 990).

⁸ *Ordo Rom.*, II, n. 11 (PL, 78, 974): *Subdiaconi autem, postquam . . . audierint: Sed libera nos a malo, vadunt et præparant calices sive sindones mundas, in quibus recipiant corpus Domini . . . donec ex eo populus vitæ sumat confortationem æternæ*. Also in the later section of the *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 48 (PL, 78, 959) it is appointed, that the acolytes who put themselves at the service of the presbyters for the breaking of the hosts, should hold three chalices, while the deacons proceed with the breaking over the paten (The interpretation which Mabillon, *loc. cit.*, gives this passage is hardly tenable).

⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 36.

¹⁰ *Ordo Rom.*, VI, n. 11 f. (PL, 78, 993 f.).

¹¹ On the other hand, witnesses are not wanting at this time to testify to the breaking of the bread for the Communion of the people. At all events there is still talk of *fractio oblatarum* in the *Eclogæ* (PL, 105, 1528), as well as in its Amalar model (ed. Hanssens, *Eph. liturg.*, 1927, 162); likewise in the *Expositio "Missa pro Multis,"* c. 19 (ed. Hanssens, *Eph. liturg.*,

Host during its fraction, and then till the Communion.¹² Its use no longer extends beyond the altar. And all this agrees with the fact that precisely in the eleventh century the paten shrinks in size. It now becomes a rule that its diameter should be about the same as the height of the chalice (at first very low),¹³ and soon, in fact, that it should not even reach that dimension.

Subsequently the paten gained further use when the custom grew of putting the host on it even at the offertory (as we have seen), and thus making the offering,¹⁴ and this, in turn, especially at private Mass, led to the practice of bringing chalice and paten together to the altar, and further, to fitting the paten to the cup of the chalice, so that it could lie smoothly on the chalice, a rule which was already in effect in the tenth century.¹⁵

So if the newer form of paten has little in common with the vessel of the same name in the first ten centuries, still reminiscences of the ritual handling of the latter have been transferred to it. At a high Mass it does not remain lying on the altar after the offertory,¹⁶ even though this con-

1930, 42). In the last named, c. 17 is headed: *De subdiacono deferente corpus Christi primum ad frangendum, postea ad communicandum* (40). Cf. further also reports of the 11th and 12th centuries about *integre oblatæ* that first had to be broken (*supra*, p. 36, n. 32). At Cluny in 1085 Udalricus in discussing the conventual Communion, still speaks of the *patena super quam Corpus Domini fractum fuerit*, that had to be examined carefully for the left-over particles. About the same time Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 20 (PL, 151, 990 B), also intimates a breaking that follows upon the commingling.

¹² John of Avranches, *De eccl. off.* (PL, 147, 36 f.).—On the other hand, the paten still retains its function at the distribution of Communion about 1140 in the *Ordo eccl. Lateranensis* (Fischer, 86, 1. 13).—Since the small hosts, when on days of Communion they are required in a great amount, could not well remain free and loose upon the altar during the canon, as formerly the communion breads, a vessel came into existence in which they could be held, distributed, and also preserved, the *pyxis* or ciborium in different shapes; cf. Braun, 280-347. True, the *pyxis* or *capsa* as a vessel for the preservation of the Sacrament existed before this (282 ff.), but it is not until the 12th century that frequent mention was made of it and nu-

merous examples preserved. Its use now also for the distribution of Communion most likely led since the 13th century to the practice of supplying the *pyxis* with a permanent base which makes it similar to the chalice (304 ff.). The oldest form (examples from the 12th century) seems to be that which had the cuppa in the shape of a wide shell and thus is in some manner still reminiscent of the older paten. Unfortunately the connection with this transition in the liturgy is not developed by Braun.

¹³ As a rule the diameter is now less than 20 cm. In the 10th and 12th centuries as a requisite for traveling paraphernalia besides small chalices there were also small patens of 5 to 8 cm. diameter in use (Braun, 220).

¹⁴ *Supra*.—Related to this is the practice attested in *Ordo Rom.*, VI, n. 9 (PL, 78, 992) of using the paten (not yet reduced in size) to receive the gifts of the faithful at the offertory.

¹⁵ Braun, 211.

¹⁶ According to the rite of Vienne it was laid upon the altar at the *Sanctus* and removed again by the subdeacon at the *Pater noster*; Martène, I, 4, 7. 8 (I, 397 E). So also in several other churches; Lebrun, I, 490. But this remained as an exception.

tracted paten would not be in the way on the altar, which meanwhile had been enlarged; but instead, the subdeacon takes it and holds it, covering it with the ends of the humeral veil, until he returns it to the altar near the end of the *Pater noster*. This is a survival of the function of the acolyte¹⁷ of the seventh-century papal liturgy, who appeared at the beginning of the preface,¹⁸ carrying the paten which he had brought from the *secretarium*,¹⁹ and which he held to his breast under the folds of a cloth thrown over his shoulders, until *medio canone* he turned it over to others; then near the end of the embolism it was carried over to be used at the fraction. It would not be necessary to presume that the undoubtedly remarkable reverence in handling the paten which the earliest *ordines* prescribe was due to some more profound reason, as though a particle of the Eucharist which, as the *sancta*, was displayed at the entrance procession, was still lying on it.²⁰ Both the fact that the paten is brought in at the start of the Sacrifice-Mass and that it is carried with covered hands correspond wholly with the usual manner of handling holy objects.²¹

The reverent attentions towards the paten were not only retained even after the disappearance of its prime use at the fraction, they were even increased. The kiss which had long been given it by the deacon²² was

¹⁷ An acolyte retained this office also in most Mass arrangements of the Middle Ages. In some cathedrals a *puer* assumes the office, and he then carries a special *capa*; Sölch, *Hugo*, 111 f. Only since the 11th and 12th centuries does the subdeacon appear more and more in his place. The oldest evidence for this in Ebner, 313; 328; cf. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 230.

¹⁸ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 17 (PL, 78, 945): *quando inchoat canonem*, does not signify the *Te igitur* as Sölch, 110, assumes and as the rubricians of the Middle Ages explained it (*ibid.*, 109 f.); cf. *supra*, I, 97.

¹⁹ Amalar, *De off. eccl.*, III, 27 (PL, 105, 1146 D): *de exedris*.

²⁰ Cf. *supra*, I, 70.—Batiffol, *Leçons*, 88; 90 f., has marshalled the points that favor the opinion mentioned. The same supposition is found in Eisenhofer, II, 142; 199 and Sölch, 113. However, this argument is invalidated by what is said in *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 8, where at the beginning of the Mass the *Sancta* are brought in a *capsa* that can be closed (*capsas apertas*) and that they are clearly laid in this *capsa* for the sole purpose of the Mass celebration since only so many of the particles of the Sacred

Species are to be provided, that only in the case of necessity (*si fuerit abundans*) will some have to be sent back into the *conditorium*. There is, therefore, no apparent reason for taking the *sancta* out of the *capsa* and carrying them open on the paten. Cf. also Capella, "Le rite de la fraction" (*Revue Bénéd.* 1941), 14. Besides it is questionable whether there was any use for it during the Mass; see *ibid.*, 16 ff.

²¹ The Book of the Gospels is also thus provided in *Ordo Rom.*, I, long before it is required, namely at the very entry, and is likewise held not with the bare hands, but *super planetas* (n. 5), and besides, it is kissed by the pope (n. 8) just as the paten is kissed by the archdeacon (n. 18), a fact that argues all the more for our opinion, since it is empty. The prepared chalice, too, is taken hold of at the end of the preparation of the offertory gifts only by means of the *offertorium* (n. 15); cf. also above. Even today the episcopal mitre is carried only by means of the velum during divine service; this is, moreover, merely a survival of the manner of carrying that one meets at every step in Christian archaeology.

²² *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 18 (PL, 78, 945).

sometimes offered also by others,²⁸ above all by the celebrant himself.²⁴ Since the twelfth century there was added a sign of the Cross made over himself by the celebrant with the paten, sometimes after the kiss,²⁵ more usually before it,²⁶ as is customary at present.²⁷

In the later Middle Ages the ceremony of blessing which thus originated was elaborated even further and sometimes brought to the very verge of superstition. Instead of one cross there were several.²⁸ Or the mouth and eyes were touched with the paten;²⁹ or first the Host was touched with the paten,³⁰ or else the Host was touched once, the chalice three times.³¹ All these excrescences were set aside by the Missal of Pius V.

According to the present Mass book, the paten is kissed right after it is used to make the sign of the Cross, and while the final words of the embolism are still being recited the celebrant genuflects, takes up the Sacred Host and begins the fraction. But this no longer takes place over

²⁸ *Ordo Rom.*, V, n. 10 (*supra*, n. 7): the patens are kissed by the deacon and sub-deacon, and finally by the bishop celebrant.

²⁴ Also in the Mass without Levites. Thus for the first time Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 17 (PL, 151, 988). For pontifical Mass, see *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 85).

²⁵ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 1 (PL, 217, 906). This series and others also in the Sarum Missal of the 14th and 15th centuries; Legg, *Tracts*, 264.—Sometimes the sign of the cross took the place of the kiss; *Ordinarium* of Laon (about 1300): Martène, I, 4, XX (I, 608 E).

²⁶ Hugo of St. Cher. *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 46). Durandus, IV, 50, 4, recognizes both methods.—Still numerous missals even of later times make mention only of the kissing of the paten without the sign of the cross; see examples in Sölch, *Hugo*, 114. The quondam Cistercian rite had neither the kissing of the paten nor the sign of the cross; *ibid.*

²⁷ Still our large sign of the cross, which was hardly known at the time, is not to be presupposed in the 13th century. Where the rubrics give more specific directions it is stated that the priest crosses himself with the paten *in facie sua*, or *ante faciem suam* or *in fronte*—most likely much as we do at present with the host just before Communion. See detailed data in Sölch, 114-117; Lentze (*Anal. Præm.*, 1950), 129.

²⁸ Mass order of York about 1145 (Simmons, 112): the priest makes the sign of

the cross with the paten *in facie*, then *in pectore*, and next the usual large sign of the cross of today.

²⁹ Thus in a missal of Soissons (14th cent.): Leroquais, II, 335. According to the Sarum Missal of the end of the Middle Ages the priest kisses the paten, places it upon his left eye and then on his right, and thereafter makes with it the sign of the cross; Legg, *Tracts*, 264; Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 669 C); cf. Maskell, 156-158. Louis Ciconiolanus in his *Directorium div. Officiorum* which appeared in Rome in 1539 still opposes the custom of touching the right and the left eye at the mention of the names of Peter and Paul: Legg, 211. The same custom was spread in Germany; see Franz, *Die Messe*, 111.

³⁰ The Mass Ordo of the Carthusians; Legg, *Tracts*, 102. Examples of 14th and 15th centuries from France, Leroquais, II, 233; III, 25, 113, 166. Two Mass orders of the 15th and 16th centuries from Orleans in de Moléon, 198; 200. According to the older statutes of the Carthusians, I, 43: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 634 B), the priest first makes the sign of the cross with the paten, then touches the host with the paten at *da propitius* and kisses it at the word *pacem*. Cf. *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 10; Missale of Evreux-Jumièges (14-15th cent.): Martène, XXVIII (I, 644 f.).

³¹ At the name of the three apostles the priest was supposed to touch the base, the middle, and the rim of the chalice, where-

the paten,³² but over the chalice, so that no tiny particle might be lost.³³

Thus, according to the present arrangement, the fraction is anticipated, taking place not after, but before the *Pax Domini*. We will come back to this later.³⁴ The use of the paten during the fraction, which is stressed even at present in the *Pontificale*,³⁵ is now only suggested by the fact that the Host rests on the paten before the fraction, and the separated portions are deposited on it afterwards.³⁶

At present the Sacred Host is broken into three parts.³⁷ Here, too, we

upon the sign of the cross and the kiss followed; *Ordinarium* of Coutances, 1557; Legg, *Tracts*, 65. So also the *Alphabetum Sacerdotum*: *ibid.*, 47; Missale of S. Pol de Léon: Martène, I, 4, XXXIV (I, 663 f.); cf. the Lyons monastic missal of 1531: *ibid.*, XXXIII (I, 660 E). A very similar ceremony of touching the chalice already at the offertory in a Pontifical of Noyon (15th cent.); Leroquais, *Les pontificaux*, I, 170.—The earliest evidence of this touching of host and chalice at the embolism I have found in a Hungarian missal of the 13th century: Radó, 62.

³² This was still the case in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 17 (PL, 151, 988 C), and even in the Pressburg Missal D of the 15th century (Jávör, 118).

³³ The transition is evident in Robert Paululus (d. circa 1148), *De Cæremoniis*, II, 39 (PL, 177, 436): *Patenam . . . de manu diaconi suscipit et in altari, ut fractionem super eam faciat, deponit. Nos tamen hanc fractionem ad cautelam facimus super calicem*. The breaking over the chalice already found in the Cod. Casanat. (11-12th cent.): Ebner, 330. The later Middle Ages saw in this breaking over the chalice a symbolical representation of the fact that the Sacred Blood flowed out of the wounds in the Body of Christ; Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect. 80. On the other hand, the Sacramentary of the Papal Court Chapel (about 1290) which rests on the Ordinary of Innocent III (ed. Brinktrine: *Eph. liturg.*, 1937, 206) still has the fraction over the paten. A reminder of it also in Durandus, IV, 51, 3.—Description of the rite, as carried out by Boniface VIII, from a manuscript of Avignon, in Andrieu, *Le pontifical Romain*, III, 43.

³⁴ Moreover, different accounts indicate that the old liturgy of the city of Rome,

especially outside of the papal stational service, recognized a fraction that preceded the Kiss of Peace and the *Pax Domini*. In the older Gelasianum I, 40 (Wilson, 70-72) it is recorded of the *missa chris-malis* of Maundy Thursday, at which most likely no large crowd of people received Communion: *Ipsa expleta* [i.e., after the embolism] *confrangis*, whereupon follows the second blessing of the oil; then *ponis in ore calicis de ipsa hostia*, whereupon the observation that the *Pax Domini* falls out.—An interpolated passage in Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33 additio (PL, 107, 325) acknowledges that the *Itali* already place a particle *de sancto pane* (therefore a particle separated from their own oblation) in the chalice. It is easily possible that in these cases the rite of commingling a particle separated from the host offered at the celebration represents a later substitute patterned on the rite of commingling the *fermentum* at a non-papal service (see *infra*); cf. Capelle, "Le rite del la fraction" (*Revue Bénédict.*, 1941), 22 ff., 28.

³⁵ *Pontificale Rom.*, p. 11, De patenæ et calicis consecratione . . . *sanctificet hanc patenam ad confringendum in ea corpus D. n. J. C.*

³⁶ The latter is not the case, e.g., in the Dominican rite; rather, the priest after kissing the paten lays it to one side, *seorsum a corporali*, because no longer needed. He retains the pieces of the host in his left hand until the *sumptio*; *Missale O.P.* (1889), 21 f. Thus also already about the middle of the 13th century, Sölch, *Hugo*, 122. The same rite in Sarum: Legg, *Tracts*, 226; 265. Similarly in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège where, however at the *sumptio* the priest again takes the paten, *tenens sub mento*; Volk, 96, 1. 21.

³⁷ The breaking into three parts, already

have a survival of ancient memories. According to the Roman *ordines*, the pope, after the kiss of peace, broke off a part of his own host-bread *ex latere dextro*, and this was left on the altar.³⁸ Then, at his Communion, he again separated a small piece from the Host, and put it in the chalice with the words *Fiat commixtio et consecratio* . . .³⁹ Although the fraction for practical purposes, namely for apportioning in the Communion of the people, which before was so prominent, had since disappeared, still fractions occasioned by symbolic considerations continued on. This is abundantly clear in regard to the second fraction by the very formula already cited, a formula for the commingling. But it holds even more immediately true of the first fraction. Even several hundred years later the priest was still ordered to break the host *ex dextro latere*;⁴⁰ the particle thus removed was then used for the commingling.⁴¹ A second particle was broken off for his own Communion. The third portion remained, as of old, on the altar, but it was now preserved as *viaticum morientium*,⁴² or it was also used for the communicants.⁴³ These three parts were already stipulated by Amalar, and even for him they have their symbolic meaning; the particle mixed with the Sacred Blood refers to the Body of Christ at the Resurrection; the particle for the celebrant's own Communion refers to the Body of Christ on earth, the earthly Church; the particle intended for

mentioned by Amalar (*vide infra*) was and is not universally done in the same manner. For instance, according to Ernulf of Rochester (d. 1124), *Epistola ad Lambertum* (d'Archery, *Spicilegium*, III, 472), the host in many a church was broken into three equal parts: *trium aequalitate partium*. Elsewhere, as it still happens to this day in the Dominican and Carmelite rites, the breaking is first made into two halves. These he then lays diagonally over each other and breaks off a projecting piece from the halves, which piece he then drops into the chalice for the commingling. Sölch, 120-123; *Missale O.P.* (1889), 21; *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), 315.

³⁸ Above, p. 303.

³⁹ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 19 (PL, 78, 946 C).

⁴⁰ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 17 (PL, 151, 988 C). Also in the Mass order of Cod. Casanat. of the 11-12th century (Ebner, 330).

⁴¹ Bernold, *loc. cit.*

⁴² Bernold, *loc. cit.* St. Thomas, *Summa Th.*, III, 83, 5 ad 8, in explaining the symbolism of the three portions of the broken host quotes the verses: *Hostia dividitur in partes: tincta beatos—Plene, sicca notat vivos, servata sepultos*: "the third part, which is reserved, denotes the

dead." H. Leclercq mentions a missal of Rouen as late as 1516 that still prescribed the reservation of a third of the host for the sick (*CE*, s. v. "host," VII, 492 A).⁴³ A practical use of it seems to have been made at least by the 11th century monks of Cluny, among whom Communion was not yet so rare, inasmuch as the third particle was given to the brother who served at the private Mass of the monks. Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 72 (Herrgott, 265): *socium tertia [particula] . . . communicat*. Bernold, *loc. cit.*, also has this practice clearly in view: *tertiam autem communicaturis sive infirmis necessario dimittit*, still he alleges as a symbolical signification of this particle: *tertiam [corpus] quod iam requiescit in Christo*; hence the particle is called *viaticum morientium*.—According to John of Avranches (d. 1079), *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 36 f.), who also explains this third particle as *viaticum*, the second particle can be used for the Communion of the deacon and subdeacon as well as of the people. Cf. the apportionment of the second particle in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 85 f.). Bishop Ernulf of Rochester (d. 1124), *Ep. ad Lambertum* (d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, III, 472) allots the three particles at High Mass, where

the sick refers to Christ's Body in the grave.⁴⁴ This reference to the *corpus Christi triforme* often recurs in the following centuries,⁴⁵ although it is not the only explanation given.⁴⁶ But then it is readjusted so that the three parts refer to three phases of the Church as militant, suffering, and triumphant;⁴⁷ this combination became a constituent element of the Mass commentaries of the later Middle Ages and found its way into popular sermons.⁴⁸ The crystallization caused by these symbolic considerations must then have been the reason that this tri-partition of the Host continued even after it had become the practice for the priest to use small Hosts for the distribution of Communion, in particular for the sick, when, therefore, a division into two would have sufficed both to preserve the rite which inhered in the fraction itself and to obtain a particle for the *mixtio*.

5. The Commingling

In the present-day Roman liturgy the fraction is followed at once by the commingling: the separated particle is dropped into the chalice with an accompanying prayer that had been used in a similar way already in the papal Mass of the eighth century. Thus in the present-day ceremony of the commingling there is a survival of that ceremony in which the celebrating pope, just before his Communion, broke off a particle from his own Host and dropped it into the chalice.¹

But the Roman liturgy of that time also had a further twofold commingling of the species, which did not, however, form a part of every Mass. The first of these is surrounded by the deepest obscurity. It is mentioned only in the later version of the first Roman *ordo*, which contains the following direction even before the start of the fraction: *cum dixerit*:

hardly anybody receives Communion, simply to the priest, the deacon and the subdeacon in such a manner that the piece in the chalice falls to the priest. The same distribution in Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 63 (PL, 172, 563 D); cf. however, c. 64.—But this last method is expressly rejected by John of Avranches (*loc. cit.*): *Non autem intincto pane, sed . . . seorsum corpore, seorsum sanguine sacerdos communicet*; only the people are permitted to communicate *intincto pane*.² Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 35 (PL, 105, 1154 f.). For more detailed explanation see Franz, *Die Messe*, 357, n. 1, and especially de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum*, 295-339, where the dogmatic-historical background as well as the interpretation of Amalar and the gradual change of interpretation are elucidated.

⁴⁴ Franz, *Die Messe*, 436; 458; cf. F. Holböck, *Der eucharistische und der mystische Leib Christi in ihren Beziehungen zueinander nach der Lehre der Frühscholastik* (Rome, 1941), 196-199; Haberstroh, 77-82; de Lubac, 333 ff.

⁴⁵ Franz, 389 f.; 417; 435 f.; 463, n. 6. Durandus, IV, 51, 20-22.

⁴⁶ Among the first to hold this interpretation is a work formerly attributed to Hugh of St. Victor, *Speculum de mysteriis*, c. 7 (PL, 177, 373 B); Franz, 437. Further details in de Lubac, 325 ff., 330 ff., 345 ff.

⁴⁷ Franz, 435 f.; 464, n. 1; 669; 692 f.; 697; cf. 654.

⁴⁸ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 19 (Andrieu, II, 101; PL, 78, 946): *de ipsa sancta, quam [older recension de qua] momorderat, ponit in calicem*.

*Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, mittat in calicem de sancta.*² This *sancta* is commonly taken to mean a eucharistic particle from a previous Mass, the same that we noticed in the beginning of Mass at the entrance of the pope.³ In this way the continuous unity of the eucharistic sacrifice was expressed—the same Mass yesterday and today.⁴ But the absence of a rite of this sort in the pertinent parallel documents compels us to suppose rather that the usage was merely a transient or tentative copy of another commingling which took place at the *Pax Domini*, probably with a particle from the oblation itself.⁵

This second commingling was not proper to the papal or episcopal Mass, but to the Mass of the priests in the outlying churches. By an acolyte, the bishop sent the priests of the vicinity a particle of the Eucharist as an expression of ecclesiastical unity, as a token that they belonged to his *communio*. This particle was called the *fermentum*.⁶ The priests dropped it into the chalice at this part of the Mass.⁷ The practice is ancient indeed.⁸ It answered to that awareness, so keen in the ancient Church, that the Eucharist was the *sacramentum unitatis*, that this Sacrament held the Church together, and that all the people of God subject to a bishop should,

² *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 18 (Andrieu, II, 98; PL, 78, 945).

³ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 8 (PL, 78, 941); cf. *supra*, I, 70.—This interpretation, which was already defended by Mabillon in his *Commentary*, VI, I (PL, 78, 869 f.) is adopted today by most commentators. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 163, 185; Batiffol, *Leçons*, 76 f.; 90 f.

⁴ This idea is at all events the basis for a Nestorian custom; to the dough that has been prepared for any Mass according to a definite rite a portion is always added from the dough that had been prepared for a previous celebration, so that, in a sense, the same mass of dough is propagated from one Mass to the next. Along with this goes the legend that St. John retained a small piece of the Sacred Bread at the Last Supper and mingled it in the first batch of dough prepared for the Eucharistic celebration of the apostles. Hanssens, II, 169-174; W. de Vries, *Sakramenten-theologie bei den Nestorianern* (Orientalia christ. anal., 133; Rome, 1947), 194-197.

⁵ Capella, "Le rite de la fraction" (*Revue Bénéd.*, 1941), 14-22. Capella assumes that there is question of a mere interpolation (22), to which, consequently, no real rite ever corresponded. Cf., however, *supra*, n. 34.

⁶ The name is generally derived from the fact that the communal Eucharist permeates and unites the Church even as leaven permeates the mass of dough (Mt. 13: 33). More probable is the notion that the episcopal particle would be mingled with the Sacramental Species of one's own Mass as the yeast is added to the dough; thus also Batiffol, *Leçons*, 34.

⁷ A later continuation of the *Ordo Rom.*, I, (Andrieu, II, 115; PL, 78, 948 f.) directs, in case a bishop—or (as finally indicated) a priest—takes the place of the pope: *Quando dici debet: Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, deportatur a subdiacono oblationario particula fermenti quod ab Apostolico consecratum est . . . ille consignando tribus vicibus et dicendo: Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, mittit in calicem.*

⁸ Irenæus (in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 24) tells about the bishops of the Quartodeciman Easter Practice, to whom the pope nevertheless had sent the Eucharist as a sign of ecclesiastical unity; cf. F. J. Dölger, *Ichthyus*, II (Münster, 1922), 535, n. 3. This could have happened during the stay of the bishops in Rome. However, a transporting to a great distance is assumed by Th. Schormann, *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung*, II (Paderborn, 1915), 419.—To send the Eucharist abroad

if it were possible, be gathered around that bishop's altar and receive the Sacrament from his table of sacrifice.⁹

In the ninth century, both forms of this commingling must have disappeared from the solemn service even in Rome itself. First of all, the commixture of the *sancta* at the *Pax Domini* vanished. The *Ordo* of St. Amand (not purely a Roman document, it is true, but probably reflecting Roman conditions) makes mention only of the use at a papal Mass of a particle from the pope's own Mass, which is dropped into the chalice just before Communion with the words, *Fiat*, etc.¹⁰ On the other hand, the *fermentum* seems to have been still in use, as the same *ordo* indicates.¹¹ But since it did not come into consideration at a papal Mass, another *ordo* of about the same period adds the note: *Dum vero dominus Papa dicit: Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, non mittit partem de sancta in calicem sicut ceteris sacerdotibus mos est.*¹² In the Frankish kingdom the only conclusion that could be drawn from this Roman rubric was that the *ceteri sacerdotes* put a particle into the chalice at the *Pax Domini*. And since

was forbidden at the Council of Laodicea (middle of the 4th cent.), can. 14 (Mansi, II, 566); transporting, therefore, was in practice here, too.—In Rome also, at least later, a similar law was enacted. To the Bishop of Gubbio Pope Innocent I (d. 417), *Ep.*, 25, 5 (PL, 20, 556 f.), gave this answer to his query *de fermento quod die dominica per titulos mittimus*: Since the priests must remain with their congregations, especially on Sunday, they receive the *fermentum* through the acolyte, *ut se a nostra communione, maxime illa die, non iudicent separatos*. However, this should not be done outside the city; in Rome it was not even customary to send the *fermentum* to churches attached to the cemeteries (*quia presbyteri eorum conficiendorum ius habeant atque licentiam*, which most likely means, even without the *fermentum* they are authorized to hold regular divine service; cf. de Puniet, *The Roman Pontifical* (London-New York, 1932), 225 f.—In the 6th century the *Liber Pontificalis* offers two striking notices of the custom, among them a stipulation, apparently by Siricius (d. 339), that no priest is allowed to celebrate Mass week after week if he has not received the *fermentum* from his bishop. *Liber Pontif.*, ed. Duchesne, I, 216; cf. 168, and the remarks of the editor. In later times the sending of the *fermentum* seems to have been restricted to certain solemn feasts; cf. Ma-

billon, *In ord. Rom. comment.*, VI, 2 (PL, 78, 870 f.). An offshoot of the practice under discussion is found in a custom often referred to in the later Middle Ages to the effect that the bishop at ordination (and similarly at the consecration of a bishop) would after Communion hand over to the newly ordained (consecrated) a number of Sacred Particles from which he might communicate further for eight, or according to another rule, for forty days. Cf. among others Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1029), *Ep.*, 3 (PL, 141, 192-195). For further details J. A. Jungmann, "Fermentum," *Colligere Fragmenta* (Festschrift Alban Dold; Beuron, 1952), 185-190.

⁹ Cf. *supra*, I, 195 f.

¹⁰ Andrieu, II, 169. This work was compiled by a Frankish cleric in the last decade of the 8th century, using Roman materials, particularly *Ordo Rom.*, I.

¹¹ Andrieu, II, 151, regarding Holy Saturday; cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 471.

¹² *Ordo* "Qualiter quædam" (Andrieu, II, 304; PL, 78, 984): *Dum vero dominus Papa dicit: Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, non mittit partem de sancta in calicem sicut ceteris sacerdotibus mos est.* This is a Frankish compilation made at either Metz or Besançon between 750 and 900; obviously the editor had in view the version of *Ordo Rom.*, I, represented in

the custom of the *fermentum* was unknown,¹³ it was inferred that a fraction had to precede it, all the more because several references in Roman sources seemed to indicate¹⁴ that there was to be a double fraction and commingling, one at the *Pax Domini*, the other (as is clear from the first Roman *ordo*) just before Communion.¹⁵ Naturally, one or the other of these was soon dropped, although for a time there was some confusion and hesitancy as to which one should be retained.¹⁶ It was not long before the first of the two gained the upper hand.¹⁷ Symbolism was probably a determining factor in this decision, because thus the commingling which represented the Body of Christ returned to life preceded the peace greeting of the *Pax Domini*; for indeed our Lord first rose from the dead, and only then did He bring peace to heaven and earth.¹⁸

Probably in connection with such ideas (which we have likewise encountered in the Orient), the reference to our Lord's death on the Cross was emphasized by a single cross¹⁹ or later more often by a triple cross,²⁰

the St. Gall MS. 614 (Andrieu, II, 98; cf. 286 f.). The rubric fitted to suit Carolingian circumstances, and in part badly mutilated, recurs in a number of 11th century arrangements for pontifical Mass. It appears best preserved in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4 (I, 515 A): At first a double formula is specified for the commingling after the *Pax Domini*; *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio* and *Fiat commixtio et consecratio*. Then it reads: *Non mittat episcopus in calicem partem oblatæ, ut presbyteri solent, sed expectet donec finita benedictione episcopus communicare debeat et tunc accipiens partem, quam antea frangerat, tenensque super calicem immittat dicens: Sacri sanguinis commixtio . . .* Similarly in the Mass arrangement of Liège and Gregorienmünster; Martène, I, 4, XV f. (I, 592 f., 600); also in a Missale of the 13th century from St. Lambrecht (Köck, 23). Only the second half (*finita benedictione . . .*) is found in the Mass of Séz (PL, 78, 250), in a modified form and in a sense difficult to understand.—Cf. the study of this rubric by Capelle (*Revue Bénéd.*, 1941), 32-34.

¹³ This holds at least for the period under consideration. For an earlier period study canon 17 of the Synod of Orange (441); regarding the puzzling text, cf. Haberstroh, 28.

¹⁴ *Supra*, n. 34.

¹⁵ Actually the double commingling—and along with that evidently the double fractions—is retained in the *Ordo Rom.*, II,

n. 12 f. (PL, 78, 975), therefore in an *ordo* in which the rite of the Pope's Mass was adapted to the conditions of the late Carolingian episcopal churches.—However, the double commingling and fraction is already provided for in the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 105 f.).

¹⁶ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 31 (PL, 105, 1151 f.), bears witness to the fluctuation inasmuch as he is unable to explain the twofold commingling, of which he reads in the *libellus Romanus*; he is inclined to retain the first commingling. Also Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33 additio (PL, 107, 325), speaks of the variation in practice. The uncertainty seems to have resulted at times in the entire omission of any commingling; *Ordo Rom.*, IV, n. 12 (PL, 78, 994).

¹⁷ This one alone is found in Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908), *Expositio* (PL, 105, 1270B); cf. *idem.*, *In I Tim.*, c. 2 (PL, 117, 788 C). Likewise *Ordo Rom.*, III, n. 16 (PL, 78, 981 f.).

¹⁸ Amalar, *loc. cit.*—Likewise later Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 20 (PL, 151, 990 B).

¹⁹ Sacramentary of Cod. Pad. (Mohlberg-Baumstart, n. 893); *Ordo* of S. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 462). In Amalar, *loc. cit.*, this sign of the cross becomes a fourfold touching of the chalice rim, because in the cross the *hominum genus quattuor climatum* attained unity and peace. Likewise *Eclogæ* (PL, 105, 1329).

²⁰ The triple cross appears in isolated

formed with the particle over the chalice. Thus the "consignation" which we found in the oriental liturgies appears in its simplest form also in the Roman Mass before the commingling.

The commingling itself is regularly accompanied by the formula already quoted. It is surprising that this formula is not marked in the older sacramentaries; obviously this was because it was not designed to be said aloud but, like certain salutations and directives at the beginning of Mass, was said in a quiet speaking tone and came into use only secondarily. Like these greetings and directions therefore, it is to be found only in the *ordines*, where the old wording is as follows: *Fiat commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis D. n. J. C., accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam. Amen.*²¹ This version continued in use, unchanged, especially in Italian Mass books.²² In the preparation of the reform of the missal at the Council of Trent, theological doubts were loudly raised against this formula, for on the face of it, its meaning—leaving aside the word *consecratio* for a moment—clearly was: let there be a commixture of our Lord's Body and Blood, (let it bring) us recipients to life everlasting. Thus, the formula could be construed as though, in consequence of it, the Body and Blood of Christ would be united to each other only after the commingling, and not already at the consecration of the two species,²³ so that the Utraquists had grounds for arguing that Communion under one kind was insufficient.²⁴ So the change to the present reading was proposed:

manuscripts of the *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 18 f., and indeed, now at the first commingling, now at the second, in which it is accompanied with the *Fiat* formula (Hittorp, 14 a); so also the *Ordo Rom.*, II, n. 13 (PL, 78, 975). This sign of the cross must have come into use already in the 8th century, to judge from the evidence of three texts of the works of Johannes Archicantor (Silva-Tarouca, 199 a. 200 b with Apparatus; Datierung der Hss S. 179 f.). The manuscripts H (8th and 9th cent.) and V of the *Capitulare* have the sign of the cross preceding both of the two comminglings. Perhaps it is Roman, since it also appears in the Cod. Pad. (previous note)—Cf. also *Ordo Rom.*, IV (PL, 78, 984): *faciens crucem de ea tribus vicibus super calicem nihil dicens*, where the omission of the accompanying formula is one of the few exceptions. In the *Ordo S. Amand* (previous note) and in the *Ordo Rom.*, II, n. 13, the cross is made at the commingling in the second place before Communion.

²¹ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 19 (PL, 78, 946; Stap-

per, 28). Here, as well as in the *Ordo Rom.*, II, n. 13 (PL, 78, 975), follows a *Pax tecum* addressed to the archdeacon who holds the chalice, to which he answers in the usual way. The commingling formula is already missing in the St. Gall MS. 614 of *Ordo Rom.*, I Andrieu, II, 101 f.); see Capelle, "Le rite de la fraction" (*Revue Bénéd.*, 1941), 25.

²² See the texts printed by Ebner, 299 ff.; with a *In nomine P. et F. et Sp. S.* mentioned first; *ibid.*, 295. Also almost universally in Styrian Mass-books; Köck, 127 ff.

²³ The explanation in Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 31 (PL, 105, 1152 B) while not going quite so far, does actually follow this line: *Quæ verba precantur, ut fiat corpus Domini præsens oblatio per resurrectionem, per quam veneranda et æterna pax data est, non solum in terra sed etiam in cælo.*

²⁴ *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Görres, VIII, 917; Jedin. "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des Römischen Messbuches" (*Liturg. Leben*, 1939), 46; 58.

Hæc commixtio . . . fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam; here there is no longer any possible question of a commingling taking place beyond the visible performance; it is now merely the expression of a wish that this external ceremonial commingling may avail us for salvation. It has been established that this is the only change in the Tridentine Missal that was aimed at the Reformers.²⁶ The word *consecratio*, which stayed in the text in spite of the objections brought against it, and in spite of the fact that it was missing in some medieval texts here and there,²⁶ must be rendered by “hallowing” in the sense that through the commingling a sacred token or symbol is effected in the sacramental species and mediately in the Body and Blood of Christ.²⁷

The idea of the formula we have been considering, along with the rite itself, might possibly have come from the Syrian country where the symbolic fraction and commingling originated. For the Greek liturgy of St. James has the accompanying phrase: “Ἦνωται καὶ ἡγιάσται καὶ τετελείωται εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς . . .”²⁸ The act of commingling is here

²⁶ Jedin, 58. That the formula was already understood in this sense even in earlier times is shown by many variants, e.g., *Fiat hæc commixtio* (Ebner, 310, 341, 346; Köck, 6 f.); cf. the contaminations with the formula *Hæc sacrosancta* (*infra*); e.g., Ebner, 348.

²⁶ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 31 (PL, 105, 1152 B); Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33 additio (PL, 107, 325); John of Avranches, *De eccl. off.* (PL, 147, 36 D); Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 2 (PL, 216, 907); Styrian Mass-books, Köck, 127; 129.

²⁷ Cf. Gilhr, 745-746; Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 243 f. The latter refers to a general tendency in liturgies, to end a consecration or blessing with a commingling of some sort (salt, oil) where a liquid element is involved, or with an anointing if there is question of a solid substance. In the Holy Eucharist there is the further impetus given by the fact that the sacrament has a dual form. As a matter of fact, we can follow Brinktrine in speaking of a consecration rite, in which the word “consecration” is understood in a wider sense. Later, indeed, our formula *Fiat commixtio et consecratio* is joined in passing to the idea that even by commingling a consecrated particle with the mere wine, e.g., before Communion of the sick, the wine could be transubstantiated into the

Blood of Christ. M. Andrieu, *Immixtio et consecratio* (Paris, 1924). Cf. *ibid.*, 10 f. and 218, n. 2, the significance of *consecratio* in the legend of St. Lawrence in Ambrose, *De off.*, I, 41 (PL, 16, 90): *cui commisisti Domini sanguinis consecrationem*, where the word possibly means only the mingling of consecrated with unconsecrated wine. Haberstroh, 66-68, is inclined to assume a similar meaning for the *Fiat . . . consecratio* spoken by the pope in the *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 19. Since, according to the *Ordo* of S. Amand (Duchesne, 462) the particle placed by the pope in the chalice was transferred before Communion of the people to a vessel especially prepared for the purpose, already containing wine and some drops of the Precious Blood, clearly for the further sanctification of the wine, it may be said that the pope intended by this commingling to begin the sanctification of the wine for the Communion of the people. Similar explanation in de Puniet, *The Roman Pontifical*, 190.

²⁸ Brightman, 62; cf. a first formula *supra* p. 300, n. 38, and the Syrian references at the *Agnus Dei* that we shall take up later.—In Spain the *coniunctio panis et calicis* is already presupposed as a firmly established rite by the IV Council of Toledo (633), can. 4 (Mansi, X, 624).

clearly and simply designated as a union and hallowing and consummation—just as in the original Latin formula and somewhat more reservedly in the new (where the stress is no longer on the characterization, but on the blessing). We are therefore justified in regarding the thought that both species represent one Sacrament and contain the one Christ as the original meaning of the Roman rite of commingling.²⁹

But in Carolingian territory, at least since the ninth century, a second formula was rife. This one presented, in somewhat more verbose a vein, the thoughts that were stressed in the Missal of Pius V. It was in general use in northern France and in England till the reform of the missal, and in the Dominican rite is used even at present. It is worded as follows:³⁰ *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis D. n. J. C. fiat (mihi) omnibus(que) summentibus salus mentis et corporis et ad vitam (æternam) promerendam et) capescendam præparatio salutaris. (Per eundem.)*³¹ The word *consecratio* is wanting here, and we can probably affirm that the *commixtio* is here understood only in the concrete sense as “this mixture,”³² leaving out, therefore, any sort of interpretation of the commingling rite and any reference to it, and turning the formula merely into an act of desire for Communion.³³ The original Roman formula, too, has

²⁹ Cf. too Haberstroh, 62-70.

³⁰ In brackets are set the amplifications that appear above all in later English texts, but also in the Dominican and Carmelite missals and as early as 1100 in a missal of Arles; (Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 508, note); vide the Mass arrangement of Sarum: Legg, *Tracts*, 14; 226.

³¹ Mass-ordo of Amiens (9th cent.), ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 443. Further examples from France of the 10-15th centuries, Martène, I, 4, V-VIII; IX; XV; XXVI-XXVIII (I, 527, 534, 537, 540, 567, 592, 638, 641, 645); Lebrun, I, 508, note. Also (and in part with the opening *Fiat hæc*) in Italian Mass-books; Ebner, 323, 330, 348; Fiala, 213. A freer version (*Fiat nobis et omnibus*) in the Sacramentary of Fulda (Richter-Schönfelder, n. 22); also in a Sacramentary of the Fulda type from the 11th century in Ebner, 258. This Fulda type and the ordinary one, one after the other in the Missal of Remiremont (12th cent.); Martène, I, 4, 9, 9 (I, 425 A). A shortened form (*Fiat hæc*) in the missals of Regensburg and Freising of the late Middle Ages (Beck, 268; 308). Similar short forms in the Mass-books of Styria (Köck, 10, 13,

et al.). An isolated formula (*Commixtio sancti corporis*) in the Sacramentary of Le Mans (9th cent.); Leroquais, I, 30. In Spain at times with a Gallican concluding formula, *te præstante rex regum . . .* Ferreres, p. XXIX, CVIII, 179; so still in the present-day Missal of Braga (1924), 325.

³² This meaning is obviously to be supposed when in the Missa Illyrica the administration of the chalice (*calicem vero cum sacrosancta commixtione dando*) to the priests at High Mass is accompanied with the formula: *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis D. n. J. C. prosit tibi ad vitam æternam*; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 516 C). At the commingling itself this Mass-ordo contains three formulas, namely the two cited above and a third formula for the commingling rite of the bishop: *Sacri Sanguinis commixtio cum sancto corpore D. n. J. C. prosit omnibus summentibus ad vitam æternam* (515 B). But aside from the kindred Mass arrangements cited above in note 11, it appears very rarely. Isolated examples from Italy (11 and 12th cent.), see Ebner, 164, 297.

³³ In a Dominican Missal of the 14th century the formula begins *Hæc sacrosancta*

nothing to say regarding any further meaning of the commingling rite. But the thought of the Resurrection, which, among the Syrians, had been linked first with the fraction and then with the commingling,³⁴ was associated with the latter by the Carolingian commentators on the liturgy,³⁵ and in this relationship remained as an element in the explanation of the Mass all through the Middle Ages³⁶ and even down to the present.³⁷ On the other hand, the fraction was not until somewhat more recent times linked to the Passion of Christ, as signifying Christ's death,³⁸ a signification on which later theologians, even post-Tridentine ones, placed a great deal of importance.

According to Amalar, whose attitude it probably was that ultimately decided the anticipation of the commingling ceremony, this ceremony, along with the accompanying phrase, ought to be placed before the *Pax Domini*, in the short pause after the conclusion of the embolism and the *Amen*, during which the fraction of the Host and the crossing of the chalice would already have occurred; for it was not till after His Resurrection that our Lord appeared to His disciples and saluted them with His greeting of peace. Allegorical considerations appear to have had so

commixtio; Ebner, 114. A later weakened *commixtio et consecratio* is evidently the basis of the commingling formula of Milan, *Commixtio consecrati corporis et sanguinis D. n. J. C. nobis edentibus et sumentibus proficiat ad vitam et gaudium sempiternum*; *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 179. A strong leaning towards a blessing formula is evident in the Mozarabic commingling formula (which is not too clear): *Sancta sanctis et coniunctio corporis D. n. J. C. sit sumentibus et potantibus nobis ad veniam et defunctis fidelibus praestetur ad requiem*; *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 561 f.). Here the *sancta sanctis* is probably only a literary reminiscence of the oriental *ἁγία τοῖς ἁγίοις* and signifies only: the species of the bread to that of the wine. This meaning is clearly evident in the parallels from Angers adduced by Lesley (*ibid.*, 561); *Sanctum* [*Sancta*] *cum sanctis*. Cf. Martène, I, 4, 9, 2 (I, 419).

³⁴ *Supra*, p. 300. The idea of the Resurrection at the commingling was all the more natural to ancient thinking because it was customary to consider the soul as joined to the blood. Therefore with the blood the soul also returned to the body. Even Durandus, IV, 51, 17, mentions the idea, with an appeal to Aristotle.

³⁵ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 31 (PL, 105, 1152 A); *Expositio* "Missa pro multis" ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 42; *Expositio* "Introitus missae," ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 45.

³⁶ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 20 (PL, 151, 990); Durandus, IV, 51, 17. Cf. *supra*, the interpretation of the three portions of the broken host.

³⁷ Gühr, 744 f.—In view of the allegorizing about the Passion of Christ which was connected with the concluding part of the canon and which actually became ritually effective there, one must acknowledge a certain justification for the application to the Resurrection. Of course the idea can hardly be carried out in the liturgical process, not only because there is little support for it, but also because the overlapping of words and ceremonies scarcely leaves room for it.

³⁸ The idea is clearly expressed by Humbert of Silva Candida (d. 1061), *Adv. Graecorum calumnias*, n. 31 (PL, 143, 950 D), and by Lanfranc (d. 1089), *Liber de corp. et sang. Domini*, c. 14 (PL, 150, 424 A). Cf. Haberstroh, 74-76; Lepin, 113 ff. A slight but isolated indication also in Remigius of Auxerre, *In I Cor.*, c. 11 (PL, 117, 572).

powerful an influence that in at least one area³⁹ they were able to overrule the explicit direction of the Roman *ordo* which says: *Cum dixerit: Pax Domini*.⁴⁰ Thereafter only the partition of the Host was anticipated, being linked with the concluding formula, *Per Dominum*, in lieu of a pause.⁴¹ The crossing then was joined to the *Pax Domini*,⁴² for this latter was by degrees interpreted as a formula of blessing. Therefore it was put in the same place where formerly the pontifical blessing had been inserted, being treated as the final phrase which the bishop added upon his return to the altar.⁴³

However, only in one portion of the post-Carolingian Mass plans did this commingling follow immediately;⁴⁴ but it was this arrangement that was adopted in Italy⁴⁵ and therefore also the one definitely fixed in the Missal of Pius V.

By far the greater portion of the Carolingian Mass plans contained a different arrangement. True, they did not hold to the original Roman pattern, where the commingling was linked to the Communion⁴⁶ or, at any

³⁹ Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 105, 1270 B): first by reason of the commingling does the priest wish peace to the Church.

⁴⁰ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 18 (PL, 78, 945). Likewise *Ordo Rom.*, III, n. 16 (*ibid.*, 981). On the other hand, *Ordo Rom.*, V, n. 10 (*ibid.*, 988) says: *dicendo: Pax Domini*. Moreover, both *Capitulare eccl. ord.* and *Breviarium eccl. ord.* already have: *Mittit in calicem (. . .) et dicit: Pax Domini* (Andrieu, III, 105; 182).

⁴¹ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 988 C). So also in the Georgian Liturgy of St. Peter (Codrington, 162; cf. 20) which duplicates the Latin Mass as performed towards the end of the 10th century in the domain of Beneventum (*ibid.*, 107; cf. 25 f.). On the other hand, the pause after *Amen* is still presupposed in the Cod. Casanat., 614 (Ebner, 330) at the turn of the 11th century, and even somewhat later perhaps in the *Ordo eccl. Lateranensis* (Fischer, 85).

⁴² *Expositio* "Introitus Missae" (written since the 10th century; follows Amalar), ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 45. *Quare panis cum cruce in vinum mittitur dicente sacerdote: Pax Domini . . .?* In the Sacramentaries, Brinktrine, *Die Messe*, 302, established a first sign of the cross at the *Pax Domini* in a manuscript of the 11-12th centuries, (the Cod. Casanat., 614, just mentioned); but it was not till the

13-14th centuries that this sign of the cross became general.

⁴³ *Supra*, p. 295, n. 13.

⁴⁴ *Ordo Rom.*, III, n. 16 (PL, 78, 981). More frequently the commingling coincides with the *Pax Domini*; *Ordo Rom.*, V, n. 10 (PL, 78, 988); John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 36 D); Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 17, 23 (PL, 151, 988, 995). Above all, for the non-episcopal Mass, the Missa Illyrica and the related texts must be cited here; *supra*, n. 11.

⁴⁵ *Vide* examples since the 11th century in Ebner, 299; 301; 307; 310; 316; 330; 335; 348. Contrary to the statements of Sölch, *Hugo*, 127, I was able to find only two examples in which clearly something else, namely the *Agnus Dei*, precedes; Ebner, 297; 335 (Cod. F. 18); cf. 4.—In the northern countries this arrangement is rare after the 11th century; Missal of Remiremont (11-12th cent.): Martène, I, 4, 9, 9 (I, 423); Statutes of the Carthusians: *ibid.*, I, 4, XXV (I, 634 C); Augsburg Missale of 1386 (Hoeynck, 374); the Mass-ordo of Ratisbon about 1500 (Beck, 269); even Durandus, IV, 51, 18, for allegorical reasons, champions this plan.

⁴⁶ This arrangement was retained in the pope's Mass even in the 14th century; v. *Ordo Rom.*, XIV, n. 17 (PL, 78, 1191): The pope with two fingers of either hand takes hold of the still unbroken halves of

rate, followed the kiss of peace and the fraction (insofar as there was still question of one).⁴⁷ But the commingling often occurred after the *Agnus Dei* in those churches where it had already become customary for the priest to recite it.⁴⁸ And so the priests kept the sacred particle in their hands during the *Agnus Dei* with the purpose (as Durandus says) *ut eorum oratio efficacior sit pro eo quod tenentes eam in manibus . . . oculo corporali et mentali reverenter intuentur*.⁴⁹ In this case, then, we have a secondary reshifting which likewise rests on Amalar's solution and which in the main has disappeared since 1570.

Since Amalar had indicated for the rite of commingling a place at the *Pax Domini*, the very spot where, according to the practice of the ancient Church, the space-encircling unifying force of the Eucharist had been represented by the admixture of the *fermentum*, our modest rite had gained an additional significance beyond its original meaning of representing the intrinsic unity of the Sacrament under two kinds, borrowing from the farther-reaching significance of its sister rite the symbolism of Communion of church with church. The accompanying *Pax Domini* could easily add support to these latter ideas. On the other hand, the rite of fraction and commingling, as now in use in the Roman Mass, has lost

the host and says the *Domine non sum dignus*. After the sign of the cross with the Sacred Species of Bread *reverenter sumat totum illud quod est extra digitos prae dictos, et quod infra digitis remanet ponat in calice cum sanguine dicens: Fiat commixtio . . . Cf. supra, n. 1.*

⁴⁷ This arrangement appears as an alternate plan in Amalar, *De off. eccl.*, III, 31 (PL, 105, 1151 D) (*ut aliqui reservent immissionem, usquedum pax celebrata sit et fractio panis*). It is still to be recognized in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (d. 986) (PL, 78, 244), where the formula of commingling is raised to the dignity of an oration. After the *Pax Domini* the bishop gives the *cantor* the signal for the *Agnus Dei*: *Interim osculetur archidiaconum et ceteros. Inde vertens se ad altare dicat hanc orationem: Dominus vobiscum. Resp. Et cum spiritu tuo. Hæc sacrosancta commixtio . . . salutaris. P. D.*—Also, where the rubric mentioned above, n. 11, still survived, the commingling took place, at least at the bishop's Mass, only after the kiss of peace; cf. also the older version of the Greek Liturgy of St. Peter as witness to the liturgy of the early 10th century in central Italy (Codrington, 136).

⁴⁸ Mass-ordo of Amiens (ed. Leroquais:

Eph. liturg., 1927, 443); Sacramentary of Fulda (Richter-Schönfelder, n. 22); further, from the 10-11th century the *ordines* in Martène, I, 4, V-VIII (I, 527, 533 f., 537, 540), likewise the Mass plans, generally later, from France in Martène and Leroquais; v. also *Liber ordinarius* of Liège with its Dominican model (Volk, 96). The same arrangement holds also in Spain (Ferrerres, 179) and especially in the English Mass-books of the later Middle Ages; v. Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 669); Legg, *Tracts*, 14, 226, 265; *ibid.*, 47 f.; 65, further examples from the 16th century. — The rite survives still today among the Dominicans; *Missale O.P.* (1889), 21. Among the Cistercians the priest let one of the three broken pieces which he held in his hands fall into the chalice after the *Agnus Dei*; the second, set aside for the Communion of the Levites he laid upon the paten, after imparting the kiss of peace; and the third he retained for his own Communion. Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927) 139 f.—In certain isolated cases the commingling took place already after the first *Agnus Dei*: Mass-ordo of Bec: Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 674 C); Sacramentary from Arezzo (11th cent.): Ebner, 4.

⁴⁹ Durandus, IV, 51, 18.

some of its importance, since it does not occupy a place in the pause mentioned above and, as a consequence, appears simply as an accompaniment to the close of the embolism and the *Pax Domini*, texts which have no immediate relevance to the rite. Thus few celebrants will find it possible to keep in mind the significance of the venerable rite. And for the other participants, the rite has hardly any purpose at all, since it is perceptible only to those close to the altar. Besides, the ancient song that formerly accompanied the fraction, the *Agnus Dei*, did not follow the change of position of the rite as we have it now, but continued to occupy the position of the older fraction, as we shall see. Scarcely anywhere else has the transparency of the liturgical procedure suffered so much by later contraction and compression as here in the purlieu of the fraction and commingling, although the elements of the ancient tradition have been faithfully preserved.⁵⁰

6. *Pax Domini* and the Kiss of Peace

Whether we study the development of the Roman Communion rite or confine our attention to the external picture of the Mass as it is today (where the *Pax Domini* is taken up right after the close of the embolism), we must deal with the kiss of peace. For the *Pax Domini* was regarded as a signal and an invitation to the faithful to exchange the kiss of peace with each other. Nowhere is this indicated in any explicit rubric, but it follows from parallels in the African liturgy¹ and from the actual procedure outlined in the oldest *ordines*.² Even in documentary sources of the tenth century the fact that the *Pax Domini* is omitted on Good Friday

⁵⁰ Abbot Capelle arrives at the same conclusions, "Le rite de la fraction" (*Revue Bénéd.*, 1941). 5 f., 39 f. Here he also points out a method that could be a remedy. The priest would say the oration for peace, *Domine J. C. qui dixisti* before the *Pax Domini*. The breaking and commingling would follow after the *Pax Domini*, accompanied by the singing of the *Agnus Dei*, which the priest himself would also recite after these actions.

¹ Augustine, *Sermo*, 227 (PL, 38, 1101): *Post ipsam [sc. orationem dominicam] dicitur: Pax vobiscum, et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto*. Cf. *Enarr. in ps. 124*, 10 (PL, 37, 1656), where also the answer of the people, *Et cum spiritu tuo*, is attested. Other passages in Roetzer, 130 f. Moreover, in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 11, 8 f. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 210), the in-

itation to the Kiss of Peace is mentioned as occurring in a similar manner, even before the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer; the bishop gives the salutation: 'H εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν; and the people answer: Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σου, whereupon the deacon recites the express summons to the Holy Kiss, using the words of I Cor. 16: 20.

² *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 18 (Andrieu, II, 98; cf. II, 57 f.): *Et cum spiritu tuo. Sed archidiaconus pacem dat episcopo priori, deinde et ceteri per ordinem et populus. Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 124; cf. 105): *respondentibus omnibus: Et cum spiritu tuo, statim, sicut supra dictum est, debet clerus et populus inter se pacem facere, ubi stare videntur*—*Ordo* of St. Amand (*ibid.*, II, 169).—The connection is clearly recognized in the Carolingian *Expositio "Dominus vobiscum"* (PL, 138, 1172 f.).

was explained *quia non sequuntur oscula circumadstantium*.³ The arrangement of the present-day high Mass, where the kiss of peace is not given till after the *Agnus Dei* and another prayer for peace are said, is (as we shall see) the result of more recent developments.

By placing the kiss of peace just before the Communion, the Roman Mass (along with the African already mentioned) assumes a position apart, for all the other liturgies have it at the beginning of the Sacrifice-Mass. The original place of the kiss of peace was, in reality, at the end of the service of reading and prayers rather than at the start of the Sacrifice-Mass. According to the ancient Christian conception, it formed the seal and pledge of the prayers that preceded it.⁴ But after the service of readings and prayers had been joined to the celebration of the Eucharist, regard for our Lord's admonition (Matthew 5:23 f.) about the proper dispositions in one who wishes to make an offering would probably have led to placing the kiss of peace (as guarantee of fraternal sentiment) closer to the moment when one is "bringing his gift before the altar."⁵

At a very early date the Roman liturgy went a step further.⁶ In opposition to the practice which the Bishop of Gubbio had in view, of announcing the kiss of peace *ante confecta mysteria*, Pope Innocent I, in his reply in 416, insisted that it was not to be proclaimed till after the completion of the entire sacrifice; for, he asserted, the people ought by means of it to make known their assent to all that had gone before.⁷ Here again attention is immediately drawn to its function as a seal and guarantee. But ultimately (when, as a result of Gregory the Great's rearrangement, the *Pater noster* was placed directly after the close of the canon and there was no proclamation of the kiss of peace until after the embolism), it was

³ *Ordo Rom. antiquus* (Hittorp, 67, recte, 69). Likewise Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, VI, 13 (PL, 213, 321.— Cf. Maundy Thursday in the older Gelasianum, I, 40 (Wilson, 72): *non dicis: Pax Domini, nec faciunt pacem*. Similarly in today's *Missale Romanum* the rubrics on Holy Saturday: *Dicitur Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, sed pacis osculum non datur*.

⁴ Justin, *Apol.*, I, 65 (*supra* I, 22). Tertullian, *De or.*, 18 (CSEL, 20, 191), calls the Kiss of Peace the *signaculum orationis*; with it we should conclude the prayer in common, even if we are celebrating a feast day; only on public feast days is the Kiss omitted, since it is also the expression of the joy of life (cf. the previous note). Origen, *In Rom. hom.*, 10, 33 (PG, 14, 1282 f.) also speaks of the custom called forth by Rom. 16: 16 (among others), *ut post orationes osculo invicem suscipiant*

fratres, Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 29): "When the prayer (after the instruction) is ended, the catechumens should not give the Kiss of Peace, because their kiss is not yet pure; but the baptized should greet each other (*ἀσπάζεσθαι*), men the men, and women the women. But the men, should not greet the women." After baptism the newly baptized take part in the prayers of the faithful and then exchange the Kiss with them (Dix, 39). For further ancient Christian evidences see Quasten, *Mon.*, 16, note 2, and in the Register, p. 374, under *osculum*.

⁵ Cf. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 145.

⁶ The north African liturgy even earlier; Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 59 f.; Roetzer, 130 f.

⁷ Innocent I, *Ep.*, 25, 1 (PL, 20, 553): *... per quam constet populum ad omnia . . . præbuisse consensum ac finita*

quite natural that the kiss appear as an illustration of the *sicut et nos dimittimus*. Perhaps it was this phrase which first drew it towards the conclusion of the *Pater noster*.

As a matter of fact, even in Gregory the Great's time the kiss of peace was regarded as a natural preparation for Communion. A group of monks, threatened by shipwreck, gave each other the kiss of peace and then received the Sacrament which they carried with them.⁸ The same opinion predominated at this period also outside the area of the Roman liturgy. Sophronius (d. 638) pictures St. Mary of Egypt giving the kiss of peace to the aged monk who brings her the Mysteries, whereupon she receives the Body of the Lord.⁹ In the arrangement for Communion of the sick in the Celtic Church, the Book of Dimma, about 800, stipulates: *Hic* [after the Our Father and the embolism belonging to it have been recited] *pax datur ei et dicis: Pax et communicatio sanctorum tuorum, Christe Jesu, sit semper nobiscum. R. Amen*, whereupon the Eucharist is given.¹⁰

In the Carolingian area also the same succession (of kiss of peace and distribution of Communion) is found both at Communion of the sick¹¹ and at public service.¹² Indeed the kiss is often restricted to the communicants. The *canones* of Theodore of Canterbury, in one version (eighth century), contain the rule: *qui non communicant, nec accedant ad pacem neque ad osculum in ecclesia*.¹³ The rule was also known in the Carolingian Church, but there, alongside the severe regulation, a milder interpretation also appeared, which did not make restriction so narrow.¹⁴ Nevertheless,

esse pacis concludentis signaculo demonstrantur.

⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, III, 36 (PL, 77, 307 C); cf. the same, *In ev.*, II, 37, 9 (PL, 76, 1281 A).

⁹ Sophronius, *Vita s. Mariæ Aeg.*, c. 22 (PL, 73, 87 B). In the two witnesses cited by Mabillon in his commentary the Kiss of Peace is joined with the Communion: Jerome, *Ep.* 62 al. 82 (PL, 22, 737); Paulus of Merida (7th cent.), *Vitæ patrū*, c. 7 (PL, 80, 135 B).

¹⁰ F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), 170. The formula quoted corresponds to our *Pax Domini*; cf. formula connected with the Kiss of Peace in the Mass in the Stowe Missal (*ibidem*, 242): *Pax et caritas D. n. J. C. et communicatio sanctorum omnium sit semper vobiscum*. The liturgy of Milan uses *Pax et communicatio D. n. J. C. sit semper vobiscum*, whereon still follows: *Offerte vobis pacem. Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 181 f.

¹¹ The 9th century *Ordo* for the Sick from Lorsch, edited by C. de Clercq: *Eph. liturg.*, 44 (1930), 103, contains the rubric: *Hic pax datur et communicatio* and then the formula: *Pax et communicatio corporis et sanguinis D. n. J. C. conservet animam tuam in vitam æternam*. Likewise Theodulph of Orleans (d. 821), *Capitulare*: Martène, I, 7, II (I, 847 C); cf. the somewhat later *ordo* for the sick from Narbonne: *ibid.*, 1, 7, XIII (I, 892 B).

¹² Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th cent.; PL, 78, 245): *Et episcopus communicet presbyteros et diaconos cum osculo pacis*.

¹³ n. 50; P. W. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori* (Weimar, 1929), 274.

¹⁴ Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 950 C): The *pax* remains licit for those who are not excluded *iudicio sacerdotali* from Communion and therefore are not *extra communionem*. In point of fact, several of the ordinances at the

at least in monasteries, it was still the rule even in the year 1000 that on Communion days, and only on these, the brethren received the *pax*. This was true in England¹⁵ as well as on the continent.¹⁶ The kiss of peace was a pre-condition for Communion,¹⁷ or at least a fitting preparation for it,¹⁸ and in reverse, the deacon and subdeacon at high Mass, who were to re-

time of Charlemagne required that all participate in the Kiss of Peace; thus the Frankfort Synod of 794 (c. 48; Mansi, XIII, App., 194): *omnes generaliter pacem ad invicem praebeant*. Cf. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 48 f.

¹⁵ *Concordia Regularis* of St. Dunstan (PL, 137, 483 A, 495 A). A report about Winchester in G. H. Ritchin, *Computus rolls* (1892), 176, quoted by Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 65, n. 22.

¹⁶ *Capitula monachorum ad Augiam directa* (Albers, III, 106); *Consuetudines Cluniacenses* (before 1048; Albers, II, 48; cf. however p. 38); *Consuetudines monasteriorum Germaniae* (Albers, V, 28). *Liber usuum O. Cist.* (12th cent.), c. 66 (PL, 166, 1437): *In die Nativitatis Domini, Cænæ, Paschæ, Pentecostes debent fratres pacem sumere et communicare*. In the later *Consuetudines Cluniacenses* of the Abbot Udalrich (circa 1080), I, 8 (PL, 149, 653) the bond between Communion and the Kiss of Peace is already somewhat less rigid.

¹⁷ A remnant of it is a custom still much in use today, that the communicant kiss the ring of the bishop administering Communion, or as the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum*, II, 29, 5 declares, the hand. Although a kissing of the hand just before receiving Communion was customary in the ancient church (v. *infra*) still the present-day use seems to be derived from the mutual Kiss of Peace that was exchanged at the altar, or at least was inspired by it. The transition to the kissing of the hand on the part of the one receiving Communion is evident in John of Avranches (d. 1079) *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 37 B): *Dum ergo sacerdos ministris communionem porrigit, unumquemque primum osculetur et post qui communicandus est, manu sacerdotis osculata, communionem ab eo accipiat*. The suppression of the Kiss on the part of the celebrating bishop, who is already occupied with the administration of the Sacrament

(even though he does not himself carry the paten with the particles, but an acolyte) is already shown in *Ordo Rom.*, VI (10th cent.), n. 12 (PL, 78, 994), according to which henceforth only priest and deacon kiss the bishop, whereas the subdeacon kisses the bishop's hand. On the contrary, the *Sacramentary of Ratoldus* (d. 986) mentions only the kiss of the bishop (for priest and deacon) (PL, 78, 245 A).—On the other hand, in the tradition of the city of Rome the mutual kiss among the immediate assistants lasted a much longer time. *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 85, 1. 40; cf. 86, 1. 23): *(episcopus) communicat diaconum dando ei pacem, illo osculante manum eius*. According to Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 9 (PL, 217, 911 f.) the pope, after his own Communion, gives the deacon *particulam unam cum osculo*, the subdeacon receives the kiss when he receives the Precious Blood from the deacon. Also according to the somewhat later *Pontificale Romanæ Curiae* (Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, II, 350) the newly ordained priests and deacons kiss the hand of the bishop before Communion and then receive from him both Communion and the Kiss of Peace; similarly in the *Pontifical of Durandus* (Andrieu, III, 348).—Our *Cæremoniale episc.*, I, 9, 6; 24, 3 f., decides in the same sense, that at a High Mass the deacon and subdeacon should not receive the *pax* with the others (insofar as they do not wish to celebrate as priests themselves) but only when the bishop offers them Communion, when they, as well as the canons receiving Communion, *primo manum, deinde faciem episcopi*, while the other clerics and the lay people kiss only the hand of the bishop (II, 29, 3, 5); cf. the *Ordo* of Stefaneschi, n. 53; 56; 71 (PL, 78, 1168 B, 1172 C, 1191 D), where the pope first administers Communion and then imparts the *pax*.

¹⁸ Later evidence for this idea in Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 250.

ceive the *pax* were for a long time obliged also to receive Holy Communion.¹⁹ In fact, amongst the Cistercians there was a regulation even for private Mass that the server receive *pax* and Communion each time,²⁰ until in 1437 Eugene IV rescinded this obligation of the *ministri altaris* as dangerous.²¹ But even so, the connection between kiss of peace and Communion survived for a long time.²²

Elsewhere the kiss of peace gradually became a sort of substitute for Communion.²³ Not only was the kiss exchanged at the altar, but all the people participated. The ancient way of exchanging the kiss of peace

¹⁹ See below, p. 387.

²⁰ *Liber usuum*, c. 54 (PL, 166, 1429): *(minister) pacem et communionem semper accipiat, excepta missa defunctorum, in qua nec pacem sumere nec communicare licet*. Aside from the communicants only guests received the Kiss of Peace among the Cistercians (Schneider, *Cist.-Chr.*, 1928), 8.

²¹ Browe, "Die Kommunionvorbereitung im Mittelalter" (*ZkTh*, 1932), 413.

²² According to the statutes of a convent of Cistercian nuns in Lower Germany, 1584, edited by J. Haus (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1935), 132 f., the Kiss of Peace was given before Communion on Communion days starting with the abbess. See *Rituale Cist.* (Paris, 1689), 93, according to which the server if he or someone else wishes to receive Communion, hands the priest the *instrumentum pacis*, then kisses it himself and passes it on. Cf. on the contrary the statement of Balthasar of Pforta (1494) in Franz, *Die Messe*, 587, according to which the Cistercians in Germany at the time (except in the case the server received Communion?) gave the *pax* only at High Mass, whereas the secular clergy imparted it to the server by means of the crucifix also at private Mass. The *pax* for the *frater servitor* also without Communion was firmly retained in private Mass by the Dominicans in the *Ordinarium* of 1256 (Guerrini, 244); likewise in the *Ordinarium* of Liège (Volk, 101, 1. 33).

²³ Cf. *supra*, note 14. The *Consuetudines* of Udalricus of Cluny (circa 1080) orders one half of the choir to give and receive the Kiss of Peace daily; Communion remains free (I, 6; PL, 149, 652). John

Beleth (d. 115), *Explicatio*, c. 48 (PL, 202, 55 D), mentions a triple substitute, introduced after Communion at every Mass was no longer demanded: *singulis diebus*, the Kiss of Peace; on Sundays, the blessed bread; and in Lent, instead of that, the *oratio super populum*. Durandus repeats the same, IV, 53, 3.—Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 8 (PL, 213, 144), and Hugo of S. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 51) express themselves in the same manner. Beleth's evaluation of the Kiss of Peace is taken over literally by Pope Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 5 (PL, 217, 909). Further witnesses with like sentiments, from the 12th and 13th centuries, in Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion*, 186. Ludolf of Saxony (d. 377), *Vita D. n. Jesu Christi*, II, 56 (Augsburg, 1729: p. 557), regards the Kiss of Peace as a substitute for the Communion; so also the Hollander William of Gouda (15th cent.): see P. Schlager, "Über die Messerkklärung des Franziskaners Wilhelm von Gouda," *Franziskan. Studien*, 6 (1919), 335. — In the transition period about the 11th century, a time when Communion was already very rare, the Kiss of Peace even at High Mass must have been out of use in many a place, because it is no longer mentioned in the otherwise very detailed rubrics of the Mass-plans; thus in that of Séz (PL, 78, 250 B). Durandus, IV, 53, 8, mentions another basic reason why the monks no longer made use of the Kiss of Peace, but even at this time (for the earlier period, cf. *supra*, n. 7 f., 14 f.) this reason applies only to a particular practice, which took a more stringent view of the worldly and passionate element of the kiss; more information in Lebrun, I, 522-524.

would not entail the disturbance and confusion in the service that we would be led to expect today, for then the kiss was not continued from person to person, but merely exchanged between neighbors.

The first Roman *ordo* says explicitly: When the *Pax Domini* has been spoken, the archdeacon gives the kiss of peace to the first bishop, *deinde et ceteri per ordinem et populus*.²⁴ At the given signal, therefore, those in the nave of the church greeted each other with the kiss. But many of the later manuscripts of this *ordo* have introduced an inconspicuous but very important change: *deinde ceteris per ordinem et populus*.²⁵ Thus the kiss of peace is made to proceed from the altar and, like a message or even like a gift which comes from the Sacrament, is handed on "to the others and to the people." The new rule is clearly expressed in a plan for Mass, which is placed at the beginning of the tenth-century Romano-German Pontifical and its derivatives: *presbyter accipiat pacem ab episcopo eandem ceteris oblaturus*.²⁶

With this in view it was only natural that the kiss of peace was no longer received from the deacon but from the celebrant himself, and even he "received" it. Therefore he first kissed the altar: *osculato altari dat pacem astanti*.²⁷ Even this was not fully satisfactory, and efforts were made to indicate even more plainly the source from which the peace was to be derived. According to a pontifical from lower Italy, about 1100, the celebrant kissed first the altar, then the book, and finally the Sacred Host, before he offered the deacon the kiss of peace.²⁸ Elsewhere, as in France, as a rule only the Host was kissed.²⁹ In England, however, during the

²⁴ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 18 (Andrieu, II, 98). Every change of place is expressly excluded in the *Capitulum eccl. ord.* (*supra*, note 2). Cf. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie*, 49 f.

²⁵ Thus Mabillon (PL, 78, 945 B), and a number of later MSS.

²⁶ *Ordo Rom.*, VI, n. 12 (Hittorp, 8; PL, 78, 994). That this new order is already to be supposed in Remigius of Auxerre, as Sölch, *Hugo*, 129 f., assumes, need not be taken as conclusively proved.—The older custom is still clearly testified by Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 32 (PL, 105, 1153), but also in the *Ordo Rom.*, III (11th cent.), n. 16 (PL, 78, 982 A): . . . *per ordinem ceteri; atque populus osculantur se in osculo Christi*. The two methods of the Kiss of Peace overlap each other therefore in point of time; cf. Synod of Santiago de Compostela (1056), can. 1 (Mansi, XIX, 856): *omnibus intra ecclesiam stantibus pacis osculum sibi invicem tribuatur*.

²⁷ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 995); Sakramentar von Modena (vor 1174): Muratori, I, 93. A Sacramentary of the 11th century from Arezzo (Ebner, 4) has the priest first kiss the altar, *tunc osculetur omnes*.—The provision that the priest receive the *pax* from the bishop also in the *Ordo Rom.*, VI (previous note).

²⁸ Ebner 330 (Cod. Casanat. 614); it occurs at specified places in the prayer for peace, *Domine Jesu Christe*.

²⁹ John Belet, *Explic.*, c. 48 (PL, 202, 54); Herbert von Sassari, *De Miraculis* (written, 1171), I, 21 (PL, 185, 1298 A). Important authorities espoused the kissing of the Host; Hugo von S. Cher, *Tract, super missam* (ed. Sölch, 49); Albert the Great, *De sacrificio missae*, III, 21, 5 (Opp., ed. Borgnet, 38, 159 f.).—The custom lasted beyond the Middle Ages in French churches; *Ordinarium* of Coutances, 1557: Legg, *Tracts*, 66; Lebrun, I, 518, note c.

thirteenth century this custom was stopped as being less seemly.³⁰ Here, and in part also in France, it was customary to kiss instead the brim of the chalice and in addition generally the corporal or the paten,³¹ while in Germany the prevailing practice was to kiss the altar and the book.³² Altar and crucifix are also mentioned for this.³³

The participation of the people continued for several centuries, especially after the kiss of peace was everywhere extended beyond the circle of communicants, and in particular when it was brought from the altar.³⁴ Therefore the old rule which is found in earlier Christian sources³⁵ was repeated, namely, that men may give the kiss of peace only to men, and women to women.³⁶ This rule was very easy to keep when—as was usually

³⁰ First of all, in 1217 by a decree of Bishop Richard of Salisbury, Sölch, *Hugo*, 131.—The East Syrian Liturgy offers a parallel to such considerations, for the kissing of the Sacred Host was at one time prescribed, but the caution is added, that it is to be done figuratively, without touching the lips; Brightman, 290.

³¹ Mass-ordo of Sarum (Legg, *Tracts*, 265; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 226, note 5); Missale of York (Simmons, 112 f.). *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), 317, where pall and chalice are kissed.—Only the kissing of the chalice is customary in the later Dominican rite (Guerrini, 243); in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 96)), in the Missale of S. Pol de Léon: Martène, I, 4, XXXIV (I, 664). Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 131 f.

³² This kiss is prescribed (among others) in the Pontifical of Mainz about 1170: Martène, I, 4, XVII (I, 602 C); the Regensburg Missal about 1500: Beck, 269. Cf. Franz, *Die Messe*, 587 f.; Sölch, *Hugo*, 130 ff., note 199 and 207.—In the north, about 1500, it was the more common practice to kiss both the book and paten; v. Bruiningk, 87, n. 2; Yelverton, 20. The Breslau Missal of 1476 mentions paten and book: Radó, 163.—Above all the kiss was implanted on the picture of the Lord (mostly the Lamb of God) that was inserted at the end of the canon; traces of the kissing can still be recognized; Ebner, 448 f. In a book printer's contract of the Bishop of Upsala of Feb. 23, 1508, a special stipulation was made, *etiam una crux in margine pro osculo circa Agnus Dei*; J. Freisen, *Manuale Lincopense* (Paderborn, 1904), page XLVI.

³³ Hungarian Missals of the 13th (Radó, 62) and the 15th centuries (Jávör, 118); Mass-commentary of William of Gouda: Schlager, *Franziskan. Studien*, 6 (1919), 335.

³⁴ Cf. Franz, 587-594. In the Credo of Poor Hartmann (circa 1120), Verse 857-859, is mentioned "the kissing which the people do at Mass"; see R. Stoppel, *Liturgie und geistliche Dichtung zwischen 1050 und 1300* (Frankfurt, 1927), 77 f.—Also the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 96) declares again: *subdiaconus uni acolythorum [det pacem], ille vero deferat extraneis*; the subdeacon himself could impart the *pax* to an *excellens persona*.

³⁵ *Supra*, note 4. It is clear that the old rule was first introduced as the result of experience. The remark of Tertullian, *Ad uxorem*, II, 4 (CSEL, 70, 117), that a pagan husband would not tolerate that his wife should dare to approach a brother for the Kiss of Peace, obviously stems from a previous period before the rule was in effect. Cf. also *supra*, p. 322, the example in Sophronius, and on the other hand the warning remarks in Clement of Alexandria, *Pædag.*, III, 81 (GCS Clem., I, 281).
³⁶ Thus Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 32 (PL, 105, 1153); and again John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 48 (PL, 202, 54 f.); Durandus, IV, 53, 9. The rule shows that in general it must have been as a matter of fact an actual *osculum oris*.—An uninterrupted passage of the Kiss of Peace from the altar was thereby naturally excluded for the women. According to an old French custom, however, the priest gave the Kiss of Peace to the groom in a bridal Mass,

the case—the old ordinance regarding the separation of the sexes was still observed.³⁷

Nevertheless we feel it would always have been somewhat risky to employ a token of the deepest confidence, such as the kiss is, only in the tiny circle of a young community borne up by high idealism, but even as a permanent institution in public assembly. Of course conditions of ancient culture must be taken into account.³⁸ Still, in all Christian liturgies in the course of time a certain stylizing was effected, in which only a discreet indication of the former kiss remained. Aside from the Byzantine liturgy (where the kiss is executed in this restrained form only by the celebrant and deacon, and by no one else,³⁹ this symbolic gesture has been retained also for the people in all the rites of the East. Among the East Syrians it is customary for each one to clasp the hands of his neighbor and kiss them. Among the Maronites the faithful clasp the neighbor's fingers with their own, then kiss the latter. Even more reserved are the Copts, who merely bow to their neighbor and then touch his hand, and the Armenians who are—partly—satisfied with a mere bow.⁴⁰

Such a stylizing is also found in the present Roman liturgy in the kiss of peace given within the ranks of the clergy at high Mass, the only time it is still practiced. Here it is a light embrace, *sinistris genis sibi invicem appropinquantibus*.⁴¹ A different stylization for the kiss of peace in the whole congregation had its origin in England, where the finer touch had also been shown in regard to the kissing of the Host. This is the kiss of peace given by means of the *osculatorium*, a plaque (often richly orna-

who in turn imparted it to the bride; P. Donceur, *Retours en chrétienté* (Paris, 1933), 119 f.

³⁷ As Sölch, 133, remarks, the prescription was at that time violated most frequently in monastic churches.

³⁸ Cf. J. Horst, *Proskynein* (Gütersloh, 1932), 50 f.: In general the kiss had a different meaning in ancient times from what it has today. Among non-related people it was a mark of respect rather than affection.

³⁹ The priest kisses the gift offering, the deacon his own stole; Brightman, 382, 1. 26. In the Pontifical rite, however, a real Kiss of Peace takes place among the clergy. The bishop's shoulders and right hand are kissed, and both shoulders of the Archimandrites and priests, with the words "Christ is among us," to which the response is given, "He is and will be." A. v. Maltzew, *Liturgikon* (Berlin, 1902), 232

⁴⁰ Brightman, 584 f.; Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 317-321. Here still further

statements concerning the generally more elaborate form in which the celebrant and his assistants give each other the Kiss of Peace, and the accompanying prayers. According to Cl. Kopp, *Glaube u. Sakramente der koptischen Kirche* (Rome, 1932), 128, the form in vogue among the Copts today consists in this that each one extends his hand right and left to his neighbor. According to J. M. of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service* (London, 1908), 92, each one then kisses his own hand. In fact, the manner of the Kiss of Peace in the Orient seems to have varied not only between the Uniates and non-Uniates, but also within the individual communities, as a comparison of the statements made above with those by Raes, *Introductio* (1947), 86, forces us to assume.

⁴¹ *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, X, 8; cf. *Cæremoniale episc.* I, 24, 2.—Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 10, 8, n. XLIII (I, 330) mentions different methods in which the indicated embrace is carried out.

mented) called a pax-board or pax-brede.⁴² It put in a first appearance after 1248 in English diocesan statutes, then gradually spread to the continent where, however, the earlier manner of communicating the kiss long remained in vogue.⁴³ Charles V, in his efforts for reform, had also determined on the renewal of the kiss of peace, *ubi mos eius dandi exolevit*, with the employment of the pax-board.⁴⁴ The kiss of peace with the *instrumentum pacis* is also provided in the Missal of Pius V of 1570 and in the *Cæremoniale episcoporum* of 1600. In this way it can, at high Mass, be communicated also to the laity. Outside of high Mass, both at the *missa cantata* and the low Mass, this is the only manner of giving the kiss of peace that is considered, both for the clergy of all ranks and for the laity.⁴⁵ Thus, the kiss of peace, like the incensation at solemn services, could in the last few centuries be regarded most often as a privilege of persons of rank. But precisely this restriction was the occasion for unedifying disputes about precedence (for the principle of handing it on from person to person involved a certain order or gradation), which was in direct contradiction to the very meaning of the ceremony. For these and similar reasons, the kiss of peace even with the pax-board was im-

⁴² Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 557-572; illustrations on plates 116-120.—The pax-tablet, called old in England the Pax-board (Pax-brede), consisted of a small tablet of wood or ivory or metal (even gold or silver) upon which was graven or painted the figure of Our Lord or of a saint or sometimes symbolic figures, and usually encased in a frame with a handle at the back so that it could stand on the altar during Mass.

⁴³ The *osculum oris* is expressly stipulated in the old Cistercian and Premonstratensian rites: *divertat os suum ad diaconum osculans illum . . . Liber usum*, c. 53 (PL, 166, 1426 C); Waeleghem, 87.—The German Augustinian, John Bechhofen still had occasion at the turn of the 15th century to recommend the pax-tablet: *honestior est cautela ut per pacificale sive tabulam imaginem Christi aut sanctorum reliquias continentem fiat, ne sub specie boni aliquid carnalitatis diabolico inflatu surripiat*. Franz, *Die Messe*, 594. Inventories of churches in the diocese of Ermland, in East Prussia, testify to the later popularity of the pax-tablets in Germany; some churches show as many as six and eight; Braun, 559.—In Rome also the pax-tablet came into use at the turn of the 15th century, apparently through John Burchard; v. Lebrun, 519 f.

⁴⁴ *Formula Reformationis* (1548), tit. 12 (Hartzheim, VI, 756; Braun, 560). The Kiss of Peace by means of a cross (as a substitute for the pax-tablet) of a "Heilthumbs" (reliquary) is discussed in detail in the "Keligpuchel" (Chalice Book) of Bishop Berthold of Chiemsee that appeared 1535: Franz, 727.

⁴⁵ *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, X, 3; *Cæremoniale episc.*, I, 24, 6, 7. The latter passage, it is true, discusses only the choir of clerics and the *laici, ut magistratus et barones ac nobiles* as receivers of the *pax*, but the directions of the *Missale* contain no such restrictions. According to Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 10, 8 (I, 329) the *instrumentum pacis* is handed by the subdeacon to those lay people, *quos diaconus incensavit*, and then by the acolyte to *laicis aliis*. Cf. *supra*, n. 33.—Ph. Hartmann-J. Kley, *Repertorium rituum* (Paderborn, 1940), 477 f., remarks, "where it is the custom, also the bridal couple, but otherwise never the woman at a High Mass" should receive the *pax* by means of the *pacificale*. According to the *Ordo* of John Burchard (1502), the server hands the tablet to be kissed without restriction to *interessentibus missae*, first to those of higher rank and lastly to the women. Legg, *Tracts*, 162.

practicable and, except on certain extraordinary occasions and in a few areas here and there,⁴⁶ could continue only in various religious groups.⁴⁷

Today the kiss of peace is preceded not only by the *Pax Domini*, but by a special prayer for peace which, however is separated from the announcement (the *Pax Domini*) by the commingling formula and by the *Agnus Dei*, which is now also said by the priest. Even as late as the ninth century the Carolingian source documents present the kiss of peace as given right after the *Pax Domini*.⁴⁸ Frequently the *Agnus Dei* was still only sung by the choir without being said by the priest, and therefore did not form any interruption before the kiss.⁴⁹

A prayer for peace before the *pax*⁵⁰ is still missing even in some late medieval Mass plans.⁵¹ Only the commingling formula had to be inserted after the *Pax Domini*, since the latter, of course, was coupled with the preceding triple crossing.⁵²

Our prayer for peace, *Domine Jesu Christe qui dixisti*, made its appearance since the eleventh century, first of all in German territory.⁵³ It replaced an older prayer for peace.⁵⁴ From then on it recurred regularly,

⁴⁶ It is reported from the diocese of Valencia in Spain that the men still give each other the Kiss of Peace, imparted to them by two acolytes who receive it from the priest. Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II), 361.

⁴⁷ Sölch, *Hugo*, 132, names the Dominicans, Carthusians, and Carmelites. Also, so I am informed, the pax-tablet is in use among the Capuchins within their own community at Mass on Sundays and feast days.—In modern times a revival of the Kiss of Peace has been attempted in parts of Europe; v. Parsch, *Volksliturgie*, 18; 224.—R. B. Witte, *Das katholische Gotteshaus* (Mainz, 1939), 260 f., declares a *pacifical* as among the requirements for the furnishing of a church.

⁴⁸ Cf. aside from Amalar, Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 950); *Expositio "Introitus missæ quare,"* ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 45. Also in John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.*, (PL, 147, 36 f.), only the words for the commingling apparently still precede the Kiss of Peace.

⁴⁹ *Vide infra*.

⁵⁰ According to the original arrangement, moreover, the priest for the most part first kisses the altar and then says the prayer for peace; v., e. g., passages cited below, n. 55.

⁵¹ *Vide* Styrian Missalia in Köck, 128-132; Ordinarium of Coutances (1557): Legg, *Tracts*, 66.—Among the Dominicans it is still missing today, *Missale O.P.* (1889), 21 f., as it was in the Ordinarium of 1256 (Guerrini, 243). The same holds for the Carthusians; cf. their statutes: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 634 C).—On the other hand, in several Mass arrangements not only the prayer for peace, but also one of the Communion prayers precedes the Kiss of Peace; v. Ebner, 299; 338; Martène, I, 4, IV, XXXV f. (I, 515, 593, 669, 674).

⁵² *Supra*, pp. 318 f.

⁵³ South German Sacramentary of the Cod. 1084 of Bologna, apparently from Regensburg: Ebner, 7. Mass of Flacius Illyricus: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 515 B).

⁵⁴ This appears for the first time in the Sacramentary of S. Amand (end of the 9th century; dating see Leroquais, I, 56, 58; text v. Netzer, 244) and with a better text in the Sacramentary of Fulda (10th cent.), where it reads: *Qui es omnium Deus et dominator, fac nos pacificando digne operari in hora ista, amator humanitatis, ut emundatos ab omni dolo et simulatione suscipias nos invicem in osculo et dilectione sancta, in quo manet vera pacificatio et caritas et unitatis coniunctio*; Richter-Schönfelder, n. 23. The prayer recurs, partly with altered address (among others

even in Italian Mass plans,⁵⁵ and thus was introduced into the Missal of Pius V. It is the first formal prayer in the *Ordo missæ* addressed to Christ. This address to Christ which is already found, in a different way, in the *Agnus Dei*, and which has here been continued obviously in view of the Communion about to be received, is retained also in the following Communion prayers.

This prayer for peace is a prayer for the priest in preparation for giving the *pax*. It presupposes the kiss of peace, which starts here at the altar and thence is continued through the church. Therefore, the priest begs the Lord—in view of the promise He made (John 14:27)—not to look upon his sins, but rather upon the confident attitude of the people gathered in church;⁵⁶ to disregard the unworthiness of His representative and grant peace and concord through this sacred symbol of a kiss. The prayer, therefore, gains its full meaning only when supported by the performance of the rite.

When the kiss of peace was omitted, the *Pax Domini* no longer had to be omitted with it,⁵⁷ but perhaps this prayer would be left out.⁵⁸ However, since the *pax* is almost generally omitted, except at high Mass, the prayer, in which the priest pleads for peace and concord for the Church, offers a substitute for it. Other formularies of such a prayer never made much headway.⁵⁹

Even in Carolingian times the kiss of peace was still given without any accompanying greeting aside from the *Pax Domini*.⁶⁰ But after the practice began of letting the kiss proceed from the altar, it became customary for the priest to combine it with a special blessing. The oldest version of such a blessing—which, however, became rarer later in the Middle Ages—still regarded the kiss of peace as a preparation for Communion: *Habete vincu-*

Quies omnium) and with the conclusion *Per Christum*, in Mass arrangements of the 10th and 11th centuries from France and Italy: Martène, I, 4, VI, VIII, X (I, 534, 540, 551); *ibid.*, I, 4, 9, 9 (I, 423 D, 425 D); Ebner, 4; 301; 338 f.; Leroquais, I, 162; 171; II, 18; 100; 226. It is a poor translation of a formula of the Greek liturgy of St. James; Brightman, 43; cf. *ibid.*, LIV, I, 18.

⁵⁵ Ebner, 297, 299, 301, 307, etc.; Fiala, 213.

⁵⁶ Cf. in an earlier passage: *Quorum tibi fides cognita est*, etc.

⁵⁷ *Supra* with n. 3.

⁵⁸ This rule as at present is already found in Durandus, IV, 53, 8, but applied only in the Mass of the Dead, and not on Maundy Thursday; v. *ibid.*, VI, 75. Cf. *supra*, n. 3.

⁵⁹ In several texts of the late Middle Ages

the priest says instead a prayer for external peace: *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu Deus noster*. Missale of Fécamp (about 1498): Ferreres, p. XXIV. Likewise in the Missale of Evreux-Jumièges (about 1400), where a short prayer precedes: *Domine Jesu Christe, qui es vera pax et vera concordia, fac nos tecum participari in hac hora sancta. Amen*. Martène, I, 4, XXVIII (I, 645). Cf. further *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 48.

⁶⁰ Only in the Communion of the sick, where the Kiss of Peace immediately precedes the administration of the sacrament, is there at times an accompanying prayer, derived from an invitation corresponding to our *Pax Domini* and used at the same time as a formula for the administration of the sacrament; *vide supra*, p. 323, from

*lum pacis et caritatis, ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis.*⁶¹ Those who handed on the kiss and those who received it were to say together: *Pax Christi et ecclesiae abundet in cordibus nostris.*⁶² In other cases this phrase is featured at least as the response of the *ministri*,⁶³ or it is put into the mouth of the celebrant, usually in combination with the aforementioned prayer, and with the variation: *in cordibus vestris.*⁶⁴ But then the simpler *Pax tecum*, the greeting which we heard from the lips of our Saviour Himself, with the answer of the recipient, *Et cum spiritu tuo*, comes more and more into use.⁶⁵

7. *Agnus Dei*

After the answer to the *Pax Domini* has been given, the choir (according to present custom) at once begins the singing of the *Agnus Dei*. The chant is continued while the priest quietly recites the *Agnus Dei* and the following prayers, and while he receives Communion, so that we get the impression that here we have a Communion song. On the other hand, the final petition, *dona nobis pacem*, seems to suggest some relation between

the Book of Dimma.—In the *Rituale* of St. Florian (ed. Franz; Freiburg, 1904, 82) the formula is given a more definite form: *Pax et communicatio corporis et sanguinis* . . . Sometimes such a formula follows the formula of administration; v. *infra*, p. 389, n. 117.—Behind all this seems to be a blessing formula with which (according to the *Expositio* of the Gallican Mass) the priest also could bless the people after the *Pater noster* (*supra*, p. 295, n. 8).

⁶¹ *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, LV (I, 515 C). It seems that here the formula was generally dispensed with. The formula is more common in Italy in the 10th and 13th centuries Ebner, 297; 299; 302; 307; 330, etc. In the Missal of the Hungarian Hermits of St. Paul the priest still says the *Pax Christi et caritas Dei maneat semper in cordibus nostris. Amen*, after the prayer for peace and before the *Habete*; Sawicki, *De missa conventuali*, 148.

⁶² *Missa Illyrica*: *loc. cit.* A Salzburg Missal of the 12-13th century: Köck, 131; for Italy since 11th century; v. Ebner, 307, 330, 356; Muratori, I, 94.

⁶³ Italian Mass orders since the 11th century: Ebner, 299, 302.

⁶⁴ Martène, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 423 D); *ibid.* (I, 652 A); late medieval Missals from Regensburg and Freising: Beck, 269, 309. Since 1510 also in the Augsburg Missale:

Hoeynck, 375. Similarly in the commentary of William of Gouda: Schläger, *Franziskan. Studien*, 6 (1919), 335.

⁶⁵ At first and as the only formula in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 18, 23 (PL, 151, 989; 995). Likewise somewhat later in Italy; Ebner, 317, about 1290 also in the papal court chapel; Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 207; otherwise connected with other formulas (Ebner, 336; Köck, 131), or in various elaborations as the words of the celebrant; thus in the Dominican Mass-arrangement of 1256 (Guerrini, 243): *Pax tibi et Ecclesiae sanctae Dei*; Missale of Evreux-Jumièges: Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 645 B): *Pax tibi, frater, et universae Ecclesiae Dei*. Likewise in Sarum; *ibid.*, XXXV (I, 670 A); cf. Maskell, 170. Also in the Mass-arrangements of northern France in the 16th century; Legg, *Tracts*, 48; 66. In Rouen: *Pax mihi, Domine Jesu Christe, et Ecclesiae sanctae tuae. Et tibi frater*. Martène, 1, 4, XXXVII (I, 678 B). For a renewal of the *Pax*. A Beil, *Einheit in der Liebe* (Colmar, 1914), 106, n. 46, makes the proposal that the *Pax tecum* be simply taken up and repeated by the congregation. But according to what has been said above this repetition would in any event be superfluous. Besides, the answer to the priest's *Pax Domini* already voices agreement with the idea of the Kiss of Peace

the chant and the wish expressed in the *Pax Domini*. What is really the original meaning of the *Agnus Dei*?

Regarding the introduction of the *Agnus Dei* into the Roman Mass, the *Liber pontificalis* has this to tell: Pope Sergius I (687-701) had decreed *ut tempore confractionis dominici corporis "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis" a clero et populo decantetur.*¹ The older Roman *ordines* direct that after the archdeacon has distributed the consecrated breads to the acolytes so that the fraction can begin, he should give a signal to the singers for the start of the *Agnus Dei*,² which is coupled with the fraction.³

So the *Agnus Dei* was a chant to accompany the fraction, a *confractio*,⁴ designed to fill out the interval after the *Pax Domini*, which was given over to the activity of breaking the breads.⁵ The one occasion when it is not used for this is on Holy Saturday, a custom which goes back to times immemorial.⁶ Otherwise, it continued to have the character of a fraction chant until the fraction itself was rendered superfluous by the introduction of unleavened bread and small particles. It is surprising to read that Sergius I was the one who introduced the song; indeed, that statement has been contested in various ways.⁷ However, the *Agnus Dei*

and forms a counter salute at least to the priest.

¹ *Liber pont.* ed. Duchesne, I, 376.

² *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 19 (PL, 78, 946); *Ordo Rom.*, II, 13 (PL, 78, 975). The connection is still clearer in the *Ordo* of S. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 461): *Annuunt archidiaconus schola ut dicatur Agnus Dei. Et interim, dum confranguntur, iterum respondunt acolythi qui sciffos et amulas tenent, Agnus Dei.*

³ *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 200): *confrangunt separatim unusquisque in ordine suo cantantibus omnibus semper: Agnus Dei*; cf. *ibid.* (206): *confrangunt ipsum corpus Domini cantantibus interim clericis semper: Agnus Dei. Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 48 (PL, 78, 959): *quod tamdiu cantatur usque dum complent fractionem.*

⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 302 ff.

⁵ According to the *Ordo* of S. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 461), in which the *Agnus Dei* is provided as usual as a chant for the schola, the priests and deacons should quietly pray Ps. 118 while they are busy with the fraction. In the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (PL, 78, 244 C) and in that of Echternach (11th cent.; Leroquais, I, 122) there still appears a Gallican prayer for the fraction: *Emittere digneris Domine sanctum angelum* . . . Cf.

also Cagin, *Te Deum ou illatio*, 226 ff.

⁶ The reason generally alleged for the omission, namely the great antiquity of the Easter Vigil Mass, is not entirely pertinent. Rather the same reason holds as was alleged for the omission of the *Kyrie* in the same Mass; the *Agnus Dei* was already sung in the litany; cf. *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 45; Appendix, n. 9 f. (PL, 78, 957; 964). The rule, moreover, was not observed everywhere; in individual cases the opposite was specifically provided for; vide *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 211); Holy Week *ordo* of Einsiedeln (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 484).

⁷ E.g., by Silva-Tarouca in the edition of the *Ordo* of John Archicantor (p. 183 f.). The author of this *Ordo* had already left Rome in 680, but in the *Ordo* he wrote soon after in England he already included the *Agnus Dei* (*supra*, n. 3). Silva-Tarouca considers the possibility that the information of the *Liber Pontificalis* was merely taken from a Sacramentary that bore the name of Sergius. Besides, we must take into consideration the rather marked revision of this *Ordo* (*supra*, I, 66); but this incorporates essentially Gallican characteristics and not Roman.—That the author of the reports regarding Sergius I is inclined to ascribe more to him than is

could not have had a place in the Roman Mass very much earlier.⁸ Even if it was not brought into Rome by Sergius himself, a Syrian by descent, still it was during the later seventh century, in the train of that great inrush of Greek clerics from the eastern lands overrun by Islam, above all Syria;⁹ for it is manifestly an element from the Eastern liturgy. In the East it had become the practice since the sixth century to regard the breaking of the species of bread as a reference to our Lord's Passion and death.¹⁰ In the East, too, since an even earlier date, the sacrificial gifts had been designated as the "Lamb,"¹¹ an expression occasioned, no doubt, by St. John's Apocalypse.¹² And here, finally, especially in the liturgy of the West Syrians, liturgical texts—some of them coming from this earlier period—are found which have a reference to the Sacrament and are especially used during the fraction, and these texts speak of the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world.¹³

his due, is shown at all events by his statement that Sergius introduced the processions on the four feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whereas according to A. Baumstark it is established that three of them already existed at an earlier time; Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt*, 155 f.—In favor of Sergius it is pointed out that he could have introduced the *Agnus Dei* as an answer to the prohibition issued at the Synod of Trullo (692) forbidding any representation of the Lamb of God, can. 82 (Mansi, XI, 977); cf. Duchesne, *Le liber pont.*, I, 381; K. Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, I (Freiburg, 1928), 122; 558.

⁸ That in Rome a different fraction hymn preceded it as Cagin, *Te Deum*, 231 f.; 236, 495, assumes, is possible, but cannot be proven. In any case the use of Psalm 118 mentioned above, note 5, is striking.

⁹ Cf. Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 145 f.—Pope Theodore I (642-649) was a native Palestinian.

¹⁰ *Supra*, p. 301. The same idea is carried even further in the Byzantine rite. During the *πρόθεσις* at the beginning of Mass the bread is arranged and divided in realistic fashion into a true *θύειν*; the *ἀγία λόγχη* is used and as accompaniment passages are selected not only from John 1: 29 but from the Prophet of the Passion (Is. 53: 7, 8) and from the account of the Passion (John 19: 34, 35). Brightman, 356 f.

¹¹ *Supra*, p. 37. There is probably a connection between this mode of expression and the fact that, where the Latin Fathers use

the generic term *hostia*, the ancient Greek church substituted the more concrete *ἀμνός*, *ἀρνίον*, for the lamb was the most common sacrificial animal of ancient times. Origen, *In Joh. hom.*, X, 12, al. 17 (PG, 14, 336 B): Is this [Eucharist] not the flesh of the Lamb that takes away the sins of the world?—Gregory of Nyssa, *In Christi resurr. hom.*, 1 (PG, 46, 601 C): Isaac, like Christ, was only-begotten and lamb at the same time.—Chrysostom, *In I Cor. hom.*, 41, 4 (PG, 61, 361): In the prayer of petition we approach the Lamb that lies before us.—Other passages in A. Nägele, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus* (Freiburg, 1900), 153 f.—Passio Andreae (Lipsius-Bonnet, *Acta apost. apocrypha*, II, 1, p. 13 f.): To the almighty, one, and true God, I offer daily a spotless lamb that continues unimpaired and alive even after all the faithful have eaten its flesh and drunk its blood.

¹² Apoc. 5: 6 ff.: *ἀρνίον ἑστηκός ὡς ἑσταγμένον*; cf. thereto Th. Schermann, *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung*, II (Paderborn, 1915), 403-405, from which light is thrown upon the sacrificial character of the Eucharist according to the mind of the most ancient church.

¹³ *Supra*, p. 301.—Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 229 f. The Egyptian anaphora of St. Gregory, which must have had its beginning on Syrian soil about the 16th century, has a prayer between the Eucharistic prayer and the Communion that begins with an address to the Lamb of God: 'Ο ἀμνός τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἀβρῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ

From all that has been said we can see at once that the address to the Lamb of God patently does not refer to Christ simply, but rather to Christ present in the Eucharist as a sacrificial offering; in the same way, just before the distribution of Communion, when the priest holds the Sacrament upraised before the faithful with the words, *Ecce Agnus Dei*, it is the sacramental Christ who is meant. In the liturgy of the city of Rome during the first thousand years this would perhaps be rather strange and unexpected if the prayer under scrutiny were a formal oration said by the priest and not rather a hymnic element intended first of all for the congregation, for in its whole rather imposing store of prayers there is scarcely even one exception to the rule that the prayers be addressed to God. Among the prayers apportioned to the congregation, however, the Roman Mass had long appropriated the *Kyrie eleison*; now, for the same purpose, it took over the *Agnus Dei*. In the interval between consecration and Communion this hymn represents a reverential and, at the same time, humble greeting of Him who has been made present under the form of bread. We might compare it to what occurred some five hundred years later when, under the impulse of a new wave of eucharistic devotion, the silence of the consecration and the elevation of the bread was broken by the introduction of hymns which were engendered not only by the Latin genius but by a new attitude towards the Sacrament—hymns like *Ave verum corpus* and *O Salutaris hostia*.¹⁴ An indication of the close kinship between these two scenes is to be found in the fact that the beginnings of the more recent rites of adoration before the Blessed Sacrament were introduced in the twelfth century at the *Agnus Dei*, and then gradually transferred to the elevation.¹⁵ On the other hand, the note of reverence and adoration at the *Agnus Dei* was later on frequently fortified by the priest not putting the two halves of the Host back on the altar after the fraction, but continuing to hold them raised over the chalice till the Communion¹⁶ or else—according to a widespread custom—holding the particle intended for the commingling over the chalice during the *Agnus Dei*.¹⁷

According to the *Liber pontificalis*, the *Agnus Dei* was sung by clergy

κλέρου; Renaudot, I (1847), 110. The same address, combined with the *Miserere nobis*, is indeed present much earlier already in the *Gloria*, but without any relation to the Eucharist; in fact there is a repetition of the same invocation, so that one might speak of a sort of litany that is present here as with the *Agnus Dei*; cf. *supra*, I, 353 f.

¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 215 ff. O Casel, *JL*, 7 (1927), 183, underlines the differences.

¹⁵ *Supra*, p. 206, n. 22.

¹⁶ *Infra*, p. 351. That the ceremony was thus understood is shown by a passage from a Dominican source, a passage given by Mar-

tène, 1, 4, 9, 4 (I, 420 B): *Datum est Ordini nostro, ut in missa post Agnus Dei ante communionem tenerent fratres hostiam elevatam super calicem, ut sic adoraretur ab universo populo tamquam verum corpus et sanguis Christi*.—Separated from the *Agnus Dei* only by the commingling formula, the Westminster Missal, ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 517, has a relevant *oratio singulis dicenda* beginning with: *Adoramus sanctum corpus tuum atque sanctum sanguinem tuum, Domine Jesu Christe, cuius effusione omnes redempti sumus, tibi gloria...*

¹⁷ *Supra*, p. 320.

and people. That the priest also said it—at least in some localities—is extremely unlikely. References here and there which seem to point to such a practice do not stand up under closer investigation.¹⁸ Most of the older sacramentaries, which as a rule present only the prayer texts of the celebrant, do not contain the *Agnus Dei*. And that is true down to the eleventh century.¹⁹ Only then does it begin to appear regularly in the sacramentaries, with all indications that the priest is also to say it.²⁰ On the contrary, the older sources often expressly mention the singing by the people or by the clergy around the altar.²¹ The members of the *chorus* or the *clerus* (which is the same thing) would naturally have been the chief performers in most cases, and therefore even at an early period they alone are mentioned.²²

A refinement, in keeping with the grand pontifical liturgy, is the direc-

¹⁸ Some manuscripts of the Gregorianum instance the *Agnus Dei* at the end of the canon after the *Pax Domini*; Botte, 50. Still this citation can also have the same meaning as the enumeration before the canon of the Gregorianum of the various parts that belong to the Order of the Mass, Introit, Kyrie, etc.; Lietzmann, n. 1. The *Ordo "Qualiter quædam orationes"* (PL, 78, 984; cf. 284) seems to say: (. . . *mos est.*) *Dum confringit, Agnus Dei dicit* (sc. *pontifex*). But the text, suspect already from the mere fact that the *Agnus Dei* is strangely ascribed to the pope, stands on precarious ground. According to Hittorp it runs thus: . . . *mos est, dum confringunt. Interim vero dicitur Agnus Dei*. According to St. Baluze, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, II (Paris, 1677), 1368, it reads: *mos est dum confringunt et Agnus Dei dicunt*. D. Georgius, *De liturgia Romani pontificis*, III (Rome, 1744), 369 gives the same reading; thus also Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 166. That then must be the original form of the text. Cf. also in the same sense Capelle, "Le rite de la fraction" (*Revue Bénéd.*, 1941), 21.—More striking is the fact that, according to the *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 19 (PL, 78, 946) the officials of the court say the *Agnus Dei* before the fraction; apparently this is because during the fraction they are busied with the invitations.

¹⁹ The otherwise wordy Missa Illyrica does not mention it; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 515); no more so the Mass arrangement of Séz, PL, 78, 250. Also Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 995), does not

mention it among the texts to be uttered by the priest, yet, like earlier commentators, he repeats the statement regarding Sergius in c. 18 (989).

²⁰ Cf. *infra*, note 28. There seems to have been some uncertainty about where the priest was to insert the *Agnus Dei* which meanwhile had been turned into a Communion hymn. This is seen in the fact that in one Central Italian sacramentary of the 11th century (Ebner, 299) the *Agnus Dei* follows the communion of the chalice.—Durandus, IV, 52, 3, discusses only the variation in bodily attitude assumed at the *Agnus Dei*; some say *manibus super altare positus*, therefore with hands resting upon the altar; others *manibus iunctis, parum super altare inclinati*. The expression of humble petition in the latter attitude has gone over into the *Missale Romanum* for the beginning of the prayer. The striking of the breast, however, is not mentioned by Durandus. It appears in the *Ordo Rom.*, XIV (about 1311), n. 71 (PL, 78, 1190 C).

²¹ Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1270 D): *Inter hæc [Kiss of Peace] cantatur ab omnibus et cantando oratur dicentibus: Agnus Dei*. A Central Italian sacramentary of the close of the 11th century (Ebner, 301): *Interea . . . chorus sive alii circumstantes dicant Agnus Dei tribus vicibus*. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 8 (PL, 213, 139).

²² *Expositio "Primum in ordine"* (9th cent.; PL, 138, 1185 f.); Hildebert of Le Mans, *Versus* (PL, 171, 1192 B). Cf. Sacramentary of Ratoldus (d. 986) (PL, 78,

tion in the first Roman *Ordo*, which delegates the *Agnus Dei* to the *schola*. That does not mean, of course, that the *schola* alone was to undertake the singing, as was the case later.²³ It could well mean that the *schola* was to intone it and to alternate with the rest of the clergy and the people, as in the *litanía*,²⁴ the stylistic structure of which either the repetition of the entire invocation or else the final petition in each phrase, *miserere nobis*.²⁵ In any case, outside the papal station services the *Agnus Dei* was largely a popular chant. Therefore the oldest melody to which it was sung, the one still used at ferial and Requiem Masses, is very simple. Not till the eleventh and twelfth centuries were newer and richer melodies added,²⁶ an indication that the simple hymn had been transferred to the choir.²⁷ Soon after this we begin to read reports that the priest at the altar also says the *Agnus Dei*.²⁸

The *Agnus Dei* early lost its original purpose, since the fraction was gradually abandoned after the ninth-tenth century. Up to this time the *Agnus Dei* actually appears as an accompaniment of this function.²⁹ But about this time it also appears in other positions, as the song accompanying the *pax*³⁰ or simply as a Communion song.³¹ When, in some instances

244 B): *annuente episcopo dicat cantor Agnus Dei*. See John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 37 C); Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 4 (PL, 217, 908); cf. Durandus, IV, 52, 3 f.

²³ *Ordo Rom.*, XI (12th cent.), n. 40 (PL, 78, 1040); cf. *Ordo Rom.*, V, n. 11 (PL, 78, 990).

²⁴ *Supra*, I, 335 ff. Cf. the statements of the *Capitulare* and the *Ordo* of S. Amand (*supra*, n. 2).

²⁵ A response to the beginning of the Schola (by the acolytes) is expressly certified by the *Ordo* of S. Amand (*supra*, n. 2) and likewise by the Einsiedeln *Ordo* for Holy Week (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 484).

²⁶ Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 116; Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 57.

²⁷ This must have been partly the case in the 10th century, since the first *Agnus Dei* tropes appear in this period. Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, I (Analecta hymnica, 47), p. 373 ff.

²⁸ *Liber usum O.Cist.* (shortly after 1119), c. 53 (PL, 166, 1426 C). A *Missale* of Cologne of the year 1133 and other Mass-books of the same time in Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 509 f. *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 243) and the Liège *Liber ordinarius* (Volk, 96: besides the deacon and the subdeacon, the two acolytes say it

along (with the priest). Noteworthy in the same *Ordinarium O.P.* (243 f.) is the statement that during the singing of the *Agnus Dei*, the *Pax* should not be imparted any further.

²⁹ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, c. 33 (PL, 1153); Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 950); *Ordo Rom.*, II, n. 13 (PL, 78, 975); *Ordo Rom.*, III, n. 16 (PL, 78, 982). Also in the older version of the Greek Liturgy of St. Peter (Codrington, 136), i.e., toward the middle of the 10th century in a Central Italian model (*ibid.*, 106).

³⁰ Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33 (PL, 107, 324); Florus, *De actione miss.*, c. 89 f. (PL, 119, 71 C); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1270).

³¹ *Expositio "Quotiens contra se"* (beginning of the 9th cent.; PL, 96, 1500 C): *Inter communicandum*; *Expositio "Primum in ordine"* (beginning of the 9th cent.; PL, 138, 1185 C); *Expositio "Dominus vobiscum"* (PL, 138, 1173 C); *Ordo Rom.*, V, n. 11 (PL, 78, 990); *Ordo Rom.*, VI, n. 13 (PL, 78, 994); revised version of the liturgy of St. Peter (Codrington, 144, l. 3; 153, l. 15; 162, l. 20); Ivo of Chartres (d. 1117), *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, 162, 560 B); Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 4 (PL, 217, 909); Durandus IV, 52, 1.

even later, the fraction was still customary, the *Agnus Dei* was no longer intrinsically connected with it.³²

As regards the wording—based on the testimonial of the Baptist (John 1:29)—the first thing that occasions surprise is the vocative form *agnus*. This is in keeping with a grammatical rule which is in effect in many languages: from a feeling of reverence, religious terms are apt to be handled as indeclinable.³³ For the biblical *peccatum* is substituted a plural, *peccata*, which is substantially contained in it.³⁴ And as in other similar cases, only one all-inclusive petition—according to strict Roman usage—is joined to the invocation, namely, *miserere nobis*.

Originally the one simple verse was repeated as often as necessary, just as the *Kyrie eleison* or the *Christe eleison*, as the case might be, could be repeated as often as one pleased.³⁵ But when the time period necessitated by the fraction fell out, the song itself (which no one wanted to drop) gradually assumed the hallowed number three. The earliest testimonies to this change begin even in the ninth century.³⁶ Thus a hymn developed, short in its wording but impressive in its import, capable (especially within the limits in which it appears) of being compared to the hymns of the Apocalypse. The Lamb that is our sacrifice and will become our food, in which the paschal lamb of the Old Testament has found its fulfillment, is the triumphant Lamb of the end of the world, that opens the books of mankind's fate. And as from the heavenly Church the canticles of thanksgiving sung by the elect resound to His praise, so also a plea rises aloft from the assembly of the redeemed who still wander through the pilgrimage of life. All this is made even plainer if we take into account the symbolic reference to our Lord's Passion and Resurrection which followed at the fraction and commingling.

Originally the same plea, *miserere nobis*, was sung unchanged at every repetition, as is still done in the Lateran Basilica. But here and there even in the tenth century,³⁷ and with increasing frequency in the eleventh, a

³² That is the case, e.g., in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 48): On Communion days the priests should divide the *oblata* after the (first) *Agnus Dei*.

³³ Suggestion made by Prof. W. Havers. Cf. the vocative *Deus*, the word *sancta* (above, I, 70).—By way of exception there is the vocative *agne Dei* which we encountered above, I, 339.

³⁴ Is. 53: 5, 7.

³⁵ *Supra*, I, 339.

³⁶ Mass-ordo of Amiens (2nd half of 9th cent.), ed. Leroquais (*Eph. Liturg.*, 1927), 443. Perhaps the Holy Week Ordo of Einsiedeln belongs here (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 484) with the somewhat

puzzling statement *Et Agnus Dei cantat schola cantorum et respondent III* [= *tertio* = up to 3 times?] *acolythi stantes ad rugas tenentes scyphos* . . . Further proofs from the 10-11th centuries have been collected by Codrington, *The Liturgy of St. Peter*, 54. In John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 37), only a double *repetition* can be intended, therefore not a double, but a triple singing of the invocation.

³⁷ *Agnus Dei* tropes with the concluding petition, *dona nobis pacem* in the 10th century Tropers of St. Martial, Winchester, and Reichenau. Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, I, p. 373, 385 (n. 385, cod. A. B. C. Y; n. 419 cod. A.), etc.

substitution was made in the third place (except often on Holy Thursday,³⁸ by singing *dona nobis pacem*.³⁹ The first occasion for this change was probably the transfer of the song to accompany the Kiss of Peace.⁴⁰ Periods of external distress, which recur so often, would then probably have led to the retention of this petition for peace.⁴¹ Indeed, the whole *Agnus Dei* was regarded as a prayer for peace, and the plea for external peace was thus appended to the affirmation of inward peace which was inherent in the ceremony of the kiss of peace,⁴² or else a special prayer to obtain peace was added to the *dona nobis pacem*, as the Salzburg synod of 1281 decreed for a certain period,⁴³ or—as an echo from the period of the Crusades—a prayer for the deliverance of the Holy Land was added, as is attested in England.⁴⁴ One change of the *miserere* soon led to another. In the Requiem Mass, as early as the eleventh century, the words *dona eis requiem* are substituted, and in the third place *requiem sempiternam*.⁴⁵

Another indication of the effort to give the *Agnus Dei* special importance is seen in the prescription that it is to be sung or said *non continuo, sed interpolate ac seiunctim cum oratione interposita*.⁴⁶ Thus it often "hap-

³⁸ Durandus, IV, 52, 4. Later examples in Ferreres, p. XXX, 178. The reason for the omission of the petition for peace lay, as the rubrics of Ferreres and others show, in the fact that the *Pax* was also omitted here; cf. also Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 381 f. In the *Missale Romanum* the rubric *Agnus Dei dicitur de more* is evidently directed against this exception.

³⁹ Leroquais, I, 162; 197; 232. Ivo of Chartres (d. 1117), *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, 162, 560 C). A Mass-ordo of the 11th century from Bologna and the Georgian version of the Greek Liturgy of St. Peter (which traces back to the custom of Beneventum towards the end of the 10th century) have the *dona nobis pacem* at the second *Agnus Dei* (Codrington, 54, 162).

⁴⁰ *Supra*, p. 337.

⁴¹ See the argument in Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 4 (PL, 217, 908 D).

⁴² Cf. Missale of Remiremont (12th cent.): Martène, I, 4, 9, 9 (423 C), where the prayer of the priest for the Kiss of Peace is understood as an introduction to the *Agnus Dei*; of the two formulas provided for the purpose, the first concludes: *et præsta ut cum fiducia audeamus dicere: Agnus Dei*.

⁴³ Can. 16 (Mansi, XXIV, 402): the clergy everywhere, throughout the year

specified, were to say three Our Fathers, Versicle, and the Oration *Deus a quo sancta desideria* after the third *Agnus Dei*. Cf. the kindred insertions before the embolism *supra*, pp. 292 ff.

⁴⁴ A Missale of Sarum in Martène, I, 4, 9, 5 (I, 421): Pss. 76, 66 and 20 with *preces* and three orations should be said *a prostratis*. Similarly, but already inserted after the *Pater noster*, in the Missal of St. Lambrecht of the 14-15th century; Köck, 50. Cf. *supra*, p. 292 f. Martène, *loc cit.*, knows of similar prayers in French churches of the late Middle Ages.

⁴⁵ John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 48 (PL, 202, 55). The *dona eis requiem sempiternam* is noticed by Leroquais, I, 162, in the Sacramentary of Soissons (11th cent.).

⁴⁶ John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 48 (PL, 202, 55 A). Likewise an apparently older source in Martène, I, 4, 9, 4 (I, 419 E): *mixtim cum privata oratione*. The *Liber Ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 103) speaks of a *Pater noster quod a singulis dicitur inter primum et secundum Agnus*.

⁴⁷ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 85 f.); cf. the division already in the Missal of Remiremont (12th cent.): Martène, I, 4, 9, 9 (I, 423 C D). In the cathedral of Tours *clericuli* had to entone the second *Agnus Dei* after the Communion; Martène, I, 4, XIX (I, 606 E); cf. XXII (612 E). According to the Mass-arrangement of the

pened, and still does among the Carthusians,⁴⁸ that only one *Agnus Dei* was sung after the *Pax Domini*, the second and third not being taken up till after the Communion. Thus, insofar as a Communion of the assistants or of the people followed, the *Agnus Dei* became even more of a Communion song, with the *communio* of the Proper of the Mass added as sequel.⁴⁹

Like so many other chants of the Mass, the *Agnus Dei* also was over-spread with tropes, especially in the later *Middle Ages*. These tropes are a good index of the notions that were at that time associated with the *Agnus Dei*.⁵⁰

8. Concluding Rites before the Communion

In many sacramentaries of the earlier Middle Ages the Mass *ordo* closes with the *Agnus Dei*, if it has not already ended with the *Pax Domini*. This should not be surprising, for according to the older system the only thing that followed in the way of priestly prayers was the post-communion (after the communion), which, being a variable text, did not really belong to the *ordo* of the Mass.

At the same time—to follow the conceptions of this and the following period further—the *Agnus Dei* formed the conclusion of the canon, the point at which the priest once more emerged from the sanctuary of the sacrificial and commemorative celebration. Since for a long time the *Te igitur* was not to be started till after the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* had been sung, the *Agnus Dei* was the first song after the beginning of the canon—

monastery of Bec the priest says the commingling prayer between the first and second *Agnus Dei*; Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 674 C).

⁴⁸ Cf. Martène, I, 4, 9, 4 (I, 419 f.); *ibid.*, I, 4, XXV (I, 634 D). *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 14. The celebrant also pronounces the 2nd and 3rd *Agnus* only after the Communion; *ibid.*, c. 2, 17.—A trace of this is also found in the rite of Lyons (Buennner, 256; 281 ff.): insertion of the *Venite populi* after the first *Agnus*. Moreover until 1780 at a non-pontifical Mass in the liturgy of Lyons only one *Agnus Dei* was generally sung; Buennner, 280 f.

⁴⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 337. *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 86; cf. 12). So also in *Ordo Rom.* V, n. 11 (PL, 78, 990 A).

⁵⁰ Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, I, pages 373-405. Eighty-six numbers are here reproduced consisting mostly of three verses, hexameters in great part, of which one verse was to be inserted each time be-

tween the invocation and the petition *miserere nobis*, resp. *dona nobis pacem*. Accordingly the content is mainly an elaboration of the invocation in such manner that attributes and claims to honor of the divinity as well as the humanity of Christ are extolled. A widely spread Tropus that appeared in the 10th century runs as follows:

Agnus Dei . . . mundi. Qui patris in solio residens per sæcula regnas—miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei . . . mundi. Tu pax, tu pietas, bonitas, miseratio, Christe—miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei . . . mundi. Singula discutis cum sederis arbiter orbis—miserere nobis.

Blume, 374 (n. 386). The earliest example is already cited in the commentary based on Amalar, "Missa pro multis," ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 42: *Qui resurrexisti, Agnus Dei consecratus et vivificatus.*

prescinding from the closing formulas and the *Pater noster* of the priest—to break through the stillness. Even as late as 1549 a synod of Trier objected to the practice of singing any antiphons at all after the consecration till this moment of the Mass;¹ the organ, too, was supposed to be silent till the *Agnus Dei*, and all were to be on their knees or stretched out on the floor, meditating *silenter* on the Passion of Christ.²

But even in an earlier period the portion of the Mass where the *Agnus Dei* was inserted marked the end of the Mass in a different and more profound sense. When general participation in Communion was no longer taken for granted, it would seem that no one at first expected the non-communicants to remain during the Communion. In the Gallic liturgy the solemn blessing after the *Pater noster* formed an ostensible termination, you might say, a sort of formal dismissal of the faithful who were not communicating, and it was actually so understood.³ In Rome the forms were much plainer, but the views were the same. In the sixth century it had already become a time-honored practice for the deacon to call out before Communion: *Si quis non communicat, det locum*, that is, the non-communicants should make room, which in practice meant that they had to leave.⁴ For, in view of the Roman manner of distributing Communion, which was done not before the altar to those who came up, but in the nave of the church to all present, any other solution was difficult.

A further step in this arrangement is found in other Roman sources of the seventh and eighth centuries. After the *Pax Domini* the announcements were made regarding the next stational service, pertinent feasts of martyrs, fast days and other ecclesiastical affairs, the time set aside⁵ for these an-

¹ Cf. *supra* I, 124, note 121; 134, note 37.

² Can. 9 (Hartzheim, VI, 600).

³ Cf. *supra*, I, 235; II, p. 295.

⁴ Gregory the Great. *Dial.*, II, 23 (PL, 66, 178 f.), in the life of St. Benedict tells of two nuns, who despite the saint's threat to exclude them from Communion failed to curb their tongues and so died and were buried in the church; they were seen by someone to arise from the grave and leave the church with the others every time the summons mentioned was issued. The passage is to a great extent falsely explained, as if there were question here of the dismissal of the penitents before the Mass of the Faithful, thus, e.g., F. Probst, *Die abendländische Messe von 5-8 Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1896), 115. Also the reference to the similar summons: οἱ ἀκοινώνητοι περιπατήσατε, in Timothy of Alexandria (d. 385), *Responsa canonica* (PG, 33, 1301 C), where the summons before the Eucharistia

is discussed, involves only an external parallel. But there is question rather in our case of a summons addressed before Communion to non-communicants; this is shown especially by the continuation of the story: As Benedict sent an offering for the two nuns and this was offered up, and when the summons again was given, *et a diacono iuxta morem clamatum est ut non communicantes ab ecclesia exirent*, the mysterious incident failed to recur; Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 23 f.—As everyone knows, this call is introduced in the *Pontificale Romanum* as among the duties of the exorcists. How this came about, see de Puniet, *The Roman Pontifical*, 134.

⁵ In the later Gelasianum (Mohlberg, n. 1566): *Post hæc commonenda est plebs pro ieiuniis primi, quarti, septimi et decimi mensis temporibus suis, sive pro scrutiniis vel aurium apertione sive orandum pro in-*

nouncements being either before the Communion in general or (after the celebrant had communicated) before the Communion of the congregation,⁶ that is, before the *Agnus Dei*, insofar as this had become a Communion song.⁷

In Rome, just as in the area of the Gallic liturgy, only those remained at the Communion who were really going to receive. Efforts to get a stricter idea under way and to insist on the presence of all the people also at Communion first cropped up in Spain.⁸ This idea then took hold all through the land of the Franks in conjunction with the adoption of the Roman liturgy. In the Gelasian Sacramentaries, which were substituted for the Gallican since the turn of the seventh century, both a text and a suitable location were wanting for the accustomed Gallic blessing after the *Pater noster*. But on many days a prayer *super populum* was provided after the post-communion, and besides, as an appendix to the canon of the Mass, a special selection of other formulas of such a blessing were offered under the title: *Item benedictiones super populum*.⁹ The Gallic benedictions after the *Pater noster* were kept in part, but only at pontifical Mass.¹⁰

firmitas vel ad nuntiandum natalicia sanctorum. Post hæc communicat sacerdos cum ordinibus sacris et cum omni populo. The older Gelasianum, III, 16 (Wilson, 236), is in agreement. Cf. similar references in Martène, I, 4, 9, 7 (I, 422 C) and in Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1566. The formula, that elsewhere quickly disappeared in the Frankish tradition, is still found in the Sacramentary of Reims in the 10th century; U. Chevalier, *Sacramentaire et martyrologe de l'abbaye de S. Remy* (Bibliothèque liturg., 7; Paris, 1900), 344 f.

⁶ *Capitulum eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 200); *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 20 (PL, 78, 946 f.); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 14 (PL, 78, 975). According to these sources the announcements take place after the fraction has been completed and the *Agnus Dei* accompanying it has been sung and after the pope himself has communicated, but before the Communion of the clergy and the people. The Breviarium (Silva-Tarouca, 200) also has the Communion of the *clerici* precede, the *Ordo* of S. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 462) has it at least begin. The *Ordo Rom.* XI (12th cent.), n. 34 (PL, 78, 1038) still has the regional subdeacon announce the Station *ante communionem*; not until all this is done is the Communion chant intoned. *Deo Gratias* is the response to the announcement, as the last three sources and also the *Ordo Rom.*

I, n. 20 (Stapper, 29; missing however in Mabillon) note.

⁷ According to the order of the scrutinies of Clm. 6425 (11th cent.) which corresponds to the *Ordo Rom.* VII, the announcement of the scrutinies at the Sunday service should take place before the *Agnus Dei*; see the evidences in H. Mayer, *ZkTh*, 38 (1914), 372. Naturally in that case as well as in that of the *Ordo Rom.* XI, there is question only of a custom long since crystallized; that becomes evident from the contemporary *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 87, I, 9), according to which the announcement of the feast days takes place before the *Postcommunio*.

⁸ Here the IV Synod of Toledo (633), can. 18 (Mansi, X, 624), points out an opposite custom that was developing; *Nonnulli sacerdotes post dictam orationem dominicam statim communicant et postea benedictionem in populo dant*; this is now forbidden.

⁹ Mohlberg, n. 1569-1581. Cf. for the related manuscripts the Concordance-tables of Manz, *ibid.*, p. 339, and the further data in de Puniet, *Le pontifical de Gellone* (special printing from the *Eph. liturg.*, 1934-1938) 216 f.

¹⁰ One group of the manuscripts of the later Gelasianum contains as an addition to the Gelasian formulas a further appendix of *Benedictiones episcopales super populum*,

All the more eagerly, then, must these benedictions have been adopted. As a natural result the old direction, in these new circumstances, was taken to mean that the people were to remain, according to the Roman pattern, till this last prayer of blessing, therefore also during the Communion. This interpretation of the law became so firmly established in the course of the century that it could not be dislodged even with the ultimate adoption of the Gregorian Sacramentary which began about 785, even though here the *oratio super populum* was no longer to be found during the Lenten season.¹¹

9. Communion of the Priest: Preparatory Prayers

In the early Church, because the concept of the Mass as a sacred repast, a meal, the δεῖπνον κυριακόν, was so much to the fore, it was taken for granted that the Mass would culminate in the reception of the Sacrament by all the participants. In Justin's time this was so much a matter of course that the deacons, as he remarked in both of his accounts, even brought some of the hallowed gift to the absent.¹ A fixed order was followed in arranging the reception, as we discover somewhat later: the leader (bishop or priest) of the assembly was the first to receive "so that it may be made clear that he has offered the sacrifice for all, according to the established

partly of Gallican coinage; de Puniet, 218-236. Cf. *supra*, pp. 296 f.

¹¹ The name *benedictio super populum* was now transferred to the Postcommunio. Thus already in the *Expositio "Primum in ordine"* (PL, 138, 1186) which originated in 800, unless this designation actually conceals the survival of an *oratio super populum*. In any case *v.* the proximately contemporaneous *Ordo Angliberti* (Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 323): the communicants should be able to hear the *benedictionem sive completionem missæ* (in the Gregorianum the *Postcommunio* was commonly called *Ad complendum*. Perhaps the Gregorian background and the same mode of expression is to be presupposed in the demand of the *Admonitio generalis* of Charlemagne of 789, c. 71 (MGH Cap., I, 59): *ut non exeat ante completionem benedictionis sacerdotalis*; also in the collection of capitulars of Ansegisus (completed 827), I, 67 (MGH Cap., I, 403). Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 36 f. (PL 105 1155 f.) calls the *Postcommunio ultima benedictio*, the *oratio super populum* of Lent he terms *ulterior ultima benedictio*.

The same designation of the Postcommunio in Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, c. 33 (PL, 107, 324); *idem.*, *Additio de missa* (326); Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 951). After all that has been said, it will not be necessary to follow the line of thought presented by J. Lechner, "Der Schlusssegen des Priesters in der hl. Messe" (*Festschrift E. Eichmann* [Paderborn, 1940]), 676 ff. In discussing this new designation of the Postcommunio by the Carolingian liturgists, he speaks of "an interpretation arranged *ad hoc*" (677), of "an erudite exegesis that is artificially contrived" (679) in an endeavor to find in the synodal stipulations of the 6th century (which demanded that the faithful remain for the blessing) a support for the requirement that they remain till the end of Mass. This new designation of the Postcommunio as *benedictio* was made all the easier, after the intermediate Gelasian stage, by the fact that at all sacerdotal orations the faithful assumed the same bodily posture as at the imparting of a blessing; cf. *supra*, I, 370 f.; II, pp. 141 f. ¹ *Supra* I, 22 f.

order of priestly service":² next came the other members of the clergy, in order of their ecclesiastical rank; and finally the people.³

Even in the most ancient Roman *ordines*, the Communion of the assembled congregation, at least at the stationary services, formed a natural termination, which appeared like the exact counterpart of the offering of the gifts by the congregation at the start of the Sacrifice-Mass. Here, too, the pope himself received the Sacrament first; he took the bread and partook from the chalice held by the archdeacon. Then he distributed the Body of the Lord to the bishops and priests, and started off the distribution to the people by stepping down (followed by the archdeacon with the chalice), first to the noble men and then over to the noble ladies, to give them the Sacrament.⁴

In the fuller development of the Mass-liturgy, as it proceeded eventually on Frankish soil, the Communion of the celebrant assumed a more prominent position, to such an extent, in fact, that as time went on it alone began to be considered an integral part of the liturgy. Its rite was regulated more and more, and encompassed by special prayers which the priest was to say softly to himself. Even here the comparison to the offertory is marked, for in the offertory, too, a similar evolution took place, although in a somewhat different rhythm. But neither in the offertory nor in the Communion was the original design destroyed by this development; it is still clearly manifest at present. So just as the offertory activity of the congregation is still recalled in the offertory chant which grew around it, and still finds its conclusion in the *oratio super oblata* that marks the close, so the Communion chant which was designed to accompany the Communion of the people has been retained throughout all the changes in the ceremony, and so too until now—and especially in our own day—the Communion cycle closes with a community prayer (corresponding to the oration mentioned above), called the post-communion.

The Communion of the priest is at present introduced by two lengthy prayers in oration style, subjoined to the prayer for peace, and it is accompanied by a series of shorter prayer-phrases which continue even after the consumption of the Precious Blood. This cycle of silent prayers—like the parallel structure around the offertory—was added to the Roman Mass in the area of the Gallo-Frankish Church. Like the former, they are mainly shoots that grew from the still living roots of the abandoned Gallican liturgy. But to a higher degree even than the prayers at the offertory, they are private prayers, as the "I"-form which is their very basis clearly betrays. We will also have occasion to establish that they were all originally designed to serve for the devotion of the other communicants as well.⁵ This

² Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (Rücker, 36).

³ See enumeration *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 14 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 230): Priests, deacons, subdeacons, lectors, singers, monks (ἀσκηταὶ), deaconesses, virgins, widows, children,

people.

⁴ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 19 f. (PL, 78, 946 f.). As a mark of distinction the Communion of the regional clergy and certain officials of the court takes place at the Cathedra of the pope. ⁵ *Infra*, pp. 367 f.; pp. 400 ff.

is not strange. The oriental liturgies, too, have the priest prepare himself for Communion by private prayer, and at least the Byzantine has him make a private thanksgiving at once after Communion.⁶ The prevailing address to Christ and the partly unusual concluding formulas⁷ are also in keeping with the non-Roman origin of these prayers.

The oldest texts are again found in the Sacramentary of Amiens, which belongs to the ninth century. It presents two preparatory prayers, the first of which is the one that is still used at present as the first prayer: *Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi*.⁸ But it is clear that we do not here have the beginnings of all later Communion prayers, but only one sample of such creations, for the first prayer here shows one isolated variant,⁹ while the other prayer¹⁰ apparently does not generally recur in the later transmission of such texts.

Our second preparatory prayer, *Perceptio*, also is met already in the tenth century, in two books stemming from the northeast portion of the Carolingian domain,¹¹ and in both cases it precedes its companion formula. In contrast to our first prayer, this formula as a rule makes mention only of the Body of our Lord,¹² as it does at present. For this reason it was in later times preferred for the Good Friday Communion, where only the species of bread was received.

Often (as was the case already in the Sacramentary of Fulda) these two formulas are accompanied by a third which is addressed to God the Father. This prayer frequently took the place of the others. But even at its first

⁶ Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 163.

⁷ Thus in the Sarum Missal of the 13th century (Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 226 f.) our first communion oration *Domine Jesu Christe* has a Gallican conclusion, *Salvator mundi qui vivis* . . . In the Missale of Lucca (11th cent.; Ebner, 305) the *Salvator mundi* is taken into the invocation. Other examples, see also *infra* n. 11, 14.—The only thing noteworthy regarding details in the form of today's concluding formula of the communion prayers, as well as that of the preceding prayer for peace, is that it reflects the variation of expression from the early Middle Ages, whereas according to a later rule it ought to be *qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum*, at all events with the Trinitarian extension as in the second communion prayer).

⁸ Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927) 444; Sacramentary of Le Mans (also from the 9th cent.): Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, 30.

⁹ Namely after the *fac me* the inserted invocation *Domine Deus meus*. The prayer

coincides for the rest in the first half with today's text; the continuation runs mostly as follows in the oldest texts as well as in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (PL, 78, 244): . . . *per hoc sacrum corpus et sanguinem tuum a cunctis iniquitatibus et universis malis meis, et fac me tuis obviare praeceptis et a te nunquam in perpetuum separari. Qui cum Patre*.

¹⁰ *Da mihi Domine peccatori* . . . related, as far as content is concerned, to the present-day oration *Perceptio*.

¹¹ Sacramentary of Fulda (Richter-Schönfelder, n. 24), with the variation *Perceptio corporis et sanguinis tui* and with the Gallican conclusion *Te donante qui*; Sacramentary of Ratoldus of Corbie (PL, 78, 244).

¹² The addition *et sanguinis* as in the Sacramentary of Fulda (and in that of Corbie;) occasionally also later; thus as a supplement in the Sacramentary of the Papal Court Chapel of the 13-14th centuries; Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 207; in Missale of Riga (supplement of the 15th century): v. Bruiningk, 87.

appearance it presented itself not as a component of liturgical prayer, but as a private prayer:¹³

*Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, da mihi corpus et sanguinem Christi filii tui Domini nostri ita sumere, ut merear per hoc remissionem peccatorum accipere et tuo Sancto Spiritu repleri. Quia tu es Deus et in te est Deus et præter te non est alius, cuius regnum permanet in sæcula sæculorum.*¹⁴

A series of still other formulations of a prayer of preparation appear here and there, but never gained widespread use. Some of them,¹⁵ like the prayers

¹³ Noticed for the first time in the prayer-book of Charles the Bald (d. 877), ed. Fel. Ninguarda (1583), 115 f.

¹⁴ In the 9th century still in a Sacramentary of Tours (Leroquais, I, 49). In the 10th century in the Sacramentaries of Fulda (Richter-Schönfelder, n. 26), Chartres (Leroquais, I, 76), of Ratoldus (PL, 78, 245). The formula, in which the Gallican concluding formula (*Quia tu . . .*) often varies, was still widespread in the later Middle Ages; it formed part of the permanent Mass order in Normandy and in England; Martène 1, 4, XXVI-XXVIII (I, 638, 641, 645, 669); Legg, *Tracts*, 14 f., 66, 226. In a more expanded version in two Communion devotions at the turn of the 11th century, ed. A. Wilmart, "Prières pour la communion en deux psautiers du Mont-Cassin (*Eph. liturg.*, 43 ([1929]), 320-328), 323; 326. Cf. Fiala, 213.

¹⁵ Aside from shorter texts in an optative form the following are to be noted: in the Sacramentary from Thierry of the end of 10th century a formula *Da mihi Domine corpus*, with the petition for a worthy reception now and at the hour of death; Martène, 1, 4, X (I, 551 D). A formula *Fiat mihi obsecro Domine* (corresponding to our *Perceptio* in content), among others in the Missa Illyrica; Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 515 D); cf. *ibid.*, XV (I, 593 E). A formula *Præsta mihi peccatori misericors Christe*, with a petition for a very fruitful reception, in the Sacramentary of Subiaco from the year 1075; Ebner, 339. In the Mass-arrangements of the Middle Ages about the 11-12th centuries, formulas were circulated that began with *Domine Jesu Christe propitius esto mihi peccatori et ne respicias*, and the petition that the reception might not redound to one's judgment; Ebner, 331; cf. 101, 102, 183, 341, 346,

348. The same as a private prayer in a Communion-arrangement of Montecassino; Wilmart (previous note), 326. Likewise with another extension (*. . . esto peccatis meis per assumptionem corporis . . .*) in the Missal of Remiremont (12th cent.): Martène, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 424); also in the Vorau Missal of the 15th century, Köck, 134; it is a *Postcommunio* of the Fulda Sacramentary (Richter-Schönfelder, n. 2185). Ebner notices another formula from Italian Mass books that begins with *Domine J. C. Fili Dei vivi ne indignum me iudices* (189), and another with *Domine J. C. qui in cæna* (256).—Ofentimes lengthy formulas are found with the beginning *Domine, non sum dignus*; concerning these *vide infra*, p. 355.—Two Missals of Tortosa (15th and 16th cent.) contain a prayer, *Domine Jesu Christe Fili Dei vivi, pone passionem tuam, crucem et mortem tuam inter iudicium tuum et animam meam*, whereupon petitions and intercessions follow; Ferreres, 186; the prayer is reminiscent of the *Admonitio morienti* of St. Anselm. (PL, 158, 687).—English Mass-books propose a prayer during which the priest holds the Host in his hands, *Deus pater, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui . . . Unigenitum tuum . . . carnem sumere voluisti, quam ego hic in manibus meis teneo . . .*; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 670 B); Legg, *Tracts*, 15; 227; Ferreres, 187; 188; Maskell, 174. In England, and also in France, an offering up of the Body and Blood of Christ for the souls in Purgatory and for one's sins, *Agimus tibi Patri gratias*; Martène, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 426 B); Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 227; the same, *Missale Westmonasteriense* (HBS, 5), 519. As a 12-13th century supplement in the Missal of St. Vincent: Fiala, 217; 224.—A further supply of Communion prayers,

already mentioned, are marked entirely by a tone of humble petition. Others have a hymnic character.¹⁶

However, some Mass books even in the tenth¹⁷ and the eleventh centuries did not take up any of these new Communion prayers.¹⁸ On the other hand, Bernold of Constance tells of many prayers which some associate with the kiss of peace and the Communion. And he agrees with other custodians of a good tradition in maintaining that one ought to lose no time over such *privatæ orationes* which are in use *non ex ordine, sed ex religiosorum traditione*, and that one ought to be satisfied with the one oration *Domine Jesu Christe, qui ex voluntate Patris*,¹⁹ which is to be said

among them two Apologies, in a Premonstratensian Missal of the 14th century from Chotieschau; see Lentze, *Anal. Præm.*, 27 (1951), 17; cf. *ibid.*, 26 (1950), 140. Even the Sacramentary of Boldau in Hungary (circa 1195) already contains three apparently independent, but extensive preparatory prayers in the appendix of the *Mass-ordo*, ed. Kniwald: *Theologia*, 6 (Budapest, 1939), 25 f.

¹⁶ If we prescind from the short greetings with which we shall deal later on, we find such hymnic inserts especially, though not exclusively, in the Mass-books of Styria. According to the Mass-arrangement of Seckau (12th and 14th cent.) the priest said *Gloria æterno Patri et Agno mitissimo qui frequenter immolatur permanetque integer . . .* Köck, 127; 129; cf. 53, 128, 133 (in connection with the ablution).—A Mass-book of St. Lambrecht, 14-15th century, proposes in the same place a prayer in five hexameters beginning with *Te veneranda caro*, followed by several other peculiar compositions (Köck, 130). A Mass-book from Vorau (14-15th cent.; Köck, 133; cf. 79) has the hymns *O vere digna hostia* and *O salutaris hostia* immediately after the Communion. Another proposes the *Anima Christi* to be prayed before Communion (15th cent.; Köck, 76; 132). A broadened version of the same from the 15th century in a Missal of Cambrai (Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 21 f.). A Missal of the 13th century from Stift-Schlägl, Cpl. 47-1, uses the hymn *Jesu nostra redemptio* before Communion (M. J. Waefelghem, in *Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré* [1912], p. 140). This, along with further stanzas of the hymn and various Scripture phrases, was still in use later

in the liturgy proper to the Premonstratensians (Lentze, *Anal. Præm.* [1950] 144).—The Mass-arrangement of the monastery of Bec: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI (I, 674), places at the priest's disposal *pro animi desiderio* before Communion the hymn *Ave verum corpus* and a lengthy prayer *O panis angelorum*.—The Regensburg Missale about 1500, places here the distych *Ave salus mundi* (Beck, 270); cf. *supra*, p. 215. The same with the beginning *Salve salus mundi* in the Ordinal of the Carmelites of 1312 (Zimmermann, 83); cf. also Missale of Carmelites of 1663 (Ferrerres, 187) and the present-day *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), 318.—In a Missal of Passau of the 14th century a prayer begins *Salve rex fabricator mundi* whereupon the *O vera digna hostia* mentioned above follows; Radó, 102.—A Missal of the 14th century from Gerona has the priest pray *Adoro te, Domine J. C. . . quem credo sub hac specie quam teneo sive video*; Ferreres, p. XLVI.

¹⁷ Leroquais, I, 66, 72, 84, 90.

¹⁸ From the 11th century, cf. Leroquais, I, 106, 108, 120, 127; Ebner, 7, 53, 65, 105, etc. Even some isolated manuscripts of the 12th century still conclude the *Mass-ordo* with *Fiat commixtio* or with the *Agnus Dei*; Ebner, 36, 89, etc.; an Admont Missal of the 13th century that concludes with *Agnus Dei* in Köck, 3.

¹⁹ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 19 (PL, 151, 989); cf. c. 23. Sicaud of Cremona (d. 1226); *Mitræ*, III, 8 (PL, 213, 141 f.) is equally reserved. So also Durandus (d. 1296), IV, 54, 10, who otherwise explains every word in detail, handles the preparatory prayers but briefly, evidently because

bowed. As a matter of fact, this prayer does not seldom appear all alone.²⁰ How much a favorite it was is attested also by the different variants.²¹

But the eagerness for an increase of such prayers was even stronger. Some wanted first a prayer addressed to God the Father, and only then one addressed to the Son.²² Finally, the wish was expressed that a prayer should be added addressed to the Holy Ghost,²³ or at any rate one for the grace of the Holy Ghost.²⁴ Or else free rein should be given to the private devotion of the celebrant. Even in the sixteenth century there were those who upheld this opinion and put it into practice.²⁵ In the Mass plans of Middle Italy, where the monasteries had obviously borrowed their prayer material from the sister establishments of the North, the two prayers come to the fore side by side with increasing frequency since the eleventh century. But the first of them, *Domine Jesu Christe*, in these and other

he regards them as matter for private devotion. Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 138 f.

²⁰ Missale of Monte Cassino (11-12th cent.) Ebner, 310; Sacramentary of Modena (before 1173): Muratori, I, 94; *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 244) and *Liber ordinarius* from Liège (Volk, 96); *Ordinarium* of the Carthusians; Legg, *Tracts*, 102; cf. Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 634 C) and even later, e.g., *Missale Cart.* (1713), 222; also in a *Missale itinerantium* from Cologne, 1505: Beck, 337.

²¹ Three modifications, among them one with an intercession for the departed and one with prayer for the living in the Missale of Fécamp, circa 1400. Martène, I, 4, XXVII (I, 641 f.).

²² This arrangement frequent in the northern French and the English Mass-books; thus already in the Missale of Robert of Jumièges from the 11th century, ed. Wilson (HBS, 11), 47 f. So also in the following period; v. Legg, *Tracts*, 15; 48; 66: 227; Martène, I, 4, XXVI-XXVIII (I, 638, 641, 645); cf. *ibid.*, I, 4, 9, 9 (I, 425 C).

²³ Such a prayer (*Domine Sancte Spiritus*) is handed down in several Mass-arrangements from monasteries in Southern Italy; Ebner, 348, 157; Fiala, 204. In the two last cases (Missale of the 15th century from Monte Vergine and a missal of the 12th century from St. Vincent) as well as in the Communion devotions at the end of the 11th century from Monte Cassino, ed. Wilmart (*Eph. liturg.*, 1929), 326, it has its place in fact after a prayer each to God the Father and God the Son. Wilmart

(228) traces the core of the formula back to Peter Damian (PL, 145, 922 C). In the Missale from Monte Vergine and in the second version of the Communion devotion mentioned (*ibid.*, 326 f.) a prayer to each of the Divine Persons also follows after the Communion.

²⁴ Hugo of S. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 49 f.) testifies that some say the prayer *Assit nobis, quæsumus Domine, virtus Spiritus Sancti* or *Veni Sancte Spiritus* for the purpose of rounding out the series to the whole Trinity. He himself does not recommend this.—Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 139-142.

²⁵ Jod. Clichtoveus (d. 1543), *Elucidatorium* (Basle, 1517), 150 v., discusses the Communion prayer *Domine Jesu Christe* and *Perceptio* and then adds: *Alii vero (quisque pro more suæ ecclesiæ) alias orationes secundum devotionis suæ affectum et recte quidem dicunt.*—St. Francis Xavier inserted in this place a prayer for the conversion of the heathens; G. Schurhammer, *Der hl. Franz Xaver* (Freiburg, 1925), 241.—John Bechhofen (circa 1500) is somewhat stricter, inasmuch as he would permit the addition of such prayers only mentally, but not vocally; Franz, *Die Messe*, 594 f. Louis Ciconiolanus, *Directorium div. off.* (Rome, 1539; Legg, *Tracts*, 211), also inserts, after the *Domine non sum dignus*, a prayer that apparently does not occur elsewhere (*Domine Jesu Christe, da mihi . . .*) which the priest should say *submissa voce vel potius mente*.

uses very frequently follows the reception of Communion;²⁶ this is true less often of the second formula, *Perceptio*.²⁷

In these arrangements of the prayers is revealed the attitude towards the Sacrament which prevailed even at the height of the Middle Ages, an attitude which was concerned less with a special preparation of the soul as such, but rather with the production of the *opus operatum* which is to be sought from God.²⁸ Since the last years of the eleventh century the two formulas appear at one or another time in Italy in the present-day arrangement,²⁹ and even outside Italy the same arrangement had made its way before Pius V.³⁰

In the arrangement as we have it now, the two prayers serve as a final preparation for the reception of the Sacrament. Prescinding from the Great Prayer itself, there was already a first preparation in the Lord's Prayer, in which we asked the heavenly Father for the sacred bread. In this second step we turn our prayer to Christ, a course which is undoubtedly to be expected even in liturgical prayer. But all the same, even in this we do not lose sight of the gift character of the Sacrament. In other words, our prayer is directed not to Christ as present under the form of bread, but always to Christ who "liveth and reigneth" in heavenly majesty and who, "by this, His most holy Body and Blood," will deliver us from sin and sorrow. The idea of the heavenly Christ and his heavenly existence is so strong that it is not eclipsed even by the sacramental nearness. In the *Agnus Dei* the latter could flash momentarily. But the mood which prevails in the popular devotion since the late Middle Ages, and which has found an outlet in the Fourth Book of the *Imitatio Christi*, and in subsequent prayerbook literature—that mood here was stopped short and not permitted to turn the reception of Communion into a meditative visit to the Blessed Sacrament.³¹ Instead, a complete view of the Christian world of faith is maintained and not even in the moment of reception is it forsaken in favor of a partial view.³²

²⁶ Ebner, 5; 20; 101; 102; 305; 311; 334; 339; 349; cf. 157 f. Similarly in old Italian Mass-orders; see, e.g., Martène, I, 4, IV; V; VIII; XIII; XV (I, 516, 528, 541, 579, 594). Enumeration from Leroquais in Eisenhofer, II, 211.

²⁷ Cf., however, earlier and later Mass-orders in France and on the Rhine. Martène, I, 4, VIII; XVII; XXVI; XXVIII; XXXII f. (I, 541, 602, 638, 645, 657, 661); Leroquais, I 140; 186; 197, etc.—That the Communion prayers, on the other hand, often occur even before the Kiss of Peace and the pertinent prayers was already noted above, p. 340, n. 50.

²⁸ For the rest Gühr, 762, rightly calls attention to the fact that the prayer *Domine*

Jesu Christe was formulated in such a general way (*per hoc sacrosanctum corpus . . .*) that it did not have to refer exclusively to the Communion, but could also be understood as a petition for the fruit of the Sacrifice.

²⁹ Ebner, 299; 317; 335; Mass-ordo of John Burchard: Legg, *Tracts*, 162 f.

³⁰ Mass-ordo "Indutus planeta": Legg, 187; Freising Missale of 1520: Beck, 309.

³¹ Amalar, *Ep. ad Guntrad.* (PL, 105, 1339), offers an early example of this manner of meditating.

³² The inclination to complete this transition is certainly evident in many a Mass-book of the Middle Ages. Thus already in a text dated about 1100 our oration *Domi-*

This complete view is unfolded in a wonderful way, briefly, concisely, in the very first Communion prayer, *Domine Jesu Christe*. As someone has rightly said, a whole theology is contained in this one prayer. We can also say that in it the grand concepts of the anamnesis once more come to life. Grand, indeed. Before our mind's eye appears again the picture of Him whose Body and Blood will soon be our nourishment. At the very start of the prayer our gaze is fixed on the Christ whom we in this solemn moment call—as Peter did (Matth. 16:16)—the Son of the living God. Then our look takes in His momentous work of renewing and reviving the world (*vivificasti*), that work which will be continued in one tiny point in the Sacrament about to be received; our look takes in the well-spring of this work in the grace-laden decree of the heavenly Father³³ and in the obedience unto death of the Son; it takes in the completion of that work in the operation of the Holy Spirit. Grand, too, is the plea which we now direct to the Lord, confiding in His most holy Body and Blood which He has vouchsafed to us as a sacrifice and which He wills to grant us as a repast; the things we ask are things of magnitude: deliverance from all sin, the strength to be true to His commandments, and—the same petition which we made in the instant before the consecration—the grace of final perseverance, so that we may never be separated from Him. Here, in bold strokes, the whole pattern of Christianity is presented to view.

The second prayer, *Perceptio*, recalling the Apostle's earnest words about an unworthy reception (1 Cor. 11:29), seizes upon one negative point in the first prayer, the curbing of sin. Whoever dares to receive (*præsumo*) may not be conscious of any grave fault; he that eats unworthily, eats the judgment unto himself. But who is really worthy? All that each and everyone can do is raise a humble prayer for the Lord's leniency (*pro tua pietate*). The positive side of the petition blends the objects that are stipulated as the effect of the Sacrament in numerous formulas of the post-communion: protection of soul and body and the cure of our manifold weakness. Even if the body is not the direct subject of grace, yet it is the recipient of the sacramental tokens and is destined to secure those rays of grace which issue from the spiritual center of man's essence.

ne Jesu Christe is characterized as a prayer of St. Augustine *ad Filium quem ante se tenet*; Martène, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 425 C). The custom of holding the Blessed Sacrament in one's hands during these prayers was already mentioned above. But there is no necessary connection between these prayers and this deportment, as the Communion-prayer above (n. 15), *Deus Pater*

fons, shows. The attention is thereby merely directed all the more intensively to the Sacrament, as happens similarly when, according to the prescription of the *Missale Romanum*, *Ritus serv.* X, 3, the prayers after the *Agnus Dei* are said *oculis ad sacramentum intentis*.

³³Cf. Eph. 1: 5, 9, 11, et al.

10. Communion of the Priest: Ritual Procedure

As before the priest's Communion, so also during it, the old liturgy had no accompanying prayers. In some individual places this situation lasted a long time, even when some preparatory prayers had been admitted.

The conduct of the Communion itself was one of utmost simplicity, even if not the same everywhere. Any previous genuflection here or elsewhere was unknown till very late in the Middle Ages.¹ The priest simply retained the posture he had, until now. He uncovered the chalice,² then conveyed first the Host and next the chalice to his mouth. A previous sign of the Cross with the Host appears here and there since the thirteenth century.³ According to the system still observed by the Dominicans, the priest held the two halves of the Host just as they were at the fraction, in the left hand, while the right rested on the node of the chalice.⁴ In this case the *sumptio corporis* was—and is—done with the left hand,⁵ and then the chalice was taken up at once.⁶ But elsewhere the practice of making a sign of the Cross over himself with the Body of the Lord before the reception entailed an increasing employment of the right hand,⁷ even when it was not already in use. When—as at the grand pontifical service—the Communion of the celebrant did not take place at the altar, care was exercised in olden times that he should be facing East, as at solemn prayer.⁸

¹ Cf. *supra* I, 123.—The two genuflections customary today are proposed in the Mass arrangement of John Burchard (Legg, *Tracts*, 163 f.), still the second does not occur after the uncovering of the chalice, but only after the *Quid retribuam* that follows. The second genuflection is still missing in the monastic Missal of 1531 from Lyons; Martène 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 661 B).

² Another Minorite Missal about 1300 provides for the removal of the pall already before the words *Panem caelestem*. Ebner, 351; cf. 317.

³ Ebner, 317; 351; Martène, 1, 4, XXXVIII; XXXV (I, 661 B, 670 C). A sign of the cross with the chalice is not especially mentioned. Such a sign, on the contrary, is specified in the Mass-book of Salzburg of the 12-13th century: Köck, 131; both signs of the cross are indicated in Durandus, IV, 54, 11.

⁴ A related custom is that in the Pressburg Missal D (15th cent.) according to which the priest takes the Body of the Lord together with the paten in his hands before the oration *Perceptio Corporis*: Jávör, 119.

⁵ Sölch, *Hugo*, 145 f. In the 13th and 14th

centuries the papal liturgy gives evidence of the Communion with the left hand: *Ordo* of Stefaneschi, n. 53 (PL, 78, 1168); cf. Sölch, *loc. cit.*—A form of respect that is strange to our way of thinking is the one adopted in the Mass arrangement "Indutus planeta" (origin period to 1244): Legg, *Tracts*, 187: The priest should lift the host upon the paten and take it thence, not with his hands, but with his tongue. Cf. also Ebner, 151, 166. This method also is mentioned at the turn of the 15th century by Balthasar of Pforta (Franz, 540, n. 2), but he does not recommend it. It appears in 1562 among the lists of *abusus missæ*; *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Görres, VIII, 923. Regarding the origin of the custom, a Franciscan Missal of the 13th century (Leroquais II, 129), reports that the practice was introduced at the Roman Curia under Gregory IX (1227-1241).

⁶ Durandus, IV, 54, 12, wanted to see the Communion of the chalice emphasized over the drinking of the ablution by having the priest take hold of the chalice with both hands and drink it in three draughts.

⁷ Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 146 f.

⁸ *Ordo Rom.* V, n. 10 (PL, 78, 989): *qui*

Even in later texts, when at times mention is made of a meditative pause either before or after the *sumptio*,⁹ still a further direction is given that the priest must take the sacred meal *festinanter*, as did the Israelites at the exodus,¹⁰ and he may not, by his own private devotion, keep the participants waiting.

Regarding the accompanying prayers at the priest's Communion, the texts of the earlier Middle Ages give indications of three motifs in their introduction. The first was the desire to give proper expression to the veneration of the Sacrament. It is the same desire from which proceeded the *Agnus Dei*, and later the elevation and salutation of the Sacrament right after the consecration. The texts composed for this we find in the earliest and purest form in the Missal of Troyes written about 1050,¹¹ where no other type of text is given.

First, a passage from the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. Agnes is cited: *Ecce, Jesu benignissime, quod concupivi iam video; ecce, rex clementissime, quod speravi iam teneo; hinc tibi quæso iungar in cælis, quod tuum corpus et sanguinem, quamvis indignus, cum gaudio suscipio in terris*. Then follows a double salute of the Sacrament, to which each time is added a short prayer: *Ave in ævum, sanctissima caro, mea in perpetuum summa dulcedo*; and then the prayer referring to the species of bread, *Perceptio*.¹² Then a greeting of the chalice: *Ave in æternum, cælestis potus, mihi ante omnia et super omnia dulcis*; and to this as a prayer, the words, *Cruor ex latere D. n. J. C. mihi indigno maneat ad salutem et proficiat ad remedium animæ meæ in vitam æternam. Amen*.

Of these, only the two salutations, *Ave in ævum* and *Ave in æternum*, gained a wider acceptance,¹³ which they kept all through the Middle Ages,¹⁴

surgens vertat ese ad orientem et communicet. We may follow Mabillon (PL, 78, 946, note k) in surmising that the same directional turn is to be presupposed at the Communion of the Pope *ad sedem* in *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 19.

⁹ Hugo of S. Cher requires such a *meditari* before the reception; so also the Dominican Missal of today and the statutes of the Carthusians (though here it is a modern regulation); Sölch, 142. The Missal of Bangor about 1400 (Maskell, 182) gives an express instruction: *Hic debet sacerdos intime meditari de incarnatione, caritate, passione et de dira morte Jesu Christi, quas pro nobis passus est . . .* The *Missale Rom.*, *Ritus serv.* X, 4, requires such a moment of meditation after the *sumptio corporis*.

¹⁰ Franz, 518; 610.

¹¹ Martène, 1 4, VI (I, 534). Similarly complete, but with an inversion and the

addition of other accompanying words, in the Missal of Remiremont; *ibid.*, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 424).

¹² Shortened at the end: . . . *tutamentum animæ et corporis. Amen*.

¹³ Ebner, 63; 336; 338; Leroquais, I, 199; 225; 232; 259; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 227 f. A number of French manuscripts of the 12-16th centuries in Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels* 20, n. 1.

¹⁴ From the later Middle Ages should be mentioned, for England: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 679 C); Maskell, 180 f.; cf. Ferreres, 189-191 (nn. 691, 693 f., 696); Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 86 f. For France: Lebrun, I, 537, note a. For Germany: Hoeyneck, 375 (cf. Franz, 753); Beck, 270, 309. For Hungary: Radó, 43, 62, 71, 76, 84, 123. And in Sweden since the end of the 14th century: Segelberg, 258; Freisen, *Manuale Lincopense*, p. XXX, LI. — Differently worded is

mostly in connection with the pertinent phrase used at the distribution, *Corpus D. n. J. C.*, etc., which was added immediately. The phrase from St. Agnes seldom recurs.¹⁵ On the other hand, the salutation was more frequently expanded. And just as the salutation—sometimes even to the wording—was used since the thirteenth century for the veneration of the Sacrament at the consecration; so, in reverse, the forms which were created for the consecration were later used also before Communion.¹⁶

The second motif consists of short scriptural passages which were suited to accompany the Communion. There was above all Psalm 115:3 f. (12 f.) which presented the phrase *Calicem salutaris accipiam* as a happy accompaniment for the reception of the chalice, but also the words *Quid retribuam Domino* as an expression of awed thankfulness for the Communion. As a matter of fact, we find it used already since the beginning of the eleventh century in its present-day length and in the place it occupies today, and even, as now, continued with the phrase from Psalm 17:4, *Laudans invocabo Dominum et ab inimicis meis salvus ero*. Here, too, it is preceded by a phrase composed as a parallel for the reception of the bread: *Panem cælestem accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo*.¹⁷ Here, of course, the scriptural passage is farther removed from its literal meaning than it was in its first and more ancient use at the offering of the chalice.¹⁸ In the psalm the singer speaks out his resolve to make a thank-offering for his delivery from a great peril and in so doing (as was probably part of the ritual of a thank-offering) to raise the cup to praise God. But here the cup which we intend to pick up itself contains the welfare and therefore the reason for thanksgiving, and next to the cup lies the bread from heaven. At this moment both of them are not so much gifts we offer up to God as rather that sacred repast to which we are now invited. But since we eat of this meal, it behooves us, as it behooved the psalmist, to praise the Lord because, as His guests at table, we are delivered from every earthly peril and safeguarded even if—as it added from Psalm 17:4—our enemies beset us on all sides.¹⁹

the greeting in the Pontifical of Mainz about 1170: Martène, 1, 4, XVII (I, 602 C): *Ave sanguis et sanctissima caro, in quibus salus mundi est et vita*.

¹⁵ Ebner, 336; Leroquais, I, 199; II, 54; Radó, 71; 84.—With a double greeting in several Mass-books of the 13-15th centuries from Gerona; Ferreres, 190; Leroquais, III, 98 f. Perhaps, however, the saint's words, as we shall yet see, acted as the occasion for inserting other words from her *Passio*.—I find the formula *Cruor ex latere* in the Sacramentary of Caen (11th cent.): Leroquais, I, 183.

¹⁶ Cf. the material *supra*, n. 16.

¹⁷ Mass-ordo of Séz: PL, 78, 250; Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 515).—For

calicem salutaris we find substituted, in accordance with John 6: 32 f., the word *panem cælestem*, the name frequently used in the Old Testament (Ps. 77: 24; 104: 40 Wisd. 16: 20) for the Manna. The Augsburg missal of 1386 has the supplement: (*accipiam*) *de mensa Domini*.

¹⁸ *Supra*, p. 55.

¹⁹ Cf. the same idea Ps. 22: 5.—A similar notion of strengthened confidence in the midst of hostile threats finds expression in an antiphon for the Communion in the Antiphonary of Bangor; ed. Warren (HBS, 10), 30: *Corpus Domini accepimus et sanguine eius potati sumus. Ab omni malo non timebimus, quia Dominus nobiscum est*.

In later years this combination of psalm passages appears in more or less complete form in most of the German Mass plans³⁰ and also in the majority of the Italian—here since the eleventh century³¹—while in France it is less frequent. In Normandy and England it is absolutely unknown.³² Sometimes, to be sure, only portions are used, or a different order is chosen, or a different method of interweaving them with the other texts.³³ In Spain the *Panem caelestem* is occasionally continued with the phrase from Psalm 77:25 about the bread of angels.³⁴ Again the last words before the reception of Communion are formed from Psalm 50:11 f.³⁵ or Psalm 50:11-14, the celebrant striking his breast as he recites the verses.³⁶ Here we have the same penitential concept that is behind the prescriptions of our ritual, which lays down that at Communion for the sick the Psalm *Miserere* is to be recited on the way.³⁷ It presupposes some what the same spiritual experience that agitated the soul of the Apostle Peter at the miraculous draught of fishes; the nearness of the Son of God draws from our lips the anguished cry: "Depart from me, O Lord, I am a sinful man" (Luke 5:8).

Especially in later times, similar exclamations, in which an acknowledgment of sinfulness is combined with confidence in God's mercy, are frequently extracted from the New Testament, to be used at the moment of Communion. Thus, there is the prayer of the tax collector: *Deus, propitius esto mihi peccatori* (Luke 18:13),³⁸ or the exclamation of the prodigal son: *Pater peccavi . . .* (Luke 15:18 f.).³⁹ or the servant's plea for indulgence: *Patientiam habe in me, Domine, peccavi, et omnia reddam tibi* (cf. Matthew 18:26),⁴⁰ But other phrases that express only unreserved

³⁰ Köck, 128-132; Beck, 270; 309 f.; Hoeynck, 35; Franz, 753.

³¹ Ebner, 302; 310 f.; 317; 331; 334; 336, etc.

³² Cf. e. g., the Mass arrangements offered by Martène, 1, 4, XXVI f., XXXV-XXXVII (I, 638, 642, 670, 674, 678); Legg, *Tracts*, 15; 66; 227.—Also the Dominican Mass arrangement (Guerrini, 244) and that of the Carthusians (Legg, 102) do not have the Psalm phrase.

³³ Thus Ps. 17: 4 at times already precedes the *Quid retribuam*, (Köck, 128; 132; v. Bruiningk, 88) or else it comes only after the *sumptio* formula (Ferrerres, 189). Sometimes the *Panem caelestem* is missing entirely (e.g., Ebner, 297) or else it is not found till after the *Domine non sum dignus* (Ebner, 302; 334).

³⁴ Mass-book of the 15th century from Valencia; Ferrerres, 189.

³⁵ Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* (14th cent.): Binterim, IV, 3, p. 225.

³⁶ Monastic missal of 1531 from Lyons: Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 661).

³⁷ *Rituale Rom.* IV, 4, 13. The beginning of the Psalm also in connection with the sprinkling with holy water; *ibid.*, IV, 4, 15.

³⁸ The 15th century Missal of Styria, Köck, 132, 134; Regensburg Missal of 1500: Beck, 270; *Rituale* of the Bursfeld congregation (15th cent.): Martène, *De antiquis monach. ritibus*, II, 4, 3, 17 (*De ant. Eccl. ritibus*, IV, 186). In all cases named the plea is combined with the *Domine non sum dignus*. Cf. the formula elaborated into a longer prayer *supra*, p. 346, n. 15.

³⁹ Missal of the Evreux-Jumièges (about 1400): Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 645 B).

⁴⁰ Missal of Vorau (15th cent.): Köck, 134.

trust also find a place, phrases like the last prayer of the dying Saviour (Luke 23:46): *Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*,⁴¹ or a daring adaptation of St. Paul's words (1 Cor. 13:12): *Cognoscam te, cognitor meus, sicut a te cognitus sum . . .*⁴² or the trinitarian blessing (Matthew 28:19): *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.⁴³

However, the oldest of such phrases, combining both humility and confidence, is the *Domine non sum dignus* of the centurion of Capernaum (Matthew 8:8). It had already been used since the tenth century as a reinforcement of longer prayers preceding the reception.⁴⁴ Then it was thought sufficient to use only a shortened version, substituting for the clause beginning with *sed tantum*—which could not be used directly—some other scriptural saying: (*sed*) *salvum me fac et salvus ero, quoniam laus mea tu es* (Jer. 17:14),⁴⁵ or the words from Matthew 8:2 already cited: *sed si vis, potes me mundare*,⁴⁶ or an allusion to the words of the promise (John 6:55 ff.): *sed tu Domine qui dixisti: Qui manducat carnem meam*.⁴⁷ There is no mention here of any repetition of the phrase. But at the same time in Italy the practice began of using the words of the centurion as they are, repeating them three times, either with no change at all,⁴⁸

⁴¹ Seckauer Missal of the 14th century: Köck, 129.

⁴² Sacramentary of Vich (11-12th cent.): Ferrerres, 186.

⁴³ *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (about 1500): Legg, *Tracts*, 48; Styrian Missals of the 15th century: Köck, 77; 132, in the latter place before both the first and the second *sumptio*. Likewise already in the Missals of the 13th century from Schögl mentioned above, p. 347, n. 16: In the Sarum rite since the 14th century added to both *sumptio* formulas; Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 86 f.; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 670 C).

⁴⁴ Sacramentary of S. Thierry (end of 10th cent.): Martène, 1, 4, X (I, 551 C): *Domine . . . tectum meum, sed invoco te cum beatæ Mariæ et omnium sanctorum meritis quatenus in me venias et mansionem facias, et obsecro, ut non intres ad condemnationem et iudicium, sed ad salutem animæ meæ et corporis mei . . . et libera me per . . .* (phrases from our first Communion oration follow). Likewise in the Sacramentary of Moissac (11th cent.): Martène, 1, 4, VIII (I, 540 f.): *Domine Jesu Christe, non sum dignus te suscipere, sed tantum obsecro, propitius esto mihi peccatori et præsta* (the petition as in the *Perceptio* follows). Later frequently in French Mass-books in part with elabora-

tions; see *ibid.*, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 425 B); Leroquais, I, 204; II, 25; 32; 315, etc. Also with the continuation: *propitius esto mihi peccatori per assumptionem . . .* (cf. *supra* p. 346, n. 15); Leroquais, II, 375; III, 73. Other free extensions in the Styrian Mass books: . . . *tectum meum, sed propter misericordiam tuam libera me a peccatis et angustis et necessitatibus meis*; Seckauer Missale of the 14th century (Köck, 129) . . . *tectum meum, sed propter magnam clementiam tuam veni in cor meum et munda illud . . . intra in animam meam, sana et sanctifica eam . . . Salvator mundi*; Vorau Missale of the 14-15th century (Köck, 133).

⁴⁵ Salzburg Missale of 12-13th cent.: Köck, 131; Styrian Missals of the 15th century: *ibid.*, 77, 132; Missale of 1519 from Aquileja: Weth (*ZkTh* 1912), 419; Passau Missale of 14th century: Radó, 102; Augsburg Missale of 1386; Hoeynck, 375; two missal manuscripts of the 15th century from Amiens in Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 20 f. Cf. Leroquais, II, 81 (Sens, 13th century).

⁴⁶ Vorau Missale of the 15th century: Köck, 134.

⁴⁷ French Mass-books since the 12th century: Leroquais, I, 261, 328; II, 17, 60.

⁴⁸ Ending with *puer meus*: Sacramentary

or by using only the first half,³⁹ or finally inserting *anima mea* in place of *puer meus* in the second half of the phrase, just as is done nowadays.⁴⁰ Outside Italy this shorter *Domine non sum dignus* is seldom found before Pius V; ⁴¹ it is most frequent in German Mass plans.⁴² Even in Italy its ascendancy was only gradual.⁴³ And striking the breast while saying the words seems to have come into vogue quite late.⁴⁴

How closely associated the centurion's words are with the reception of Communion is seen in the fact that they were used also in oriental liturgies. In the Ethiopian Mass *ordo* the words form the beginning of a lengthy Communion prayer,⁴⁵ and the Byzantine liturgy contains amongst its semi-liturgical Communion prayers also some with the same beginning.⁴⁶ Even

of Modena (before 1174): Muratori, I, 94; Sacramentary of St. Peter in Rome (about 1200): Ebner, 336; Sacramentary from the chapel of the papal court (about 1290): Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 208; Missale of St. Lambrecht (in the beginning of the 13th cent.): Köck, 23.

³⁹ . . . *sub tectum meum*. Earliest evidence (with a threefold repetition) in a Central Italian monastic Sacramentary of the 11th century; Ebner, 302; cf. *ibid.*, 331, 334, 339, 348. Cf. too the Missale of Bayeux (12th cent.): Leroquais, I, 237. Without any indication that it is to be continued, mentioned as a prayer for the communicants in the *Enarrationes in Matth.*, c. 8 (PL, 162, 1321), now generally ascribed to Gottfried of Babion (about 1100; but cf. W. Lampen, *Antonianum*, 19 [1944], 144-149).

⁴⁰ In a Sacramentary of the 12-13th cent. from lower Italy; Ebner, 325, also with a threefold repetition. Here again the trail leads back to Normandy, where a Missal of the 12th century proposes the *anima mea*: Leroquais, I, 241; cf. II, 135. The 13th century missal from Schlägl mentioned above (p. 427, n. 16) concludes the formula with *sanabitur et mundabitur corpus et anima mea* (Waefelghem, *loc. cit.*, 140).

⁴¹ Still Durandus, IV, 54, 10, is familiar with it. Cf. Browe, *JL*, 13 (1935), 48; but the Franciscan Missal of the 13th century mentioned here is hardly of French origin. In Spain the triple *Domine non sum dignus* appears in the Missal of Tarragona, 1499; Ferreres, 188.

⁴² Gregorienmünster (14-15th century): Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 657 A); Re-

gensburg (about 1500) and Freising (1520): Beck, 270; 309.

⁴³ A Mass arrangement of the 11-12th cent. from Monte Cassino presents it, but as a supplement of the 12-13th century: Ebner, 310, n. 2.

⁴⁴ It is noted in the Missals of Tarragona of 1499 (Ferreres, 188) and Vich, 1547 (*ibid.*, CVIII). John Trithemius (d. 1516) reports as an old monastic tradition, that this was done at the triple *Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori*; Martène, I, 4, 10, 14 (I, 440); cf. also Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect. 82; Missal of Schlägl (15th cent.): Lentze (*Anal. Præm.*, 1950), 139.

⁴⁵ Brightman, 239: "O Lord, Lord, it in no wise beseemeth thee to come under the roof of my polluted house, for I have provoked Thee and stirred Thee to anger . . ." (there follows an acknowledgment of faults and, after reference to the redemptive will of Christ, a petition that the mystery might not redound to one's judgment).

⁴⁶ O Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldst enter beneath the unclean roof of my soul, but as Thou wert pleased in the cave to lie in the manger for senseless beasts, and as Thou didst receive the sinner who, stained even as I, approached Thee in the house of Simon the Leper, so too come into the manger of my senseless soul and enter my soiled body, this body of death and full of leprosy. And as Thou didst not despise the unclean mouth of the sinner who kissed Thy stainless feet, so do not despise me, my Lord and my God, me a poor sinner, but in Thy goodness and love for mankind make me worthy to partake of Thy Body and Blood." M. Daras, "Les prières préparatoires à la S. Com-

the Fathers had already shifted the centurion's phrase to the reception of Holy Communion.⁴⁷

Although in the broad perspectives of liturgical prayer the notion of a visit is not one of the fundamental ideas in the contemplation of the Eucharist, still, in this biblical phrase, it is taken up for an instant as a relevant simile. And there is nothing to hinder our considering the *Agnus Dei* as a background, or to find in the *Domine* an echo of the title by which the Lamb is addressed in St. John's revelations according to the Vulgate (Apoc. 5:19), that Lamb who, together with Him who sits on the throne, receives the adoration of the four living creatures and the four-and-twenty elders.⁴⁸ Not only His coming, but even the word which we beg of Him (*dic verbo*) brings health to the sick—and every recipient acknowledges himself sick in soul. However, by not declining the visit (as did the humble centurion), but instead longingly awaiting it, we alter the sense of the plea. We think now not of the word that substitutes for His visit, but of the word that prepares us for it.⁴⁹

A third motif of words to accompany the reception of the Sacrament—in this case to accompany it immediately—are the formulas for the distribution which came into use in the early Middle Ages, at first for Communion of the sick.⁵⁰ These formulas were simply turned into formulas for reception, usually with only a change of *te* and *animam tuam* to *me* and *animam meam*. An early and as yet isolated example is once again offered by the Sacramentary of Amiens, which presents after the two preparatory prayers,⁵¹ a single formula under the heading *Alia*. This formula, meant for the double reception, reads as follows: *Corpus et Sanguis D. n. J. C. prosit mihi in remissionem omnium peccatorum et ad vitam æternam in sæcula sæculorum*.⁵² Both the reserve discernible here and the effort here seen to enrich the expression is found in the Sacramentary of St. Thierry (end of the tenth century) which offers only a formula for the chalice Communion, probably out of consideration for the fact that the longer prefatory prayers immediately precede the *sumptio corporis*; it runs as follows: *Sanguis D. n. J. C., qui ex latere suo processit, salvet*

munion" (*Cours et Conférences*, VII; Louvain, 1929), 255, with reference to Pl. de Meester, *La divine liturgie de s. J. Chrysostome* (Rome, 1920 = 1st ed., not available to me).—Cf. also the third and fourth prayer in the Byzantine Communion office: "Ἀπολόγιον τὸ μέγα" (Venice, 1875), 417-419.

⁴⁷ Examples in Bona II, 17, I (838).

⁴⁸ The same invocation at the end of our litanies: *Agnus Dei . . . parce nobis, Domine*.

⁴⁹ The English translations commonly found do not render this turn of thought adequately: "Lord, I am not worthy that

Thou shouldst come under my roof; but only speak a word . . ." This "but" is ambiguous, either rejecting the former sentence ("Don't come") or only suggesting a partial opposition ("Come despite the unworthiness, for Thou canst remove it by a word").

⁵⁰ See below, pp. 390 ff.—Also in the oriental liturgies, the Armenians excepted, the *sumptio* formulas used by the celebrant are as a rule derived from the formulas for administering the Sacrament. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 163.

⁵¹ *Supra*, p. 345.

⁵² Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 444.

*animam meam et perducatur in vitam æternam. Amen.*⁵³ Some Mass books even after the year 1000 still contain no sumption formula.⁵⁴ English Mass arrangements avoided them even in the later Middle Ages,⁵⁵ and the Carthusians even at the present have none.⁵⁶

But in general they crop up everywhere, usually for Host and chalice separately,⁵⁷ and sometimes accompanied by a third formula which originally was an independent chalice formula.⁵⁸ Very frequently the second formula has the wording *Corpus et sanguis*, in view of the particle included at the commingling; this was partially the practice in Normandy and England.⁵⁹ As a rule, the formulas are spoken before the sumption, as is the present-day practice. Still, even in the late Middle Ages examples are to be found where they follow the sumption.⁶⁰

The formulas present almost the same picture which we will encounter in the formulas for the distribution. Within the basic framework there is

⁵³ Martène, 1, 4, X (I, 551 E). On the other hand, the Sacramentary of S. Gatien-Tours, from the same period, has only one formula: *Corpus D. n. J. C. conservet animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen*, to be said only after the Communion of the Chalice; Martène, 1, 4, VII (I, 537 C). The same thing in a 15th century missal of Vorau: Köck, 134.

⁵⁴ The Missal of Troyes (about 1050), which already proposes three different administering formulas, has no sumption formula aside from the greetings mentioned above, a sumption formula is likewise missing in many an Italian Mass-arrangement of the 11-13th centuries; Ebner, 305, 326, 335, 348.

⁵⁵ See the Sarum Ordinary, Legg, *Tracts*, 15; 227 f. In the later Sarum rite, on the other hand, sumption formulas have been incorporated which are introduced by *In nomine Patris* . . . ; see *supra*, n. 33.

⁵⁶ Cf. Legg, 102.—Regarding other monastic liturgies, cf. Sölch, 144. The liturgy of Lyons has no formula for the Communion of the Chalice; Bünner, 242.

⁵⁷ Examples of separate *sumptio* formulas already in the 11th century, among others in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 515 f.).—A single formula for both is rare in later times, but is certified for the rite of Lyons by de Moléon, 59, 65. Likewise among the Dominicans; *Missale O.P.* (1889), 22: *Corpus et sanguis D. n. J. C.*

custodiant me in vitam æternam. Amen. Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 143 f.

⁵⁸ In a central Italian Sacramentary of the 11th century in Ebner, 299 (with the rubric: *Ad calicem cum cepit se confirmare*): *Communicatio et confirmatio s. sanguinis tui, Domine J. C., prosit mihi in remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum et perducatur me in vitam æternam. Amen.* (Then follows the formula *Sanguis D. n. J. C. conservet animam meam in vitam æternam. Amen.*) The formula mentioned appears in this version also in the north, where it is evidently indigenous; *Mass-ordo* of Séz (PL, 78, 250 C); Missal of Liège: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 594 A).—For Italy see Ebner, 14; 1; 200; 331; 341; for Styria: Köck, 129, 131; also in the Augsburg Missale of 1386: Hoeynck, 376. In the Missa Illyrica (Martène, 1, 4, IV [I, 515 E]), it is changed to include both species: *Communicatio et confirmatio corporis et sanguinis D. n. J. C. prosit mihi* . . . ; in this form it is found elsewhere: Köck, 130; Beck, 271.

⁵⁹ Martène, 1, 4, V, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXI f., XXXVI (I, 528, 638, 645, 652, 657, 674); Ebner, 334; Legg, *Tracts*, 49, 66; Maskell, 182. The *Mass-ordo* of York about 1425 (Simmons, 114) presents such a double formula to follow upon the single formulas.

⁶⁰ Hugo of S. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 50); cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 142 f. with n. 256. This shifting is to be judged in the same way as in the case of the Communion prayers; above, p. 348 f.

the greatest variation, so that even in the Mass *ordo* the identical version of the formula for both Host and chalice is studiously avoided. Thus, frequently there is a recurrence of the combination: *Corpus D. n. J. C. sit mihi ad remedium sempiternum in vitam æternam. Amen* and *Sanguis D. n. J. C. custodiat me in vitam æternam. Amen*.⁶¹ In some instances, here and there the designation of our Lord is changed: *Corpus Domini mei*; ⁶² *sit remedium* is often replaced by *prosit, proficiat*,⁶³ and *custodiat* by *conservet*⁶⁴ or also *mecum permaneat*.⁶⁵ To the words *me* and *mihi* an addition is made of the qualification *peccator* as a humble self-designation.⁶⁶ Even more frequently, as the examples have shown, *animam meam* is substituted for *me* and *mihi* even in earlier times, sometimes also *corpus et anima mea*.⁶⁷ In more recent times an expansion of the formula appears: . . . *et omnibus fidelibus defunctis (proficiat) ad veniam et vivis ad salutem et conservet me ad vitam æternam*.⁶⁸

11. Communion of the Faithful: Frequency

As we have already seen, the Communion of the celebrating priest is generally followed by the Communion of the rest of the congregation. This is in accord both with the original practice and also with the established plan of the Roman Mass. This pattern, which in our own day has again come to be taken for granted more and more, was subjected, during the course of centuries, to several fluctuations and violent upheavals. These fluctuations and upheavals have had their effect upon the liturgical design of the people's Communion. They also led to the result that in the expla-

⁶¹ In Italian Mass arrangements of the 11-12th century; Ebner, 323; 338; 339. Likewise in the Missal of Remiremont (12th cent.) where in addition a second pair of formulas appears: *Corpus D. n. J. C. mihi proficiat ad remedium animæ meæ: Sanguis D. n. J. C. conservet animam meam in vitam æternam*. Martène, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 424).—On the other hand, there are also Italian Mass-books that present exactly parallel expressions; see from the 11-13th centuries, Ebner, 302; 307; 311; 317. Later the parallelism becomes more frequent also elsewhere; it is found, e.g., in the Pontifical of Mainz about 1170; Martène, 1, 4, XVII (I, 602 C D). Further examples: Köck, 132; Beck, 270 f.; Legg, *Tracts*, 48 f.; 66.

⁶² Examples of the 11th and 12th century: Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 528 A); *ibid.*, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 424 A). At the chalice prayer two Hungarian Missals of the 14th century insert: (*Sanguis D. n. J. C.*) *quem vere con-*

fiteor de latere eius profluxisse; Radó, 84, 96.

⁶³ Both by preference, e.g., in the Styrian texts; Köck, 127-134.

⁶⁴ Ebner, 299; 307; 311, etc.

⁶⁵ Ebner, 150.

⁶⁶ Sarum missal: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 670 C); missal of the 15th century of Valencia: Ferreres, 189 (n. 692 f.). English *Mass-ordo* of Bec: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI (I, 674 E): *mihi, Domine, famulo tuo peccatori*; cf. *ibid.*, XXVIII (I, 645 D).

⁶⁷ For the latter see Missale of Fécamp: Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 638 C); Missale of Riga (14-15th cent.): v. Bruning, 88. Also in many Premonstratensian Missals of the 12th and 13th centuries; Sölch, *Hugo*, 144, n. 261.

⁶⁸ Premonstratensian Missal of the 15th century from Stift Schögl: Lentze (Annal. Præm., 1950), 139 f.

nation of the Mass, even down to the present, the Communion of the people was sometimes treated as a sort of foreign element that did not belong to the structure of the Mass-liturgy and could therefore be disregarded.

Up to the fourth century it was not only a rule that the faithful communicated at every Mass; but Communion was even more frequent than the celebration of Mass, which was usually restricted to the Sunday. On Sunday, the consecrated bread could be received not only to be eaten there and then, but also to be taken home.¹ There it was to be carefully preserved so that it could be eaten day after day before every other food.² This practice actually continued in Egypt even much longer,³ and we find in particular the monks and hermits of the desert, who generally attended the celebration of the Eucharist on Saturdays and Sundays, making good use of the custom. Often they did not partake of the Eucharist till the ninth hour, when they began their spare meal.⁴ In those days, and even later, it was customary to take the Eucharist along on journeys of greater length.⁵ But in general, after the Church had finally gained free-

¹ Ps.-Cyprian (probably Novatian), *De spectaculis*, c. 5 (CSEL, 3, 3, p. 8, l. 11): *dimissus e dominico et adhuc gerens secum, ut assolet, eucharistiam*.

² Tertullian, *Ad uxorem*, II, 5 (CSEL, 70, 118): *Non sciet maritus, quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes?* Cf. *De or.*, c. 19 (CSEL, 20, 192): on feast days one could take the Eucharist home, so as to partake of it in the evening. Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 58 f.): *Omnis autem fidelis festinet, antequam aliquid aliud gustet, eucharistiam percipere*. Regarding the later twisting of the prescription see Dix, p. LVIII. Cyprian, *De lapsis*, c. 26 (CSEL, 3, 256) reports of a woman who preserved the Eucharist (*Domini sanctum*) in an *arca* in order to be able to partake of it. Cf. F. J. Dölger, *Ichthys*, II (Münster, 1922), 570, n. 4; Eisenhofer, II, 306 f.

³ Basil, *Ep.*, 93 (from the year 372; PG, 32, 485): "In Alexandria and Egypt every lay person has it (the Eucharist) regularly with him in his home and takes it as often as he wishes." Moreover, the custom is supposed for Rome by Jerome, *Ep.*, 49, 15 (CSEL, 54, 377). Dölger explains an obscure text in Zeno of Verona, lib. I, 5, 8 in the same sense; *Antike u. Christentum*, 5 (1936), 243 f.—Further evidence is also seemingly found in Augustine, *Opus Imperf. c. Julian.*, III, 162 (PL, 45, 1315); see Roetzer, 179.—In regard to the

West Syrians even as late as the 6th century we read that they are accustomed to take home with them on Maundy Thursday enough of the Eucharist to last the year, and to preserve it in a locked cabinet; John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale*, c. 79 (PG, 87, 2936 f.).

⁴ Basil, *loc. cit.*, Rufinus (d. 410), *Historia monach.*, c. 2 (PL, 21, 406 B).—Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* (about 420; there is question here, however, of a revision into which material from a later period was woven), c. 10; 52 (PG, 34, 1027 D, 1147 B C).—According to Chrysostom, *In Hebr. hom.*, 17, 4 (PG, 63, 131) there were Fathers of the Desert who received Communion once a year or even once in two years. Further data in Hanssens, II, 301 f.

⁵ Ambrose, *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, I, 43 (PL, 16, 1304); cf. Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 5 (1936), 232-247: "Die Eucharistie als Reiseschutz." Dölger also offers samples of abuses and faults that crept in with the custom of using the Blessed Sacrament as travel tutelage.—Gregory the Great, *Dial.* III, 36 (PL, 77, 304 C; see above, p. 323).—Later examples in P. Browe, "Zum Kommunionempfang des Mittelalters" *JL*, 12 [1934], 177; Bona, II, 17, 5 (850 f.); Corblet, I, 527-535. After the 13th century the custom continues into the 18th century as a

dom and peace, the reception of the Sacrament was restricted to the divine services which had meanwhile increased in frequency.⁶ About the fourth century, therefore, Communion of all the faithful present was generally an integral part of the regular course of the eucharistic celebration.

But then, with unexpected rapidity, the frequency of reception, at least in some countries, took a sharp drop.⁷ Already Chrysostom, among the Greeks, complained: "In vain do we stand before the altar; there is no one to partake."⁸ In Gaul, too, the Synod of Agde (506) found it necessary to insist on Communion three times a year, on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, as a minimum.⁹ And this demand was repeated time and time again till the very height of the Middle Ages, sometimes with the addition of Maundy Thursday.¹⁰ In the Carolingian reform the attempt was made to re-introduce Communion every Sunday, especially on the Sundays of Lent,¹¹ but the result was at best temporary.¹² From the eighth century onward, the actuality seems generally not to have gone beyond

privilege of the popes, for which there was a special ceremonial on their journeys. The Sacrament was carried in a sort of tabernacle upon a richly adorned litter, and had its own retinue of mounted clerics; Corblet, I, 529 ff. (with illustrations), Righetti, *Manuale*, III, 505 f.—According to Gabriel Sionita (d. 1658) it was at that time still customary among the Maronites to give people who undertook a dangerous journey and soldiers in war the Eucharist to carry with them. Hanssens, II, 500.

⁶ A certain combination of the domestic Communion with the times of persecution is surely apparent in the following incident: When, in 510, a persecution seemed about to break out in the battle with the Monophysites, Bishop Dorotheus of Thessalonica permitted the Eucharist to be distributed in baskets, *canistra plena . . . ne imminente, sicut dicebant, persecutione communicare non possent*; Hormisdas, *Ep.* 102 (Thiel, 902); cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 249, n. 3.

⁷ J. Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Laienkomunion bis zum Tridentinum* (Speyer, 1891); H. Leclercq, "Communione quotidiana": *DACL*, III, 2457-2462. P. Browe, *Die Häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter* (Münster, 1938); the same, *Die Pflichtkommunion im Mittelalter* (Münster, 1940); the same, *De frequenti communione in Ecclesia occidentali usque ad annum c. 1000 documenta varia* (Textus

et documenta, ser. Theol., 5; Rome, 1932).—The I Synod of Toledo (400), can. 14 (Mansi, III, 1000 D), forbade anyone to take the Eucharist with him out of the church. Also, according to Abbot Schenute (Schenoudi; d. about 451), the priest or deacon should not surrender to anyone even so much as a grain of it; J. Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe* (TU, 25, 1; Leipzig, 1904), 184.

⁸ Chrysostom, *In Eph. hom.*, 3, 4 (PG, 62, 29); cf. *In I Tim. hom.*, 5, 3 (PG, 62, 529 f.); *In Hebr. hom.*, 17, 4 (PG, 63, 131 f.). Also Ambrose, *De sacr.* V, 4, 25 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 169), in attacking those who communicate only once a year, makes a side-remark: *quemadmodum Græci in Oriente facere consueverunt*.

⁹ Can. 18 (Mansi, VIII, 327): *Sæculares qui Natale Domini, Pascha et Pentecosten non communicaverint, catholici non credantur nec inter catholicos habeantur*.

¹⁰ Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion*, 33-39.

¹¹ Browe, 29-33.

¹² The fact that Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 950), discusses the question whether it is permitted the faithful to communicate at every Mass even several times a day, is definite evidence of the frequency of Communion; he answers the question in the affirmative. Cf. also what is said below about the Communion chant; *infra*, p. 396.

what the Lateran Council of 1215 established as a new minimum: Communion at Easter.¹³

It was only in monasteries that the Sunday Communion continued to be the rule in the early Middle Ages,¹⁴ and among the Cluniacs,¹⁵ and Cistercians even later. But the lay brothers had to be content with a much more restricted quantity; for example, in a monastery as zealous for reform as Camaldoli, the lay brothers received only four times a year.¹⁶ A similar rule was in force in the military orders¹⁷ and quite generally also in convents of women.¹⁸

How could the eagerness to receive the Sacrament reach such a low state? And how could it continue even through a period we are accustomed to regard as the flowering period of ecclesiastical life, the central Middle Ages? Obviously the reason could not have been the lukewarmness and even coldness of Christians so often remarked upon, and admittedly on the increase since the earlier years of the Church. Otherwise, this regression would have been halted at least at the gates of the many monasteries which were borne on the crest of religious enthusiasm. Certainly the mass of those in the Roman Empire who, after Constantine, were converts for external reasons only, and who, therefore, were believers only externally, must have had a debilitating effect on religious life, just as among the Germanic tribes that were but superficially missionized a profound understanding of the sacramental life unfolded very slowly. But it is certainly surprising that this regression should be most noticeable in those countries where the struggle against Arianism had led to a one-sided stressing of the divinity in Christ and in the process had brought about a religious attitude which in turn produced in those very same countries—namely, in the Greek Orient and in the milieu of the Gallic liturgy—corresponding modifications of liturgical prayer and a novel form of language in respect to the Eucharist. The humanity in Christ, Christ's mediatorship which draws us to Him, receded into the shadows. The tremendous distance that separates us from God and the saints gains greater and greater power over the Christian mind in spite of the strong hold which traditional teaching had. It became customary to speak of the awesome table of the Lord, of the *mysterium tremendum*.¹⁹ No wonder, then, that people hardly dared

¹³ Browe, 43 ff.

¹⁴ Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 60-68; 74-77.

¹⁵ At Cluny the monks could receive at least three times a week, and in some monasteries of the reform in the 10th century they could go to Communion daily. E. Tomek, *Studien zur Reform der deutschen Klöster im II Jh.* (Vienna, 1910), 204, 306 f., 315.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 77; cf. 71 ff., 86 f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 84 f.

¹⁸ Among the Benedictine nuns there were convents where Communion was received only three times a year, but then also, especially since the Reform Bull of Gregory IX (1235), some where it was received every month. Among the Poor Clares the rule required confession 12 times a year and Communion seven times. Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 88-97.

¹⁹ Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, 217 ff.; Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 152.

approach. Where the upheavals in the structure of liturgical prayer were least violent, namely in Rome, the ancient traditions of a frequent Communion, naturally connected with the celebration of the sacrifice, continued the longest.²⁰

Since the early Middle Ages an additional hindrance to frequent Communion developed—the change of the penitential discipline. In contrast to the unrestricted—perhaps often too unrestricted—manner of an older Christendom, the *probet se ipsum homo* of the Apostle (1 Cor. 11:28) was soon explained not merely as demanding a preliminary sacramental confession for *criminalia peccata* but, with increasing positiveness since the tenth century, as requiring sacramental confession before each and every reception of Communion.²¹ But in the Middle Ages, with the prevailing parish restrictions and the often insufficient organization of the cure of souls, not only was there no willingness, but to a great extent even no possibility to confess and thus to communicate frequently.²² In addition, various cases of exclusion from the Sacrament were established in the spirit of the Old Testament purification laws, especially for married people and women.²³ And on the other hand, greater and greater requirements

²⁰ For the 7-8th century there is the evidence of the Roman *ordines*, which are concerned primarily with the stationary services; but these were held practically every day in Lent. And there are other evidences along the same line. In the Gregorianum we find some of the formulas of the *oratio super populum* inserted in the 7-8th century, which presuppose the Communion of the people, even though, as blessing formulas, they would not necessarily contain any ideas connected with Communion; thus the formulas for Ash-Wednesday and for the Thursday of the first week in Lent; Lietzmann, n. 35, 5; 42, 4. Granted that these formulas were borrowed from older sacramentaries, yet their particular choice is remarkable, for only a small portion of the pertinent formulas in these sacramentaries makes any mention of Communion. Also according to Bede (d. 735), *Ep. 2 ad Egbertum* (PL, 94, 666 A), Christians of every age went to Communion every Sunday in Rome at that time. In 866 Pope Nicholas I, *Ep. 97*, n. 9 (PL, 119, 983), being asked by the Bulgarians whether they should go to Communion every day during Lent answers in the affirmative, provided they have the right disposition.

²¹ Browe, "Die Kommunionvorbereitung im Mittelalter" (*ZkTh*, 56 [1932], 375-

415), 382 ff. Communion without previous confession appears as a matter of accusation in the *Confiteor* formulas. However, the first example thus cited by Browe: Alcuin, *De psalmorum usu*, II, 9 (PL, 101, 499 C), does not really seem to belong to Alcuin; see below, p. 368, n. 5.

²² Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 139-143.

²³ The reception of Communion on the part of a woman in her menstrual period was disapproved already by Dionysius of Alexandria, *Ep. can.*, c. 2 (PG, 10, 1281 A), and by the Testamentum Domini, I, 23 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 257). Jerome, *Ep.* 49, 15 (CSEL, 54, 376 f.), requires married people to abstain from their marriage rights for several days before Communion. According to Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 44 (Morin, 189; PL, 39, 2299) married people, after intercourse, should in fact stay away from church for 30 days. Further references, see PL, 39, 2299, note a. A milder practice is advocated in the *Ep.* IX, 64, n. 10 (PL, 77, 1195-1198) to St. Augustine of England which is ascribed to St. Gregory the Great (see *supra* I, 98, note 35).—The penitential books required 3 to 8 days' abstinence; see W. Thomas, *Der Sonntag im frühen Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1929), 110.—The Pontifical of Narbonne (11th c.), in Martène, I, 7, XIII

were set down for the preparation. A synod of Coventry in 1237 desired a previous fast of half a week for lay people. Elsewhere, six days' abstinence from flesh meat was required.²⁴ Whoever had not already acquired a high degree of perfection and was not supported by devotion of the most definite sort should, like the centurion, consider himself unworthy, rather than, like Zacchæus, have the Lord often lodge with him.²⁵ For people said to themselves—and herein a genuinely religious judgment of the problem is once more revealed—"from the frequent celebration a low esteem is sure to develop, but from the infrequent celebration grows reverence for the Sacrament."²⁶

The eucharistic wave that passed over Christendom from the end of the twelfth century on, did indeed magnify the cult of the Sacrament, but not the frequency of its reception. On the contrary, the notion grew that frequent gazing upon the Eucharist could in some way replace the sacramental reception. The idea of spiritual communion developed. With an appeal to the Augustinian *Crede et manducasti*, this form of piety, when one turned with loving faith to Christ, contemplated His Passion with profoundest love, devoutly assisted at Holy Mass or looked up at the Sacred Host, was explained as a work scarcely less valuable than sacramental Communion itself.²⁷ In the later Middle Ages, the desire for sacramental Communion was regarded as a requisite for such a *spiritualis communio*,²⁸ in fact as its essential mark. At a time when frequent Communion was made almost impossible by exaggerated requirements, this desire must really have been a genuine one for many people.

A certain justification for the existing practice of infrequent Communion was found in the Middle Ages in the thought that the priest surely communicates and does so as representative of the entire community. This idea of a representative activity is brought out time and again,²⁹ and

(I, 893 D), prescribes, *ut illi qui defuncti corpus laverint, per septem dies non accendant ad altare nec corpus Domini offerre nec participare præsumant, quia lex Veteris Testamenti hoc prohibet*. Later on, such prescriptions were gradually watered down, but even as mere counsel they still exercised a great deal of authority; Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 8, 19, 120, 153 f.

²⁴ Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 146.
²⁵ *Ibid.*, 152-158.

²⁶ Peter of Blois (d. about 1204), *Ep.* 86 (PL, 207, 267 A).

²⁷ Browe, "Die Kommunionandacht im Altertum und Mittelalter" (*JL*, 13, 1935) 56-61.—A pertinent sample in the *Imitatio Christi*, IV, 10, 25. For a positive theological evaluation of the exercise under discussion see J. Auer, "Geistige Kom-

munion," *Geist u. Leben*, 24 (1951), 113-132.

²⁸ Browe, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ As Herbord, *Dialogus de Ottone*, II, 18 (Jaffe, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, V, 761), reports, Otto of Bamberg (d. 1139) advised the newly converted Pomeranians to come to Mass frequently; in case they could not then themselves communicate, they should do it through the priest, *saltem per mediatorem vestrum sc. sacerdotem qui pro vobis communicat . . . communicate*. Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272), *Predigten*, (ed Pfeiffer, I, 502), says of the communicating priest, "he nourishes his own soul and us all"; for all participants formed with the priest one body of which he is the mouth (*ibid.*, II, 686). Cf. Browe (*JL*, 13, 1935), 61, n. 61.—

there was even a tendency to put the idea into effect in other instances. A Trier synod of 1227 had to prohibit the practice of priests receiving the Body of the Lord in place of the sick.³⁰ Even the faithful—especially in convents of women—began somehow to practice such a representative Communion—Communion in place of someone else. Thus in the thirteenth century there are evidences of the practice of receiving or, to use a better term, "offering up"³¹ Communion for others, especially for the dead.³² So even this practice is one of the fruits of the infrequent Communion during these centuries.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, other forces came into play, forces aimed at favoring and promoting a more frequent reception of the Eucharist. These new aims were decidedly encouraged at the Council of Trent and finally gained a complete triumph through the action of Pius X.³³

So, in the two thousand years of the Church's history, we see two viewpoints the most opposite imaginable enjoying the field: on the one hand, the undiscerning confidence that he who by Baptism was implanted in Christ and accepted into the Kingdom of God, should also be allowed to regard the bread of heaven as his daily food; on the other hand, that feeling of reserve and timidity that looked more to human weakness than

Durandus, IV, 56, 1: it was decided because of human sinfulness that we receive the Sacrament of Communion three times a year *et sacerdos quotidie pro omnibus*. According to Ludolf of Saxony (d. 1377), *Vita D. n. Jesu Christi*, I, 37, 7 (Augsburg, 1729: S. 164) the Eucharist is called our daily bread *quia quotidie ipsum sumimus per ministros Ecclesiae, qui hoc sacramentum percipiunt pro se et pro tota communitate*.—Cf. the reasons that Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.* I, 36 (PL, 172, 555; *supra* I, 117, n. 81) alleges for the daily celebration of Mass.

³⁰ Can. 3 (Hartzheim, III, 527)).

³¹ See the excursus on the offering of Communion in Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 167-174, where, however, other reasons for its origin are sought.—From the ranks of the Beguines of Strassburg in 1317 we hear of one who gave the assurance that the Communion of a lay person would profit as much for the redemption of a departed soul as the Mass of the priest; *ibid.*, 166.—Post-Tridentine theologians make it clear that there can be question in the aforesaid practice only of the *opus operantis* of one's own personal devotion at the reception of Communion and the accompanying prayer of petition; *ibid.*, 172 ff. Moreover, from olden times a very similar

form of expression is found in the formulas of *Postcommunio*, where the prayer is said that this Communion (*sacramenta quæ sumpsimus, caelestis participatio sacramenti*) may redound to the salvation of someone (e.g., one's departed parents); cf. J. Tschuor, *Das Opfermahl* (Immensee, 1942), 221-229, where it is correctly emphasized that one need not separate the Communion from the Sacrifice.

³² The custom has had its effect on the liturgical books also; the Missal of Valencia, 1492 (Ferrerres, p. XC) expands the Communion chant of the Requiem Mass with the words: *pro quarum commemoratione corpus Christi sumitur*.—Moreover, according to the principle mentioned above, the Communion of the Faithful was not customary at a Requiem Mass. It was still declared as inappropriate in 1630 by B. Gavanti; see the arguments in Thesaurus, II, 10, 6 (I, 319-323). L. Paladini, "La controversia della Comunione nella Messe," *Miscellanea Mohlberg*, I (1948), 347-371, especially 354-356. The Congregation of Rites allows the administration of Communion at a Requiem Mass, even with previously consecrated particles, in the decision of June 27, 1868; *Decreta Authentica SRC.*, n. 3177.

³³ E. Dublanchy, "Communion fréquente":

to the grace-made dignity of the Christian, and which hindered even the pious from often approaching the holy mystery.

Aside from the state of grace, another condition was stipulated even in early days both for the priest and for the faithful: to remain *fasting* before the reception of the Sacrament. This requirement was already silently fulfilled in the ancient practice of taking the Sacrament "before every other food."³⁴ But by the end of the fourth century this condition was more or less explicitly imposed,³⁵ although some few exceptions were still granted, especially on Maundy Thursday, when the pattern suggested by the Last Supper was to be copied.³⁶ All through the Middle Ages the precept of fasting was not only strictly adhered to with regard to Holy Communion, but was even repeatedly prescribed for attendance at Mass (as in a synod of Brixen as late as 1453),³⁷ or at least it was counseled for Mass.³⁸

DThC, III, 515-552; Eisenhofer, II, 309 f.

³⁴ This oft-recurring formula (see the references in n. 2) is understood by J. Schümmer, *Die Altchristliche Fastenpraxis* (LQF, 27; Münster, 1933), 108, only to the effect that the Eucharist should be taken as a protection against poison in the sense of a *præ gustatio*, as the text of Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 58) certainly seems to indicate. So, too, J. M. Frochisse, "A propos des origines du jeûne eucharistique," *Revue d'hist. eccl.*, 28 (1932), 594-609, especially 595 ff. Even at present we are aware that the reception of the Sacrament should redound *ad tutamentum mentis et corporis*. This sort of consideration need not exclude the other, based on reverence. But with even greater necessity because of the undoubting faith in the real presence of the Body of Christ, which after all was the foundation of the practice, it had to include the further idea that priority be given to the Sacred Nourishment as such. Schümmer himself feels obliged to establish this in another connection (221) and to confirm it with a reference to the Jewish practice of not eating the paschal meal on a full stomach. And thus he concludes here that even at the time of Tertullian fasting was not only actual but considered obligatory. So also Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 63. To bolster this opinion we might allege the further fact that even in pagan antiquity such prescriptions of fasting had to be observed when anyone intended to appear before the deity. Cf. R. Arbesmann, *Das*

Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern (Geissen, 1929), 72-97, especially 96 f.

³⁵ Indications in Basil, *De ieiun. hom.*, I, 6 (PG, 31, 172 B; in the Roman breviary on *Lætare Sunday*); Chrysostom, *In I Cor. hom.* 27, 5 (PG, 61, 231).—Gregory of Nazianzen, *Orat.*, 40, 30 (PG, 36, 401), emphasizes the point that the Eucharist is held not after but before the meal. Similarly Ambrose, *In ps. 118 expos.* VIII, 48 (CSEL, 62, 180).—Timotheus of Alexandria (d. 385), *Responsa canonica* (PG, 33, 1307 A); still the decision rendered by him has more than one possible interpretation; cf. Frochisse, 608.—Cf. also J. Burel, "Le jeûne eucharistique," *La Vie et les Arts liturg.*, 9 (1922-23), 301-310; review thereof *JL*, 3 (1923), 138 f.—But by 400 the prescription appears in all clearness in Augustine, *Ep.* 54, 6 (CSEL, 34, 166 f.), who regards the Eucharistic fast as apostolic tradition observed by the universal Church.—Regarding history and canonical prescriptions cf. Anglin, *The Eucharistic Fast* (Washington, D. C., 1941).

³⁶ A. Bludan, *Die Pilgerreise der Aetheria* (Paderborn, 1927), 313 f. The Trullanum (692) rejects this exception, a proof for its long survival.

³⁷ *Sicut enim celebrans debet esse jejunos, ita et audientes, quia, ut canon dicit, simul cum ipso sacerdote hostiam offerunt.* (Quoted by Franz, *Die Messe*, p. 63). Cf. *supra*, I, 190, note 46.

³⁸ P. Browe, "Die Nüchternheit vor der Messe und Kommunion im Mittelalter,"

It has been left to our own day to make bigger and bigger inroads into the law of strict eucharistic fast.³⁹ After various concessions had been made in favor of the sick, the military, and those working night hours, the culmination of all such indulgence was reached on the feast of Epiphany, 1953, when, in a special Apostolic Constitution, Pope Pius XII, while restating the basic principles governing the law, promulgated for the whole world certain mitigations dictated by the changed conditions of modern society.⁴⁰

12. Communion of the Faithful: Preparatory Prayers

As long as the Mass, throughout its course, remained a common celebration of both priest and people, there was no reason to think of other prayers for the Communion of the faithful than those they said with the priest, and the priest with them. The Mass itself moved on towards the sacred repast. This was true also of the ancient Roman Mass, in spite of the special poverty which its prayer-plan shows in the area of the Communion.¹

But when, during the Carolingian epoch, the Roman Mass was transplanted to the land of the Franks, it was apparent that the Frankish clergymen did not feel at home in its rhythm. The result: attempts to readjust and build up the prayers, particularly in the Communion cycle. Even the faithful—in that thin layer of people who had mastered Latin—took an attitude towards the antique severity of the Roman Mass that could hardly have been more favorable than that of the clerics. So it is no surprise to learn that a large portion of the priest's new Communion prayers—those that he begins to recite in a low tone as he inserts them in his Mass *ordo*—are prayers of the faithful, or at least of the assisting and participating clerics and monks. The prayers which are still in use at the present, all of them, appear in this double role. The convergence is here more complete than in the parallel occurrence in the oblation cycle.²

Eph. liturg., 45 (1931), 279-287; Franz, *Die Messe*, 62 f.; Bilfinger, *Die mittelalterlichen Horen* (Stuttgart, 1892), 86-89.

³⁹ For the sick a concession by Pius X in 1906: *Acta S. Sedis*, 49 (1906), 499-510. A special grant for Russia: see Bouscaren, *Canon Law Digest*, I (Milwaukee, 1943), 202. Many favors during the war period (World War II), especially for the military and for those working on night shifts, the concessions differing in each locality.

⁴⁰ The Apostolic Constitution *Christus Dominus* of Jan. 6, 1953: *AAS*, 45 (1953),

15-24, with official instructions and commentary by the Holy Office, *ibid.*, 47-51.—The most notable innovation was the declaration that drinking plain water no longer breaks the fast. See John C. Ford, S.J., *The New Eucharistic Legislation* (New York, 1953).

¹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 234 ff., pp. 279 ff.

² *Supra*, p. 46, n. 22; p. 54, note 60; etc.—Something similar occurs in the Byzantine rite where even now the faithful are directed to say before the Communion the same prayer *Πιστεύω κύριε* which the priest says quietly. Brightman, 396 b.

The prayer to God the Father that usually occupies the first place, *Domine sancte Pater*,³ we encounter first in the prayer book of Charles the Bald.⁴ Also the prayer *Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi* appears about the same time in private collections of prayers, amongst others in one version of the Communion Devotions of Monte Cassino (written during the closing years of the eleventh century), where it is used as a prayer after Communion.⁵ It is also inserted in the Mass plan of the Alsatian monastery of Gregorienmünster (eleventh century), with the rubric: *Quando ad sumendum corpus et sanguinem dominicum accedimus, dicimus*,⁶ it was therefore a prayer for communicants. The same is true of the prayer *Perceptio corporis*. In one instance it appears as a second formula, introduced by the word *Item*, under the heading: *Communicantes singuli dicant*.⁷ For the prayers that follow in our order of Communion, parallels are to be found in the Missal of St. Lawrence in Liège (first half of the eleventh century), which contains the direction: *Cum aliquis corpus Christi accipit, dicat: Panem caelestem accipiam et nomen domini invocabo. Item: Corpus D. n. J. C. sit mihi remedium sempiternum in vitam æternam*.⁸ This latter is not the only sumption formula which has been appropriated for the faithful.⁹ The *Domine non sum dignus* was already recommended to laypeople since the eleventh century.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, it is found in the Communion Devotions of Monte Cassino cited above, as the last of the prayers spoken before Communion,¹¹ and since the thirteenth century the custom began in monasteries of reciting it in common before Communion.¹²

³ *Supra*, p. 346.

⁴ *Ibid.*, note 13. The book also contains (*op. cit.*, 116) the slightly changed oration *Quod ore sumpsisti Domine*, worded in the singular, as a prayer after Communion.

⁵ A. Wilmart, "Prières pour la Communion en deux psautiers du Mont-Cassin" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1929), 324. The prayer is also contained in several earlier collections: as the second of three prayers *ante communionem* in the collection *De psalmodium usu* (PL, 101, 508 C), made about 850 in an Italian monastery and later attributed to Alcuin (for the dating see A. Wilmart, "Le manuel de prières de s. Jean Gualbert" [*Revue Bénédict.*, 1936, 259-299], 265); in the *Libellus of Fleury*: PL, 101, 1408 A.

⁶ Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 600 D).

⁷ Salzburg Missal of the 12-13th cent.: Köck, 131. The formula appears here, as so often also in the priest's Mass-*ordo*, after the reception. The first formula, which all are supposed to say, is a sumption

formula: *Corpus D. n. J. C. proficiat mihi ad salutem corporis et animæ in vitam æternam. Per.*

⁸ Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 593 D).

⁹ Cf. *supra*, n. 7. A Missal of lower Italy from the 12-13th cent (Ebner, 346 f.) allots the sumption formula *Perceptio* to the communicants.

¹⁰ Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunion-riten" (*JL*, 15, 1941), 32, mentions these authors: Anselm of Laon (d. 1117), *Enarr. in Matth.* c. 8 (PL, 162, 1321); Bruno of Segni (d. 1123), *Comment. in Matth.*, II, 8, 25 (PL, 165, 141); Baldwin of Flanders (d. 1190), *De sacr. altaris* (PL, 204, 773B); Ludolf of Saxony (d. 1377), *Vita D. n. Jesu Christi*, I, 42, 8 (Augsburg, 1729: p. 190). Cf. *supra*, note 45, p. 356.

¹¹ Wilmart, 324.

¹² Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunion-riten" (*JL*, 15, 1941), 32. That is why is said in convents of nuns *Domine, non sum digna*, which in turn on occasion was transferred to the words spoken by the

The Communion Devotions of Monte Cassino¹³ gives us a good picture of the manner in which zealous monks prepared themselves for Communion. The *Ordo ad accipiendum corpus Domini* begins with Psalms 50, 15 and 38. *Kyrie, Pater noster*, and *Credo* follow, and then, in a free version, formulas of the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur*. After several versicles come the Communion prayers proper, addressed in turn first to God the Father, then to the Son, and then to the Holy Ghost.¹⁴ Next follows the centurion's protestation, said three times.¹⁵ After the reception of the Sacrament the Communicant says three times: *Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*,¹⁶ and then the doxology: *Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio in sæcula sæculorum, o beata Trinitas*. Among the prayers that follow we find, besides the *Domine Jesu Christe Fili* already mentioned, the prayer *Corpus tuum Domine quod sumpsisti*.¹⁷ A few other formulas present variations on the prayer for the purifying and strengthening effect of the Sacrament.¹⁸

It is astonishing that this group of prayers, which since the end of the Carolingian era had been transferred from the private sphere into the liturgical prayers even of the priest, after a few centuries played no special role in private Communion devotions. While the prayers in the priest's Mass *ordo* became more and more fixed, private piety in the pre-Gothic period took a new direction. By the eleventh century we encounter the salutations of the Blessed Sacrament¹⁹ which even found a place in the Mass books²⁰ and which reached their climax in the elevation of the Sacred Host at the consecration. In connection with these a new mode of speech gradually broke through. No more is the Body and Blood of Christ kept in view, but simply Christ, who is desired and greeted as the guest of our souls. The fundamental tone is produced not by the phrase "Who eats My flesh and drinks My blood" (John 6:53 ff.) but by that other phrase "who eats Me" (John 6:58). As a result, the contemplation of Christ's

priest (*ibid.*, 31), thus, e.g., also in the Roman Missal printed at Venice in 1563: Lebrun, I, 556.

¹³ First version: Wilmart (*Eph. liturg.*, 1929), 322-325.

¹⁴ In the second version one prayer apiece to each of the Three Divine Persons (326); in the first are two formulas to the Father.—One part of the formulas is already dealt with *supra*. The texts in general show a tendency to sentimental elaboration.

¹⁵ Only to the *sub tectum meum*. In the second version there is a long preceding prayer beginning with the same phrase, similar to the prayer mentioned above, p. 355, n. 34.

¹⁶ Likewise in the Lower Italian Missal of the 12-13th cent. in Ebner, 347.

¹⁷ The missal just mentioned in the previous note (Ebner, 347) has the communicating clerics say *Quod ore sumpsimus* and then *Corpus D. n. J. C. quod accepi*.

¹⁸ Wilmart, 327, rightly emphasizes "une préoccupation morale" as a recognizable trait of these Communion prayers.

¹⁹ Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 20 ff., 373 f.; Browe, *Die Kommunionandacht* (v. below, n. 21), 49. The Sacramentary of Fonte Avellana (before 1325), without mentioning any other prayers, has the communicants pray together (*Ad sonitum patenæ hanc fratres orationem dicant*): *Huius sacramenti susceptio fiat nobis, Domine, omnium peccatorum nostrorum remissio. Per Christum*. PL, 151, 887 f.

²⁰ *Supra*, p. 352.

Passion, which had been brought to the fore in the allegorical explanations of the Mass, and (in general) the reminiscent preoccupation with our Lord's life and suffering, had their effect on the preparation for Communion.²¹

It is against this background that we must evaluate the appearance, towards the end of the Middle Ages, of a special series of prayers within the Mass for the case when Communion was to be distributed to the faithful. And as time went on, the rite thus inserted into the Mass became more and more identical with that used when Communion was distributed outside of Mass, as was necessary at least for the Communion of the sick and dying. This development had been preceded by substantially the reverse procedure. For the oldest rites for the Communion of the sick which we know of transported, as far as possible, the Communion part of the Mass into the sick-room. The *Pater noster* was said, with its introduction and its embolism, the kiss of peace was given with a formula corresponding to the *Pax Domini*, and then the Sacrament was presented to the sick.²²

After the eleventh century, however, this rite for the Communion of the sick grew less common. It was broken up and various other elements assumed a more prominent role in it, especially a confession of sin and a profession of faith. Of course a confession of sin was long a part of the correct preparation for Communion, in fact fundamentally it was a part of it from the very beginning. But it did not always come right before the reception of the Sacrament.²³ In the prayer book of Charles the Bald the imperial petitioner is admonished: *Confitenda sunt peccata secreto coram Deo, antequam vestram offeratis oblationem vel communicetis*.²⁴ To be sure, at the Communion of the sick these requirements were of necessity drawn closer together. As one twelfth-century source puts it, the sick person should recite *suum Confiteor*,²⁵ after which the *Misereatur*

²¹ Browe, "Die Kommunionandacht im Alttertum und Mittelalter," *JL*, 13 (1935), 45-64, especially 53 ff.—The sublime meditations offered in the *Imitatio Christi*, IV, 6 ff., as *exercitium ante communionem*, are something very different.

²² To be exact, certain formulas of the Gallican Mass survive therein; thus clearly in the Ritual of St. Florian (12th cent.), ed. Franz (Freiburg, 1904), 82. Still the pertinent section of the Roman Missal, beginning with the *Præceptis salutaribus*, was used, and even with a Fore-Mass preceding. Thus in the Pontifical of Narbonne (11th cent.): Martène, I, 7, XIII (I, 892); cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 149-156. In the *missa præsanctificatorum* we have a form taken from the Com-

munion of the Mass and developed to a greater solemnity; see *ibid.*, 144-146. In the Orient the rite of the Mass of the Pre-sanctified in its essentials was frequently used for Communion outside of Mass: Hanssens, *Institutiones*, II, 99 f.

²³ Cf. above I, 18, 494.

²⁴ ed. Ninguarda (*v. supra* n. 22) 113; cf. also the Communion order of Monte Cassino, *supra*, p. 369.

²⁵ Ritual of St. Florian, ed. Franz, 82. Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunionriten" (*JL*, 15, 1941), 28 f., refers to other examples, among them one from the 11th century. Still the *Confiteor* is missing even in later documents; so in the older revisions of the *Pontificale Romanum* of the 13th century (ed. Andrieu, II, 493).

follows, along with the *Indulgentiam* (embodying the absolution)²⁶ and the rest of the Communion rite.

Already in the sources of the eighth and ninth centuries there is evidence here and there of a profession of faith made by the sick, usually in the form of the Apostles' Creed.²⁷ However, it never became a general practice. But when, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was drawn into closer relation with the Communion, it again appears.²⁸

Both elements were then transferred to the order of Communion at Mass. The liturgies of the religious orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries usually indicate the *Confiteor* before the Communion of the brethren.²⁹ Soon, in the form of the *culpa* or "open confession," it gained entrance into the parish churches, where it was generally recited by the entire congregation.³⁰ Since the thirteenth century we sometimes find, in some form or other, a profession of faith in the truth of the Sacrament, made before the Communion of the Mass.³¹ It appears in the form of a

²⁶ Cf. *supra* I, 305 ff., 492 ff.

²⁷ P. Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion im Alttertum und Mittelalter; 5. Die Ablegung des Glaubenbekenntnisses," *ZkTh*, 60 (1936), 211-215; cf. the Dimma Book (F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* [Oxford, 1881] 169); Theodulf, *Capitulare*, II (PL, 105, 222 C).—An example from the 13-14th cent. in Martène, I, 7, XXVI (I, 948).—Also the ritual of the diocese of Schwerin of 1521 (ed. A. Schönfelder [Paderborn, 1906], 24 f.) demands the Apostles' Creed.

²⁸ Ritual of St. Florian (Franz, 82): *Ecce, frater, corpus D. n. J. C., quod tibi deferimus. Credis hoc esse illud, in quo est salus, vita et resurrectio nostra?* Rituale of Bishop Henry I of Breslau (d. 1319) (ed. Franz [Freiburg, 1912] 33): *Credis, quod hoc sit Christus, salvator mundi?* In an *Ordo* for the Sick from Gerona (about 1400) there is required from the sick person first a Christological profession of faith consisting of seven articles and then, after the prayer that accompanies the Kissing of the Cross, the profession of faith in the Sacrament; T. Noguer i Mosqueras, "Un text liturgic en Català," *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia*, 12 (1936), 451-462. Further examples in Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion" (*ZkTh*, 1936), 213 ff.

²⁹ Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunionriten" (*JL*, 15, 1941), 29. Only the Carthusians to this day have not accepted the *Confiteor* in this place, and likewise Do-

mine, *non sum dignus*. The Cistercians omit it when only the assistants communicate (*ibid.*).

³⁰ Browe, 30. There is evidence that at the same time a penance was imposed as in other analogous cases (above I, 493, note 18). See *Ritus communione catholice* (before 1557) of Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria, as well as other accounts in H. Mayer, *ZkTh*, 38 (1914), 276 f. Confession of sins and the imposing of penance also in the Hungarian Rite of Communion of the 16th century; G. Péterffy, *Sacra concilia Ecclesiae Rom. cath. in regno Hungariae* (Pressburg, 1742), 240.

³¹ In the *Queste del St. Graal* (about 1220) ed. Pauphilet 167 (in Browe, 24) one of the heroes confesses to the priest's question what he is holding in his hands, "You hold my Savior and my Redemption under the species of bread."—Browe, 24 ff., calls attention to the fact that often, specially since the middle of the 13th century, instead of a question pertaining to faith, a sermonette was delivered urging the people to religious and worthy reception. Still this address often takes the place of the customary sermon, or in convents is given on the day before (25 f.). In later times and into the 20th century the Communion addresses preceding the Communion, especially a General Communion, became indeed more frequent. They were declared permissible (as "fervorini") by decree of the Cong. of Rites, April 16, 1853: *De-*

question by the priest and an answer by the people, especially after the Reformers began to attack the Sacrament.³²

A very happy method of making such a profession of faith was found when, in place of the questions about faith and the knowledge of faith, the more quiet and harmonious form we have in our *Ecce Agnus Dei* appeared. By its pertinent and pregnant designation of the Blessed Sacrament as the Lamb of God it takes up the message of the *Agnus Dei* chant which preceded. It can surely be put on a par with the *Sancta sanctis* of old.³³ The earliest witness to the use of these words before Communion seems to be the Synod of Aix (1585), where they were prescribed along with the accompanying *ritus*.³⁴ In order to attain their purpose as an acknowledgment of belief in the Eucharist they were often—even to very recent times—spoken in the vernacular, just as was done earlier with regard to the questions about faith, and even as was done with the *Domine non sum dignus* following. Quite a number of synods and diocesan rituals, even in the eighteenth century and later, both in Germany and France, expressly ordered this use of the vernacular.³⁵ Then this group of formulas, *Confiteor* with the accompanying words of absolution, *Ecce Agnus Dei*, and *Domine non sum dignus*, were introduced into the order of Communion in the Roman Ritual of 1614. There it was naturally given in Latin, and insofar as the Roman Ritual took the place of the diocesan rituals, this resulted in the exclusion of the vernacular. Now the *Confiteor*

creto auth. SRC, n. 3009, 4.—In rituals, printed texts for the purpose are provided; see, e.g., for the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg, in the 16th century, Mayer, *loc. cit.*, 277; for Constance, A. Dold, *Die Konstanzer Ritualientexte* (LQ, 5-6; Münster, 1923), 42 f.

³² Thus, the Dominican General Chapters of 1569 and 1583 prescribed the following form for the Communion of the laity; after the confession of sins the priest holds the Sacrament before the communicant, saying: *Credis hunc esse verum Christum Deum et hominem?* The communicant answers *Credo*. Then follows the *Domine, non sum dignus*. *Monumenta Ord. Fr. Præd. hist.*, 10 (1901), 239; Browe, 27. In the *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum* (Rome, 1584), 297, composed by Cardinal Santori, occurs the question *Creditis hoc esse verum Christi corpus, quod pro vobis traditum fuit in mortem?* After an affirmative *Credo* there follows a second more general question. Similar questions in the Hungarian Communion Rite of the 16th century; Péterffy (*supra*, n. 30), 241.

³³ Another case to the point is the expression with *Ecce* above in n. 28.

³⁴ Hardouin, X, 1525.—Lebrun, I, 556.

³⁵ Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunion-riten" (*JL*, 15, 1941), 30 f.; Corblet, II, 20. Thus also, e.g., for ages the *Manuale Sacrum* of the Diocese of Brixen; the edition of 1906 prescribes (p. 102) that the *Agnus Dei* be said first in Latin then in German, the *Domine non sum dignus* only in German, provided of course that Communion was administered outside the Mass. But the answer from the Cong. of Rites, July 4, 1835, to the Swiss Capuchins was different: *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 2725, 5. According to the Synod of Aix cited above, the *Domine non sum dignus* could be said by the server instead of by the priest. There is a certain solemnity given to the *Domine non sum dignus*, as is reported customary among the Latin Catholics of Rumania, where on special Communion days it is sung by the choir and the congregation; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II), 360.

is to be recited by the Mass-server *nomine populi*, and the *Domine non sum dignus* is to be said by the priest.³⁶

The acceptance of these prayers into the Roman Missal was a matter of course.³⁷ From what we have said we see that it was entirely in keeping with long usage. However, in our day, when we have learned to follow the procedure of the Mass from start to finish, we find the *Confiteor* especially a rather unnecessary repetition, since, even without considering the community type of Mass, every attempt to participate at the sacrifice demands from the very beginning the humble acknowledgment of sin.³⁸ At the Communion of the ordination Mass, the *Ecce Agnus Dei* and the *Domine non sum dignus* are wanting, and at the Communion of newly-ordained priests the *Confiteor* also is omitted.³⁹

That these interpolations before the dispensing of Holy Communion could so easily succeed in gaining general acceptance during the last years of the Middle Ages is linked in some way with the fact that even from ancient times it was customary on occasion to stop momentarily at this place and use the sacred moment for important explanations. It is already recounted of Novatian that he exacted from his followers an oath of fealty before he let them approach for Communion.⁴⁰ In the early Middle Ages similar demands and explanations were customary when Communion was dispensed at a Mass which had been preceded by an ordeal.⁴¹ From this, it was but a short step to consider the religious profession as a kind of sacred oath which was sealed with the reception of the Sacrament. An example of this sort is seen in French Franciscan circles in the year 1331.⁴² In the Society of Jesus⁴³ it became an established institution to take the

³⁶ *Rituale Rom.* (1925), IV, 2, 1. 3.

³⁷ *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.* X, 6.

³⁸ Already in 1680, N. Letourneux, French preacher and ascetical writer, made reference to the unsuitableness of repeating the *Confiteor* and the *Domine non sum dignus*; see Trapp, 10.

³⁹ *Pont. Rom.*, De ord. presbyteri; in the case of the priests the reason given is: *quia concelebrant Pontifici*.

⁴⁰ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 43, 18.

⁴¹ P. Browe, "Zum Kommunionempfang des Mittelalters; 5. Die Kommunion vor dem Ordeal und dem Duell," *JL*, 12 (1934), 171-173. A Missal of the 12-13th century from the neighborhood of Siena, in the *Missa quando lex agitur*, has this rubric; *sacerdos cum ad communicandum accerserit, ita adiuret eum: Adiuro te, homo, per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum et per tuam christianitatem et per istas reliquias quæ sunt in ista ecclesia, ut præsumas non ullo modo communicare, si cul-*

pabilis es. Ebner, 254 f. In the plural form and with some elaborations in the Ritual of St. Florian (12th cent.), ed. Franz, 119; also in Franz, *Die Messe*, 214. Similarly already in two manuscripts of 9 and 10th centuries copied among others in P. Browe, *De ordaliis*, II (Textus et Documenta, ser. theol. II; Rome, 1933), 7.—As is apparent, the Communion of the accused also served as a means of ascertaining the truth. As a "Lord's Supper Test" it was of course encompassed with superstition. Essentially, though, it was a particularly solemn form of the oath of purification; G. Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelelter*, II (Paderborn, 1926), 54.

⁴² General chapter of Perpignan, *Constitutiones*, III, 8: *Archivum Franciscanum hist.*, 2 (1909), 281.

⁴³ *Constitutiones S. J.*, V, 3, 2-4. (Institutum S. J., II; Florence, 1893, 89); I. Zeiger, "Professio super hostiam. Ursprung und Sinngehalt der Professform

vows a moment before receiving the Sacrament, an example which has been imitated in many later congregations.

13. Communion of the Faithful: Ritual Shape

Regarding the problem of the place to be occupied by the faithful when receiving Holy Communion, there have been various solutions in the course of time.¹ When all or a great part of those present communicated, the manner described in the Roman *ordines* had certain advantages: the faithful remain in their place, and the clergy bring them the Sacrament.² In other localities, as early as the fourth century, the faithful went up to the altar.³ In Gaul that was the old traditional practice. The gates which separated the sanctuary (and consequently the place of the clergy) from the people were left open at this time; the faithful ascended the steps to the altar, a right which the Synod of Tours (567) expressly ratified,⁴ and which was not curtailed till the Carolingian period.⁵ After that it still remained at least the privilege of monks, and frequently also of nuns. It was seldom granted to the laity to receive at the main altar, as was the case with the Augustinian Canons according to a rule confirmed in 1116 for the foundation of Ravenna.⁶ Usually lay people received Communion at a side altar where the Sacrament had been placed beforehand, or where a special Mass was said.⁷ This was especially the case where (as frequently happened since the Romanesque period in churches with many priests) the choir was separated from the nave of the church by a high

in der Gesellschaft Jesu" *Archivum historicum S. J.*, 9 (1940), 172-188.—One often reads in the lives of the saints since the late Middle Ages how they made their final declaration in the presence of the Eucharist before receiving it as Viaticum; thus, e.g., St. Thomas Aquinas. In the same manner L. Ricci before his death on Nov. 19, 1775, the last General of the Society of Jesus before its dissolution, solemnly asserted in the presence of the Host his innocence and that of the Society; B. Duhr, "Lorenzo Ricci," *StZ*, 114 (1928, I), 81-92, especially 88.

¹ Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunion-riten 4. Der Ort des Empfanges," *JL*, 15 (1941), 32-42.

² Above I, 73. In certain circumstances this method was to be found in use even later. At the place of pilgrimage Maria Luschari in Carinthia it was still customary in the 19th century for the priest to go up and down from the High Altar to the main entrance administering Communion: A.

Egger, *Kirchliche Kunst-und Denkmalpflege* (2nd ed., Brixen, 1933), 204, n. 3.

³ The Council of Laodicea, can. 44 (Mansi, II, 571), certainly recognizes the custom, but rejects the approach of the women to the altar.

⁴ Can. 4 (Mansi, IX, 793). Further data in Browe, 36 f.

⁵ Cf. the restrictions regarding the Offertory Procession; *supra*, p. 9, n. 43. In Rome also, in the 9th century laws were made forbidding the laity to enter the presbyterium; Browe, 36. Through the IV Council of Toledo (633), can. 18 (Mansi, X, 624), it had already been decreed in Spain, *ut sacerdos et levita ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus*.

⁶ E. Amort, *Vetus disciplina canonicorum*, (Venice, 1747), 376. A rule of the Humiliati that originated about 1310 still permits men to enter the choir; Browe, 40.

⁷ Cf. Browe, 40.

wall, the so-called screen. Here Communion was usually given at a transept-altar erected outside the screen.

In the North African Church of ancient times, and elsewhere, too, the method adopted was for the faithful to approach the rail which surrounded the altar. Augustine warned the guilty who had lost their right to Communion not to approach "lest they be sent away from the rail (*de cancellis*)."⁸ A similar custom must have existed in the Orient.⁹ During the Carolingian era, too, we find mention made of these rails. These rails, however, were not so low as those of today; they reached as high as the chest.¹⁰ Consequently, the faithful were able to receive standing.

Since the thirteenth century it was customary here and there to spread a cloth (held by two acolytes) for those communicants kneeling at the altar.¹¹ Later on, in the sixteenth century, this cloth began to be laid over a table or a bench which had been placed before the communicants between the nave and the *presbyterium*. This was found very convenient for an orderly coming and going. Various synods now laid down prescriptions along these lines.¹² However, in place of table or bench, solid rails of wood or stone gradually came into use, but they were calculated for kneeling and hence were made lower—our Communion rail, which since the seventeenth century has almost everywhere taken the place of the former screen.

When the faithful go to Communion we say nowadays: They approach the Lord's table. This had never meant the Communion rail or any of its forerunners, but from the very beginning it always meant only the altar-table, the *mensa Domini* at which the Sacrament was confected, and from which it was distributed. Nevertheless, it still remains a splendid task for the church-architect so to arrange and align the structure mentioned as to trace the connection with the holy table which we actually approach when we kneel at the Communion rail.

⁸ Augustine, *Serm.*, 392, 5 (PL, 39, 1712).—Cf. Zeno of Verona, *Tract.*, II, 30 (PL, 11, 476 B).

⁹ Cf. *supra*, note 3.—Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.* VI (Ruecker, 36): to communicate at the altar was the privilege of the clergy. But cf. the example from Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VII, 9, cited above, p. 273, and the practice contested at Laodicea (above, note 3).—See also the provisions regarding the oblation of gifts, above, p. 9, note 43.

¹⁰ Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 6 (PL, 114, 926 B), says that as a rule they are only so high that while standing one might support one's elbows upon them. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 660, gives the general height of these balustrades as 0.80-1.20 m. (2 ft. 6 in.—3 ft. 5

in.). The *cancelli* were then similar to those in any present-day court or chancery.

¹¹ *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 247); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 99, 1. 18). In both sources the priest, who evidently does not carry the Pyx with the Sacred Particles himself, is directed each time to take the host in his right hand and to hold the paten in his left *supponendo eam hostiæ, et sic transferat usque ad fratrem communicandum*. The cloth mentioned before could according to the Ordo of Stefaneschi, n. 56 (PL, 78, 1172 B), also be the velum for the chalice.—Cf. also the teaching of the Mainz pastor Florentius Diel about 1500 to the faithful anent the Communion Cloth; *supra*, p. 16, n. 81.

¹² The oldest is from Genoa, 1574; Browe, 41 f.

That the Body of the Lord should be received kneeling is a custom which slowly and gradually gained the ascendancy in the West¹³ between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries.¹⁴ Prior to that, it was the practice, as we have said, to stand while communicating.

The changes of bodily bearing are mirrored, amongst others, in the picturizations of the Last Supper. While the exegete must surely conclude from the accounts at hand that the disciples received the divine bread in the same posture which they had assumed during the meal,¹⁵ art, delving into the very core of the matter, has preferred to sketch the event in accordance with contemporary Communion rites.¹⁶ A Gospel codex of Rossano, which originated in Egypt about the year 500, pictures our Lord standing while giving His disciples, also standing, Communion under the form of bread.¹⁷ In reverse, the Evangeliary of Bernward of Hildesheim (d. 1024) shows the apostle Judas receiving the Eucharist kneeling.¹⁸ That this practice, however, had not yet become common everywhere can be seen from the statutes of the various religious orders in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, which expressly prescribe it. For parochial churches in several dioceses it was not till much later that its introduction was recommended. Thus we read in a Paderborn memorandum-book printed in 1602 that the custom was to be introduced there *ubi commode fieri poterit*.¹⁹ In the rite of the Roman Curia, on the other hand, it had become so firmly rooted as early as the fourteenth century that, as today, outside of the celebrant, only the bishop stood when receiving Communion at his consecration Mass.²⁰

¹³ In the Byzantine Liturgy to this day the faithful receive Communion while standing. The Gallician Ukrainians, who receive kneeling, are an exception.

¹⁴ P. Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunion-riten; 4. Aeussere Verehrung des Sakramentes beim Empfang," *JL*, 15 (1941), 42-48; B. Kleinschmidt, "Zur Geschichte des Kommunionritus," *Theol.-prakt. Quartalschrift*, 59 (1906), 95-109, especially 96 f.

¹⁵ Mark 14: 18: ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν. Cf. Matt. 26: 20; Luke 22: 14.

¹⁶ Cf. E. Dobbert, "Das Abendmahl Christi in der bildenden Kunst bis gegen Schluss des 14th cent.," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 13 (1890), 281-292, with seven other articles to 18 (1895), 336-379.

¹⁷ Illustration in O. Gebhardt-A. Harnack, *Evangeliorum codex graecus purpureus Rossanensis* (Leipzig, 1880), table 9 and 10; on the basis of photographs, with detailed description, A. Haseloff, *Codex pur-*

pureus Rossanensis (Berlin, 1898), table 6 and 7, respectively pages 102-106.—Similarly the somewhat later Syrian Gospel Codex of Rabulas; O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, I (Berlin, 1918), 294.—Pertinent pictures from later times in the work of Dobbert, "Das Abendmahl," *Repertorium*, 15 (1892), 507; 509; 511 ff.; 517; 519; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, table 10 and 41.—Literary evidence for the standing position in the West is supplied by the *Regula Magistri* that belongs perhaps to the 6th century; c. 21 (PL, 88, 988): *erecti communicent et confirment*.

¹⁸ Dobbert, *op. cit.*, 18 (1895), 365.

¹⁹ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 267. Further data in Browe, 46-48.

²⁰ Ordo of Stefaneschi, n. 56 f. (PL, 78, 1172 B.D.). At the solemn Pontifical Mass the ministering Cardinal Deacon also receives standing; Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 36. The Pope communicates while seated, a custom for which there is

For evident reasons the standing position was the rule for the chalice Communion, and this position was retained also for the ablution wine.²¹

Apropos of the Communion which was received standing, the question arises, whether in this case there was not perhaps some sign of adoration or reverence connected with the reception. For the period which witnessed anew the increase in that eucharistic devotion which brought with it the change to reception while kneeling, signs of veneration could naturally be taken for granted. St. Hildegard had her nuns approach Communion dressed in white, adorned like brides, with a crown which displayed on the forehead the picture of the *Agnus Dei*.²² About the same time, when the Canons of the Lateran went to Communion they all wore the cope.²³ In Cluny, they were still speaking of the custom practiced by the Fathers of approaching *discalceatis pedibus*.²⁴ Reverence was also shown by bodily movement. The *Consuetudines* of Cluny, written down by Udalricus about 1080, demand a genuflection before receiving.²⁵ Elsewhere it was cus-

apparently no evidence before the 12th century. Browe, 46.

²¹ Browe, 44 f.

²² Hildegard of Bingen, *Ep.* 116 (PL, 197, 336 C; 337 f.). The precise relationship of the dress described to the approach to Communion may be in some doubt, but it can be safely assumed to correspond. A MS. in the municipal library of Trier, about 1403, mentions among the relics of St. Matthias in Trier the "communion coronet" of St. Hildegard.

²³ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 12, 1. 15; 86, 1. 16). But when approaching there is a genuflection for the bishop (*ibid.*, 86, 1. 22).

²⁴ Odo of Cluny, *Collationes* II, 28 (PL, 133, 572 C). Once again the custom was revived, in the 15th century, where a Low German "rule for lay people" originating in the Windesheim Congregation, demanded that the communicant lay aside his weapons and shoes; R. Langenberg, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Mystik* (Bonn, 1902), 96; cf. p. 145. Older data and explanation of the custom in Ph. Oppenheim, *Symbolik und religiöse Wertung des Mönchskleides im christlichen Altertum* (Münster, 1932), 96 f. The practice is grounded not only on a text of Ex. 3: 5, but also on the idea that one should strip oneself of everything that might remind one of death (leather from killed animals), when appearing in the presence of God. For that reason the

monks of Pachomius before receiving Communion laid aside their leathern mantles and girdles. In this connection should be mentioned the baptismal robe of white linen; see F. van der Meer, *Augustinus als Seelsorger* (Cologne, 1951), 433. Concerning linen as cultural clothing see E. Stommel, *Münchener theol. Zeitschrift*, 3 (1952), 19 f.

²⁵ II, 30 (PL, 149, 721 B). This genuflection is also emphasized by Peter of Cluny (d. 1156), *Statuta* n. 4 (PL, 189, 1027 B). A preceding genuflection is verified earlier in the Orient, among the East Syrians already in the 6th century and also among the Greeks (triple genuflection) in the 10th century; Browe, 43.—Among the Cistercians, after the introduction of receiving in a kneeling posture, a *prostratio* was further required before ascending the altar; *Liber usum O. Cist.*, c. 58 (PL, 166, 1432). As is known, the practice regarding these genuflections varies to this day. Even the prior genuflection in any event requires a strictly ordered approach. A genuflection after receiving Communion is not perhaps at variance with the rubric of today; but in the Middle Ages such a genuflection was not customary at all. Some Orders, like the Cistercians, required a bow after receiving. Browe, 44.—On the analogy of the present-day Roman rubrics, there is no other reverence required either before or after Communion outside the kneeling at the reception; see Th. Schnitz-

tomary to kiss the floor or the priest's foot.²⁶ A threefold inclination was already prescribed in the rule of St. Columban (d. 615).²⁷

St. Augustine seems to have had something similar in mind when he remarked that no one partook of this Flesh *nisi prius adoraverit*,²⁸ but we find nothing further about a bodily gesture except that the faithful were to approach *conjunctis manibus*.²⁹ According to Theodore of Mopsuestia the communicant should draw near with lowered eyes, both hands extended, and at the same time he should speak a word of adoration, since he is to receive the Body of the King.³⁰

A clear picture of the procedure at Communion in the fourth century is given us in the *Mystagogic Catecheses* of Jerusalem:

When you approach, do not go stretching out your open hands or having your fingers spread out, but make the left hand into a throne for the right which shall receive the King, and then cup your open hand and take the Body of Christ, reciting the *Amen*. Then sanctify with all care your eyes by touching the Sacred Body, and receive It. But be careful that no particles fall, for what you lose would be to you as if you had lost some of your members. Tell me, if anybody had given you gold dust, would you not hold fast to it with all care, and watch lest some of it fall and be lost to you? Must you not then be even more careful with that which is more precious than gold and diamonds, so that no particles are lost? Then, after you have partaken of the Body of Christ, approach the chalice with the Blood without stretching out your hands, but bowed, in a position of worship and reverence, and repeat the *Amen* and sanctify yourself by receiving the Blood of Christ. Should your lips still be moist, then touch them with your hands and sanctify your eyes and your forehead and the other senses. Then tarry in prayer and thank God who has made you worthy of such mysteries.³¹

Most of the details found in the picture presented above are corroborated

ler, "Kniebeuge nach der Kommunion?" *Katechetische Blätter*, 75 (1950), 459-461.

²⁶ The Ordinarium of the Dominicans about 1256 (Guerrini, 247) rejects these customs and requires only the genuflection; likewise the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 99). Cf. Browe, 43 f.

²⁷ *Regula*, ed. Seebass (*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1897), 227. Browe, who refers to this testimony (42 f.), also mentions two rules for nuns that are derived from it.

²⁸ Augustine, *Enarr. in ps.* 98, 9 (PL, 37, 1264).

²⁹ Augustine, *Contra ep. Parmen.* II, 7, 13 (CSEL, 51, 58, l. 16). Similarly already the *Passio Perpetuae*, c. 4, 9; see Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 87 f. Cf. below, note 34.

³⁰ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (Rueker, 36). Extending or stretching both the hands clearly accom-

panies the more remote act of approaching while they are folded immediately before receiving, as Augustine also emphasizes. Cf. the row of approaching Apostles in the illustration of the Last Supper in the Codex Rossanensis (above n. 17), the one next to Our Lord bows, kissing the Lord's right hand, from which with both hands he has just received the Sacred Bread; the one following has his folded hands still covered, while the rest have them open and outstretched. One who has evidently already received the Sacrament, holds both hands uplifted in prayer. The illustration of the Chalice Communion parallels this every respect. Cf. the discussion of the picture in Haseloff, 102-106, who also claims to be able to see the folded hands of the one receiving.

³¹ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 21 f. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 108-110).

for the period of Christian antiquity not only by the texts cited before and by pictures and drawings, but also in many other sources:³² the giving of the Eucharist into the hand of the communicant,³³ the placing of both hands together open and in cruciform,³⁴ the blessing of the senses with the sacramental species,³⁵ the admonition to take great care in handling them,³⁶ and the immediate reception of the eucharistic bread before proceeding to partake of the chalice. However, there are a few sources which advise the communicant to remain in prayer momentarily before the reception; one should keep in mind the power of Him whose Body is held in one's

³² F. X. Funk, *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, I (Paderborn, 1897), 293-308: "Der Kommunionritus."

³³ F. J. Dölger offers the most important proofs for the first centuries; *Ichthys*, II (Münster, 1922), 513 f.; the same, *Antike u. Christentum*, 3 (1932), 239, n. 34; 5 (1936), 236 f.; see also Bona, II, 17, 3 (841-847). An early testimony in Tertullian, *De idolol.*, c. 7 (CSEL, 20, 36): the Christian who sacrificed to the gods, dares *eas manus admoveere corpori Domini, quæ daemoniis corpora conferunt* . . . *O manus præcidendæ!*—Dionysius of Alexandria, in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 9, 4; Pope Cornelius to Fabius, in Eusebius, VI, 43, 18. According to the inscription of Pectorius the Christian should eat and drink *ἐχθὺν ἔχων παλαμαῖς* (Quasten, *Mon.*, 26).—The last clear testimonies are from the 8th century: *Capitularia eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca 201): *pontifex . . . communicat populum qui manus suas extendere ad ipsum potuerit*: cf. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 65 f.—Beda (d. 735), *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 24 (PL, 95, 214 D). Later traces, but no longer unequivocal in meaning, in Funk, 298.—In the Orient the witnesses for the extending of the hands continued until about the same time; it is still certified by John Damascene, *De fide*, IV, 13 (PG, 94, 1149).

³⁴ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.* VI (Rueker, 36 f.); Trullian Synod (692), can. 101 (Mansi, XI, 985 f.), here also the prohibition to use a golden platter instead of the bare hands; John Damascene, *loc. cit.* Iconographic testimony in J. Stăfănescu, *L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient* (Brussels, 1936), ill. 73, 75.—The extending of the hands discussed here is still customary in

the Byzantine Liturgy at the Communion of the deacon and at the reception of the *Antidoron* by the faithful. Pl. de Meester, *La divine liturgie de s. Jean Chrysostome* (3rd ed., Rome, 1925), 135.

³⁵ The custom is first mentioned by Aphraates, *Hom.*, 7, 8 (BKV, Select writings of Syrian Church Fathers [1874], 99). It seems to have originated with the Syrians, perhaps on the basis of Ex. 12: 7 ff. Cf. Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 3 (1932), 231-244. A kissing of the Eucharistic Bread that one held in the hands is also connected with this; cf. *ibid.*, 245 ff. The "blessing of the senses" is found still today in the East Syrian Mass. After the priest has performed the fraction and consignation, he makes a sign of the cross with his thumb upon his own forehead and that of the deacons; Brightman, 292, l. 34.—Related customs took on new forms later on in the West in combination with the priest's ablution after Communion; see below, p. 418.—The application of the Eucharist as a means of protection and good health was not uncommon. Augustine, *Opus imperf. c. Julianum*, III, 162 (PL, 45, 1315) without disapproval, reports of a woman who made a compress with the Eucharist for her blind boy. Cf. the use of the Eucharist as a protection for a journey, *supra*, p. 360. In the Middle Ages these views and methods became more coarse and appear even for the purpose of business and profit. Since the 12th century the Church was obliged to take a firm stand against the abuse of the Sacrament for such purposes and even as a talisman.

³⁶ Tertullian, *De corona mil.*, c. 3 (CSEL, 70, 158): *Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur*. Other passages in Quasten, *Mon.*, 109, n. 2.

hands, acknowledge one's own sinfulness and unworthiness, and praise the Lord *qui tale dedit tali*.³⁷ A prayer for this moment, first attested in the fifth century,³⁸ is still in use in Egypt today.³⁹ Only after this prayer had been said was the Body of the Lord received. In the West, too, the customary manner of receiving Communion in early medieval times was similar to this.⁴⁰ We see this more plainly in the Communion of clerics by whom the practice of taking the Communion in the hands was retained longest. At the papal Mass in the eighth and ninth centuries, after the bishops and priests had received the Body of the Lord, they went to the left side of the altar, placed their hands with the Sacrament on the altar and communicated; the deacons did the same on the right side of the altar.⁴¹ The practice was not much different even in the pontifical Mass of the tenth century.⁴²

The laity intending to receive Communion were expected to wash their hands beforehand.⁴³ It is not clear, however, if this washing of the hands was demanded only as needed or if it represented a settled ritual prescription: the latter seems probable, for it was customary since ancient times to wash the hands before prayer.⁴⁴ Be that as it may, in the plans for the great basilicas, a fountain was placed in the fore-court.⁴⁵ That it was not intended merely as an ornament is seen clearly from the fact that in front of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, behind the splendid Constantinian fountain, a second, more modest one was erected by Pope Symmachus in order to satisfy the need.⁴⁶ In Gaul, the women were not permitted to receive the Body of the Lord in their bare hands, but were obliged to cover them with a white cloth.⁴⁷

³⁷ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (Ruecker, 37 f.).

³⁸ Testamentum Domini I, 23 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 258): *Sancta, sancta, sancta Trinitas ineffabilis, da mihi, ut sumam hoc corpus in vitam, non in condemnationem. Da mihi, ut faciem fructus, qui tibi placent, ut cum appaream placens tibi vivam in te, adimplens praecepta tua, et cum fiducia invocem te, Pater, cum implorem super me tuum regnum et tuam voluntatem, nomen tuum sanctificetur, Domine, in me, quoniam tu es fortis et gloriosus et tibi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

³⁹ In the Coptic Liturgy as a prayer that the priest says, and in the Ethiopian as a prayer that each one of the faithful should say as of yore after the reception and before the actual eating of the Body of Christ. Cf. the text of the prayer in the Arabic version of the Testamentum Domini (Quasten, *Mon.*, 258, n. 3).

⁴⁰ Cf. the *coniunctis manibus* in Augustine, *supra*, p. 378.

⁴¹ *Ordo* of S. Amand (Andrieu, II, 165; cf. 170).

⁴² *Ordines* for episcopal Mass "In primis" and "Post quam" (Andrieu, II, 335, 361; PL, 78, 989; 994).

⁴³ Athanasius, *Ep. heort.*, 5 (from the year 333), n. 5 (PG, 26, 1383 A); Chrysostom, *In Eph. hom.*, 3, 4 (PG, 62, 28 f.); Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.*, 227, 5 (Morin, 854; PL, 39, 2168): *Omnes viri quando communicare desiderant, lavant manus suas, et omnes mulieres nitida exhibent linteamina, ubi corpus Christi accipiant.*—Cf. Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missae*, I, 12, 3 (Schneider, 73).

⁴⁴ Hippolytus of Rome, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 61; 65 f.).

⁴⁵ Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, X, 4; Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 32 (PL, 61, 337).

⁴⁶ Beissel, *Bilder*, 254-256.

⁴⁷ Caesarius, *loc. cit.*—The same decision at the Synod of Auxerre (578 or 585), can. 36 (Mansi, IX, 915). This same small

Before receiving the eucharistic bread the faithful often kissed the hand of the one giving them Communion.⁴⁸ Even today the Byzantine deacon does the same before taking the sacred bread.⁴⁹

In giving the Eucharist into the hands the danger arose that the Eucharist was sometimes misused. Spanish synods found it necessary to decree that whoever receives the Eucharist and does not eat it should be considered as *sacrilegus*.⁵⁰

Even stronger than this worry about possible misuse was the influence of the growing respect for the Eucharist. Both together led to the practice of placing the Sacred Host in the mouth. Even though there may be some isolated instances of this practice in earlier times,⁵¹ the method dates substantially from the ninth century.⁵²

A general prescription of the Council of Rouen (c. 878) reads as follows: *nulli autem laico aut feminae eucharistiam in manibus ponat, sed*

cloth is not to be confused with the *dominicale* that was prescribed for them over and above. This latter was a veil of some sort; cf. Funk, *Der Kommunionritus*, 296 f. The former, according to H. Melcher, *Bibel u. Liturgie*, 8 (1933-34), 247 f. would still be retained, transformed, in the white cloth with which First Communicants in some places hold their candles or carry suspended from their belts.

⁴⁸ Codex of Rossano, *supra*, note 17.

⁴⁹ Brightman, 395, l. 2.—Modern commentators (Fortescue, 374; Batiffol, 289) in referring for this kiss to the story of the Viaticum of St. Melania, Dec. 31, 439, are laboring under a misunderstanding for which the editor of the *Life* is the first to be blamed; see M. Cardinal Rampolla, *Santa Melania Giuniore* (Rome, 1905), 39, and the commentary 257-259. The narrative reads as follows (c. 68): *accepitque eadem hora communionem de manu episcopi et completa oratione respondit Amen. Exosculatur vero dexteram sancti episcopi* . . . After the reception therefore there followed an oration like our *Postcommunio*, prayed by the bishop, to which Melania answered *Amen* (cf. Rampolla, 39, l. 21), and only then is mention made of the kissing of the hand, which was thus rather a kind of farewell; cf. *infra*, n. 5.—The kissing of the hand as Communion is placed in the mouth is verified for Cluny; Udalicus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, 149, 721 B). The Premonstratensians also prac-

ticed it. Regarding kissing the hand when the bishop administers Communion as at present, see above, p. 324, n. 17.

⁵⁰ Council of Saragossa (380), can. 3 (Mansi, III, 634); Council of Toledo in 400, can. 14 (Mansi, III, 1000). Cf. the later medieval practices discussed above.

⁵¹ The well-known anecdote reported by John Diaconus (d. before 882), *Vita s. Gregorii II*, 41 (of a matron who laughed at the reception of the Sacrament from the hands of the pope, because she recognized in the sacred particle the bread she herself had offered, whereupon the pope immediately withdrew his hand *ab ore ejus*) will have to be eliminated from consideration; cf. above, p. 32, n. 2.—As the earliest examples from Gaul, P. Browe, "Die Kommunion in der gallikanischen Kirche der Merowinger-un Karolingerzeit" (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1921), 49, mentions some individual cases for the 7th century, which however could still be conditioned by circumstances (sickness). That Communion should be placed into the mouth of the sick is especially emphasized by the so-called *Statuta Bonifatii* (9th cent.), can. 32 (Mansi, XII, 386): *in fundatur ori eius eucharistia*.

⁵² A Synod of Cordova (839) inveighs against the sect of the Casians who resisted the practice of placing the Eucharist in the mouth of the communicant. C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, IV (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1879), 99.

tantum in os eius.⁵³ The change of custom is contemporaneous with the transition from leavened to unleavened bread, and is probably related to it.⁵⁴ The delicate pieces of thin wafer almost invited this method of distribution, since, unlike the pieces of unleavened bread formerly used, they easily adhered to the moist tongue. At the synod of Rouen a further rule was established that at high Mass the priest was to give the Eucharist into the hands of the deacon and subdeacon as *ministri altaris*.⁵⁵ During the tenth and eleventh centuries this right was narrowed down to priests and deacons.⁵⁶ Then it disappeared entirely, although there are isolated accounts still of the laity taking the Sacrament into their own hand.

This manner of distributing the Sacrament removed the worry about the recipient's clean hands, and also the greater worry that small particles of the sacred bread would be lost or that something had to be done about purifying the fingers, as had become the custom for the priest. The Communion cloth later introduced and, since 1929, the Communion paten or plate⁵⁷ are expressions of further increased care in the direction mentioned.

Giving the chalice to the Christian people lasted longer than giving the eucharistic bread into the hand. Naturally, with regard to the chalice, there was even greater insistence in the warning not to spill anything,⁵⁸ but even with the best will in the world it was often of no avail. However, for centuries the Communion of the chalice continued unchanged for the laity, and even today such a Communion takes place in the Liturgy of the East Syrians and the Abyssinians.⁵⁹ All drank from the same chalice,⁶⁰ which was either the consecration chalice⁶¹ or a special distribution chalice, originally called *calix ministerialis* in Rome. When necessary, several such chalices were used.⁶²

⁵³ Can. 2 (Mansi, X, 1199 f.). Pertinent illustrations since the 9th and 10th centuries; Dobbert, "Das Abendmahl," *Reperitorium*, 18 (1895), 365; 367.

⁵⁴ Cf. above, p. 12.

⁵⁵ Can. 2 (Mansi, X, 1199 f.).

⁵⁶ *Ordo "Postquam"* (Andrieu, II, 361; PL, 78, 994). Of the subdeacon it says: *ore accipiant corpus Christi*.—The later regulation in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 516 B).

⁵⁷ J. Braun, "Kommunionteller," *LThK*, VI, 108. In certain places the communion paten was already in use earlier. Two decrees of the Congr. of Rites of 1853 and 1854 treated of the matter: Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum*, n. 499 f. Moreover, a sort of communion paten was already used in Cluny; it was a flat, golden plate which the acolyte held as he accompanied

the movement of the priest's hand when he dipped the particle into the chalice held by the subdeacon and then placed it upon the tongue of the communicant. Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, 149, 721). Cf. too, *supra*, n. 11.

⁵⁸ Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 59).

⁵⁹ Brightman, 241; 298.

⁶⁰ Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, III, 31 (PL, 71, 264), reports that among the Arians one chalice was used for the *reges* and another for the common people; clearly such was not the case among Catholics.

⁶¹ That is clearly the presupposition, e.g., in the miniature of an Athos Manuscript of the 9-10th century; one of the communicants who has come forward is drinking from the large chalice that stands at the edge of the altar. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, table X; cf. *ibid.*, 79.

⁶² Braun, 247.

But with the use of a special Communion chalice they soon found another solution, a solution which in a certain measure lessened the danger of irreverence towards the sacred contents. A small amount of the Precious Blood was poured into a chalice which contained other non-consecrated wine. Evidently a custom of this kind must have been known in early times in the Orient.⁶³ Perhaps the Council of Laodicea had something like this in view when it forbade the deacon to "bless the chalice," *ποτήριον εὐλογεῖν*.⁶⁴ At any rate, this custom is to be found in the Roman *ordines* since the seventh century:⁶⁵ the acolytes held vessels of wine in readiness, into which, after the Communion of the celebrant, a part of the Precious Blood from the *calix sanctus* (which alone was allowed to be consecrated) was poured. This mixture could still be called *sanguis Dominicus*, as the third Roman *ordo* remarks, *quia vinum etiam non consecratum sed sanguine Domini commixtum sanctificatur per omnem modum*.⁶⁶ In the same manner the Communion chalice was provided for in monastic *Consuetudines* up to the twelfth century:⁶⁷ before the contents of the consecrated chalice given to the brethren were used up, it was permitted to add wine for the remaining communicants. The "sanctification" of the wine by touching the particle of the Holy Host to it was another practice, especially in the case of Communion for the sick.⁶⁸

The Roman *ordines* bring to our attention a second prescription: the faithful are not permitted to drink directly from the chalice, but by means of a tube (*pugillaris*)⁶⁹ or reed, also called *calamus* or *fistula*.⁷⁰ For the

⁶³ According to the decision of James of Edessa (d. 708) a cleric, who, after the administration of the chalice, consumed from it the Precious Blood mixed with water was not considered to have broken his fast; see text and explanation in Hanssens, *Institutiones*, II, 303.

⁶⁴ Can. 25 (Mansi, II, 567). One could also conjecture the blessing with a consecrated particle. Andrieu, *Immixtio et consecratio*, 218; cf. *ibid.*, 10, also the reference to the St. Lawrence legend in Ambrose, *De off.* I, 41 (*supra*, n. 26).

⁶⁵ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 20 (Andrieu, II, 103, 1. 7; PL, 8, 947 A). Even plainer is the description of the *Capitulum eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 107): *per omnia vasa quod acolythi tenere videntur, de calice sacro ponit [archidiaconus] ad confirmandum populum*.

⁶⁶ Frankish extract from *Ordo Rom.* I (Andrieu, II, 249; PL, 78, 982 C); cf. Amalar, *Liber off.*, I, 15 (Hanssens, II, 546): *Sanctificatur enim vinum non consecratum per sanctificationem panem*.—It is not neces-

sarily said that this *sanctificatio* is to be understood as a transformation into the Precious Blood; cf. *supra*, p. 316, note 27. —However, in England the wine taken after Communion by the faithful was called "housel-sipping," and the term "housel" (Old English *husel* = sacrifice) was the popular name for sacramental Communion; see E. Peacock (ed.), *Myrc's Duties of a Parish Priest* (EETS, OS, 31 [1868]), 70.

⁶⁷ Mabillon, *In ord. Rom. commentarius*, 8, 14 (PL, 78, 882).

⁶⁸ Also at Mass.

⁶⁹ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 3; 20 (Andrieu, II, 3, 103; PL, 78, 939; 947); *Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 14 (Andrieu, II, 225 1. 15; PL, 78, 976).

⁷⁰ Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 240-265. The references in Braun, 254 f., show how reluctantly this tube or siphon was accepted in the land of the Franks. In fact the older Romano-Frankish *ordines*—Mabillon's *Ordo Rom.* III (Andrieu, II, 250) is merely an excerpt from *Ordo Rom.* I—make no mention of it whatever.

Communion of the faithful at the stationar services a number of these tubes was kept on hand. They also seem to have served for the clergy, for besides the silver there are also golden ones.⁷¹ The use of the tube spread everywhere from Rome; it even frequently remained in use in taking the ablution wine after the Communion chalice had been abrogated.⁷²

In some places outside of Rome a third way was practiced: the Sacrament was given to the faithful in the form of consecrated bread which had been dipped into the Precious Blood and so was soaked with it (*intinctio*). This method was first attested by the Third Synod of Braga (675) which discountenanced it,⁷³ just as happened later at the synod of Clermont (1096).⁷⁴ However, it must have been widely spread in northern countries,⁷⁵ especially as a method of making it possible to give Communion under both species to the sick.⁷⁶ In most of the rites of the East and especially in the Byzantine rite this is at present the ordinary way Communion is dispensed to the faithful.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Even today, as everyone knows, the pope uses such a siphon in the solemn papal Mass for his own Communion. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 9 (PL, 217, 911 B) mentions its use in this respect. For the Communion of the bishop in the pontifical services, there is mention of it already in the *Ordo Postquam* of the bishop's Mass (Andrieu, II, 361; PL, 78, 994).

⁷² Braun, 257 f.

⁷³ Can. 2 (Mansi, XI, 155).

⁷⁴ Can. 28 (Mansi, XX, 818).

⁷⁵ Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.* II, 30 (PL, 149, 721); cf. *supra*, n. 57. John of Avranches (d. 1079), *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 37); he emphasizes that this method is applied *non auctoritate sed summa necessitate timoris sanguinis Christi effusionis*.—Ernulf of Rochester (d. 1124), *Ep. ad Lambertum* (d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, III, 471 f.), presupposes this method as generally in use, even if only *nova consuetudine*, and defends it. The *Liber officiorum* of Trier (middle of 11th cent.) and likewise Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 19 (PL, 151, 989 f.), which both argue against the practice, the former putting it parallel with the morsel of Judas, give testimony to its wider spread. Franz, *Die Messe*, 374; 415; cf. also Bona, II, 18, 3 (872 ff.); Hoffman, *Geschichte der Laienkomunion*, 111 f.

⁷⁶ For that reason it was prescribed by

Regino, *De Synod. causis*, I, 70 (PL, 132, 206); Burchard of Worms (d. 1025), *Decretum*, V, 9 PL, 140, 754); Ivo of Chartres (d. 1116), *Decretum*, II, 19 (PL, 161, 165). The wide diffusion of this procedure is further certified through the frequency with which the following formula of administration occurs in the 11th and 12th centuries, *Corpus D. n. J. C. sanguine suo tinctum conservet*...; Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion" (*ZkTh*, 1036), 218 f.; Andrieu, *Immixtio et consecratio*, 136 f.

⁷⁷ The particles that have been dipped into the chalice and thus moistened with the Precious Blood are taken out by means of a small spoon and placed in the mouth. Among the Armenians this is done without the small spoon; Brightman, 573; cf. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 164. This was the prevailing method of administering Communion in the Orient already in the 11th century; Funk, 304 f. At the same time in the Byzantine Liturgy, outside the sphere of the Union, according to the prevalent procedure the particles that are to be used for the Communion of the Faithful are not as a rule consecrated, so that only the Precious Blood is received, along with a symbol of the other species, the exact reverse of what happens in the Roman Mass of the Pre-sanctified; Hanssens, *Institutiones*, II, 200-203. For further details regarding the Oriental Communion rite see Raes, *Intro-*

Since the twelfth century the chalice Communion was discontinued more and more in the West.⁷⁸ Developments in dogma which led to a clearer understanding that *per concomitantiam* the entire Christ is present under both species seemed to have been decisive in bringing this about.⁷⁹ The command of Christ, "Eat and drink," could be regarded as fulfilled by the priest who stands at the altar as head of the congregation.⁸⁰ In fact Communion under one species was not unknown even in earlier times. Communion was given to infants and young children after Baptism under the form of wine.⁸¹ Occasionally, too, this was done in the case of those mortally sick.⁸² In Communion at home, of course, only the form of bread was generally under consideration.⁸³

At the time the *Summa theologia* of St. Thomas (d. 1274) was being completed, the chalice Communion had not as yet disappeared everywhere, for the author mentions the practice of not giving the Precious Blood to the people and of having the priest alone consume it, and he qualifies the practice merely as the well-founded custom of some churches.⁸⁴ On special occasions the lay chalice was still retained in the fourteenth century and even later, as at the coronation of emperors and kings,⁸⁵ and at the Easter-Sunday Mass at the *Capella papalis*,⁸⁶ where *quicumque voluerit vere confessus et paenitens* was permitted to communicate in this

ductio, 103-107; L. Corciani, *Eph. liturg.*, 58 (1944), 197 f.

⁷⁸ Funk, 306-308; Corblet, I, 613-619.

⁷⁹ Cf. *supra*, I, 118.

⁸⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 364, with n. 29.

⁸¹ Cyprian, *De lapsis*, c. 25 (CSEL, 3, 255). Further evidence from early times, see Eisenhofer, II, 265 f.—J. Baumgärtler, *Die Erstkommunion* (Munich, 1929), 30 ff., thinks the Baptismal Communion of children did not originate till about the time of Augustine; cf. to the contrary *ZkTh*, 54 (1930), 627 f. For the Middle Ages see the chapter "Die Taufkommunion" in Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion im Mittelalter*, 129-142.—The Baptismal Communion went out of use by the 12th century. But the memory of it lingered for a long time in the administration of the wine of ablution; see below.—In the Oriental Rites, outside the sphere of the Union, the Baptismal Communion is still administered to this day; see Baumgärtler, 87-89; 100; 124 f. Among oriental Catholics it is still practiced by the Copts; L. Andrieux, *La Première Communion* (Paris, 1911), 73-77.

⁸² Statuta eccl. antiqua (6th cent.), can. 76 (Mansi, III, 957): *Infundatur ori eius eucharistia*. Later on, the effort was gen-

erally made to preserve the double form by means of the *intinctio*; cf. Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion" (*ZkTh*, 1936), 218 ff.

⁸³ Cf. *supra*, p. 384; Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Laienkomunion*, 76 f.

⁸⁴ St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, III, 80, 12: *In quibusdam ecclesiis*.—Cf., e.g., a Mass-ordo of lower Italy of the 12-13th century in Ebner, 346 f.; this presents a special formula *ad confirmandum* for the administration of Communion to the people: *Sanguis D. n. J. C.*—The Synod of Exeter (1287), can. 4 (Mansi, XXIV, 789) desires the faithful, moreover, to be taught: *hoc suscipiunt in calice quod effusum de corpore Christi*.

⁸⁵ Browe, "Zum Kommunionempfang des Mittelalters, 3. Die Kommunion bei der Krönung der Kaiser und Könige," *JL*, 12 (1934), 166-169. In France the tradition continued unbroken until Louis XIV (168 f.), in Germany, with an interruption in the 15-16th century, until Francis II (168).

⁸⁶ Ordo of Petrus Amelii, n. 85 (PL, 78, 1331 f.). Martin V did away with the practice; see the report in Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia alemannica*, 393.

way. Also in some monasteries of the old orders the chalice Communion was still retained for a long time, in part even beyond the Middle Ages.⁸⁷ A certain reminder of this is seen in the ablution chalice which remained customary in part until the last centuries.⁸⁸

When the chalice Communion was already practically forgotten, it was seized upon by hostile groups and made a symbol of their movement. Thereupon, after first being forbidden,⁸⁹ the lay chalice was granted in 1433 for Bohemia. After the Council of Trent, the use of the chalice was granted for Germany, under certain specified conditions, but after some unhappy experiences the concession was withdrawn, for Bavaria in 1571, for Austria in 1584, and for Bohemia and in general, in 1621.⁹⁰

According to ancient tradition it was the deacon who passed the chalice at solemn services.⁹¹ Evidences for this are found as early as the third century.⁹² In the Roman liturgy this arrangement is clearly witnessed by the Roman *Ordines* and their offshoots.⁹³ In the oldest descriptions, those in Justin, it was the principal task of the deacons to distribute the Eucharist,⁹⁴ and likewise to bring it to the absent.⁹⁵ Of this office of theirs a

⁸⁷ Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 51 f.

⁸⁸ *Infra*, p. 413 f.

⁸⁹ Council of Constance (1415), sess. 13 (Mansi, XXVII, 727 f.); Council of Basle (1437), sess. 30 (Mansi, XXIX, 158).

⁹⁰ A. Herte, "Kelchbewegung": *LThK*, V, 920 f.; Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Laien-kommunion*, 189-209. See also P. J. Toner, "Communion under Both Kinds," *CE*, 4, 175 ff., especially 178-179.

⁹¹ In later times he stood by on the gospel side of the altar, while the priest administered the species of bread on the epistle side. Thus, among others, in the old rite of the Cistercians; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 196 f.

⁹² Cyprian, *De lapsis*, c. 25 (CSEL, 3, 255 Z. 15); Augustine, *Serm.*, 304, 1 (PL, 38, 1395); *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 15 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 230); Testamentum Domini, II, 10 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 273); Johannes Moschus, *Pratum spirituale*, c. 219 (PG, 87, 2109 C).

⁹³ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 20 (Andrieu, II, 103 f.; PL, 78, 947), etc.—The deacon still appears as administering the chalice Communion (in monasteries) in a 15th century Missal from Monte Vergine: Ebner, 157. Cf. the parallel function of the deacon at the Offertory, above, I, 71; 11.

⁹⁴ See above, I, 22 f. Also according to Isidore of Seville, *De eccl. off.*, II, 8, 4 (PL, 83, 789), the *dispensatio sacramenti* is sim-

ply the deacons' duty. According to Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 41), on the contrary, their work is to handle the chalice and that only if there are not enough presbyters present.

⁹⁵ In a way it is not surprising that lay people, under circumstances, took Communion to the sick, as did the lad during the time of Dionysius of Alexandria, who brought it to the aged Serapion (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 44). In the Roman pontifical services acolytes appear as carriers of the Eucharist, though by no means as administrators; (see above). But in the Lateran Basilica in the 11th century we see even subdeacons administering Communion (*Ordo eccl. Lateran.*, ed. Fischer, 86, 1. 29). At the Synod of Nîmes (394) can. 2 (C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, II [2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1875], 62) and in episcopal and papal decrees in the time thereafter, among others even at the Synod of Paris (829), can. 5 (Mansi, XIV, 565), reference is made to the not infrequent abuse of women administering Communion. There seems too have been question chiefly of Viaticum, which ought to be administered at the last moment and which the pastor then, in given circumstances, entrusted for the specific purpose to someone in the house; see the warning in the Admonitio Synodalis of the 9th century (PL, 96, 1376 C). Browe, "Die Sterbe-

remnant is found even today. At the ordination to diaconate the bishop calls the deacons *comministri et cooperatores corporis et sanguinis Domini*,⁹⁶ and the *Codex Iuris Canonici* still describes the deacon as *minister extraordinarius sacrae communonis*.⁹⁷

The connection between the office of deacon and the Sacrament was, for that matter, even closer during the Middle Ages, since it was taken for granted that at solemn high Mass he should communicate himself, a right that is still his among the Greeks and Armenians,⁹⁸ and which the subdeacon also enjoyed. In this connection the Communion chalice also survived,⁹⁹ especially in many French monasteries. At St. Denis, even as late as 1760, the deacon and subdeacon received under both species on all Sundays and feast days during the high Mass at which they served.¹⁰⁰ In other places, in old foundations and cathedrals, the same custom was still observed at least as late as the twelfth century.¹⁰¹

kommunion" (*ZkTh*, 1936), 7 ff. Still there are available statements and accounts from England until the 13th century which are milder in their judgment of this case; Browe, 11 f. Not a few theologians still later favor a mild decision; see Corblet, I, 286, n. 2. In the Orient, too, the practice was less strict. According to the Synod in Trullo (692), can. 58 (Mansi, XI, 969) it was permissible for a lay person to administer Communion, if no priest, bishop, or deacon were present. Among the West Syrian Jacobites, deaconesses in convents of nuns in similar circumstances were permitted to administer Communion to their fellow Sisters and to little children, not indeed directly from the altar, but from a special container; C. Kayser, *Die Kanones Jakobs von Edessa* (1886), 19; Browe, 11, n. 65.—For the sake of convenience also in later times lay people were permitted on occasion to bring Communion to the sick. Various prohibitions are directed against this practice. Such a one appears, e.g., in the collection of Canons of Bishop Ruotger of Trier (927), can. 6 (*Pastor bon.*, 52 [1941], 67): pastors should not permit Communion to be brought to the sick *per rusticos et immundos, sicut fieri solet*, but should either bring it themselves or *per clericos suos*; see also Decretum Gratiani, III, 2, 29 (Freidberg, I, 1323 f.); cf. Browe, 9-11.

⁹⁶ *Pontificale Rom.*, De ord. diaconi.

⁹⁷ Can. 845, § 2. In the note the connection is made with the old law. Evidences since

the 4th century for the restriction of this right of the deacons to cases when no priest is present, in Martène, 1, 4, 10, 5 (I, 431 C). Cf., too, Corblet I, 283.

⁹⁸ Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 162.

⁹⁹ At times only the deacon was permitted the chalice Communion; thus in the 13th century among the Carthusians, where, however, since 1259 it was entirely abrogated. Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 51.—Earlier also in the Communion rite a distinction was often made between deacon and subdeacon. Thus the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (d. 986) (PL, 78, 245 A), decrees that the bishop administer Communion to priest and deacons *sicco sacrificio*, to subdeacons *misto sacrificio*, that is, the former receive the Precious Blood separately from the chalice, while the latter, like the faithful, together with the host by means of the *intinctio*. Deacons also retained for a longer time the right to receive the Host in their hand; see above n. 56.—Among the oldest *Ordines* only that of S. Amand (Andrieu, II, 166) makes any pertinent statement: while the deacons communicate at the altar just as the bishops and priests (above, p. 380), the subdeacons do so only after the Communion of the people, and no special rite is mentioned in their regard.

¹⁰⁰ Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 52. Cf. the information from the 18th century in de Moléon 149; 263; 290 f.

¹⁰¹ Browe, 53.

The distribution of the Sacrament was accompanied with corresponding words even in the early Christian era. The ordinary form of distribution was *Σῶμα Χριστοῦ*,¹⁰² *Corpus Christi*.¹⁰³ This had the significance of a profession, as the Arabic *Testamentum Domini* explicitly indicates when it describes the formula: *unicuique, cum panem gratiarum actionis participat, sacerdos testimonium perhibeat id esse corpus Christi*.¹⁰⁴ Hence special stress was laid upon the recipient's answer of *Amen*.¹⁰⁵ The same was repeated with the chalice,¹⁰⁶ where, however, the formula was often expanded: *Αἶμα Χριστοῦ ποτήριον ζωῆς*.¹⁰⁷ Also when giving the species of bread, expanded formulas were in use at an early period.¹⁰⁸ Such expanded versions are also seen in the later oriental liturgies. Reverential epithets were added, as in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark: *Σῶμα ἁγίου* (resp. *Αἶμα τῆς*) *τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*.¹⁰⁹ Besides this, where possible, the recipient was even mentioned by name,¹¹⁰ and when the occasion demanded, with his ecclesiastical title, as in the

¹⁰² *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 15 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 320); Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (Ruecker, 37).

¹⁰³ Ambrose, *De sacr.*, IV, 5, 25 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 161); Augustine, *Serm.* 272 (PL, 38, 1247); cf. Roetzer, 133.

¹⁰⁴ A. Baumstark, "Ein ägyptische Mess- und Tauf liturgie vermutlich des 6 Jh." (*Oriens christ.*, 1901), 29; Quasten, *Mon.*, 258, n. 1.

¹⁰⁵ In all the passages named. The Mystagogical Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem, V, 21 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 108 f.) and the Syrian *Testamentum Domini*, I, 23 (*ibid.*, 258) verify only this *Amen*; likewise already Pope Cornelius according to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 43, 19. Augustine also mentions repeatedly only the *Amen* of the recipient. Further data in Bona, II, 17, 3 (842 f.). As Odilo Heiming, *Liturgie und Mönchtum*, 3 (1949), 84, notes, Milan has lately been permitted to resume the old formula for distribution, *Corpus Christi*, to which each one replies, *Amen*.

¹⁰⁶ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *loc. cit.*; the Arabian *Testamentum Domini* (Baumstark, *loc. cit.*, 29).

¹⁰⁷ *Const. Ap.*, VII, 13, 15 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 230 f.); similarly the Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons: Brightman, 462.

¹⁰⁸ Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 41): *Panis caelestis in Christo Jesu*; the chalice formula is modified because of the three chalices (above I, 15). The formula mentioned is expanded in the baptismal Mass

of the Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons (Brightman, 464): "This is the bread of heaven, the body of Christ Jesus." Likewise in the Ethiopian anaphora of the Apostles of the Abyssinian Jacobites (Brightman, 240 f.): "The bread of life, which came down from heaven, the body of Christ." In the Canons of Basil, c. 97 (Riedel, 275): "This is the body of Christ that He offered for our sins." Marcus Eremita, *Contra Nestorianos*, c. 24 (Brightman, p. CIV to p. 523) testifies in 430 to the formula *Σῶμα ἁγίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνων*.

¹⁰⁹ Brightman, 140. A laudatory character of a different sort is found in the Ethiopian formulas, several of which are generally used together. Brightman, 240 f. with the notes; in the anaphora of Our Lord: "The body of Jesus Christ, which is of the Holy Ghost, to hallow soul and spirit"; in the anaphora of the Elders: "The holy body of Emmanuel our very God which He took of the Lady of us all."

¹¹⁰ This naming of the recipient is also in that East Syrian Mass, where the formula in Brightman, 298, is given again, "The Body of Our Lord to the discreet priest (or: to the deacon of God, or: to the circumspect believer) for the pardon of offenses." It seems to be a question of a general Syrian tradition both in the matter of naming the recipient and in the solicitous petition made in his regard; cf. the formula among the West Syrian Jacobites, *ibid.*,

Byzantine Mass, where, as also with the Syrians,¹¹¹ the wish was added: "For the forgiveness of his sins and unto eternal life."¹¹² Or the profession character of the formula was underlined, as with the Coptic: "This is in truth the Body and Blood of Emmanuel, our Lord," whereupon the communicant answered: "Amen. I believe."¹¹³

In the liturgy of the city of Rome in the early Middle Ages the old tradition of handing out the sacramental species with a corresponding phrase seems to have been broken. Not only are the sacramentaries silent about this, but also the *ordines* which faithfully give us the words for the commingling, *Fiat commixtio*, which are about on a par. What later appears among the Franks is not the ancient profession, "The Body of Christ," which demands the actualizing *Amen* of the communicant, but instead is a blessing which is said, in general, only by the priest.¹¹⁴ Perhaps we have a link which represents the connection with the old form of distribution; according to some sources the newly-baptized child was given the Sacrament with the words: *Corpus D. n. J. C. in vitam æternam*.¹¹⁵

The basic form of this blessing, from which the later formularies branch off and which reaches back to the eighth century,¹¹⁶ seems to have been as follows: *Corpus et sanguis D. n. J. C. custodiat te in vitam æternam*.¹¹⁷

103 f.—In the Armenian formulary (*ibid.*, 452) the Syrian and Roman methods seem to be joined.

¹¹¹ Preceding note.

¹¹² Brightman, 395 f.: *Μεταλαμβάνει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Ν. τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα . . .*

¹¹³ Brightman, 186.—The *Amen* of the recipient is also mentioned in the Ethiopian liturgy and in the West Syrian liturgy of the Jacobites by an explicit rubric (*ibid.*, 421).

¹¹⁴ The *Amen* would indeed be apposite, in view of the prayer for blessing, and in fact is generally, though not always, joined to the expression in the manuscripts. But that, as a rule it was said by the priest and not (as is still done today after ordination to subdiaconate and diaconate) by the recipient, was quite to be expected, once Communion began to be administered to the mouth. If the recipient is still to say the *Amen*, then, as is self-evident, it must be said before receiving the Sacrament. In some French churches in the 18th century the faithful were required to say this *Amen*; de Moléon, 216; 246.

¹¹⁵ Sacramentary of Gellone (about 770-780): Martène, I, 1, 18, VII (I, 188 B); Baptism-ordo from M.-Gladbach: *ibid.*, XIV (I, 204 D). But other parallel

sources have: . . . *sit tibi in vitam æternam*: *ibid.*, V (I, 183 C).

¹¹⁶ A unique formula of similar antiquity appears in the Communion of the Sick in the Celtic Dimma Book (8-9th cent.) *Corpus et Sanguis D. n. J. C. Filii Dei vivi conservat animam tuam in vitam perpetuam*; F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), 170. Later administering formularies for Viaticum in Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion" (*ZkTh*, 1936), 220 f.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitulare*, II (PL, 105, 222 C), where the formula reads: *Corpus et sanguis Domini sit tibi remissio omnium peccatorum tuorum et custodiat te in vitam æternam*. It is therefore already amalgamated with a second formula. Stowe Missale (in the beginning of the 9th cent.), ed. Warner (HBS, 32), 32: *Corpus et sanguis D. n. J. C. sit tibi in vitam æternam*. In the Sacramentary of S. Thierry (end of the 10th cent.): Martène, I, 4, X (I, 551 E), the basic form above is presented with the variation *animam tuam for te*. The same wording appears as the formula at the combined administering of both species in the Sacramentary of S. Remy-Reims (according to Andrieu, 10th cent., note 800; PL, 78, 539 B). But in the separate administering

We meet similar forms after the ninth century also at the distribution at Mass.¹¹⁸ And these formulas of distribution are found in many different shapes. This is all the more worthy of remark because the sumption formulas were not so frequent even as late as the eleventh century, and because, on the other hand, the Communion of the faithful since that time has been given less consideration in the Mass plans. Although these distribution formulas all are built upon the schema mentioned above, no value was laid upon keeping to any special text. In fact, the fashion seems to have been to try for variety.

The Missal of Troyes, which was written about 1050, gives us three versions. The first is *Corpus D. n. J. C. maneat ad salutem et conservet animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen.* Then, while giving the precious Blood, a different turn is given to the phrase: *Sanguis D. n. J. C. sanctificet corpus et animam tuam in vitam æternam.* Finally, with the superscription *ad utrumque* (evidently for a combined distribution) follows the formula: *Perceptio corporis et Sanguinis D. n. J. C. prosit animæ tuæ in vitam æternam. Amen.*¹¹⁹ The somewhat older Mass of Flaccius Illyricus gives three different versions, one for the Communion of the priest and the deacon,¹²⁰ one for the rest of the clergy, and one for the people.¹²¹ A special prayer with which the priest introduced the giving of the Sacrament to the faithful is encountered in sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹²²

the first formula here is the same as above, *Corpus D. n. J. C. custodiat te in vitam æternam* (likewise in Ps.-Alcuin, *De div. off.*, c. 19 PL, 101, 1219), in the second, *Sanguis D. n. J. C. redimat te in vitam æternam*, after which there follows a formula that incorporates the Kiss of Peace: *Pax D. n. J. C. et sanctorum communio sit tecum et nobiscum in vitam æternam* (PL, 78, 537 A; cf. above n. 59).—Cf. the Order for the Sick of the Salzburg Romano-German Pontifical (11th cent.; see Andrieu, *Les ordines*, I, 207; 352 f.), where likewise there is first the above *Corpus et Sanguis* formula (with *animam tuam*), followed by *Pax et communicatio* (similar in wording to the above, p. 323, n. 11); Martène, 1, 7, XV (I, 905 B).

¹¹⁸ Synod of Rouen (about 878), can. 2 (Mansi, X, 1199 f.) prescribes the formula: *Corpus Domini et sanguis prosit tibi ad remissionem peccatorum et ad vitam æternam.* Probably about the same time the Interpolator of Paulus Diaconus, *Vita s. Gregorii* (PL, 75, 52) has Pope Gregory the Great uttering these words while administering Communion during Mass: *Corpus D. n. J. C. prosit tibi in remissio-*

nem omnium peccatorum et vitam æternam.—Johannes Diaconus (d. before 882), *Vita s. Gregorii*, II, 41 (PL, 75, 103), ascribes this formula to the Pope: *Corpus D. n. J. C. conservet animam tuam.*—Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 70 (PL, 132, 206) presents this for the Communion of the Sick: *Corpus et sanguis Domini proficiat tibi*, etc.

¹¹⁹ Martène, 1, 4, VI (I, 534 D).

¹²⁰ In this case a real reason is apparent; the Body of the Lord is put in their hand with either *Pax tecum* or *Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*. Then the chalice with the commingling formula cited above, n. 31.

¹²¹ These two read: *Perceptio corporis et sanguinis D. n. J. C. sanctificet corpus et animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen.* and *Corpus et sanguis D. n. J. C. prosit tibi in remissionem omnium peccatorum et ad vitam æternam. Amen.* Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 516).

¹²² A prayer in the missal of Troyes, found immediately before the formula for administration, clearly has this function; it reads: *Concede, Domine Jesu, ut sicut hæc*

A more detailed enumeration of the different versions in which the formula appears would be without value, for there seems to be hardly any difference in the meaning, and no expansions worth mentioning appear.¹²³ Every member of the traditional schema has its variants. For *Corpus (et sanguis)*¹²⁴ *D. n. J. C.* we sometimes find *Perceptio corporis . . .*; ¹²⁵ for *custodiat*, as we saw before, we often find *sanctificet* or *conservet* or (with a dative construction) *prosit* or *proficiat*¹²⁶ or *propitiatus sit*¹²⁷ or *sit remedium sempiternum*.¹²⁸ For *te* and *tibi* the words *anima tua* are inserted, or sometimes also *anima tua et corpus*¹²⁹ or (as above) *corpus et anima tua*. For *in vitam æternam*, which as a rule recurs as the only unchanging element, we often find *ad (or in) remissionem (omnium) peccatorum (tuorum)*.¹³⁰ It is almost astounding that from the midst of this confusion the seemingly oldest wording was finally chosen: in ordinary use with *custodiat animam tuam*, and at the ordination of subdeacon and deacon with the simple *custodiat te*.¹³¹

14. The Communion Chant

It is so natural that the distribution of Communion should be accompanied by song, particularly when a large crowd is to receive and the divine service is somewhat solemn, that even in our own day, when the

sacramenta corporis et sanguinis tui fidelibus tuis ad remedium contulisti, ita mihi indigno famulo tuo et omnibus per me summentibus hæc ipsa mysteria non sint ad reatum, sed prosint ad veniam omnium peccatorum. Amen. Martène, 1, 4, VI (I, 534 C). With non-essential variations in related sources, *ibid.*, IV, XV, XVI (I, 515 B, 593 B, 600 B); 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 423 D). Here, however, the prayer either precedes or immediately follows the Kiss of Peace.

¹²³ The case in the 15th century Missal of Voral, which attaches *Pax tecum* to the administering formula, is an isolated one; Köck, 134.

¹²⁴ The addition of *et sanguis* pertains to the combined administering of both species. This was especially widespread in the administration of Viaticum; see Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, II, 19 (PL, 161, 165). Further examples of corresponding formulas in Andrieu, *Immixtio et consecratio*, 124 ff. However, special formulas with *Sanguis D. n. J. C.* are frequently cited both in the administration of Viaticum and within the Mass; thus in the Missal of Troyes; Martène, 1, 4, VI (I,

534 D); in a Central Italian missal of the end of the 11th century: Ebner, 299; also in a Salzburg Missal of the 12-13th century: Köck, 134. Older examples see above n. 116 ff.

¹²⁵ Besides the other examples just mentioned see Ebner, 399, 346; Martène, 1, 4, XIII; XV (I, 579 D, 594 B); Köck, 134 (n. 761).

¹²⁶ Köck, 134 (n. 17 b). So also Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 995 B); *Corpus et sanguis D. n. J. C. proficiat tibi in vitam æternam.*

¹²⁷ Ebner, 299.

¹²⁸ Ebner, 297; Köck, 134 (n. 1 a).

¹²⁹ For the latter see Ebner, 339; 346; Köck, 134 (n. 761); Binterim, IV, 3, page 226.

¹³⁰ Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 516 C); Köck, 134 (n. 272). The Mass-arrangement of Séz (PL, 78, 250 D) presents a unique version: *Perceptio corporis Domini nostri sit tibi vita et salus et redemptio omnium tuorum peccatorum.*

¹³¹ *Pontificale Rom.*, De ord. presbyteri. The Carthusians also used the latter version: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 14.

original Communion chant no longer seems sufficient, other substitutes are pressed into use. Among the three ancient *schola* songs of the Roman Mass, introit, offertory and communion, the oldest without doubt is the communion.

We first come upon a Communion song in the liturgies of the fourth century. Here it appears at first as a responsorial song, hence one in which the people responded in the ancient Christian manner of congregational singing, answering verse for verse, with an unchanging refrain, as the precentor chanted a psalm. At least Chrysostom mentions that the “confirmed”—he is therefore treating about the very core of the eucharistic celebration—responded (ὁποψάλλουσι) constantly with the verse “The eyes of all look hopefully to Thee and Thou givest them their food in due time.”¹ Evidently Psalm 144 was being sung. A similar participation of the people was presupposed for Psalm 33, since Jerome remarks: *Quotidie caelesti pane saturati dicimus: Gustate et videte, quam suavis est Dominus.*²

We meet with this Psalm 33 as a Communion song almost everywhere in ancient Christendom.³ There is evidence of the use either of the whole psalm,⁴ or of the ninth verse already cited,⁵ as in the Liturgy of Jerusalem⁶ and other places,⁷ or else of the sixth verse, with which Augustine repeatedly directs the faithful to the table of the Lord: *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini.*⁸ In various forms, or in combination with the other psalms or with hymns, we encounter these two psalm verses in future times among the Communion songs of the West,⁹ just as Psalm 33 is also found at different parts of the Mass in the Orient.¹⁰

¹ Chrysostom, *In Ps. 144 expos.*, 1 (PG, 55, 464); cf. Brightman, 475.

² Jerome, *In Isaiam comment.*, II, 5, 20 (PG, 24, 86 D).

³ Cf. the survey in H. Leclercq, “Communion”: DACL, III, 2428-2433.

⁴ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 16 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 231). The psalm is intoned by one singer; *ibid.*, 14, 1 (231): παυσαμένου τοῦ φάλλοντος. Thus responsorial chanting is also presupposed here.

⁵ Besides the obvious sense of the verse, the Greek text contains a suggestion of Christ's name: ἔτι χρηστὸς (“η” pronounced like “ι” ὁ κύριος Cf. F. J. Dölger, *Ichthys*, II (Münster, 1922), 493.

⁶ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 20 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 198): “You hear then the voice of the one singing the Psalms, who invites you with divine melody to partake of the Holy Mysteries and says, Taste . . .” Here, again, it could be the responsory verse that is first intoned by the

leader. In the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 63), however, only this verse appears, followed by other chants.

⁷ Armenian Liturgy (Brightman, 449 f.); Ambrose, *De myst.*, 9, 58 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 136).

⁸ Augustine, *Serm.*, 225, 4 (PL, 38, 1098); *Serm. Denis*, 3, 3 (PL, 46, 828). See the further reference to Communion Psalms in Roetzer, 134 f.

⁹ Cassiodorus, *In Ps. 33* (PL, 70, 234 f.; 235 f.; 240 D); in the Liturgy of Milan in the Transitorium (= Communion chant) at Easter: *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 192. Also in the Roman Mass, Ps. 33: 9 still appears today on the 8th Sunday after Pentecost. In older antiphonaries it forms the antiphon to Psalm 33; see Herbert, n. 180.

¹⁰ Now in the Byzantine liturgy the Psalm is commonly prayed at the end of the Mass, during the distribution of the blessed bread, or during the ablution of the ves-

In a special version this psalm survives in the Mozarabic liturgy, where the so-called *antiphona ad accedentes*, used during the greater part of the year, reads as follows:

*Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus, alleluja, alleluja, alleluja. Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, semper laus eius in ore meo, alleluja, alleluja, alleluja. Redimet Dominus animas servorum suorum et non relinquet omnes qui sperant in eum, alleluja, alleluja, alleluja. Gloria et honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Alleluja . . .*¹¹

The pendent *Alleluia* at the end of every verse is evidently the response with which the faithful were accustomed to answer.¹² The oriental liturgies also show traces of this responsorial use of the *alleluia* in their *Communion* songs;¹³ this is especially plain in the Armenian rite which also uses the alleluatic Psalm 148,¹⁴ and in the Coptic which employs the alleluatic Psalm 150.¹⁵

So, whereas in the ancient period the communicants themselves as a rule took part in this song,¹⁶ we find in the later sources immediately available of both Eastern and Western liturgies, that this Communion song or one of the Communion songs¹⁷ was turned over to the choir. Hand in hand with this, we find, besides the enriching of the melodies, an increased use of other texts; among others they used hymns of their own composition. The Irish-Celtic liturgy of the seventh century had such a hymn, built up in eleven double verses, which began as follows:

*Sancti venite, Christi corpus sumite,
Sanctum bibentes quo redempti sanguine,*

sels; Hanssens, III, 533 f.; but it appears especially at the Communion in the Missa præsanctificationum.

¹¹ *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 564 f.).—Also in the Cathedral of Belley (Rite of Lyons) at the Easter High Mass an antiphon *Gustate et videte* was inserted after the first *Agnus Dei*. Buechner, 256, n. 1.

¹² Cf. above I, 422 ff. Cf. also Leitner, *Der gottesdienstliche Volksgesang*, 167 f.—The two first verses, likewise with added *Alleluia*, also in the Stowe Missal; ed. Warner (HBS, 32), 18; cf. the Antiphoner of Bangor, ed. Warren (HBS, 10), 30 f.

¹³ East Syrians: Brightman, 299; West Syrian Jacobites: *ibid.*, 102 f.

¹⁴ Brightman, 449 f.

¹⁵ Brightman, 185. The same Psalm, too, still in the Ethiopian Liturgy: *ibid.*, 240 (see corrigenda, page CIV).

¹⁶ Cf. also Aurelian (d. 551), *Regula ad*

monachos (PL, 68, 596 B): *psallendo omnes communicant*; also in the rule for nuns (PL, 68, 406 B).—A. Dohmes, “Der Psalmengesang des Volkes in der Eucharistischen Opferfeier der christlichen Frühzeit (*Liturg. Leben*, 1938), 147 f., believes that from what ancient witnesses have to say we can argue only to a rather narrow extension of congregational singing at the Communion. The conclusion depends, to some extent, on how we rate this *Alleluia* which here appears.

¹⁷ Already in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 13, 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 229 f.), besides Psalm 33 mentioned as a first Communion song (here still sung by the people), we find mention of a combination of Luke 2: 14; Matt. 21: 9; Ps. 117: 26 f.; of which Psalm 117: 27 b and Mt. 21: 9 still survive in the same place in the Armenian liturgy; Brightman, 24; 453.—Sometimes a distinction is made between a chant at the Communion of the clergy and

*Salvati Christi corpore et sanguine
A quo refecti laudes dicamus Deo.*¹⁸

The Roman liturgy at first clung to the chanting of psalms, but in such a way that the Communion psalm changed according to the ecclesiastical year.¹⁹ As the first Roman *ordo* prescribed, the *schola* was to intone the *antiphona ad communionem* as soon as the pope began to distribute Communion in the *senatorium*. Then came the psalmody (*psallunt*) until all the people had communicated. When the archdeacon saw *quod pauci sunt ad communicandum*,²⁰ he gave the *schola* a sign for the *Gloria Patri*, after which the verse was again repeated: *et tunc repetito versu quiescunt*.²¹ The communion was therefore an antiphonal song of the *schola cantorum* similar to the introit, consisting of a psalm sung alternately by two semi-choruses, and with a pre-verse which was repeated at the end.

The introduction of this antiphonal manner of singing at the Communion, as at the offertory, took place in North Africa in St. Augustine's time,²² and could not have been much later in Rome.²³ The absence of the Communion song on Holy Saturday recalls the time before the introduction of the chant.

Whereas at the offertory the responsorial form replaced the antiphonal, at the Communion the antiphonal manner of singing continued unchanged for centuries. It was thought important that the song should actually accompany the distribution of Communion. A Carolingian explanation of the Mass remarks that during the Communion "soft melody should touch the ear [of the faithful] so that hearing this sound they would busy themselves less with distracting thoughts and . . . their hearts would be moved to humble love for that which they receive."²⁴ The oldest manuscripts of the Mass song-book, which belong to the eighth-ninth century, give us the same picture for the communion as for the introit: the antiphon (the same which today forms the entire communion in the Roman Missal) is intoned; thereupon follow the initial words of the psalm, or

such a one at the Communion of the people; cf. following note.

¹⁸ Antiphoner of Bangor (ed. Warren [HBS, 4]), fol. 10 v.; PL, 72, 587), with the heading: *Ymnium quando communicant sacerdotes*. The manuscripts read *sanguine* in the second line, though most editors correct it to *sanguinem*.

¹⁹ The Communion song in the Byzantine (χοινωνικόν) and East Syrian liturgy is subject to the seasonal changes in the Ecclesiastical year; Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 162 f.

²⁰ Cf. *Ordo* of S. Amand (Andrieu, II, 167 l. 11).

²¹ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 20 (PL, 78, 947); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 14 f. (PL, 78, 976 B).

²² Augustine, *Retract.* II, 11 (see above), p. 27.

For the interpretation of the text, cf. Dohmes, 148, who supposes that the people first of all sang only antiphonally. Insofar as only Psalm 33 was dealt with, this is quite possible.

²³ P. Pietschman, "Die nicht dem Psalter entnommenen Messgesangstücke auf ihre Textgestalt untersucht" (*JL*, 12 (1934), 87-144), 91, on the basis of his study of the texts, reckons with the possibility that the *Communio* of the Roman Missal was introduced on the authority of Augustine.

²⁴ *Expositio* "Primum in ordine" (before 819; PL, 138, 1186).

else, in those many cases in which the introit psalm is simply to be repeated, the remark: *Psalm. ut supra*.²⁵

In a few scattered Frankish manuscripts we find something similar to what we discovered in regard to the introit,²⁶ namely, a second psalm verse, under the heading *Ad repet.*,²⁷ the function of which has hitherto been a riddle. But the riddle is solved if we hark back to the *trecanum*, the Communion song of the Gallican liturgy.²⁸ Here we have what proves to be a remnant from the Gallican liturgy, so strongly Trinitarian in character, where, in the interweaving of antiphon, psalm verse and *Gloria Patri*, this extra verse served to round out the picture of the circumincession of the three divine Persons.

Other expansions of the *communio* also put in an appearance, especially by the repetition of the antiphon.²⁹ Apropos of this, it seems that during

²⁵ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*. Of the five manuscripts printed here that offer the antiphonal chants, the Psalm for Communion is regularly missing only in that of Rheinau (about 800).—In some manuscripts the starting point is not the opening of the psalm, but, according to the occasion, some other remarkable verse, e.g., in Ps. 33 the verse *Gustate* (Hesbert, n. 44) or on Pentecost Tuesday in Ps. 50 *Cor mundum crea* (*ibid.*, 108).

²⁶ *Supra*, I, 325 f.

²⁷ Chiefly two of the oldest antiphonary manuscripts in Hesbert, those of Campiègne and of Senlis, again offer the verse mentioned but as a rule not in the same formulary. In the Senlis manuscript, on Sexagesima Sunday we find the antiphon *Introibo* in use today, followed by the psalm *Judica*, to which furthermore is added, *Ad repet.*: *Spera in Deo* (Hesbert, n. 35). The key to the manner and method of performance is perhaps furnished in the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 260, line 36) according to which the priest gives a sign to conclude the singing with *Gloria Patri*, and then: *post Gloria repetant verso de ipso psalmo et novissime canent ipsa antiphona et sic laudem sanctae Trinitatis debet peragere*.

²⁸ In the *Expositio* of the Gallican liturgy (ed. Quasten, 23) the Communion song is described as follows: *Trecanum vero, quod psallitur, signum est catholicæ fidei de Trinitatis credulitate procedens. Sicut enim prima (pars) in secunda, secunda in tertia et rursum tertia in secunda et secunda rotatur in prima, ita Pater in Filio*

mysterium Trinitatis complectitur, Pater in Filio, Filius in Spiritu Sancto, Spiritus Sanctus in Filio et Filius rursum in Patre. If in this description of the Gallican "Triad" we set down the antiphon for the first member, the psalm for the second, and the *Gloria Patri* for the third, we have the following pattern: Antiphon (1)—Psalm (2)—*Gloria Patri* (3)—Psalm (2)—Antiphon (1), i.e., the succession as in the *Capitulare* that, to be sure, expressly emphasizes the *laus sanctæ Trinitatis*. In point of fact, one can say that we have here a remote symbol of the Most Holy Trinity, where 1 continues in 2 and 2 in 3 and 3 in 2 and 2 in 1, and thus leads to the completion of the circle (*rotatur*). The design of the song becomes a picture of the Divine Perichoresis, that occupied the attention of the Fathers so much. Cf. especially the arguments in Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. Maced.*, c. 22 (PG, 45, 1329) regarding the ἐνδόξιος τῆς δόξης περιχορὰ in the Divine Persons. The same plan is the basis of the presentation that the same *Capitulare* gives of the *Introit* (Silva-Tarouca, 205; *supra* I, 323, n. 13), only that there, for the heightening of the solemnity no doubt, the antiphon is repeated after each verse, and thus the interplay of verses is strengthened.—Regarding the various attempts to explain the meaning of *trecanum*, see L. Brou, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 47 (1946), 19.

²⁹ According to the *Ordo* of S. Amand (Andrieu, II, 166 f.) the subdeacons should repeat the antiphon at the beginning; what is repeated at the end is not entirely clear.

the ninth century the subdeacons formed a sort of counter-choir to the *schola* of chanters.³⁰ And then, according to Carolingian prescription, all the people were to join in at the *Gloria Patri*.³¹

Although the development of the Communion song thus ran parallel in part to the introit, yet in contrast to the latter, the psalm began to be dropped very soon. The psalm begins to be missed in the manuscripts during the tenth century,³² and by the twelfth century it is found only very seldom.³³ The remarks of the exponents of the liturgy correspond; Bernold of Constance still mentions the addition of the psalm with the *Gloria Patri* but with the quiet limitation, *si necesse fuerit*.³⁴ The embellishment by tropes which started in the tenth century, fell into decay even before it could be properly developed.³⁵ When we take into consideration the ability of liturgical creations to survive, then this phenomenon more or less matches the fact that in the Carolingian reform, which faithfully copied the practices of the city of Rome, Sunday Communion was once again on the increase,³⁶ but when this slowed down, the grounds for a Communion song also crumbled.³⁷ All that remained was the antiphon, which in the thirteenth century gets the name *communio*.³⁸

Cf. the theory in this matter of J. N. Tommasi rejected by Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 65, n. 2. The Stowe Missal, ed. Warner (HBS, 32), 18, presents as Communion song a whole line of verses, each ending with *Alleluia*, formulated from well-selected phrases of Scripture; towards the end of the verse *Venite benedicti* (Matt. 25: 34) is repeated three times in connection with the *Gloria Patri*.

³⁰ Also in the tradition of the *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 20, as proffered by Mabillon (PL, 78, 947 B; Andrieu, II, 105; this is the original reading: see *ibid.*, II, 7, note 4) the Schola begins the antiphon for Communion *per vices cum subdiaconibus*.

³¹ Cf. *supra*, I, 237, n. 20.

³² Ursprung, *Die Kath. Kirchenmusik*, 57.

³³ Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 119. Another manuscript of the Leipzig of the 13th century is mentioned *ibid.*, that presents the Psalm. In Lyons in the 18th century the Communion at solemn feasts was sung with a verse from the Psalm and the *Gloria Patri*, just like the *Introit*; de Moléon, 59. —On the other hand, cf. the Rheinau manuscript (above, n. 25).

³⁴ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 18 (PL, 151, 989 B). —Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 10 (PL, 217, 912) speaks of the alternate singing (*reciprocando cantatur*), which he interprets, with

Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 33, 2 (Hanssens, II, 365) as referring to the reciprocal account of the disciples after the appearance of the Risen Savior. Durandus, IV, 56, 2, has already probably only a literary knowledge of the practice.

³⁵ The tropes for Communion which, like those for the *Introit*, either introduce the antiphon, or carry it through, belong almost entirely to the 10th and 11th centuries; see text in Blume, *Tropen des Missale*, II (*Analecta hymnica*, 49 (pages 343-353).

³⁶ *Supra*.

³⁷ It is worth remarking that a verse (*Requiem æternam*) and even a repetition of a part of the antiphon (*cum sanctis tuis*) has been retained to this day in the Mass of the Dead at which Communion of the Faithful was not at all customary in the Middle Ages. This instance, however, was unique even within the Mass of the Dead. Cf. B. Opfermann, "Alte Totenlieder der Kirche," *Bibel u. Liturgie*, 9 (1934-1935), 55-59, where fourteen different texts are cited for the Communion, among which only one other (n. 14) contains a similar repetition. In the Dominican Missal, moreover, we find our *Communio* without verse and without repetition; *Missale O. P.* (1889), 86*, 89*, 91*.

³⁸ Albertus Magnus, *De sacrificio missæ*,

In reality the Communion chant should ordinarily have been dropped, since it was meant to accompany the Communion of the people, not that of the priest. Thus it was not incorrect to regard the *communio* as more or less a symbol of the Communion of the people, which should have taken place, and therefore to put it after the Communion of the priest. But then a further step was taken, and it was looked upon as a thanksgiving *post cibum salutare*; ³⁹ it was even called *antiphona post communionem*,⁴⁰ or simply *postcommunio*.⁴¹ Finally came a new development when, even if Communion was distributed to the faithful, the Communion song was not intoned till after the Communion was over,⁴² just as is generally done with the Communion verse in our own day.⁴³

Meanwhile the *Agnus Dei* had become the real Communion song,⁴⁴ This held true at least for the Communion of the priest, to which, during the high Middle Ages, the extra distribution of Communion could be added without much of a pause being necessary. But on great Communion days other songs were soon added, excepting always Good Friday and Holy Saturday, when Communion was received in profound silence.⁴⁵ Thus, towards the end of the ninth century there appears in the Pontifical of Poitiers⁴⁶ for Easter Sunday a festive antiphon with the heading: *Ante communionem*, which was in use on such occasions during the entire Middle Ages and beyond, especially in many French churches; the song ran as follows:

III, 23, 1 (Opp., ed. Borgnet, 38, 162), remarks the change in the designation; cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 150.

³⁹ Rupert of Deutz (d. 1135), *De div. off.*, II, 18 (PL, 170, 46) and others after it. Sölch, *Hugo*, 150.

⁴⁰ Cf. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 10 (PL, 217, 912). Cf. too the Expositio "Introitus missæ quare" (9-10th cent.) ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 46; *Cantus post communionem quare celebratur? Ut ostendatur vere gratias agere populos*.

⁴¹ Innocent III, *loc. cit.*, title of chapter; Durandus, IV, 56, 1.

⁴² Dominican Missal of the 13th century; Sölch, 151. The *Rituale* of Soissons openly opposes the development of such a practice: Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 612 f.); the *Communio*, as the name indicates, is to be sung in *hora communionis*.

⁴³ When the *Graduale Romanum* (1908), *De rit. serv. in cantu missæ*, n. 9, prescribes that the *Communio* is to be sung *sumpto ss. sacramento*, the priest's Communion is clearly meant, not that of the faithful. This is not only fully in accord with the historical purpose of the Communion chant,

but also with the rubric of the missal, which is not at all ambiguous. The missal, speaking of the Communion of the faithful at a solemn Mass, says: *Interim a Choro cantatur Antiphona quæ Communio*. Meanwhile . . . *Ritus serv. in cel. missæ*, X, 9. Of course the present short *Communio* is hardly sufficient to fill the time when the distribution of Communion is prolonged. This is true in spite of its prolation by neums, for these are different from the neums of the *Introit*, quiet and melodically unpretentious, as befits the dignity of the moment (Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 32). It would seem that the addition of the corresponding psalm would be as legitimate as the use of other chants. Cf. the similar case at the *Introit*, *supra*, I, 327.

⁴⁴ *Supra*—In Milan also as O. Heimig, *Liturgie u. Mönchtum*, 3 (1949), 84, remarks, the *Transitorium* is a later production, while the Roman *Communio* has become the *Confractorium*.

⁴⁵ References in Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunionriten" (*JL*, 15, 1941), 60 f.

⁴⁶ A. Wilmart, "Notice de Pontifical de

*Venite populi, sacram immortale mysterium et libamen agendum. Cum timore et fide accedamus. Manibus mundis poenitentiae munus communice-mus. Quoniam Agnus Dei propter nos Patri sacrificium propositum est. Ipsum solum adoremus, ipsum glorificemus cum angelis clamantes, alleluia.*⁴⁷

In other places a part of the choir Office was inserted. In the Cathedral of Soissons around 1130 the canons sang Sext on Easter Sunday during the Communion of the faithful.⁴⁸ In a Hungarian cathedral of the eleventh-twelfth century of this same day it was Vespers that was said, and care was taken that its close would coincide with the *Ite missa est* of the deacon.⁴⁹ According to John of Avranches (d. 1097) Vespers was to be inserted on Holy Thursday during the Communion, since its closing oration was identical with the post-communion.⁵⁰ Other songs, psalms, hymns or antiphons which seemed suitable were also used, either according to strict regulation or according to choice,⁵¹ which is in line with our present-day practice, even aside from the fact that even on festive occasions the greater proportion of Communions are given at the early Masses, which are *missæ lectæ* where Communion songs even in the vernacular can be freely developed.

On the other hand the Communion verse became solidly anchored in the Roman Mass by the practice of having the priest read it from the

Poitiers" (*JL*, 4, 1924), 75.

⁴⁷ Martène, 1, 4, 10, 6 (I, 432); cf. *ibid.*, 4, 25, 26 (III, 488 f.). Numerous references from the 11-15th centuries in Le-roquais, III, 422; see Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 122.—In the Rite of Lyons the song is inserted at High Mass after the first *Agnus Dei*; Missale of Lyons (1904), page XXXVIII; cf. Buennner, 256; 281-284.—In Milan also it is heard to this day on Easter Sunday; *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 189. It was still in use at Vienna as well as at Tours (Martène, 4, 25, 26), in the 18th century; de Moléon, 17; 29. Nor was the hymn unknown in either England or Germany; Buennner, 282. In regard to Münster i. W. where is evidence in the Ordinarius II (1489), ed. by Stapper (Opuscula et Textus, ser. liturg., 7-8), 69.—It goes back to a Byzantine hymn of Maundy Thursday (Δευτε λαοί); Buennner, 282, with reference to P. Cagin (*Paléographie musicale*, V, 185. Cf. also the invitation before Communion in the liturgy of St. James: Μετα φόβου θεοῦ (The Byzantine liturgy of the 9th cent. adds καὶ πιστεως καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε; Brightman, 64, 341).

⁴⁸ Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunion-

riten" (*JL*, 15, 1941), 51, n. 13; cf. *ibid.*, 60.

⁴⁹ G. Morin, "Manuscripts liturgiques hongrois," *JL*, 6 (1926), 57.

⁵⁰ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 50). This arrangement was for a long time observed, among others, by the Premonstratensians; Waefelghem, 210. The insertion of a canonical hour after Communion, independently of a Communion of the people, was not unheard of, even irrespective of the traditional Vespers of Holy Saturday. In Vienna about 1700 Lauds were inserted at the Midnight Mass on Christmas; de Moléon, 14 f. The Missal of Zips in the 14th century testifies to the same practice; Radó, 71. Something similar was customary about 1410 at Valencia; Ferreres, 207. In the present Dominican rite, too, Lauds is wedged in before the end of Mass; *Missale O.P.* (1889), 19; see N. M. Halmer, O.P. in *Divus Thomas*, 27 (1949), 253-256.—In the latest rubrics for the restored Easter Vigil (Jan. 11, 1952), an abbreviated form of Lauds is inserted in the Mass after Communion; *AAS*, 44 (1952), 63.

⁵¹ Examples in Browe, *Mittelalterliche Kommunionriten*, 61. Texts in the ver-

missal. This custom was already to be found long ago at private Masses⁵² even though for a long time it was not universal. For the Mass celebrated with chant it seems not to have become very common until quite late, since the corresponding direction is still missing in most of the Mass plans even of the late Middle Ages.⁵³

Even if the Communion song as it stands in the Roman Missal is but a tiny part of what was originally intended, it must be stated that even the original plan of this song in the Roman Mass represented the result of an evolution that was markedly peripheral. The principle of psalmody was kept, but there was no tendency to prefer one of the Communion psalms, or even the "praise" and alleluia psalms.

There was no intention to establish at this point a Communion song in the narrower sense, but instead, much as in the case of the other songs in the Roman Mass, to set up an ecclesiastical song of a general character which could present the festal thoughts as the occasion demanded. From all this it can be seen how far the Roman Mass was from evolving a special Communion devotion.

Even in regard to the prayers in the part of the Mass around Communion, we have already shown⁵⁴ that the early medieval Roman Mass *ordo*, in comparison with other liturgies, displayed the utmost poverty.

So when we consider only the Communion antiphons of the present time we find that on the Sundays after Pentecost verses are simply taken from the psalms in order of the psalter, from Psalm 9 to 118.⁵⁵ On the ferias of Quadragesima, if we except the later formulas of Thursday, Psalms 1 to 26 are used in regular progression from Ash Wednesday to Palm Sunday.

If the antiphon was taken from the Book of Psalms, then the corresponding psalm followed. In the other cases, the psalm used was the introit psalm,⁵⁶ which could have but little relevance to Communion. However, for festive seasons and on feast days some reference to the thought of

vernacular were not excluded in such cases. As Bishop Urban of Gurk decreed in an enactment promulgated after 1564, "a hymn or psalm should be sung in the vernacular" after Communion to help the devotion of the faithful (*ibid.*).

⁵² This was emphatically stipulated, just as in the case of the Introit, by the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 207).

⁵³ A Minorite Missal of the 13th century supplied with careful rubrics has the celebrant *cum ministris* read the Introit, but makes no similar remark either at the Offertory or the Communion; Ebner, 313 f, 317. Still, the practice occurs at the same time in the rite of the Dominicans (Guer-

rini, 244) and is taken over by the Benedictine *Liber Ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 9).

⁵⁴ *Supra*, p. 294.

⁵⁵ Above I, 331. The only large break is from the 11th to the 15th Sunday, which happen to come in the fall and have been given antiphons that (outside the 14th Sunday) have reference to the harvest and (heavenly) bread; cf. Hesbert, S.LXXXIV f.

⁵⁶ This rule in Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 18 (PL, 151, 989 B).—It holds true also in a part of the old manuscripts. On the other hand, the rule is pitted by many exceptions especially in the manuscript of Corbie; see Hesbert, n.

the day was sought.⁵⁷ This draws closer again to the ideas connected with Communion. Thus, on the Sundays after Easter, we can listen to our Lord challenging Thomas: *Mitte manum tuam et cognosce loca clavorum*, or the call of the Good Shepherd: *Ego sum pastor bonus*; or in Advent we can hear the prophet's cry: *Ecce Dominus veniet et omnes sancti eius cum eo*. And besides, even our missal contains a small number of Mass formularies whose creators obviously had in mind to give a more eucharistic touch to the Communion verse. We refer to the Masses for the Thursdays of Lent, which originated in the eighth century. For the second and third Thursdays phrases are taken from our Lord's promise of the Eucharist (John 6:52; 6:57); according to one tradition these verses were linked with the Communion Psalm 33.⁵⁸

15. Silent Prayer after the Reception

After the priest has received and distributed Communion, several actions in the interest of good order still remain, especially the ablutions, which he again accompanies with silent prayer. In the very nature of things this prayer is not concerned with the performance of the actions, in themselves of no importance, but with that which has just happened, namely the Holy Communion. The prayers are similar both in origin and in character to the preceding prayers that prepared for and accompanied the Communion. And here again we discover that originally these prayers were intended for the faithful as well as for the priest; both found nourishment for their personal devotion from the same source.

The first prayer, *Quod ore sumpsimus*, which is found already in the oldest sacramentaries,¹ we also encounter in the prayer book of Charles the Bald, where it bears the superscription: *Oratio post communionem*;

2, 4, 16, 22, 29, etc. On Candlemas (n. 29), e.g., the *Nunc dimittis* is used.—The *Capitulum eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 206 f.) does not adhere closely to the rule, as, for example, on the Feast of the Virgins when, in place of the *Quinque prudentes* it permits either the Introit Psalm 44 or Psalm 45; cf. *ibid.*, 205, l. 19 ff.

⁵⁷ See the Table of Communion verses according to the Cod. Sangall., 399 (10th cent.) in Pietschmann (*JL*, 12, 1934), 142 ff.; 68 Communion verses are not taken from the Psalter, as opposed to only 39 of the Introit, 14 of the Gradual, and 17 of the Offertory; cf. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 118, according to whom the verses named comprise the greater bulk of the Communion verses in this manuscript. In

the Missal of today the number of non-psalmodic Communion verses has again grown considerably.

⁵⁸ Hesbert, n. 44; 50.—The antiphon *Acceptabis sacrificium iustitiæ* of the first Thursday is perhaps inspired by the same thought. In the same manner are to be judged the antiphons on the fourth and sixth Thursdays, which are derived from Psalm 118, the Psalm of praise of the (New) Testament that has become the Sunday Psalm and that also was the Communion Psalm on Maundy Thursday. Somewhat more foreign is the fifth Thursday, with Psalm 70; 16-18.

¹ Also already in the Leonianum: Muratori, I, 366; further references in Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1567.

this version reads: *Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, mente capiam, ut de corpore et sanguine D. n. J. C. fiat mihi remedium sempiternum. Per eundem D. n. J. C.*² Later on, we find it as the prayer for communicating clerics.³ Since it is evident that this prayer is spoken by the priest not with a loud voice, but softly,⁴ it is to be considered here as his personal prayer, as a private prayer coming before the *post-communio*. We find it in the majority of medieval Mass plans, as a rule in the plural form of the original text,⁵ and not seldom also with the closing formula, *Per Christum D. n.*,⁶ which has been dropped from the text of the Roman Missal.⁷ In a twofold antithesis the plea is made that the internal⁸ efficacy of the Sacrament might tally with this sacramental reception in time.

Our second prayer after Communion, namely, the *Corpus tuum Domine*, which (in keeping with its origin in the Gallic liturgy⁹) displays a somewhat different character, also served for the private devotion of the faithful. It is found in the Communion Devotions of Monte Cassino at the end of the eleventh century.¹⁰ It also appears as early as the tenth century as a fixed part of many Mass arrangements, and in contrast to the

² Ed. Ninguarda, 116. The variant *ut de corpore et sanguine D. n. J. C.*, that was supposed to supplant the *et de munere temporalis* (see below), which was no longer understood, is also in the printed Missals of Rouen and Lyons; de Moléon, 65; 315; likewise in Sweden (Yelverton, 21); and also in today's Dominican Missal (1889), 22, which has only this formula after Communion. A Missal of the 16th century of Orleans has *et corpus et sanguis D. n. J. C.*; de Moléon, 201.

³ *Supra*, p. 369.

⁴ In as far as it did not become, for a time, a permanent *Postcommunio*; see below, p. 424.

⁵ The plural form is knowingly set down by Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 995) with this reason as a premise: *Postquam omnes communicaverunt, dicit*; here it is the only prayer after Communion. The Mass-arrangement of Rouen (13-14th cent.): Martène, I, 4, XXXVII (I, 678 C), and the *Missale parvum Vedastinum* (Arras, 13th cent.; edited by Z. H. Turton [London, 1904]) in Ferreres, 202, have the prayer in the singular form; see moreover, Lebrun, I, 546, note a.—The formula is parallel to *Deus qui humanæ substantiæ* of the Offertory section which has likewise retained the plural form of the original oration and moreover the concluding form of the same.

⁶ See, e.g., Köck, 130.

⁷ Since the formula is couched in the terms of a wish (*capiamus*) it is not firmly attached to any definite form of address. The more easily, then, can it be combined with the formula that follows under the conclusion of *Qui vivis*, i.e., as though addressed to Christ.

⁸ The *pura* before the *mente* is missing quite often in the text of the *Postcommunio* in the old Sacramentaries and even in its use in this part of the Mass until into the 13th century (cf., e.g., Köck, 127; Ebner, 326); originally it was a question only of a contrast of *ore* and *mente*.

⁹ The prayer appears first as a *Postcommunio* in the Gothic Missal of the 7th century (Muratori, II, 653): *Corpus tuum, Domine, quod accipimus et calicem quem potavimus, hæreat in visceribus nostris, præsta, Deus omnipotens, ut non remaneat macula, ubi pura et sancta intraverunt sacramenta. Per.*—It is not to be denied that the version to be mentioned below (n. 16) which is likewise a *Postcommunio*, is of similar antiquity.

¹⁰ Wilmart (*Eph. liturg.*, 1929), 325.—The same Communion devotion contains, among the prayers that follow the receiving of Communion, the prayer *Domine Jesu Christe Fili* (see above, p. 369), besides some formulas that appear rarely or not at all in liturgical books.

other formula we considered above, it appears here in the singular, the very trait of private prayer. Among the earliest witnesses¹¹ is, significantly, a Mass *ordo* from nearby Subiaco,¹² to which we can add other Benedictine *Ordines*¹³ and also others from Italy, especially the Franciscan Missal which was to be decisive for the later development.¹⁴ This prayer also gained a wide though not general acceptance elsewhere. In France, even the original plural form was retained for some time,¹⁵ partly in conjunction with a different version of the second part,¹⁶ going back perhaps to a Mozarabic origin.¹⁷ Frequently this prayer also showed other more or less marked expansions or variations.¹⁸ Sometimes, too, instead of the Gallican mode of address to Christ, it had the ordinary form of address, *Corpus D. n. J. C. quod sumpsi*,¹⁹ so that the *Per Christum* could also be added at the close.²⁰ But such changes did not become common.

In regard to its contents, this prayer goes a step beyond the preceding one. It does not feature the contrast between the outer sign and the inner efficacy; instead, the Sacrament Itself appears almost as the grace: through that which It contains, It is so pure and so holy that in a certain

¹¹ Aside from the second version to be mentioned immediately (n. 16).

¹² 11th century, Ebner, 339.

¹³ Ebner, 299; 302; 338; Fiala, 216.

¹⁴ Ebner, 317.

¹⁵ Missale of Remiremont (12th cent.): Martène, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 424 D).

¹⁶ In the Missal of Troyes (about 1050): Martène, 1, 4, VI (I, 534 D), the formula reads: *Corpus Domini n. J. C. quo pasti sumus et sanguis eius quo potati sumus, adhæreat in visceribus nostris et non nobis veniat ad iudicium neque ad condemnationem, sed proficiat nobis ad salutem et ad remedium vitæ æternæ*. The same version of the second part but in the singular, in the Sacramentary of S. Aubin in Angers (10th cent.; Leroquais, I, 71) and in that of Paris (10th cent.; Netzer, 247). Somewhat expanded in a Missal of lower Italy about 1200 in Ebner, 323 f.; in the Cistercian Missal of the 13th century; Ferreres, p. LI; 203; in the Missal of Westminster, ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 520 f.; in the Missal of Fécamp (about 1400): Martène, 1, 4, XXVII (I, 642 B); finally in a larger number of Mass-books of the 12th-15th centuries of northeast Spain; Ferreres, p. LXII, CXII, 190, 210 f., where the conclusion reads: *remedium animæ meæ et animabus omnium fidelium vivorum et defunctorum*.

¹⁷ Férotin, *Le Liber ordinum*, 242. Here, as against the version in the Missal of Troyes (preceding note), the formula already shows certain elaborations.

¹⁸ In German Mass-books: *quod ego miser accepi*: Köck, 131; Beck, 310; v. Bruiningk, 88; Hoeynck, 376; cf. de Corswarem, 142. In Spanish Mass-books: *quod ego indignus et infelix sumere præsumpsi*; Ferreres, 190; 202; cf. Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 593 D). In Styrian Mass-books: *Sanctum corpus tuum, Domine, quod indignus accepi*; Köck, 128, 130; see also *ibid.*, 127, the still more strongly expanded form of the Seckau Missal of the 12th century, which in turn is again expanded in the Sacramentary of Boldau in Hungary (about 119), ed. Kniewald; *Theologia*, 6 (Budapest, 1939), 26. In the Pontifical of Mainz about 1170 the first part is entirely reshaped; Martène, 1, 4, XVII (I, 602 D): *Corporis sacri . . . perceptio*.

¹⁹ For Italy see Ebner, 147; 335; cf. 299; 323 f.; 326; Muratori, I, 94. A further example in Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 268 (Vat. lat. 6378; 13-14th cent.).—Missal of Westminster, ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 520. Cf. Augsburg Missale of 1386: Hoeynck, 376.—*Liber ordinum*, Missal of Troyes and the further variant sources above, note 16.

²⁰ So in the Augsburg Missale of 1386; Hoeynck, 376.

sense It need only remain in us in order to push aside and burn up all stain of sin.²¹

Besides these two formulas, which were seldom found together in earlier times, and even then not often in the order they have today, a great number of other prayers and texts on which the priest could nourish his devotion after the reception of the Sacrament were current during the Middle Ages.²² We have remarked before that the prayers *Domine Jesu Christe Fili* and *Perceptio* which precede the reception and which in another manner beg for the efficacy of the Sacrament, frequently also had a place after the reception.²³ Other prayers of similar content also appeared. Thus in the eleventh-twelfth century we find this formula a few times:

*Domine Jesu Christe fili Dei, corpus tuum pro nobis crucifixum edimus et sanguinem tuum pro nobis effusum bibimus. Fiat corpus tuum salus animarum et corporum nostrorum et tuus sanctus sanguis remissio omnium peccatorum hic et in æternum. Amen.*²⁴

Frequently other formulas of the post-communion type, or even actual post-communion texts were used.²⁵ The Mass *ordo* of a Parisian manuscript has as many as thirteen orations following Communion.²⁶

²¹ The older text; *ubi pura et sancta intraverunt sacramenta* (see above, n. 9), that prevails into the late Middle Ages brings this picturesque manner of speech into stronger focus. It is somewhat varied in the Rhenish Missal of the end of the 13th century described by F. Roedel, *JL*, 4 (1924), 85: *ubi tua sacrosancta intraverint sacramenta*. In today's version the personal element has come to the fore.

²² A long but otherwise rare prayer of thanksgiving in the Sacramentary of Fulda (Richter-Schönfelder, n. 27): *Deus noster, Deus salvos faciendi, tu nos doce gratias agere . . .*—Still at the end of the Middle Ages the idea prevailed that one could here choose and insert prayers in conformity with one's own personal devotion, at least if one said them quietly; Browe, "Die Kommunionandacht" (*JL*, 13, 1935), 50 f.

²³ *Supra*, p. 348-349.

²⁴ Missal of Remiremont (12th c.): Martène, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 424 C); Sacramentary of Echternach (1st half of the 11th c.): Leroquais, I, 122; cf. *ibid.*, 307; II, 340; Missal of Seckau (12th c.): Köck, 127; Admont MS. of the 14th c.: Franz, 111, note 4.—The first part of the above formula likewise introduces a Communion prayer in the Bobbio missal (Muratori, II, 780); in the second part there is an echo

of the prayer in the Sacramentary of Vich (11-12th c.): *Fiat nobis hoc sacramentum . . .* (Ferrerres, p. XCVI).—A Sacramentary towards the end of the 9th century from Tours offers the formula: *Sumentes ex sacris altaribus*: Leroquais, 1, 49; Martène, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 423 B).—In the missal of St. Vincent the *Corpus tuum* is paraphrased: *Post communionem . . .*; Fiala, 216.

²⁵ Mass-*ordo* of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927): 544: *Præsta quæsumus*.—Sacramentary of Moissac: Martène, 1, 4, VIII (I, 541 B): *Da quæsumus*.—Missal Illyrica, *ibid.*, IV (I, 517 A): *Conserverent; Custodi; Præsta Domine Jesu Christe*.—Italian Mass orders of the 11-12th century: (Ebner, 297:) *Huius Deus*, (158, 348 and Fiala, 214:) *Prosit, resp. Proficiat nobis*; Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 291: *Conserverent*.—This last formula also in Strengnas, Sweden: Segelberg, 259.—For England, see Sarum Missal: Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 228: *Hæc nos communio*; cf. Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 670 f.); Ferreres, 203; Missal of York, ed. Simmons 116. The same oration also in Vorau: Köck, 133.—An Eichstätt missal (Köck, 7) has: *Concede quæsumus o. D. ut quidquid*.

²⁶ Martène, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 426 f.).

Here we must also reckon the *Agimus tibi gratias* that appears occasionally during the late Middle Ages.²⁷ Even earlier a *Gratias tibi ago*, one of the treasures of private prayer, was widespread. Its apparently original form is found in the Missal of Remiremont in the twelfth century; it runs as follows:

*Gratias ago tibi, Domine Deus Pater omnipotens, qui me peccatorem satiare dignatus es corpore et sanguine Jesu Christi Filii tui Domini nostri. Ideo supplex deprecor ut hæc sancta communio sit in arma fidei, scutum bonæ voluntatis ad repellendas omnes insidias diaboli de corde et opere meo et illuc me mundatum introire faciat, ubi lux vera est et gaudia iustorum.*²⁸

That this version goes back to even earlier days is seen from the fact that the Communion Devotions of Monte Cassino, dating back to the eleventh century, presents a form of the prayer more than twice this length,²⁹ and this, in turn, after further expansions, found its way into our missal in the section *Gratiarum actio post missam* under the title *Oratio S. Thomæ Aquinatis*.³⁰

In many instances during the Middle Ages a prayer such as these was followed by the canticle *Nunc dimittis* as a further expression of joyful thanks.³¹ Without doubt it fits the occasion perfectly. It is also used in the Byzantine liturgy as part of the conclusion of Mass.³² With a remarkable

²⁷ Missal of Toul (14-15th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 652 D); *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (about 1500): Legg, *Tracts*, 49; Ordinary of Coutances (1557): *ibid.*, 66. Further examples in Lebrun, I, 545, note e.—In all of these cases, as we shall see, there follows the *Nunc dimittis*.

²⁸ Martène, 1, 4, 9 (I, 424 D).—A prayer with this beginning in Italian sacramentaries of the 11-13th cent.: Ebner, 4, 17, 281, 295, 307; cf. 158.—A text-form that alters especially the second portion: *precor ut non veniat mihi ad iudicium*, etc., in Norman-English texts of the later Middle Ages: Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 645 D); Legg, *Tracts*, 228; Maskell, 190; Ferreres, 190, 202.

²⁹ Wilmart (*Eph. liturg.*, 1929) 324, with *Gratias tibi ago Domine sancte* in the beginning. Likewise in the Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 215).

³⁰ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 269, who did not yet know of the Communion devotion of Wilmart, but did have in mind another 12th century manuscript of Monte Cassino with the same prayer, refers to the fact

that Thomas was reared in this monastery until 1236.

³¹ Missal of Toul (above n. 27) besides the witnesses mentioned with it; Missal of Evreux-Jumièges (14-15th cent.): Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 645 E). In a Missal of Rouen this song of praise follows the washing of the hands (which was accompanied by the *Lavabo*); *ibid.*, XXXVI (I, 637, note d). The use of *Nunc dimittis* is also verified on German soil; Martène, 1, 4, XXXII (I, 657 E): Köck, 134 (n. 347); Franz, 595; 753. Among the Dominicans the song of praise was forbidden in 1551 as well as the *O sacrum convivium* and all additions after Communion except the *Quod ore. Monumenta O. Fr. Pr. historica*, 9 (1901), 322; Browe, "Die Kommunionandacht" (*JL*, 13, 1935), 51. The Missal of Valencia about 1411 has a petition to the Mother of God, *Domina nostra, advocata nostra* to follow upon the *Nunc dimittis*; Ferreres, 201. Gabriel Biel likewise testifies to the addition of the Marian antiphon *Benedicta filia*; (see below); Franz, III, n. 4.

³² Brightman, 399.

feeling for form, the *Kyrie* and *Pater noster* were used to bridge the passage from the *Gloria Patri* at the end of the canticle to the post-communion which was used as a conclusion,³³ or else a special concluding oration was added.³⁴ With the latter, this complex of prayers belongs to a Communion devotion dating back, seemingly, at least, to the twelfth century.

In the same spirit of tarrying meditatively over the great mystery of divine condescension, we often find in the same place the sentence from St. John, *Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*³⁵ or the antiphon *O sacrum convivium*,³⁶ to which Swedish missals add the versicle *Panem de cælo* and the oration of the Blessed Sacrament.³⁷ More frequently the

³³ Missal of Toul and the two related witnesses, *supra*, n. 27.

³⁴ Vorau Missal (15th cent.; Köck, 134): *Perfice in nobis, quæsumus Domine, gratiam tuam, ut qui iusti Simeonis expectationem implesti . . . ita et nos vitam obtineamus æternam. Per Christum D. N.* This arrangement of prayers beginning with *Nunc dimittis* forms the core of the Communion thanksgiving prayers published by A. Dold, "Liturgische Gebetstexte from Cod. Sangall. 18," *JL*, 7 (1927), 51-53. In the manuscript of St. Gall that is probably to be dated about the middle of the 13th century (37) three other formulas precede; one beginning with the cited *Corpus Christi quo repleti sumus et sanguis* (a variant form of our Communion prayer *Corpus tuum Domine* as in the Troyes Missal; cf. above, n. 16; Dold's harking back to the antiphony of Bangor is unnecessary), a free and shortened version of *Gratias ago* (above, p. 404), and the prayer *Domine Jesu Christe fili Dei vivi, corpus tuum crucifixum* (*supra*, p. 403). At the conclusion a further formula *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus propitius* is added to the oration *Perfice*. These two orations are found as Post-communions in the Sacramentary of Fulda; (Richter-Schönfelder, n. 200; 2185).—In the still simpler form, as the Vorau Missal presents it, we have in all likelihood a Communion devotion designed particularly for private use that was in existence before the 13th century. In its make-up it is reminiscent of the Communion devotion of Monte Cassino, even though there is but little resemblance as regards the texts of the prayers.

³⁵ This phrase that we have met with in

the Communion devotion of Monte Cassino (above, p. 369) is found since the 11th century above all in the central Italian Benedictine monasteries, as in the Sacramentary of Subiaco of 1075; Ebner, 339; cf. 323, 338. Often it is combined with a preceding threefold *Deo gratias* and is itself said three times with the addition: *Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio in sæcula sæculorum, o beata Trinitas* (cf. the Communion devotion named); thus in the Pontifical of the library of Casanata of lower Italy (about 1100); Ebner, 331; cf. *ibid.*, 302, 311, 344, 348 f.; Fiala, 215. The Carmelite Ordinal of 1512 (Zimmermann, 84) has only the *Tibi laus*; likewise the present-day *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), 319. A Sacramentary of St. Peter's in Rome adds in its stead: *Et vidimus gloriam ejus*. Ebner, 336.—Towards the end of the Middle Ages the Johannine phrase appears in all sorts of places; see for France, Martène, 1, 4, XXXII f., XXXVI (I, 657 D, 661 C, 675 A); Legg, *Tracts*, 49; Lebrun, I, 542, note b; for Germany: Köck, 53; 70; 130; Beck, 271; Franz, 111, n. 4.

³⁶ Missal of Riga (about 1400); v. Bruiningk, 88, n. 5. Commentary of John Bechhofen (about 1500); Franz, 594 f. Cf. the Dominican prohibition mentioned above, note 31.

³⁷ Missal of Strengnas, Sweden, 1487): Freisen, *Manuale Lincopense*, p. LI; likewise the Breviarium of Skara (1498; *ibid.*, XXXI), which in addition has two strophes of the hymn *Jesu nostra redemptio* as a preliminary. The hymns *Jesu nostra refectio* and *O salutaris hostia* were put to similar use in the North; Segelberg, 259.

Marian encomium, *Benedicta filia tu a Domino quia per te fructum vitæ communicavimus*³⁸ appears, or else a passage from the Passion of St. Agnes.³⁹ Other texts appear only occasionally.⁴⁰

The prayers which thus serve to nourish and support the devotion of the priest after the reception of Communion as a rule coincide, in whole or in part, with the movements the priest makes while cleansing and arranging the vessels which have come in contact with the Sacrament. We must now turn our attention to both of these, the reservation and the ablutions.

16. Reservation. Ablutions

It is almost self-evident that some sort of preservation of the Sacrament after the celebration of the Eucharist was necessary from the start, since It had to be on hand for the sick. This preservation was nothing

³⁸ Seckau Missal (first half of the 14th cent.): Köck, 130; cf. 71; Missal of Riga (about 1400): v. Bruiningk, 88, n. 5. In Germany the use of the antiphon must have been well spread about the turn of the Middle Ages, since Gabriel Biel and Berthold of Chiensee speak of it; Franz, 111, n.4.—Already in the 13th century it is present in Sarum, where however it was dropped later; see Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 228, with the reading *Benedicta a filio tuo, Domina*. A prayer to Mary, *Santa Maria genitrix D. n. J. C.*, also in the Sacramentary of Boldau, as an appendage to the prayer mentioned above, n. 18; Kniewald, 26; cf. Radó, 44.

³⁹ *Jam corpus eius corpori meo sociatum est et sanguis eius ornavit genas meas*. Apparently only in south Germany since the 14th century: Köck, 71; 130; Beck, 310.—Often also found with the beginning *Mel et lac*. Köck, 53; 70; 79; Franz, 111 n. 4; 753; Radó, 102. Cf. above, p. 352.

⁴⁰ A prayer beginning *Domine, suscipe me* in the Missal of Riga (v. Bruiningk, 88, n. 5) recalls Byzantine hymnody. Many a scriptural phrase is here incorporated; the promise, John 6: 55 in the monastic Missal of Lyons of 1531; Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 661 C); the doxology, Apoc. 7: 12 and the plea for a blessing, Ps. 66: 7 (*Benedicat nos Deus*; with the rubric *signando se calice*) in the Mass arrangement of Bec; *ibid.*, XXXVI (I, 675 A.B.). Also more or less freely formulated words

of meditation, thus in the Missal of Regensburg about 1500 (Beck, 271): *Consummatum est et salva facta est anima mea. Hæc sunt convivium quæ tibi placent, o Patris Sapientia*; cf. Köck, 70. Or in the Missal of Valencia (before 1411) (Ferrerres, 202): *Hæc singulariter victimæ* (cf. above, I, 275, n. 21). A prayer for the grace of Viaticum: *Rogo te, Domine Jesu Christe, ut in hora exitus mei, in the Vorau Missal of the 14-15th century*: Köck, 133. For the rest, purely private prayers are rare. Cf. the same picture above in the Communion devotion of Monte Cassino.—We prefer not to delay over the Apologies as they occur, e.g., in the Missa Illyrica.

⁴¹ This use of the prayers to accompany the actions is already noticed in the rubric of the Sacramentary of the 12-13th century from St. Peter's in Rome (Ebner, 336): *ablue digitos dicendo: Quod ore . . . Corpus tuum . . . Verbum caro factum est . . .* It is also emphasized by Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect., 83, for the prayers mentioned by him, *Verbum caro factum, Lutum fecit, Nunc dimittis, Benedicta*. He remarks at the same time that the prayers are not prescribed, but left to the devotion of the celebrant.—On the other hand, the Ordinal of the Carmelites, 1312 (Zimmermann, 84), expressly stipulates: *deinde* (after the first ablution) *iunctis manibus inclinet ante altare dicendo: Quod ore*.

very special in itself, because the faithful were permitted to keep the Body of the Lord in their homes.¹ But the question arose, what should be done when, after the needs of the communicants have been fulfilled, a large portion of the sacred species should be left over. According to the custom of Antioch during the fourth century, the deacons were obliged to take the particles remaining after the Communion of the faithful into the sacristy at once;² what happened after that is not mentioned. But from various isolated ordinances of that period we can gather that the case when a large amount of the consecrated gifts remained after the Communion posed quite a problem. The Sahidic ecclesiastical *canones* warned the responsible clerics not to place too much bread and wine on the altar, so that the punishment meted out to the sons of Heli for their disrespect to the sacrifice might not fall upon them.³ In some places, basing their action on Leviticus 8:32, they burned what was left.⁴ In other places it was thought more seemly to bury the remainder in the ground.⁵ Seldom was there the possibility of doing what was done at the pilgrim church in Jerusalem, where the remaining particles were used for Communion on the following day.⁶ Elsewhere, innocent children were called in on certain days and given the sacred species,⁷ or else—a practice that was certainly

¹ Of the method of reservation we know very little. It is possible that the tower-shaped and dove-shaped vessels (*turres, columbæ*) made of precious metals, which were listed in the registry of gifts in the *Liber Pontificalis* during the 4th and 5th centuries (*Liber Pont.*, ed. Duchesne, I, 177, 220, 243) have some relevance here; see Beissel, 310 f.; Andrieu, *Les ordines*, III, 73, note 3.

² *Const. Ap.*, 13, 17 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 231). Cf. Chrysostom, *Ep. ad Innocentium*, I, 3 (PG, 52, 533).

³ Brightman, 463, l. 6.

⁴ Thus the Commentary on Leviticus II, 8 (PG, 93, 886 D; Brightman, 487), ascribed to Hesychius of Jerusalem (d. about 450). In the West since the 7-8th century this method of disposal was often prescribed for Hosts that had become unfit for consumption. Fire was considered the purest element, one that purified without needing purification itself. Even Durandus (d. 1296), IV, 41, 32 f., still speaks of an *incinerare*. Sometimes the ashes were preserved as a relic. However, this procedure was attacked by theologians since the 11th century. Numerous evidences in Browe, "Wann fing man an, die in einer Messe konsekrierten Hostien in einer

anderen Messe auszuteilen?" (*Theologie und Glaube*, 30 [1938], 388-404), 391 ff.

⁵ The practice existed in the Byzantine Church at the time the schism started; proofs in Browe, *loc. cit.*, 389 f.—The Arabian Canons of Nicea (5-6th cent.) provided burial in case of vomiting and consider it as reverential a treatment as the parallel treatment of the remains of the Martyrs (Mansi, II, 1030; Browe, 390).

⁶ Humbert of Silva Candida, *Adv. Græcorum calumnias*, n. 33 (PL, 143, 952 A) refers with praise to this method used in Jerusalem: *nec incendunt nec in foveam mittunt, sed in pixidem mundam recondunt et sequenti die communicant ex eo populum*.

⁷ Evagrius Scholasticus (6th cent.), *Hist. eccl.*, IV, 36 (PG, 86, 2796 A), testifies to the practice in Constantinople, and Nicephorus Callisti (d. about 1341), *Hist. eccl.*, 17, 25 (PG, 147, 280), adds his own witness, reporting from the experience in his own childhood. Further data regarding Constantinople in Browe, 393 f. The same was stipulated by the Synod of Maçon (585), can. 6 (Mansi, IX, 952): On Wednesdays and Fridays call the children and administer to them the *reliquias conspersas vino*.

more natural and obvious—the clerics themselves partook of the remaining particles at the end of the divine service.⁸

Reservation was thought of only for the sake of the sick. The amount of time which seemed admissible for the preservation of the species for this purpose was measured in various ways. It is the Byzantine custom even today to consecrate the Sacrament for the sick for the whole year on Maundy Thursday. This practice was already known to the West Syrians in the seventh century, and by the year 1000 had also become established in England. In the West, the custom was rapidly overthrown, and was also attacked in the East. Among the Uniate congregations it has long since disappeared.⁹ In England about the year 1000 Abbot Aelfric of Eynsham struck at the practice by insisting that the Hosts reserved for the sick must be renewed every week or two,¹⁰ and this regulation was generally retained during the centuries that followed.¹¹ Among the Carthusians during the thirteenth century the renewal of the species was molded into the structure of the Sunday high Mass,¹² and the same happened in other places also. In Soissons every Sunday at the priest's Communion the deacon was supposed to bring the vessel (containing the Blessed Sacrament) which hung over the altar to the celebrant, who put in a new Host and consumed the old.¹³

All through the Middle Ages reservation was considered only in relation to the sick. Hence, in the pertinent decrees we find mention made of

⁸ Thus in the West there were different enactments from the 9th to the 13th century prescribing that the remaining species be consumed either by the clerics who were present, or by the celebrating priest himself. The latter, e.g., in Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, inquis., n. 65 (PL, 132, 190 A). Further data in Browe, 394 f. The same method is still in force at present in most oriental liturgies, where it is even part of the rite to have something of both species remaining; Hanssens, III, 527-533. Particularly pronounced in the East Syrian Rite, *ibid.*, 528, 529 f.; Brightman, 304 f., 586 f.

⁹ Browe, *Die Sterbekommunion* (ZkTh, 1936) 235 f.

¹⁰ B. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics* (Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa, IX; Hamburg, 1914), 30, 62, 179; Browe, *Die Sterbekommunion*, 235.

¹¹ A stricter rule is reproduced in Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 70 (PL, 132, 206 A; cf. *supra*, n. 8): The renewal must take place *de tertio in tertium diem*. Still Regino is content himself with the renew-

al *de sabbato in sabbatum*; *ibid.*, 71 (206 B). The like stipulation in Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, II, 19 (PL, 161, 165): *de septimo in septimum mutetur semper*. A weekly renewal is provided for in the Cluny Constitutions of the monk Udalrich, I, 8; II, 30 (PL, 149, 653 C; 722 f.). On the other hand, the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 100; cf. *ibid.*, 98 line 24) is content with a renewal of the species on each Communion day, i.e., about once a month. (Cf. Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 68 ff.). Until the last centuries the interval permitted was variously estimated; Corblet, I, 570-572.

¹² Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 612 E): The deacon places a new consecrated Host in the *capsula* after the Communion of the priest and then communicates himself from the old one.

¹³ Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 612 E). The practice in Bayeux was the same: *ibid.*, XXIV (I, 630 B), and also in the old Cistercian rite; see the detailed account in Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 162-165.—In the case of Soissons we clearly have a

only one or two Hosts.¹⁴ All the rest of the faithful communicated with the priest at Mass and partook of the Hosts which had just been consecrated. The one exception was Good Friday, which was, until near the end of the Middle Ages, a favorite Communion day;¹⁵ following the oriental model, Communion then took place within the *missa præsantificationum*, using Hosts consecrated the day before. On other occasions the practice of purposely consecrating and reserving a larger number of Hosts for later distribution was unknown all during the Middle Ages.¹⁷

But even in early times it was unheard of that Communion was distributed after Mass.¹⁸ In the Byzantine Mass of the Greeks this is the ordinary practice.¹⁹ On the other hand, wherever (as in Rome and Gaul)

very strange custom for here the celebrant used for his Communion only the Host consecrated on a previous occasion (aside, of course, from the particle deposited in the chalice). This remarkable practice was followed in Spain and Belgium into the 17th century, and also elsewhere, and was declared by individual theologians as permissible, while others (like de Lugo, *De sacr. eucharistie*, XIX, 5, 76 [Opp., ed. Fournials, IV, 240 f.]) rejected it. Browe, *Wann fing man an*, 399 f.

¹⁴ Still in the visitation accounts from the Diocese of Ermland from the beginning of the 17th century, in which the number of particles provided was regularly noted with exactness, there were at most only from four to eight; G. Matern, "Kultus und Liturgie des allerheiligsten Sakramentes in Ermland," *Pastoralblatt für die Diözese Ermland*, 43 (1911), 80; Browe, *loc. cit.*, 404; *ibid.*, 401-404 further data.

¹⁵ P. Browe, "Die Kommunion an den drei letzten Kartagen," *JL*, 10 (1930), 56-76, especially 70 ff.

¹⁶ It is reported from Jerusalem, as we have seen above, as an exceptional practice in the 11th century that the Hosts which were left over from an earlier Mass were used in a following Mass. In the West about the same time we have the first testimony of a similar practice from Cluny, together with the fact that such a procedure was avoided elsewhere; Udalricus *Con-suet. Clun.*, I, 13 (PL, 149, 662 B). In other monasteries even in the later centuries scrupulous care was taken that by and large no more hosts were consecrated than were necessary for each occasion. It was taken for granted as long as the faith-

ful went to Communion only on a few feast days, that in parish churches this was done as a matter of duty, as the Synod of Osnabrück, 1571, still provides (VII, 6; Hartzheim, VII, 715). Browe, *Wann find man an*, 396 ff.

¹⁷ For that reason the receptacle for the preservation of the Eucharist, the oval cavity in the back of the Eucharistic dove that in many places hung over the altar, was only 4-6 cm. (1.5-2.1 inches) long. However, the diameter of the pyxes in the 14-15th century varied between 8 and 11 cm. (about 3.1-4.3 inches). The vessel might be large enough to suffice for a single Communion for the major part of a medium sized congregation (at Easter several days were provided for). Not till towards the end of the 16th century did the ciborium come into more general use as at present; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 328-330. Think of a General Communion stretched out to two or three succeeding Sundays, and you can see how easy it was to take the next step and no longer consider it of importance that the Communion be taken from the corresponding consecration.

¹⁸ A hagiographic notice from Alexandria in H. Delehaye, *Anal. Bolland.*, 43 (1925), 28 f.—Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, III, 3 (PL, 77, 224).

¹⁹ Brightman, 396. Among the Nestorians the practice mentioned above of consuming the remains of the Sacrament after the celebration, developed to the point where the priest himself, in cases when the faithful did not communicate, would postpone his own Communion and partake only after the celebration. Hanssens, III, 528.

the non-communicants left the church before Communion,²⁰ there was no reason why, even on great Communion days the distribution of the Sacrament should not take place within the Mass. This was true at least till the eighth century. But a changed attitude is noticed already in the Carolingian reform. True, it was presumed that the faithful would remain only till the *completio benedictionis sacerdotalis*, but this was now identified with the final prayers of the newly-accepted Roman Mass.²¹ The result was soon seen. Not only on occasions here and there, but even on the greater Communion days, Communion was distributed after Mass at least to a great number of communicants.²² Evidences for such a usage begin to grow more numerous since the twelfth century.²³ In the year 1256 the *Ordinarium* of the Dominicans directs the priest, that in general, when people are present who are waiting for the end of the Mass, the Communion should then be postponed *usque post missam*, but this should not be done on Maundy Thursday.²⁴ Still, Communion remained united with the Mass.

A certain perplexity in regard to the exact time when the faithful were to receive is seen even earlier. Therefore, some exponents of the liturgy insisted that the right moment for it was before the post-communion, because the latter presupposes the Communion of the faithful. Even the Roman Ritual, which first appeared in 1614, proposes the same reason in a pertinent admonition, but then, with a genuine regard for the cure of souls, it leaves room for distributing Communion before or after Mass *ex rationabili causa*.²⁵

After the Council of Trent the tendency to separate the Communion from the Mass moved forward by leaps and bounds, since the appreciation of the liturgical pattern did not keep step with the zeal for the sacramental life. At first, this held true only for Communion on greater feasts and for general Communions, but later it spread to other occasions also, so that by the time the eighteenth century had faded into the nineteenth,

²⁰ Above, p. 341.

²¹ Nickl, 57 f.—In Rome in the 12th century the announcement of the occurring festivities, etc., were no longer made before, but after the Communion; *Ordo eccl. Lateran.*, ed. Fischer, 87, line 9. Nevertheless an exception in the contemporaneous *Ordo Rom.* of Benedict, n. 24 (PL, 78, 1038 C).

²² *Ordo Angilberti* (about 800): Bishop, *Liturgia historica*, 373.

²³ Browe, "Wann fing man an, die Kommunion ausserhalb der Messe auszuteilen?": *Theologie u. Glaube*, 23 (1931), 755-762. An example of the 12th century from Rome is the Communion of the neophytes that occurs daily *post finem missæ*

during the Easter and Pentecost octave; *Ordo eccl. Lateran.*, ed. Fischer, 73.

²⁴ Guerrini, 248.

²⁵ Walafried Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 950 f.); Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 19 (PL, 151, 990); Durandus, IV, 54, 11.—Sometimes we find the distribution of Communion taking place before the priest's chalice Communion; Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, 149, 721); *Liber ordinarius O. Præm.* (Waefelghem, 89-91); Köck, 131; cf. Ebner, 311.—In the Byzantine Mass also the priest, before his own chalice Communion, gives the sacred species of Bread to the deacon; Brightman, 395 line 12.

²⁶ *Rituale Rom.* (1925), IV, 2, 11.

Communion outside of Mass had become the general rule.²⁷ But during our own century a reverse movement has gradually gained ground.²⁸ Moreover, an increasing number of voices are being heard in favor of using for Communion substantially only those Hosts which were consecrated at the same Mass, so that the connection between sacrifice and repast might again gain its full, natural expression.²⁹ This aspiration has been heartily praised and encouraged by Pius XII.³⁰

When the Communion is ended and the remaining sacred particles have been reserved there follows what we might designate by the comprehensive term, the ablution rite.

We are accustomed nowadays to think in this connection only of the washing of the fingertips that touched the Body of the Lord, and of the purification of the chalice, which should be freed from the remains of the Precious Blood by twice pouring wine (and water) into it. But even the Roman Missal of the present day designates something else as the first act of this rite when, speaking about the first ablution after Communion, it uses these words: *se purificat*.³¹ The *ablutio oris* is, in fact, the most ancient part of the ablution rite. While for everything else we do not hear of any express prescriptions until much later, we find Chrysostom already advocating, and himself carrying out, the practice of taking a bit of water after Communion, or eating a piece of bread, so that whatever remained of the sacred species might not be ejected from the mouth along with the spittle. This practice was previously unknown in Constantinople, and was one of the charges leveled against the saint.³² A similar practice is still in vogue amongst the Copts even today; after Communion they take a swallow of water which they call "the water of covering" because by it the Sacrament will be "covered,"³³ In the West, too, the *Regula Magistri*

²⁷ Browe (*Theologie u. Glaube*, 1931), 761 f.

²⁸ In countries like Austria, Germany, France and Belgium, where the liturgical movement has been in full swing since the dawn of the century, Communion has been generally restored to its rightful place within the Mass for the past two decades or more. Yet there are Sisterhoods that even to this day insist on the distribution regularly before the Mass; see an example in *Gloria Dei*, 2 (1947-48), 169. Elsewhere the old practice is still more general; e.g., in Italy, U. S. A.

²⁹ J. Guldén, "Grundsätze und Grundformen der Gemeinschaftsmesse in der Pfarrgemeinde" (*Volksliturgie und Seelsorge* [Colmar, 1942], 111; J. Pinsk, "Ex hac altaris participatione," *Liturg. Leben*, 1 (1934), 85-91; A. Lemonnier O.P., "Communions a la Messe" (*Cours et Confé-*

ences, VII [Louvain, 1929]), 292 f. Similar suggestions already in the 18th and 19th centuries, in Trapp, 96, 109, 299. An obstacle to the practical carrying out of this method is the shape of the ciborium, which does not lend itself to being cleaned as simply as the paten.

³⁰ Encyclical letter of Nov. 20, 1947, *Mediator Dei* (II, 3): *AAS*, 39 (1947), 564 f.

³¹ *Ritus serv.*, X, 5; also in the text of the *Ordo missæ*.

³² Palladius, *Dial.*, c. 8 (PG, 47, 27); Photius, *Bibliotheca*, c. 59 (PG, 103, 109 A).—The custom is still found in the Byzantine liturgy. For this *ablutio oris* the remainder of the ζέον is used, mixed with a little wine, and a bit of bread from the prosphora. The Slavic term for this is "zapiwka," after-drink.

³³ G. Graf, *Ein Reformversuch innerhalb der koptischen Kirche im 12. Jh.* (Pader-

in the same sense permits the reader at table to take a drink of wine before the reading on Communion days *propter sputum sacramenti*,³⁴ and the Rule of St. Benedict has a similar ordinance.³⁵

Although in the beginning of the Middle Ages the custom was not generally widespread, still it was mentioned repeatedly. Two examples can be cited from the life of Louis the Pious (d. 840), who took a drink immediately after Communion; the first time it was offered him by Alcuin himself, on a pilgrimage in Tours;³⁶ and the second time on his death-bed.³⁷ And it was not entirely unknown even in the Roman pontifical liturgy.³⁸ At Monte Gargano, after the faithful had communicated they were accustomed to drink from a certain well next to the church.³⁹

If we thus see greater stress put on this cleansing of the mouth than we would expect, we must remember that before the change from leavened to unleavened bread the Sacred Host had to be chewed.

Nevertheless, the custom continued and, in fact, burgeoned out after the aforementioned change of matter.⁴⁰ It is the time when all our ideas about reverence for the Blessed Sacrament were beginning to blossom. In 1165 Beletth favored the custom; he would have liked to see it introduced

born, 1923) 85; *idem.*, "Liturgische Anweisungen des koptischen Patriarchen Kyrrillos ibn Laklak" (*JL*, 4 [1924]), 126.

³⁴ C. 24 (PL, 88, 992 D).

³⁵ C. 38: *accipiat mixtum priusquam incipiat legere propter communionem sanctam*. Cf. in this regard I. Herwegen, *Sinn und Geist der Benediktinerregel* (Einsiedeln, 1944), 254.

³⁶ *Vita Alcuini*, c. 15 (MGH, Scriptores, XV, I, p. 193, l. 9): *cum post communionem corporis Christi et sanguinis manu propria eis misceret*.

³⁷ Thegan, *Vita Chludowici*, c. 61 (MGH, Scriptores, II, 648, l. 1): *Iussit . . . communionem sacram sibi tradi et post hæc cuiusdam potiuncule calidule haustum præberi*.—See the reference in Martène, I, 4, 10, 15 (I, 440 f.).

³⁸ In the Ordo of S. Amand (Andrieu, II, 168), obviously following Roman custom, a ceremony of this sort is mentioned; at the end of the stationary service the assistant clergy receive *pastillos de manu pontificis*, whereupon another drink is handed them. The *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (*ibid.*, III, 109; cf. III, 71), also makes mention of a drink, taken from three cups; after the pope's return to the secretarium, the remark is made concerning the assistant clerics: *et accepta benedictione de manu ipsius confirmant ternos calicis*, that is,

from three chalices.—On the other hand, it is surprising that the first Roman Ordo makes no mention of anything of the kind at the end of divine service; perhaps, however, we have a somewhat secularized development of the practice in the strange usage, probably reserved for solemn feasts, of a special invitation which, according to the later recension of the Ordo is extended to certain designated persons before the Communion; three court officials approach the throne of the pope *ut annuat eis scribere nomina eorum qui invitandi sunt, sive ad mensam pontificis per nomenclatorem, sive ad vicedomini per notarium ipsius*, whereupon the invitation is immediately carried out; *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 19 (PL, 78, 946). This banquet, having outgrown its sacred sphere, continued with increasing abandon even to the 15th century in the Cathedral of Bayeux; G. Morin, "Une ordonnance du Cardinal Légat G. d'Estouteville," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und Reformation*, J. Schlecht zum 60. Geburtstag, (Munich, 1917), 256-262.

³⁹ Martène, I, 4, 10, 15 (I, 441), out of a manuscript dated about 1000.

⁴⁰ P. Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunionen, 5. Die Ablution": *JL*, 15 (1941), 48-57.

everywhere, at least at Easter.⁴¹ It had been the practice in monasteries even before this. We come upon a first mention of it in the prescriptions of William of Hirsau (d. 1091).⁴² Also among the Cistercians it was customary for the *sacrista* to offer wine to every communicant when he had left the altar after having received Holy Communion under both kinds.⁴³ We see the same thing being done in other orders after the chalice was no longer received, with the express admonition: *Ad abluendum os diligenter, ne aliqua particula hostiæ remaneat inter dentes*.⁴⁴

The reason given naturally held good for the priest as well as for the rest of the communicants. Innocent III issued a decretal (1204) for the priest: *Semper sacerdos vino perfundere debet postquam totum acceperit eucharistiæ sacramentum*.⁴⁵ But since the thirteenth century the custom of giving the faithful wine after Communion became more and more general. The practice then amalgamated with the last remnants of the practice of the lay chalice in which, in fact, only wine that had been mixed with a little of the Precious Blood or "consecrated" by contact with a particle, was presented.⁴⁶ Hence, the transition went in part unnoticed. The new practice was merely an enfeebled continuation of the other.⁴⁷ But in some

⁴¹ John Beletth, *Explicatio*, c. 119 (PL, 202, 122). He would have a *parvum prandium* of bread and wine on this day for all immediately after Communion. The advice was in fact followed in some churches, as two examples from the 13th and 14th centuries in Browe, 49, show. Further data also for later times in Corblet, I, 621; cf. 594 f. In Oisemont (Somme) a duty was imposed even as late as 1619 to provide cereals and wine for the days of the Easter Communion (621). In general, however, the bread was soon dispensed with. In passing, we might mention that Beletth thinks the reason Mass was said at a late hour on ferial and fast days was that in this way a *prandium* could be taken immediately, just as on feasts. In the same sense but more emphatic an apparently later but unknown author in Martène, I, 4, 10, 15 (I, 441).—However, there was also a contrary tendency. In Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 195 (PL, 132, 226) and in the Decretum Gratiani, III, 2, 23 (Friedberg, I, 1321), a wait of several hours before a meal is prescribed on Communion days because of the *residua Corporis Domini*; this appears as a demand—rejected—for every Communion, in authors such as St. Thomas, *In IV Sent.*, 8, 4, 3.

⁴² William of Hirsau, *Const.* I, 86 (PL, 150, 1019 C): the priest drinks the wine, which the server poured out at a private Mass for the ablution of the chalice and the fingers, from the Mass chalice, *quamquam de eodem calice etiam communicantes mox debeant vinum bibere*.—It is strange that the other Benedictine *Consuetudines* of the same period apparently say nothing of the practice.

⁴³ *Liber usuum* (after 1119), c. 58 (PL, 166, 1432).

⁴⁴ *Ordinarium O. P.* about 1256 (Guerrini, 247): *Liber ordinarius* of the Liège monastery of St. James (Volk, 99). Similarly a rubric at the Ordination Mass of French Pontificals (14th to 16th cent.): V. Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux* (Paris, 1937), I, 47; II, 54; cf. I, 129.

⁴⁵ *Corpus Jur. Can.*, Decretales Greg., I, III, 41, 5 (Friedberg, II, 636). Cf. Good Friday in the *Pontificale Rom. Curiae* of the 13th century (Andrieu, II, 563, line 5; PL, 78, 1014 B).

⁴⁶ Browe (*JL*, 15, [1941]), 51 f.

⁴⁷ This is seen, e.g., in the fact that now simply some wine was given to children after baptism instead of the usual Baptismal Communion. In individual cases perhaps the wine of the ablution of the chalice and the fingers was used for this purpose;

instances the modification was brought to the attention of the faithful.⁴⁸

The reform synods of the sixteenth century often demanded that the drink be given not from a chalice, but from a vessel differently shaped, so as not to occasion any wrong conception. With this special restriction the practice is still found imbedded in the Roman Missal.⁵⁰ For the same reason, the vessel was not to be presented by the priest.⁵¹ To keep the custom intact and to insure themselves that there was sufficient wine ready for the feast days, many foundations were established for this purpose almost everywhere towards the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era.⁵² Even today there are survivals of this last reminiscence of the communion chalice, which in turn had absorbed the old custom of the *ablutio oris*.⁵³

see *Ordo eccl. Lateran.*, ed. Fischer, 73 line 13. Even Emperor Joseph II, on May 14, 1783, protested against an "abuse" prevalent in the Swabian provinces of Austria—the practice of giving newly baptized children a sip of the ablution wine on the eighth day after their christening, *Gesetzammlung über das geistliche Fach von dem Tage der Thronbesteigung bis 1783* (Vienna, 1784), 126 f. Older examples in J. Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Laien-kommunion*, 165. The old administration formula or some other suitable one was used for the occasion, e.g., *Hæc ablutio calicis sit tibi salutaris et ad vitam æternam capessendam. Amen.* E. Martène, *Voyage littéraire*, II (1724), 141. The Exsequiale of Augsburg 1850, has the priest say *Prosit tibi ablutionis huius perceptio ad salutem mentis et corporis in nomine Patris . . .*; Hoeynck, 126. In other cases, however, wine was given that was simply blessed; see references that reach into the 16th and in part into the 18th century in Browe, *Die Pflichtenkommunion*, 140-142. My confrere and teacher, O. Seywald, S.J., born in 1845 at Weinsfeld near Gurk in Carinthia, tells me that in his youth the practice still existed there of giving the child some wine when it was brought home from baptism. L. Andrieu, *La première communion* (Paris, 1911), 72, testifies to a similar practice still surviving in Champagne. It is also customary in some places today among the Carinthian Slovenes to put some crumbs dipped in wine into the mouth of the child (Chr. Srienec).

⁴⁸ The Synod of Lambeth (1281), can. 1 (Mansi, XXIV, 406), directed the priests

to teach the people that they received the Body and Blood of Our Lord under the species of bread and what they received from the chalice, on the contrary, was nothing sacred, *sacrum non esse*. As Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunionriten" (*JL*, 15, [1941]), 26, thinks, it was probably in opposition to this that the Synod of Exeter, 1287, permitted the people to be taught that they received the Blood of Christ from the chalice (Mansi, XXIV, 789). Cf. also Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion" (*ZkTh*, 1936), 219 f.

⁴⁹ Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunionriten" (*JL*, 15, [1941]), 56; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 552-557.

⁵⁰ *Ritus serv.*, X, 6. Similarly also in the Roman Pontifical, De ord. presbyteri, where however a chalice different from the one used by the officiating bishop is required. According to the *Ordo* of Peter Amelii, n. 11 (PL, 78, 1280 B) three large chalices should be in readiness at the third Mass on Christmas: one for the consecration; one *cum quo papa vinum bibit*; and one for the Communicants, to whom the server, after Communion administers the wine. The administration from one chalice also in French cathedrals about 1700; de Meléon, 127; 246 (others, *ibid.*, 409 f.). Cf. also *infra*, n. 53.

⁵¹ Browe, 56. *Ibid.*, 55, an example from Deventer, where a *poculum publicum* instituted by the town is provided, to be administered by a *minister Senatus*. Cf. also *Ordo* of Peter Amelii, n. 11 (preceding note); *Cæremoniale ep.*, II, 29, 3 f.

⁵² Examples in Browe, 54-57.

⁵³ Thus at every solemn Communion of

As at the *ablutio oris* or *purificatio*, so even more at what we call the ablution in a narrower sense, namely, the cleansing of the chalice and the fingertips that have come in contact with the Body of the Lord, the earliest standard set was the feeling of the individual *liturgus*. Whatever was thought proper was done as a rule after divine service, as is usually the case in the oriental rites even today. First of all, there is the cleansing of the chalice. The older Roman *Ordines* do not as yet contain any special provisions in this regard.⁵⁴ It is not till the ninth and tenth centuries that we find any express directions about this in the West. The purification of the chalice was handed over to the deacon or the subdeacon, if they were present; otherwise, the priest himself had to take over the task.⁵⁵ There must have been a special place in the sacristy or next to the altar where the water used for this purpose was poured out.⁵⁶

Here mention is still made only of water, but we find that even in the eleventh century, monastic prescriptions called for wine for the purification.⁵⁷ It was considered praiseworthy to wash the vessel not only once, but three times, as was customary amongst the Premonstratensians,⁵⁸ and as is particularly recorded about Blessed Herman Joseph (d. 1241).⁵⁹

Later, the purification of the chalice was combined with the purification of the tips of the fingers. Seldom is there mention of a special purification

the monastic congregation in the Carthusian order; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 14; cf. c. 29, 26. Among the Dominicans at present on Maundy Thursday; Sölch, *Hugo*, 148. I myself witnessed this practice as a theological student, almost every year from 1909 to 1913 on Maundy Thursday at the Cathedral of Brixen; a Master of Ceremonies stood beside the altar and served the wine from a chalice, the rim of which he cleansed each time with the prescribed *mappula*. Elsewhere the old tradition is traceable until 1870. F. X. Buchner, *Volk und Kult* (Forschungen zur Volkskunde, 27; Düsseldorf, 1936), 39. In Münster in Westphalia the practice was kept up on Maundy Thursday until the first World War; besides that, there is talk of a small bread that was distributed to the people; R. Stapper, in the memorial booklet, "Aus Ethik und Leben" (Münster, 1931), 88. See the bibliographical references in Browe, 57, n. 60. Notices of the practice in France, in Corblet, I, 261 f.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 20 (PL, 78, 947 A; Stapper, 29): when the altar chalice is empty, it is immediately given to an acolyte, who in turn brings it back to the sacristy.

⁵⁵ Regino of Prüm (d. 915), *De synod. causis*, inquis., n. 65 (PL, 132, 190 A). The *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 12 (PL, 78, 994) that also came into existence in Germany in the 10th century, impresses upon the archdeacon that he must take extreme care, *nimis caute*, that nothing of the sacred species remains in the chalice and on the paten.

⁵⁶ So, too, in the 9th century the *Admonitio synodalis* (PL, 96, 1376 B).

⁵⁷ Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, 149, 721). Statuta antiqua of the Carthusians: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 635 B): in the High Mass the deacon takes the chalice, *vinum lavat et sumit tantummodo quando communicat, alias vinum dimittitur in sacrarium*. In the *vita* of the emperor St. Henry (d. 1024) it was already taken for granted that wherever possible the ablution of the chalice was not thrown away; c. 34 (MGH, Scriptores, IV, 811): *qua [missa] completa, sicut semper facere consueverat, ablutionem calicis sumere volebat*.

⁵⁸ See the *Liber ordinarius* of the 12th century: Lefèvre, 13 f.; cf. Waefelghem, 95 f.

⁵⁹ *Acta SS.*, April, I, 697 F; Franz, 105 f.; Lentze (*Anal. Præm.*, 1950), 143.

of the paten.⁶⁰ A washing of the fingers after the sacrifice is already mentioned in the life of Bishop Bonitus of Clermont (d. 709), of whom it is related that the sick made efforts to obtain some of this ablution water.⁶¹ The same is recounted about a certain monk from Monte Cassino around the year 1050.⁶² The first Roman *Ordo* also speaks of the washing of the hands of the pope as soon as all had communicated: *sedet et abluat manus*;⁶³ similarly, in the tenth century in the sixth Roman *Ordo*, which was intended primarily for Germany.⁶⁴ This is nothing else than the hand-washing which is still customary in the pontifical rite, but which at that time and in many places, even as late as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was considered a sufficient ablution; the only direction stressed in regard to it was that the water was to be poured out in some fitting place.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, however, especially in monasteries, even greater care was exercised in regard to this ablution. The fingers were first cleansed with wine, using either another chalice⁶⁶ or else the Mass chalice.⁶⁷ After this, the fingers were washed with water at the *piscina* set up near the

⁶⁰ This is the case, among others, in John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 37 B): the subdeacon should help the deacon *ad mundandum calicem et patenam*. In some religious Communities, among others the Premonstratensians, a rinsing of the paten was prescribed, done with wine; Waefelghem, 95, with n. 3. Also the Missal of Riga (about 1400) entitled the prayer mentioned above, p. 406, n. 40 *Domine suscipe me* with the rubric: *Ad ablutionem patenae* (v. Bruiningk, 88, n. 5).

⁶¹ Life by a contemporary biographer (Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum O.S.B.*, III, 1, 92); Franz, 106.

⁶² Leo Mars., *Chron. Casinense*, II, 90 (PL 173, 697): *ex aqua qua post missarum sollemnia manus ablueret*. Franz, 108.

⁶³ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 20 (Andrieu, II, 106), older recension; but the later recension (PL, 78, 947 C) also mentions among those to whom the pope administers Communion: *qui manutergium tenet et qui aquam dat*.

⁶⁴ *Ordo* "Postquam" of the episcopal Mass (Andrieu, II, 362; PL, 78, 994 C). Cf. in the 9th century the *Admonitio synodalis* (PL, 96, 1376 B), that required a *vas nitidum cum aqua* in the sacristy or alongside the altar, in which the priest might wash his hands after Communion.

⁶⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, 162, 560 D); Innocent III,

De s. alt. mysterio, VI, 8 (PL, 217, 911). Also the work dependent on Innocent, Wilhelm of Melitona O.F.M., *Opusc. super missam* (about 1250), ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 347. Likewise Durandus (d. 1296), IV, 55, 1, repeats the statement of Innocent III.

⁶⁶ Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, 149, 721 f.): the deacon does it first, then in the same chalice the celebrating priest, who then drinks the ablution. John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 37 B). Further documents from the monasteries in Lebrun, I, 545.—According to the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 86, line 37) wine is poured over the fingers of the bishop in *perfusorio argenteo*; the deacon then takes the wine.

⁶⁷ William of Hirsau (d. 1091), *Const. I*, 86 (PL, 150, 1091; *supra*, n. 42). Similarly in the *Liber usum O. Cist.*, c. 53 (PL, 166, 1127): the priest has wine poured into the chalice after his Communion, *recepto calice respergat digitos suos in ipso calice, quem ponens super altare eat ad piscinam abluere in ipsa digitos aqua. Quibus tersis . . . redeat ad altare sumere vinum quod dimisit in calice. Quo sumpto interum aspergat calicem vino*. Even more plainly is the ablution of the fingers by the priest connected with the first ablution of the chalice in the Ordinal of the Carmelites about 1312 (Zimmermann, 83 f.).

altar,⁶⁸ or in some other manner,⁶⁹ and then were dried. Only then⁷⁰ was the ablution wine taken from the chalice.⁷¹ Thereafter, wine was again poured into the chalice, *i.e.*, the Mass chalice for certain, and then drunk.

A special *ablutio oris*, consequently, became superfluous, since it was bound up with the ablution of the chalice.⁷² While, as we have said, it was thought satisfactory in some places to use only wine to cleanse the chalice, it was generally considered necessary, for obvious reasons, to use water too, at least for the fingers,⁷³ and thus to adhere to the traditional method of washing the hands. The *Ordinarium* of the Dominicans, introduced in 1256, contains for the first time, at least for the occasion when no *honesta piscina* was to be had, the advice (*melius est*) to wash the fingers with water over the chalice, and then to drink this water along with the wine that had been previously used for cleansing the fingers.⁷⁴ This manner of

⁶⁸ The construction of such a *piscina* alongside the altar is demanded among others by the Synod of Würzburg of 1298, can. 3 (Hartzheim, IV, 26) and by the Cistercians in their General Chapter of 1601 (Schneider, *Cist.-Chr.*, 1927, 376). Even at present, as we recall, the priest goes to the epistle side for the ablution.

⁶⁹ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 86 f.).

⁷⁰ At Tongern about 1413 this was done before stepping to the *piscina*; de Corswarem, 141.

⁷¹ Accordingly it became customary to drink the ablution of the fingers only after wine began to be used in the function, *i.e.*, since its assimilation to the ablution of the chalice, or its adoption by it. And here also the practice varied. In the life of St. Heribert of Cologne (d. 1021; Vita by Rupert of Deutz, d. 1135) there is an account of a woman who had a way of securing for herself the wine with which the bishop according to custom washed his fingers after Communion (c. 19; PL, 170, 410; Franz, 109); consequently it was not consumed by the celebrant.—French churches held fast to this older method of cleansing the fingers, in part still in the 18th century; an acolyte brings a special ablution vessel to the altar (de Moléon, 230; 291) or the priest goes over to the *lavatorium* (*ibid.*, 315); cf. Martène, I, 4, XX, XXII (I, 609 A, 613 A).—However, that the ablution was regularly consumed by the end of the twelfth century is clear from the fact that numerous Synods since 1200 impress upon the priests that in case of a bination, they may not

take the *ablutio digitorum* of the first Mass. K. Holböck, *Die Bination* (Rome, 1941); 102. Cf. also the pertinent statement by Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 303-307. We might note in passing that even today we have a twofold practice, for outside of Mass we are content with the ablution of mere water, which then is disposed of in the manner in earlier times.

⁷² Clearly the meaning and purpose of the *ablutio oris* is still kept in view in the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, III, 348; cf. 371, line 37) where the administration of Communion to the newly ordained is inserted *post primam oris ablutionem, priusquam digitos lavet*, obviously because of the formula that must be said while administering it. ⁷³ Still, e.g., John Burchard about 1500 in his Mass-order mentions during Mass only the ablution of the fingers with wine (Legg, *Tracts*, 164). This presupposes washing the hands in the sacristy afterwards.

⁷⁴ Guerrini, 244; cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 149. In the Dominican *Ordinarium* mentioned (*loc. cit.*) there is also for the first time a more definite instruction regarding the use of a small cloth to dry the fingers, our purificator: *intra calicem reservetur, et cum explicatur calix, reponatur super altare a dextris in loco mundo*. Nothing is said about drying the chalice with the same cloth; sometimes another cloth was used for the purpose, as the monastic *Consuetudines* of the 11th century indicate. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 212 f.; cr. de Corswarem, 125; 128. According to

procedure was propagated only gradually, but finally became normal.⁷⁵ In the pontifical *ritus* of today it has been added to the ancient manner of washing the hands.⁷⁶

However, until the very end of the Middle Ages there was no uniform practice in these matters. According to Gabriel Biel, for instance, it was left to the choice of the priest to have the ablution of the fingers either right after the Communion or only after Mass.⁷⁷ On the other hand, English Mass books of that same period gave very careful and circumstantial rules in this regard, although varying in details.⁷⁸

A custom had been spread in Germany since the fourteenth century, which reminds us of the blessing of the senses with the Eucharist which had been in vogue a thousand years earlier. After the ablution of the fingers, the eyes were touched, and these words uttered: *Lutum fecit Dominus ex sputo et linivit oculos meos et abii et lavi et vidi et credidi*

a later practice, the priest had to place the chalice upon the paten; thus, e.g., according to the later Sarum Mass-books: *ponat . . . super patenam, ut si quid remaneat stillet*; Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 671 A); Maskell, 194. This custom also in the *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 635 B); as someone from Valsainte has kindly told me, this was done by laying the rim of the cup on the paten, so that any drops that remain might flow thereon. In accordance with the latest edition of the *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 13, the chalice is merely tilted and whatever is thus gathered together is then swallowed.—In any case the use of the purificator gained ground but slowly. A Jesuit traveling from Italy to Poland in 1563 affirms that it was not in use either in Germany or in Poland; Braun, 213. But it was required by the Missal of Pius V, and so its use became general.

⁷⁵ The Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, which otherwise often copies the Dominican *Ordinarium* word for word, does not have it (Volk, 96). The *Ordo* of Stefaneschi (about 1311), n. 53 (PL, 78, 1168 f.) also has the pope perform the ablution with water over a dish after the consumption of the wine ablution of the fingers. The water is then poured out *in loco puro*.

⁷⁶ *Ceremoniale ep.*, II, 8, 76.

⁷⁷ Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect., 83.

⁷⁸ A Sarum Missal of the 15th century (Legg, *Tracts*, 266) offers the following procedure: After the chalice Commu-

nion, the priest has the deacon on his right side pour in the wine; after consuming it he says: *Quod ore*. Then he has wine poured over his fingers, drinks that and says: *Hæc nos communio*; then water in like manner, whereupon he prays at the middle of the altar before the crucifix: *Adoremus crucis signaculum per quod salutis nostræ sumpsimus exordium*, and the further prayer *Gratias* (see above, p. 404). Finally he goes to the *sacrarium* and washes his hands. Cf. Ferreres, 202 f.—According to a manuscript of the 14th century, which presents approximately the same procedure, the priest prays the *Lavabo* verse, Ps. 25: 6 (Legg, 268) during this last function of washing his hands; this verse is also found elsewhere in this place; see Maskell, 197; Martène, I, 4, XXXI, XXXVI (I, 652 D, 675 B). Thus at Linköping in the 14th century and later; Segelberg, *Eph. liturg.*, 65 (1951), 259. A survey of the different ablution rites in England at the turn of the Middle Ages in Maskell, 190-197.

⁷⁹ John 9: 11, in the form of the *Communio* for the Thursday of the fourth week of Lent. The Regensburg Missal about 1500 (Beck, 271) with the following rubric: *Lingendo digitos dic . . .* (and other formulas ensuing).—Freising Missal of 1520: Beck, 310; Augsburg Missal of the 15th century: Franz, 753. Mass-*ordo* of Gregorienmünster (14-15th cent.): Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 657 E). The earliest testimony (without rubric) I find in the Seckau Missal of the first half of the 14th century

Deo.⁷⁹ It was a custom which could easily have led to superstition and abuse,⁸⁰ but it later disappeared.

Special prayers were not generally composed for the ablution.⁸¹ The prayers which today accompany the ablution are (as we see from their history) only outwardly connected with it.

It is remarkable that the oriental rites—even those outside the union—in spite of their greater indifference in regard to the care of the Blessed Sacrament, have also come to have a special ablution rite which, at least in some points, is quite close to our western one. Amongst the Syrians as early as the sixth century we find an ordinance which demands that the water used in purifying the sacred vessels should be poured out in a decent place.⁸² Amongst the West-Syrian Jacobites the rite of ablution is even more detailed and framed with many prayers, and includes, besides the washing of the vessels, a repeated ablution of the fingers and a wiping of the chalice with a sponge.⁸³ A sponge is also one of the appurtenances of the Byzantine liturgy.⁸⁴ The Copts also have several traditional ablutions.⁸⁵

17. The Post-Communion

Even the earliest expositions of the liturgy, after speaking about the Communion to which all the faithful are invited, do not forget to admonish them to make a thanksgiving.¹ Basing himself on Timothy 2:1, Augustine distinguishes four sections of the Mass; as the last of these he places the

(Köck, 130) where Ps. 12: 4b (*Illumina oculos meos*) and Ps. 85: 17 (*Fac mecum signum*) are added. Later examples from Styria, Köck, 53; 59; 65; 71; 133. Also a formula in a Passau Missal of the late 14th century: Radó, 102, and in an Odenburg Missal of 1363: Radó, 109. The words of Ps. 12: 4b with the rubric: *Made fac oculos* in a Missal of Riga (v. Bruiningk, 88, n. 5). Also in the German commentators of the 14th to 16th cent. the custom is mentioned; Franz, 111 (with n. 4); 576.

⁸⁰ Franz, 110-112.

⁸¹ An exception is the Missal of the 15th century from Monte Vergine (Ebner, 157) which has the priest saying at the ablution of the fingers: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, ablue cor meum et manus meas a cunctis sordibus peccatorum, ut templum Spiritus Sancti effici merear. Amen.*

⁸² Johannes bar Cursos (d. 538), *Resolutio*, can. 3 (Hanssens, III, 532 f.); *Aquæ*

ablutionis rerum sacrarum in locum decentem, in fossam profundam proiciantur et occultentur.

⁸³ Brightman, 106-108; cf. *ibid.*, 574 s. v. deaconess. At the beginning of the rite the consumption of the remaining particles of the Sacred Species takes place; cf. above, p. 407-408, n. 8.

⁸⁴ Its function in any case goes farther than among the Syrians; Brightman, 588, s. v. sponge.

⁸⁵ According to the practice of today the chalice is first rinsed with wine; Hanssens, III 530. A statement from the 14th century speaks also of rinsing the paten; the water used for the purpose was then drunk; *ibid.*, 532.

¹ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 22 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 110; *supra*, p. 378). Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (Ruecker, 38): *Permanes [in ecclesia], ut cum omnibus laudes et benedictiones secundum legem Ecclesiæ persolvas.*

gratiarum actio, the thanksgiving after Communion.² Chrysostom thrusts sharply at those who cannot wait for the εὐχαριστήριοι ὥδαί, but, like Judas, hurry away instead of singing a hymn of praise with the Lord and His true disciples.³

There is question, first of all, of a thanksgiving said in common in the church—that is what we must naturally expect. We find this in early times in the liturgies of the Orient,⁴ and regularly as follows: after a prayer of thanksgiving, generally composed of several members, another such prayer of blessing follows, whereupon the faithful are dismissed. Sometimes the hymns accompanying the Communion are so prolonged that they seem to be the first part of the thanksgiving.⁵ Before the actual prayer of thanksgiving, according to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the deacon invites the faithful to prayer: “After we have received the Precious Body and the Precious Blood of Christ, we want to give thanks to Him who has made us worthy to partake of these sacred mysteries, and we wish to plead that it shall not redound to our fault but to our salvation, to the weal of soul and body, to the preservation of piety, to the remission of sin, to life everlasting.” At this, all arise and the bishop recites a comprehensive prayer in which thanksgiving merges into a renewed plea for all the intentions of the congregation and for all classes and ranks of the Church.⁶ Similarly, this call to prayer by the deacon recurs later on also,⁷ but in other places it has developed in various ways. In the Greek Liturgy of St. James it begins with a solemn praise of Christ,⁸ and then, as in all Greek liturgies, it unfolds into a short litany to which the people respond in the usual manner with *κύριε ἐλέησον*.⁹ In the Ethiopian Mass, after the deacon’s call to prayer, there is an exchange of prayers between priest and people, in which the latter reply three times to the priest’s recitation of Psalm 144: 1, 2, 21: “Our Father who art in heaven, lead us not into temptation.”¹⁰ In all cases, the close is essentially formed by the thanksgiving prayer of the celebrant of which—in the Greek liturgies at any rate—only the closing doxology is now spoken in a loud voice and in the Byzantine liturgy this doxology is all that has survived.¹¹ On the other hand,

the priest’s prayer of thanksgiving in the West-Syrian Mass is assimilated to the eucharistic prayer by taking up and amplifying the introductory formula: “It is worthy and right and meet . . .”¹² In the Gallican liturgy, too, the thanksgiving consists of a lengthy call to prayer, and the priestly oration.¹³

Here again the Roman liturgy is distinguished by the special scantiness of its prayer-language. Originally it also had a double close consisting of a prayer of thanksgiving and a prayer of blessing. This prayer of thanksgiving, usually captioned *Ad complendum* or *Ad completa* in the Gregorian Sacramentaries, and *Post communionem* in the Gelasian,¹⁴ with its ever varying formulas belongs to the very substance of the Roman Sacramentary, just like the collect and the *secreta*. The post-communion is also formed exactly like them. And hence, like them, it displays the outlines of a prayer of petition. Like them, in its older forms it turns without exception to God through Christ, and so closes with the formula, *Per Dominum*,¹⁵ which in many medieval churches gained special stressing at this point by being recited in the middle of the altar.¹⁶

The parallelism of the post-communion to the two earlier orations is broadened by reason of the surroundings in which it appears. The opening, the offertory and the communion represent three liturgical structures of closely corresponding patterns. In each case there is outward activity united with a certain local movement: the entrance, the offertory procession and the march to the Communion. In each case—and originally only at these three points—the choir of singers is busied with the antiphonal singing of the psalms. In each case—and again almost only here—there is an introductory series of silent prayers with which the celebrant nurtures his devotion. So again, in each case the singing and the praying come to a close with an oration which is preceded, mediately or immediately, by

² Augustine, *Ep.*, 149, 16 (CSEL, 44, 363).

³ Chrysostom, *De bapt. Christi*, c. 4 (PG, 49, 370).

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 276.

⁵ Thus the East Syrian Mass: Brightman, 297-301; in the Armenian: *ibid.*, 452-454.

⁶ *Const. Apost.*, VIII, 14, 1-15, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.* 231 f.).—In the Euchologion of Serapion only the prayer of the celebrant is included: *ibid.*, 65 f.

⁷ In the liturgy of the West Syrian Jacobites: Rücker, *Jakobosanaphora*, 53; 75.

⁸ Brightman, 65. A similar prayer of praise, but from the priest, also in the Jacobite liturgy: *ibid.*, 104.

⁹ Brightman, 65; 141; 397; cf. 454.

¹⁰ Brightman, 242 f.—Ps. 144 is the Communion psalm already certified by Chrysostom; see above, p. 392; the continuation of the alternating prayer in Hanssens, III, 521.

¹¹ Brightman, 65 f.; 141 f.; 342 f.; 397. In the present-day Byzantine liturgy the doxology (*ibid.*, 397, 1, 13) is separated from the thanksgiving prayer (*ibid.*, 395, 1, 33).

¹² Brightman, 302.

¹³ *Missale Gothicum*: Muratori, II, 519; 523 et al.

¹⁴ The last designation also in the Gallican Missal (*Missale Gothicum*: Muratori, II, 519, etc.).

¹⁵ Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 103 ff.; cf. 226 f. Individual departures from the rule mentioned did not turn up in the liturgy of the City of Rome until about 1000 when the old formulas came back to Rome from the Gallican atmosphere of the North; four of them now had the *Qui vivis* conclusion and henceforth presupposed that the prayer was addressed to Christ, as was the case also everywhere in the prayers that meanwhile came into use before the Communion. Later on, newly elaborated texts often chose this mode of address, e.g., the *Postcommunio* on Cor-

pus Christi (*Fac nos*), without, however, setting any precedent or giving rise to a preponderance of this form of *Postcommunio* even in the new formulas. Even on days when the secret prayer has the address to Christ, the *Postcommunio* frequently has *Per Dominum* (e.g., on June 4, or June 13).

¹⁶ Thus in the Dominican Rite: *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 245), likewise still today: *Missale O. P.* (1889), 22; *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 97); *Missale* of Hereford of 1502 (Maskell, 197 f.). According to the Regensburg Mass-ordo about 1500 (Beck, 272) the priest kisses the Missal after *Filium tuum*, closes it, and with the words *Qui tecum* returns to the middle of the altar. Thus also an *Ordo* of Averbode, Belgium (about 1615): Lentze (*Anal. Præm.*, 1950), 145.

the liturgical greeting and the *Oremus*. And the oration itself has been formed according to the same stylistic rules.

In this instance the *Dominus vobiscum* and the *Oremus* immediately precede the prayer, for although the entire Communion cycle must be hidden in an atmosphere of prayer, even prayer of the faithful, yet the prayer here demanded is not a prayer of public and ecclesiastical character as is the *oratio communis* which is united with the offertory. How close a bond was judged to exist between the *post-communio* and the Communion cycle (and hence with the Sacrifice-Mass) can be seen from the fact that, as the later versions of the Roman *Ordo* note, the pope did not turn to the people at the *Dominus vobiscum* but stood before the altar facing East,⁴⁷ the same attitude he assumes at the beginning of the preface when he is not to turn away any more from the gifts of sacrifice on the altar. This prescription, however, was not retained for any length of time, since it had to be conceded that the sacrifice had already been completed.⁴⁸ But for the same reason the *Flectamus genua* was never said before this oration, for surely it belongs at least to the culmination of the prayers grouped about the Eucharist.⁴⁹

Considering the contents, the theme of the *post-communio* is given by the communion just finished; and it is always the Communion of the assembled congregation that is thought of, not that of the priest alone. This rule of form was followed even in those formulas that go back only to the times when a congregational Communion was exceptional.

Relatively few formulas appear which have no connection with the Communion and present merely an oration of a more general character—a consideration of the celebration of the day⁵⁰ or some special needs.⁵¹ The rule is that the prayer begin with a grateful glance at the gifts received. The reception of the sacrament is represented either as an item in the delineation of the petitioner: *Repleti cibo potuque cælesti, sacro munere satiati*; or as a starting-point of the effect prayed for: *Hæc nos communio purget, Per huius operationem mysterii*; or else it is simply represented as a fact, either in the ablative form: *Perceptis Domine sacramentis*; or as an independent clause: *Sumpsimus Domine, Satiasti Domine*; or finally, it is worked into the course of thought in some other way.

⁴⁷ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 21 (Andrieu II, 107; PL, 78, 948 A).

⁴⁸ In the *Ordo "Postquam"* (Andrieu, II, 362; PL, 78, 994 C) that originated in the 10th century in Germany for the Bishop's Mass, provision is made for turning towards the people.

⁴⁹ Cf. *supra*, I, 369.

⁵⁰ Thus on the feast of the Annunciation (*Gratiam tuam*); on the feast of John the Baptist (*Sumat*); frequently on the feast days of Saints (among others, Commune Apostol., Commune Doctorum); in sev-

eral Vigil Masses.—The same appears in the oldest Sacramentaries, of which the Leonianum indeed gives the formulas without title; the two first named feast-day Postcommunions in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 31, 4; 125, 3).

⁵¹ Thus frequently in Votive Masses and the *orationes diversæ* of the *Missale Romanum* derived from them. In the present-day *missa tempore belli*, e.g., there is a *Postcommunio* that served as a second collect in a similar Mass of the older Gelasianum, III, 57 (Wilson, 272 f.).

If we combine all the various details in these approaches to the mention of the Sacrament, we acquire an excellent picture of Christian revelation regarding the Eucharist and Communion. What we have received is called a holy gift, a heavenly banquet, spiritual nourishment, an efficacious mystery, the Holy Body and Precious Blood. Just as in the preceding prayers of the Roman Mass, the Person of our Lord is not brought to the fore as such, wherefore there is no special impetus here to address ourselves to Christ directly. The picture that is constantly presented is a picture of the sacrifice as a whole, the sacrifice that we have offered to God along with Christ, the sacrifice in which we take part, and the petition which we direct to the Father *per Dominum nostrum*. It is the same way of looking at the Sacrament which in our own day is at the bottom of the admonition in the Roman Ritual when it advises the faithful to remain in prayer for some time after Communion, *gratias agentes Deo de tam singulari beneficio*.⁵² As a matter of fact, our thanks to God is best expressed in such a manner, even though the word "thanks" itself seldom appears, for in such words we "think of" that which God has granted.

Next, to give the picture that distinctive mark which it gets by pointing to the sacramental effects of Communion, the wording of the post-communion shifts to the petition. What we expect and implore from our partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ is the progress and final triumph of its redemptive efficacy in us: *ut quod pia devotione gerimus, certa redemptione capiamus*,⁵³ *ut inter eius membra numeremur, cuius corpori communicamus et sanguini*.⁵⁴ As part of this, deliverance from both internal and external obstacles enters in: *et a nostris mundemur occultis at ab hostium liberemur insidiis*.⁵⁵ Our bodily welfare is also mentioned time and again in the constant recurrence⁵⁶ of the antithesis of body and soul, present and future, internal and external: *et spiritualibus nos repleant alimentis et corporalibus tueantur auxiliis*.⁵⁷ But the essential effect is inward. The Sacrament must heal and strengthen us: *salvet et in tuæ veritatis luce confirmet*; it must produce in us, *ut non noster sensus in nobis, sed iugiter eius præveniat effectus*.⁵⁸ But above all, this Sacrament of fellowship is to increase love in our hearts: *ut quos uno cælesti pane satiasti, tua*

⁵² *Rituale Rom.* IV, 1, 4; cf. *Cod. Iur. Can.*, can., 810.

⁵³ Sources from the oldest sacramentaries in Mohlberg-Manz, n. 975; *Missale Rom.*, July 2.

⁵⁴ Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 58, 3); *ibid.*, further references. *Missale Rom.*, Saturday of the third week of Lent.

⁵⁵ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 295; *Missale Rom.*, Wednesday of the first week of Lent.

⁵⁶ Cf. *supra* I, 378 f.

⁵⁷ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 410; *Missale Rom.*, Wednesday of the fourth week of Lent.—The idea that the Eucharist should extend its beneficial effect to both the temporal and spiritual welfare is particularly pronounced in the older texts; see, e.g., in Leonianum: Muratori, I, 322; 328; 362; 378; 413; 420; 462.

⁵⁸ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1080; *Missale Rom.*, Aug. 13.

⁵⁹ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1177; *Missale Rom.*, 15th Sunday after Pentecost.

*facias pietate concordēs.*³⁰ We know, however, that our own free effort is co-decisive in this matter. Hence, looking at the Sacrament, we entreat *ut quos tuis reficis sacramentis, tibi etiam placitis moribus dignanter deservire concedas.*³¹ An ideal of Christian living flashes out when, after the reception of the Sacrament, we ask that we may never slip away from it: *ut (in) eius semper participatione vivamus;*³² indeed, that we may never cease giving thanks: *ut in gratiarum semper actione maneamus.*³³ The final fruit, however, that this Sacrament must give us is life eternal, as our Lord Himself has promised: *ut quod tempore nostræ mortalitatis exsequimur, immortalitatis tuæ munere consequamur.*³⁴ What occurs at the altar remains in the world of symbol and sacrament, but we desire the full actuality: *ut cuius exsequimur cultum, sentiamus effectum.*³⁵ What we have received was grand, but it was only a pledge and first payment; boldly we desire, *ut . . . beneficia potiora sumamus.*³⁶ Apropos of this, it is most generally the thought of the feast which determines what special effect is emphasized in our petition. Sometimes, too, expression is given to our consciousness that the sacrament is not the only source of grace, that faith and the profession of faith also enter in: *sacramenti susceptio et sempiternæ s. Trinitatis . . . confessio* should lead us to salvation.³⁷ On the feasts of saints the plea is generally changed only insofar as the effect of grace is petitioned *intercedente beato N.*; but there also the intercession of the saint sometimes appears alongside the efficacy of the Sacrament: *Protegat nos, Domine, cum tui perceptione sacramenti beatus Benedictus abbas pro nobis intercedendo.*³⁸

In Rome it seems that for a short time the constant variation of the post-communion was given up. The fourth Roman *ordo* has the pope after the Communion chant recite with a loud voice, *Dominus vobiscum*, and then the one oration, *Quod ore sumpsimus*, which in Rome at that time was not yet one of the private Communion prayers.³⁹ In its double progression,

³⁰ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1395; *Missale Rom.*, Friday after Ash Wednesday; cf. the *Postcommunio* on Easter.

³¹ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 110; *Missale Rom.*, Sunday within the Octave of the Epiphany.

³² Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1113; *Missale Rom.*, Aug. 22.

³³ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 785; *Missale Rom.*, Aug. 30.

³⁴ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 518; *Missale Rom.*, Maundy Thursday.

³⁵ Frequently in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 22, 3, etc.); *Missale Rom.*, Commune unius Martyris and in other places.

³⁶ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 75; *Missale Rom.*, Dec. 31.—Regarding the meaning of this

expression cf. O. Casel, *JL*, 3 (1923), 13, and other places.

³⁷ In the appendix of the later Gelasianum in Mohlberg, page 257, n. 51; *Missale Rom.*, Feast of the Trinity.

³⁸ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 998; *Missale Rom.*, Commune Abbatum.—J. Tschuor, *Das Opfermahl* (Immensee, 1942), offers summary of the Eucharistic teachings contained in the *Postcommunio* formulas of today's *Missale Romanum*.

³⁹ *Ordo "Qualiter quædam"* (Andrieu, II, 305; PL, 78, 984 C). The testimony is confirmed in the Gregorianum of the Cod. Pad. (Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 894) and the later Gelasianum (Mohlberg, n. 1567), both of which have this formula

from the food of the body to that of the spirit, and from the gift in time to the remedy which is effective in eternity, this formula in typical fashion marks the upward progress which we ought to bring to completion on the strength of this Sacrament.

and the further Postcommunion *Consequent* following the Canon; cf. above, p. 403, n. 25. See also Puniet, *Le sacramentaire de Gellone*, 214*f.; Leroquais, I, 6.—

What is most likely a relic of this arrangement is found at present in the Good Friday service, where the *Quod ore sumpsimus* supplants the *Postcommunio*.

Part IV

CLOSE OF THE MASS

1. The *Oratio super Populum*

WITH THE PRAYER OF THE THANKSGIVING AFTER COMMUNION THE service comes to an end and the assembly can disperse. However, the ancients with their sense of form and order could not have been satisfied for very long with a formless dispersal. Hence a certain procedure took shape. In addition there was a second, still stronger influence and that was the consciousness of the Christian communities of their fellowship, tied together, as it were, in Christ and united anew precisely at the divine service. Even though they separated, they were still bound to one another by means of those spiritual influences which were alive in the Church.¹ We need not be surprised, then, that they wished to see these influences again become operative before their leaving one another. To the formal declaration of the close of the service, therefore, was united a last blessing, with which the Church sent her children out into the world. In the course of centuries this blessing took on various forms, dwindled away and was built up anew, was doubled and tripled,² shifted over into the final thanksgivings and petitions which then ended up in private prayer. And so at the end of Mass there was once again a development of various forms, and it is these we want to consider more closely.

The first closing act we come upon is a prayer of blessing by which the celebrating priest calls down God's help and protection upon the people as they go back to their work. A remnant of this is seen in the *oratio super populum* during Lent. This prayer, generally described as a prayer of inclination (or bowing), is an exact parallel to those prayers at the end of the fore-Mass which we found variously used to bless those who had to leave the divine service after listening to the readings.³ As in

¹ An awareness of this even at the present is vividly voiced by E. Fiedler, *Christliche Opferfeier* (Munich, 1937), 90; the Christian, he says, should feel as if he ought to shake hands with all who are pouring out of church.—See the chapter "Collective Participation" in A. Chéry, *What Is the Mass?* (trans. L. C. Sheppard; Lon-

don, 1952), 97-104.

² In the oriental liturgies, too, there developed other blessings or blessing prayers along with the prayer of inclination common to all. Such was especially the case in the Egyptian liturgies; see Brightman, 187 f., 243 f.

³ *Supra*, I, 468 ff.

that case, so here also the prayer is preceded by a call from the deacon admonishing the people to bow before the Lord to receive the blessing. Then follows the prayer of the celebrant in the form of an oration which is answered with *Amen*. In this shape the prayer appears as a fixed part of the Mass in the ancient Roman liturgy as well as in the Egyptian and Syrian liturgies of the Orient;⁴ and since we find it in the earliest sources for these liturgies, as also in other sources of the fourth century,⁵ we can conclude that the tradition goes back at least to the third century.

In Egypt the admonition of the deacon runs as follows: Τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ κλίνειτε. ⁶ It is therefore exactly the same cry as in our Roman liturgy: *Humiliate capita vestra Deo*.⁷ In the Orient the prayer is most generally much developed.⁸ In the West-Syrian liturgy every anaphora has its own blessing prayer. In the oldest one, the anaphora of St. James, we read: "God, great and wonderful, look down upon Thy servants who have bowed their necks before Thee, stretch out Thy strong hand filled with blessings and bless Thy people, protect Thy inheritance, so that we⁹ may praise Thee now and forevermore" . . .¹⁰ It is characteristic of this blessing that the personal object is not designated as "us," as if the celebrant includes himself, but instead it is "Thy servants," "Thy people," *populus tuus, ecclesia tua, familia tua*, etc. This stylistic law has been observed almost without exception in the corresponding formulas of the Leonianum, while in the Gregorianum, to which the *Super populum* formulas of the Roman Missal go back, the law governs only a portion of the prayers.¹¹ A further distinction of the prayer with which the faith-

⁴ In the Byzantine liturgy the admonition of the deacon was gradually discontinued. The prayer of blessing was retained as εὐχή ἐπιστάμβωνος. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 521 f.

⁵ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 15, 6-11 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 232 f.).—Euchologion of Serapion (*ibid.*, 67); here the χειροθεσίη over the people is preceded by the blessing of natural things that had a place in the Roman Mass at the end of the canon.

⁶ Brightman, 186 line 33; cf. *ibid.*, 142.

⁷ This coincidence with Egyptian practice (cf. *supra*, I, 55 f.) shows that what was found in Rome was ancient tradition. In the sources the present Latin wording does not appear till about 800 in the Ordo for Lent of the city of Rome (Andrieu, III, 261; PL 78, 949 B). The Gallican version has already been noticed above, p. 296. Everywhere in Scandinavia except in the diocese of Upsala and in the missal of Abo (Turku) the deacon's admonition is written: *Inclinate capita vestra Deo*; cf. E.

Segelberg in *Eph. liturg.*, 65 (1951), 259. —But the deacon's summons is presupposed in Roman texts from the very start. For the people bowed at the prayer; this is evident from not a few formulas of the prayer of blessing, where the congregation is described as *prostrata, supplex, inclinantes se*, etc.; see the references from the Leonianum in A. Baumstark, *JL*, 7 (1927), 20, note 97. Cf. also *infra*, note 15.

⁸ See the comparative survey in L. Eisenhofer, "Untersuchungen zum Stil und Inhalt der römischen oratio super populum" (*Eph. liturg.*, 52 [1938], 258-311), 302-309.

⁹ Eisenhofer, 300, conjectures that originally this was "they": ἡμεῖς.

¹⁰ Brightman, 67.

¹¹ In 154 out of 158 instances. In the other four cases the formulas involved are really in the wrong place. Eisenhofer, 262-269, especially 267.

¹² Only 13 out of the 25 original formulas. Those that were added for the Thursdays

ful were dismissed lies in this, that the gifts petitioned—protection in peril, spiritual and corporal welfare, preservation from sin—were all implored not as in other orations, in a general way, but for the whole indefinite future: *semper, iugiter, perpetua protectione*, etc.,¹³ much as we conclude the formula of blessing which we have at present: *Benedictio . . . descendat super vos et maneat semper*. That temporal wants are not seldom given mention here is understandable, considering the place these prayers occupy, the frontier between the Church and the world. However, in the formulas of the Gelasian Sacramentaries, in contrast to those in the Leonianum, a certain spiritualization of the petitions has taken place.¹⁴ How highly the Roman people valued this blessing can be seen from an event in the year 538. Pope Vigilius had conducted the stationary service on the feast of St. Cecilia in the church of that saint and had just given out Communion; then suddenly an envoy of the emperor arrived to take the pope into custody and lead him to Byzantium. The people followed him to the ship and demanded *ut orationem ab eo acciperent*. The pope recited the oration, all the people answered *Amen*, and the ship got under way.¹⁵

One thing that seems strange about the *oratio super populum* which is still retained today is that it is only to be found in the Lenten season. That was exactly the case already in the Mass book of Gregory the Great, whereas in the Leonianum it is found in every formulary of the Mass, and in the Gelasian books it is at least scattered throughout the year. Beginning with Amalar and down to our own time there have been various attempts to explain why the *oratio super populum* is confined to Lent: Quadragesima was said to be a time of greater spiritual combat, which therefore required more blessings;¹⁶ this oration of blessing was a substitute for Communion (for one was expected to receive daily at least in this season),¹⁷ a prayer dedicated to the non-communicants;¹⁸ or a

are taken from older texts and thus follow the old rule; Eizenhöfer, 286 f.; cf., too, L. Eisenhöfer, *Zum Stil der oratio super populum des Missale Romanum: Liturg. Leben*, 5 (1938), 160-168.

¹³ C. Callewaert, "Qu'est-ce que l'oratio super populum?" (*Eph. liturg.*, 51 [1937], 310-318), 316.

¹⁴ Eisenhofer, *Untersuchungen*, 283, 297 f.

¹⁵ *Liber pont.*, ed. Duchesne, I, 297.—Moreover, the blessing formulas of the Leonianum frequently contain turns of expression to bring into bold relief the longing the people have: *suppliciter et indesinenter expectant* (Muratori, I, 339), *supplex poscit* (362), *benedictio desiderata* (441), and others. The frequency of these blessings and the procedure they followed is certified already in Ambrosiaster, *Quæstiones Vet. et Novi Test.* (about 370-

75 in Rome), q. 109 (PL, 35, 2325): *Nostri autem sacerdotes super multos quotidie nomen Domini et verba benedictionis imponunt*; even when one is holy, *curvat tamen caput ad benedictionem suam*.

¹⁶ Amalar, *Liber off.*, III, 37 (Hanssens, II, 371 f.).

¹⁷ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 51 (PL, 151, 1014 f.).

¹⁸ H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week* (London, 1904), 190.—However, it is especially to be noted that some few formulas do expressly presuppose the Communion of the one receiving the blessing. In the Leonianum there are 14 out of 158; in the older Gelasianum 9 out of 71; see statistics in Eisenhofer, *Untersuchungen*, 265; 282. Here we must also count the formulas of Ash Wednesday and

substitute for the *eulogiæ* which one received at other times,¹⁹ or the oration was originally used only as the oration at Vespers and not till later on was it taken into the Mass, which in Lent was celebrated after Vespers.²⁰ Finally an important fact is noted, a fact we have already verified elsewhere in the history of the liturgy, that especially in Lent an older tradition still continues to survive.²¹

This point without question deserves consideration. It is possible that the old blessing of the people, the *oratio super populum* as it is still called at present, could have been preserved in Quadragesima just as a series of venerable customs have been retained in the last days of Holy Week. But it will still be a mystery why the most celebrated days of Lent, the Sundays, form an exception, and why the series is broken off already at the Wednesday in Holy Week.²²

Here it will be necessary to consider the institutions of public ecclesiastical penance in the closing years of Christian antiquity. Not long after the end of the fifth century public penance must have been limited at Rome to the time of Quadragesima, in contradistinction to the former system of having it all through the year.²³ Only Sundays, even in Quadragesima, were never regarded as actual days of penance.²⁴ The end of the time of penance for the penitents was Holy Thursday, the day they were reconciled. The penance therefore embraced those very days to which, in our missal as well as in the Gregorian Sacramentary, an *oratio super populum* is assigned. But if we want to be more exact, we must point out that Quadragesima at the time of Gregory the Great began only with the first Sunday of Lent, so that the time of public penance opened the following Monday.²⁵ In addition, the Thursdays of Lent and the Saturday before Palm Sunday were aliturgical; that is, they did not as yet have

the Thursday of the first week in the present-day missal, formulas that were already to be found in the Gregorianum of the 8th century, whereas both must have been lacking in the primitive Gregorianum; see Eisenhöfer, *Untersuchungen*, 288 f.

¹⁹ Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 67 (PG, 172, 565); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 8 (PL, 213, 144).—There is no evidence that at Rome during the period under consideration there was a regular distribution of the sacred bread such as took place in Gaulish regions; cf. below, 549 f.

²⁰ Fortescue, *The Mass*, 390 f. See the refutation in Baumstark (following note).

²¹ A. Baumstark, "Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit" (*JL*, 7, 1927), 16-21, especially 20.

²² If the surmise advanced by Baumstark,

op. cit., 21; is of any value, that the invitation *Humiliate capita vestra Deo* and the corresponding demeanor were considered incompatible with the joyful character of the Sunday, it could simply have been omitted, as is done in other instances, e.g., the Ember days of Pentecost where the *Flectamus genua* and the rite that goes along with it are dropped. Besides this, there is as yet no explanation why the Wednesday of Holy Week was made the terminus.

²³ Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 13 f.

²⁴ For that reason it has been customary since the 7th century not to reckon them in the 40 days.

²⁵ Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 48-51.

any Mass, and consequently no *oratio super populum*. So if we do not count these days on which the blessing was added only later with the further development of Quadragesima, we find that the *oratio super populum* on the remaining days in the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great displays two peculiarities. In comparison with the older sacramentaries it consists of entirely new formulas, evidence therefore of a reorganization.²⁶ And in no case—as occasionally happened otherwise²⁷—does it presuppose a Communion on the part of the recipients of the blessing, which is again understandable if we keep the penitents above all in mind. But another circumstance forces us to come to the same conclusion. The history of penance shows not only that in Rome, just as elsewhere in the closing years of Christian antiquity there was an *ordo pœnitentium*, but also that the penitents during their time of penance were obliged to receive regularly the blessing of their bishop—of which there is no trace in the rich liturgical sources if the *oratio super populum* is not regarded as such. All this forces us to the conclusion that Gregory the Great, in the new arrangement of the *oratio super populum* seen in his Sacramentary, took into account the conditions of the penitential discipline. During the year he permitted the oration of blessing to be dropped; it had already been missing sporadically in the Gelasian formularies, without any clear principle apparent for its use or non-use. But during Quadragesima he retained it, since during that time the penitents at least were obliged to receive a blessing on each occasion.²⁸ True, the *oratio super populum* was still what the name implied, a blessing of all the people, who were to spend these forty days, especially in that age of constant and dire need, as a time of penance and prayer, and the words of this blessing and petition remained, as before, broad and general, embracing all temporal and spiritual wants; but the core of the penitential assembly was formed by the public sinners, who perhaps at that time had still to step forward at the call of the deacon, kneel, and receive the imposition of hands,²⁹ then remain in deep prostration with the rest of the faithful while the pope pronounced the oration of blessing.

However, this function of the *oratio super populum* in the discipline of penance seems not to have been continued for long. Among those formulas

²⁶ Eisenhofer, *Untersuchungen*, 288 f.

²⁷ *Supra*, n. 18.

²⁸ Jungmann, "Oratio super populum und altchristliche Büssersegnung," *Eph. liturg.*, 52 (1938), 77-96. The thesis that I defended in *Die Lateinischen Bussriten*, 15 ff., 38 ff., 296., 313, without the necessary checks and that therefore drew attacks from several critics, is here handled with the proper reservations and verifications. Cf. also Eisenhofer, *Untersuchungen*, 293 ff., who in consequence of his detailed

analysis with full justice rejected the hypothesis I previously proposed regarding the development of the *oratio super populum* from a private Penance Blessing, but considers the possibility that the penitents might have been included already before Gregory the Great, and asserts that such is certainly in harmony with the sombre character of so many of the formulas (295 f., 297 f.).

²⁹ Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 20 ff.

which were entered in the Gregorianum in the seventh and eighth centuries we again find, as already remarked,³⁰ those which speak of the Communion of the recipients of the blessing. The Frankish commentators make absolutely no mention about any relation to public penance, wherefore even its limitation to the Lenten season was in some instances broken through.³¹ And it could not be otherwise, because the Gregorian Sacramentary, which was originally intended for the pontifical service, where alone the blessing of the penitents came into question, was now used in the ordinary divine service. Since then the *oratio super populum* has again become simply an oration of blessing which is kept during the holy season of Lent as a piece of ancient tradition. Soon, in fact, it was not even regarded as a blessing at all, since no one except the celebrant paid any attention to the admonition to bow the head.³² So when a missal from Huesca in 1505, although not daring to suppress the oration, did however direct that it be said *submissa voce*, thus relegating it to a secondary position,³³ we cannot quarrel about the consistency of such a measure.

2. The Dismissal

Just as at the close of the fore-Mass, once the prayer of blessing had been said over those who were told to leave, there follows (at least according to some of the sources) a formal dismissal, so all the more there probably must always have been such a dismissal at the end of the entire service. One cannot expect much more than the word with which the one presiding at every well-ordered assembly ordinarily announces the close, especially when the farewell blessing has just preceded. Such announcement of the conclusion was common in ancient culture, at times even using the word *missa*.¹ In Christian usage the corresponding formula often acquired a religious or a biblical cast. Chrysostom witnesses to the use at

³⁰ *Supra* n. 18.

³¹ The Carolingian commentary on the Mass, *Primum in ordine* (PL, 138, 1186 A) notes that *orationes sacræ communionis* are said *et benedictio super populum* before the *Ite missa est*.—The 10th century Sacramentary of S. Remy at Rheims (ed. Chevalier, p. 345) presents a *benedictio super populum* in the standard Mass-ordo after the Postcommunion: *Domine sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, de abundantia misericordiarum tuarum . . .* It is the first of the formulas that the later Gelasianum presents under the title of *Benedictiones super populum* (Mohlberg, n. 1569); cf. *supra*.

³² In the 10th century this bow was cus-

tomary at least insofar as the faithful bowed at every oration said at the altar; see above I, 370 f. Even in 1090 the *oratio super populum* was considered as an actual bestowal of the blessing; cf. Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 51 (PL, 151, 1015), according to whom then a different final blessing became more and more customary only in *aliis temporibus*. The Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (about 1258) still prescribes for the *collecta super populum* the same bow (*inclinent versi ad altare caputia removens*) as for the solemn Pontifical blessing (Volk, 103).

³³ Ferreres, 248.

¹ *Supra*, I, 173, n. 37.

Antioch of the cry of the deacon: Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ² which was also customary in Egypt³ and has there remained customary.⁴ Similarly in Byzantium it runs: Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν.⁵ Among the West Syrians the religious tone is even stronger: Ἐν εἰρήνῃ Χριστοῦ πορευθῶμεν;⁶ in fact, in the Syrian form of this liturgy, the cry—which is here made by the priest—is followed by a silently spoken prayer of blessing.⁷ In all the Greek liturgies the cry is followed by the answer of the people: Ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.⁸ Turning to the West, we find a similar method in Milan, where the invitation to leave, *Procedamus cum pace* is answered by *In nomine Christi*.⁹ A longer formula, which indicates the ending of the service only retrospectively, is found in the Mozarabic Mass: *Sollemnia completa sunt in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Votum nostrum sit acceptum cum pace. R. Deo gratias*.¹⁰

Our form of dismissal, *Ite missa est*, in contrast to all these is more laconic, but true to the essential genius of the Roman liturgy. While the *Ite* corresponds exactly to the πορεύεσθε of the Egyptian liturgy, the *missa est* added thereto is somewhat unique. Here the word *missa* still has its original meaning: dismissal, conclusion.¹¹ When it was incorporated into the formula, it must have been so widely used with this meaning that it became in particular a technical expression for the conclusion of an assembly, because otherwise a phrase like *finis est* would rather have been employed. The word had this meaning at least as far back as the fourth century,¹² while, on the other hand, this meaning was no longer

² Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.*, 3, 6 (PG, 48, 870). Likewise *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 15, 10 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 23): Ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ (Cf. Lk. 7: 50 and other places).

³ Thus, namely, in the Egyptian church order, i.e., the 4th century Egyptian version of Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* (Brightman, 193).

⁴ Brightman, 142, 193, 244, 463 l. 6; Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 526.

⁵ Brightman, 343.

⁶ Brightman, 67.

⁷ Brightman, 106; Hanssens, III, 525; 527.

⁸ Brightman, 67, 142, 343. In other liturgies the summons remains without any answer.

⁹ *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 183. *Benedicamus Domino* is then added.—The invitation mentioned, along with a like answer, is also found at the conclusion of the Roman blessing for a journey; see *Brv. Rom.*, *Itinerarium*.

¹⁰ *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 567 B).

¹¹ The dismissal presented in the Stowe

Missal (ed. Warner; HBS, 32) 19, is outwardly similar: *Missa acta est. In pace*. But here *missa* is already used with the meaning of "Mass." The formula is probably an attempt to amend the Latin dismissal formula which was no longer understood at the time (9th cent.).

¹² Cf. *supra*, I, 173. See Fortescue, *The Mass*, 399-400.

¹³ That becomes most evident from the fact that the word survives in the Byzantine court ceremonial in the form μίσσα or μίσσα with the meaning, "Dismissal from the audience and the session"; Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 6 (1940), 88-92; cf. the entire study "Ite Missa est": *ibid.*, 81-132. In church use, too, the word *missa* for dismissal from divine service is verified since the end of the 4th century, among others in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, c. 25, 1 f.; cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 36; 38. The hypothesis of Th. Michels, "Ite Missa est—Deo gratias," *Per hanc lucis viam*, 8 (Salzburg, 1929), Benediktinerkolleg, who assumes that the formula is

current even in the early Middle Ages. So even if the first literary evidence for the *Ite missa est* is found in the Roman *ordines*,¹⁴ we will not be blundering if we hold that this formula is as old as the Latin Mass itself.¹⁵ A corroborating argument is found in the fact that similar formulas were prevalent in the everyday social life of the Romans. After a funeral the assembled mourners were dismissed with the word *Ilicet* = *Ire licet*.¹⁶ According to the bronze tablets of Iguvium (Gubbio in Umbria) from the last century before Christ, the conjoined blessing of the people and cursing of the strangers closed with the cry: *Itote Iguvini*.¹⁷ Other formulas were stipulated for the conclusion of gatherings in political life.¹⁸

The dismissal in the Roman Mass is given emphasis and at the same time a religious framework by being introduced with the *Dominus vobiscum* and answered by the *Deo gratias* of the people. In substance the *Dominus vobiscum* merely takes the place of the vocative of address which ought otherwise to precede the imperative *Ite*.¹⁹ Even at high Mass this *Dominus vobiscum* is pronounced by the celebrant, so that the deacon appears only as his organ when he announces the dismissal. The *Deo gratias* with which this announcement is answered is an exact parallel to that which the people (according to the liturgical sources of the early Middle Ages) also answered the announcement of the coming feast days.²⁰ It is therefore only an acknowledgment that the message has been received, but is imbedded in that fundamental Christian sentiment of thanksgiving.²¹

At Rome the *Ite missa est* was originally used at every Mass²² no

an abbreviation of a more complete *Ec-clesia missa est*, is, to say the least, superfluous; but see also the refutation by Dölger, 117-120; the rejection by D. Casel, *JL*, 9 (1929), 174.

¹⁴ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 21 (Andrieu, II, 107; PL, 78, 948); *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 109); *Ordo* of S. Amand (*ibid.*, II, 167).—A clue in any event already in Avitus of Vienna, *Ep.* 1 (PL, 59, 199; *supra* I, 173, n. 37).

¹⁵ Cf. Dölger, *op. cit.*, 107 ff., who concludes that the formula must have been in use already in the year 400, but that a dismissal "with this or an almost similar formula" must already be presupposed in Tertullian, *De an.*, c. 9 (CSEL, 20, 310) when he says of the end of the Mass: *post transacta sollemnia dimissa plebe*.

¹⁶ Thus, according to Servius, we are to understand the passage about the *novissima verba* in Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 231. Dölger, 123 f.

¹⁷ Dölger, 130 f. Thus, according to Apuleius, *Metamorph.*, XI, 17, the concluding

invitation at the Isis celebration: λαοὶ ἄφρονες, which is rendered by the Humanists as *populis missio*. However, the Greek text has been attacked by critics. Dölger, 124-130.

¹⁸ Senate sessions at the time of the Roman Republic were concluded with the words: *Nemo vos tenet*. The committees at the time of the emperor were dismissed with: *Nihil vos moramur, patres conscripti*. Livy, II, 56, 12 gives the dismissal formula, spoken by the tribune: *Si vobis videtur, discedite Quirites*. Dölger, 122.

¹⁹ Above, I, 361. Untenable is the explanation, as Gühr gives it, 798, according to which the greeting is there only "in order to maintain between priest and people an active, lively intercourse."

²⁰ *Supra*, I, 420 f.

²¹ *Supra*, I, 420.

²² Both the older *ordines* (*supra*, note 14) and the later ones mention only the *Ite Missa est*; see *Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 15 (Andrieu, II, 226; PL, 78, 976); *Ordo 'Postquam'* for a Bishop's Mass, (Andrieu,

matter what its character,²³ and probably also at the end of other services.²⁴ On the other hand, the *Benedicamus Domino* could have been a concluding formula of the Gallican liturgy. For although there are apparently no signs of it in Roman sources before the year 1000,²⁵ we find traces of it considerably earlier in Frankish territory. The *Ordo Angilberti*, of about the year 800, in describing the order of Communion on high festivals, mentions that after the *completio missæ* the people left *laudantes Deum et benedicentes Dominum*.²⁶ In an *ordo* for the sick from about the same time we read after the giving of Communion: *Tunc data oratione in fine dicat sacerdos: Benedicamus Domino. Et respondeant omnes: Deo gratias, et expletum est*.²⁷

In the eleventh century, however, an adjustment was made between these two formulas, such as we have at present: the *Ite missa est* is used whenever there is a *Gloria*; the: *Benedicamus Domino* on the other days.²⁸ But efforts were made to find a deeper reason for this merely outward division. The days with *Ite missa est* are days of a festive character, when the entire populace is assembled, so that the invitation to leave at the end of service has a meaning, while the days with *Benedicamus Domino* are days when only the *religiosi*, the pious whose life is more especially devoted to spiritual service, are present; wherefore the priest, without turning around, urges them, and himself with them, to continue praising God.²⁹ That this explanation for the present-day arrangement does not reach deep enough is seen from the use of the *Benedicamus Domino*, amongst other times,³⁰ on the Sundays of Advent and from Septuagesima on.³¹ Besides, if people had been so sensitive about the communal character of each celebration, then we would have had to omit many other things, at least at private Mass, for instance, the *Dominus vobiscum*. The *Benedicamus Domino* was as much a formula of departure for the assembled faithful as the *Ite missa est*. Hence, like it, it receives the

II, 32; PL, 78, 994).

²³ The Roman *Ordo* for Lent (Andrieu, III, 260 f.; PL, 78, 949) certifies it for Ash Wednesday and the Lenten season.

²⁴ However, it will be difficult to follow Dölger, 95, in finding a reference to it in the so-called Litany of Beauvais; cf. above I, 390, n. 70.

²⁵ It appears about the middle of the 12th century in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.*, both in the Office and in the Mass (ed. Fischer, p. 1 and *passim*; see the Register, p. 165); cf. *Ordo* of Benedict, n. 8 f. (PL, 78, 1029 f.). The surprising stress given to the formula makes it evident that it had hardly had time to become familiar.

²⁶ Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 323.

²⁷ Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitulare*, II (PL,

105, 222 C). Amalar, *Liber off.*, IV, 45, 5 (Hanssens, II, 541; cf. III, 445), witnesses to the *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* as the regular conclusion of the Office.—Cf. also the *Benedicamus Domino* in the Milanese liturgy, *supra*, n. 9.

²⁸ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 19 (PL, 151, 990). The same rule held at Rome in the 12th century; *Ordo Eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 3 l. 30; 65 l. 20).

²⁹ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 46 (PL, 151, 1011). Similarly Durandus, IV, 57, 7.

³⁰ Cf. also the *Benedicamus Domino* in

Theodulf, above, n. 27.

³¹ Hardly opposed to this is the reason suggested by Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 46 (PL, 151, 1011 D), that the latter application occurs *pro tristitia temporis insinuanda*.

response *Deo gratias*.³² But here the dismissal is given a religious turn, just as the acknowledgment of the message receives a religious expression in the *Deo gratias*. However, we must admit that when the lines were drawn for the use of the two formulas, considerations like those referred to above, especially the solemn character of certain festivals, played a part.³³ Also when the divine service was continued, as at the midnight Mass of Christmas, when Lauds followed, or on Maundy Thursday and the vigils of Easter and Pentecost, preference was given to the invitation to praise God, *Benedicamus Domino*.³⁴ Since the *Ite missa est* was considered an expression of joy, it had to disappear from the Requiem Mass. So we find that since the twelfth century the *Requiescant in pace* begins to supplant it.³⁵

When the herald in olden times announced the conclusion of an assembly, he did so with a corresponding raising of his voice. The judge, the official of the state, remembering his dignity, speaks in a moderate tone, but the herald lets his cry resound loudly over the whole assembly. It could not be much different in the case of a dismissal from divine service.³⁶ As a further step, the *Ite missa est* must soon have been provided with a special singing tone. Already in the tenth century there must have been various melodies which were richly adorned with melismas; for this time also marks the appearance of tropes, the expanding texts which set a syllable to each note of the melody.³⁷ On the other hand, there seem

³² Kössing, *Liturgische Vorlesungen*, 593, had already called attention to it.—The decision of the Congregation of Rites, Oct. 7, 1816 (*Decreta auth. SRC.*, n. 2572, 22), that the celebrant at a solemn Mass was to say softly not the *Ite* but the *Benedicamus* and *Requiescant*, is probably to be explained by the prayer-like character of these two formulas.

³³ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 303, refers to the combination of the *Ite missa est* with the *Gloria* and conjectures that the *Ite missa est* like the *Gloria* originally belonged to the Bishop's Mass. Dölger, 91 f., adds that such inclusion in the Bishop's Mass would be understandable, if not only the expression *missa*, but also the formula *Ite missa est* were a part to the imperial court manners, from which, since the time of Constantine, a few practices passed over to the bishops with the transfer of the privileges and honors. But this is all just a matter of assumptions. It is to be especially noted that there are no traces of the *Benedicamus Domino* in the pre-Carolingian Roman liturgy.

³⁴ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 34, 46 (PL, 151, 1005; 1011); cf. John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 49 (PL, 202, 56).

³⁵ Stephan of Baugé (d. 1139), *De sacr. altaris*, c. 18 (PL, 172, 1303); John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 49 (PL, 202, 56).

³⁶ Dölger, 132, recalls Cassian, *De inst. cænob.*, XI, 16 (CSEL, 17, 202), and the Commentary of Smaragdus (d. 830) c. 17 of the rule of St. Benedict: *levita . . . elevata voce cantat: Ite missa est* (Dölger, 119 f.; otherwise, however, the text in Migne, PL, 102, 837 C).

³⁷ Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, I, p. 407-416. A trope of this kind that appears in the 12th century in Seckau reads: *Ite, Deo servite, Spiritus Sanctus super vos sit, iam missa est. Deo potenti nobis miserenti, ipsi demus dignas laudes et gratias*; *loc. cit.*, 411. The same trope among others in the Regensburg Missal of 1485 which contains a series of other tropes and *Ite missa est* melodies; Beck, 240 f. From the fact that no corresponding trope text is given for the *Deo gratias* it became clear that the wording presented

to have been no tropes for the *Benedicamus Domino* in the Mass.³⁸

The *Ite missa est* has kept another sensible expression of its function as a call to the people: just like the greetings, it is pronounced with face turned to the people. Hence this cry has always remained a manifest closing point of the service.³⁹

3. Leaving the Altar

In the first Roman *ordo*, when the deacon had sung the *Ite missa est*, the seven torch-bearers and the subdeacon with the censer begin to move and precede the pope to the *secretarium*.¹ The *Ite missa est* was therefore the real conclusion of the Mass. Among the Carthusians even today the priest leaves the altar immediately after these words.² There is only a short ceremony, perhaps accidentally omitted from the first Roman *ordo*:³ the kiss of the altar as a farewell salute, the counterpart of the kiss of greeting at the beginning of Mass.⁴

This or a similar farewell salute is also customary in other liturgies. Amongst the West-Syrian Jacobites we also find the kiss, which is followed by a three-fold farewell of highly poetic beauty. It begins: "Remain in peace, holy and divine altar of the Lord. I know not whether I shall return to you again or no. May the Lord grant that I may see you in the church of the First-born in heaven." In this covenant I put my confidence."⁵

In the Roman Mass in the Frankish area an accompanying word was also added to this kiss of the altar, just as was done at the beginning with the kiss of greeting; these are the only kisses of the altar customary at that time. The Sacramentary of Amiens in the ninth century ordains: *Expleto officio sanctum osculatur altare dicens: Placeat tibi sancta Trin-*

was to be sung by the priest (or deacon). —In Croatian country parishes the trope *Ite benedicti et electi* (Blume, p. 412) is still sung today. D. Kniewald, *Eph. liturg.*, 54 (1940), 222.

³⁸ Blume, *loc. cit.*, quotes no *Benedicamus* tropes. The Regensburg missal just mentioned gives only one melody, without tropes, for the *Benedicamus Domino*; Beck, 241.—On the other hand, the *Benedicamus Domino* at the end of the Office is not only supplied with tropes already in the 11-12th centuries but is already the object of early and tentative polyphonic efforts. Ursprung, 120 f.

³⁹ In many French Cathedrals in the 18th century the deacon turned to the north at the *Ite missa est*; de Moléon, 11; 169; 429. Here the same sort of symbolism that determined the deacon's position at the

reading of the Gospel seems to have come into play.

¹ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 21 (Andrieu, II, 107; PL, 78, 948).

² He does add the *Placeat* (but this serves as a private prayer), and at the foot of the altar, according to a later prescription, he says a *Pater noster*.

³ So also Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 2 (1930), 193.

⁴ Above I, 314 f. The explanation frequently put forward, that the priest in kissing the altar must first himself accept the blessing (and similarly in other instances the greeting for the people) from Christ, goes to pieces in view of the fact that this kissing of the altar occurs also in the Mass of the Dead, where no blessing follows.

⁵ Hebr. 12: 23.

⁶ Brightman, 109.

itas.⁷ This prayer, which in the following centuries was used everywhere, although not universally,⁸ was of Gallic origin, as is plain from the fact that it is addressed to the Trinity.⁹ It is a very natural idea when leaving the table of sacrifice to beg once more for God's gracious glance on that which happened there. Here again the dual meaning of the offering appears: honor to God's majesty, that our actions may find gracious acceptance, and a plea for our own needs and those of others, that they may be graciously heard.

As the only prayer after Communion, the *Placeat* is recited in the middle of the altar, because it is an accompaniment to the act of kissing. Since this is a personal action of the priest, the prayer is kept in the singular. As a counterpart to the *Oramus te Domine* which is attached to the altar kiss at the beginning of Mass and which is likewise a plea for the priest's own person (*peccata mea*), the *Placeat* is also distinguished by the fact that it is recited with a deep bow, the hands resting on the altar, and in a quiet voice.¹⁰ In the Mass books from the eleventh to the thirteenth century the *Placeat* is often joined by a second prayer which more clearly shows the relationship to the altar kiss: *Meritum et intercessionibus omnium*

⁷ Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 444. The prayer has the exact wording as today, but the concluding formula is missing (the expressions used in the conclusion of the prayer also in the apologia *Deus qui de indignis*; *ibid.*, 440 f.). Thereupon follows only a prayer after the removal of the vestments.—Likewise in union with the kissing of the altar in the Sacramentary of Le Mans (9th cent.): Leroquais, I, 31; in the Sacramentary of Fulda (10th cent.): Richter-Schönfelder, n. 28; in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus: PL, 78, 245 B.—The explicit connection with the kissing of the altar is almost universal in the older texts; see also Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 22 (PL, 151, 992): *osculatur sacerdos altare dicens*. Likewise the contemporary Missal of St. Vincent (where, exceptionally, the text is expanded by the addition of a mention of the dead, etc.): Fiala, 216. An example from the 14th cent.: Ebner, 175.

⁸ In Germany in the 14th century a more emphatic recommendation was needed, one, moreover, that was supported by a legend; Franz, 511. The prayer is missing also in several English Mass arrangements, e.g., that of York (Simmons, 116).

⁹ The Sacramentary of S. Denis (11th cent.): Martène, I, 4, V (I, 528 B), has the Gallican ending: . . . *propitiabile. Per te Trinitas sancta, cuius gloriosum re-*

gnum permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Spanish Mass arrangements since the 11th century present the ending: . . . *propitiabile. Rex regum qui* (several MSS. expand: *in Trinitate perfecta*) *vivis*; Ferreres, 208; 210. But ordinarily the prayer ends with *Qui vivis*; thus in the Mass arrangement of Sées (PL, 78, 251 A), and in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 8, IV (I, 517 B), and so, too, at the end of the Middle Ages, e.g., *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 49 f.; *Ordinarium* of Coutances: *ibid.*, 67.—The conclusion *Per Christum* is found in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 995), and appears to have been customary in Italy since the 11th century if the citations in Ebner, 229; 302; 317; 324; 331; 339 ("as now") are to be referred also to the conclusion. Also in German Mass-books, Beck, 272; 311. By using the *Per Christum* conclusion, the Roman Missal adopts the same compromise that it did in the case of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* (above, p. 46 f.); in fact these two prayers are kindred in type, especially in the prominence given to the *offerre pro*.

¹⁰ It is only exceptionally that there is explicit mention during the Middle Ages of the bowed position at the *Placeat*, e.g., in the Augsburg Missal of 1368 (Hoeyneck, 376) in the *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (Legg, *Tracts*, 49).

sanctorum suorum misereatur nobis omnipotens Dominus.¹¹ This prayer, which as a rule appears only where the kiss of the altar is previously mentioned, obviously parallels the notice of the altar relics in the *Oramus te Domine* at the beginning. Often it was expanded to the form: *Meritum et intercessionibus istorum et omnium sanctorum*.¹² As a consequence of these additions, the special meaning of the altar kiss as a farewell salute had become somewhat clouded by the end of the Middle Ages.¹³

4. The Closing Blessing of the Priest

At present when the bishop leaves the cathedral after a pontifical high Mass, he passes through the ranks of the faithful blessing them while they genuflect to receive his benediction. Something similar took place at the close of the Roman stational service, as recounted in the first Roman *ordo*. When the pope had left the altar after the *Ite missa est*, with the thurifer and the seven torch-bearers going on ahead and accompanied by the deacons,¹ the bishops stepped forward and said, *Iube domne benedicere*, whereupon the pope answered, *Benedicat nos Dominus*. The same was done by the priests, then by the monks.² Next the *schola* approached and intoned the same petition and answered with a loud *Amen*.³ As the entourage advanced, the noble banner-bearers (*militēs draconarii*), the light-carriers, the acolytes who had charge of the doors, the cross-bearers and the other officials of the divine service did the same.⁴

¹¹ Mass-*ordo* of Séz: PL, 78, 251 A; cf. the related Mass arrangements: Martène, IV, XV (I 517 B, 594 C); I, 4, 9, 9 (I, 424 E). Ebner, 20; 139; 158; 164; 169; 311; 331; 349; Köck, 135 (three examples). Two cases still of the 15th century; Ebner, 158; Köck, 136.—Two Cistercian missals of the 13th century from Tarra-gona: Ferreres, 210. The prayer also accompanied kissing the altar in the Cistercian ritual of the 17th century: Bona, II, 20, 4 (905); Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 265.—The formula preceding the *Placeat*: Ebner, 189.—In individual instances this prayer appears alone without a preceding *Placeat*: Sacramentary of Modena (before 1173: Muratori, I, 95; Seckau Missale about 1170: Köck, 135 (n. 479)).—In a Venetian MS. at the end of the 11th century the sentence is combined with several parallel formulas: Ebner, 20.

¹² *Vetus Missale Lateranense* (about 1100): Ebner, 169. Likewise in the Cistercian Missal since the 13th century (preceding note); also already in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 517 B).

With regard to the *istorum* cf. *supra* 60.

¹³ But it is remarkable that in the Mass-*ordo* of Regensburg about 1500 a new farewell kiss should appear; before closing the book the priest kisses the cross in the Missal; Beck, 272.

¹ Cf. *Ordo* of St Amand (Andrieu, II, 167).

² Thus far also the *Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 15 (Andrieu, II, 227; PL, 78, 976), but with the variant *vos* instead of *nos*. Cf. also Tertullian, *De test. an.*, c. 2 (CSEL, 20, 136), where this phrase is used as a Christian dictum: *Benedicat te Deus*.

³ That each of the groups came forward for the blessing is the interpretation found in the Frankish abstract of *Ordo Rom.* I (Andrieu, II, 227; PL, 78, 984). According to the *Ordo "In primis"* for Episcopal Mass (Andrieu, II, 336; PL, 78, 990), the *schola* asks the blessing last of all and responds with a loud *Amen*. This is not indicated in the papal Mass.

⁴ For the above in general, *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 21 (Andrieu, II, 108; PL, 78, 948).

Such a blessing on leaving was a very ancient episcopal practice.⁵ In the northern countries, even if it was not always the practice, still it became customary at least upon acceptance of the Roman liturgy.⁶ It was first of all the privilege of the bishop. It was in the northern countries precisely that old laws, that the simple priest was not allowed to give the blessing⁷ at public service,⁸ were not forgotten. The Carolingian legal codes stressed this prescription anew because they wished to protect the superior position of the episcopate.⁹ But, besides this, a second interpretation was abroad and already partly anchored even in the *canones*; this too, denied the priest the right to bless even at the final blessing of the Mass, but only *præsente episcopo*.¹⁰ Accordingly, in the Gallican Mass of the seventh

⁵ *Aetheriae Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 2 (CSEL, 39, 71): *Et post hoc* (at the end of the daily morning service, after the oration of blessing over the people) . . . *omnes ad manum ei accedunt et ille eos uno et uno benedicet exiens iam, et sic fit missa*. The *ad manum accedere* could mean that the bishop in passing placed his hands upon the individuals who knelt along the way; cf. Council of Laodicea, can. 19 (Mansi, II, 567), where the penitents after the Mass of the catechumens, before their departure approached ὑπὸ χεῖρα, i. e., for the imposing of the hands; cf. above, I, 477, n. 18.—Ambrose, *Ep.*, 22, 2 (PL, 16, 1020).—This by no means excludes the possibility that a kissing of the hand is meant, as Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 3 (1932), 248; 6 (1940), 98, assumes.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, notes 2 and 3.

⁷ This was decided with special firmness by the Synod of Agde (506), can. 44 (Mansi, VIII, 332): *Benedictionem super plebem in ecclesia fundere . . . presbytero penitus non licebit*.

⁸ The priest's right to bestow a blessing privately *per familias, per agros, per privatas domos* was recognized already at the Council of Riez (439), can. 5, al. 4 (Mansi, V, 1193).

⁹ Benedictus Levita, *Capitularum collectio*, III, 225 and *Add.*, IV, 71 (PL, 97, 826; 898); Herard of Tours, *Capitularia*, n. 78 (PL, 121, 769). It is quite possible, however, that the precise point against which these renewed prohibitions were directed was that the solemn Gallican pontifical blessing, which some of the bishops had incorporated into the Roman Mass, was being employed also by priests (*benedictionem publice fundere*).

¹⁰ In the first Council of Orleans (511), can. 26 (Mansi, VIII, 355) it was decreed: . . . *populus non ante discedat, quam missæ sollemnitas compleatur, et ubi episcopus fuerit, benedictionem accipiat sacerdotis*. In virtue of this decision and in accordance with the older phrase of the development of the law (in the Gallican Mass) only one concluding blessing of the bishop, who might be present, was permitted (cf. above, p. 296 f.). The canon was passed on in the medieval collection of laws, but already in the Hispana (before 633) it appears with a variant that changes the meaning: *ubi episcopus defuerit* (if no bishop is present one should receive the blessing of the *sacerdos* = the priest) which, as a matter of fact, was in accordance with can. 7 of the II Council of Seville (619; ; Mansi, X, 559) and a documented practice at about the turn of the 6th century. J. Lechner, *Der Schlussegen des Priesters in der hl. Messe* (Festschrift E. Eichmann; Paderborn, 1940) 654 ff., 658 f. Already at the beginning of the 7th century pseudo-Jerome, *De septem ordinibus ecclesiæ* (PL, 30, 148-162; respectively, 152-167), bids for the same interpretation; Lechner, 666-672.—With what concern the 7th century regarded the special privilege of the bishop in this matter of blessing is seen clearly in the listing "*De gradibus in quibus Christus adfuit*" which is found, *inter alia*, in the missal of Bobbio (ed. Lowe: HBS, 58, p. 178): Christ exercised the episcopal office when he raised his hands over the disciples and blessed them. Regarding the theological rapport of this view with other matters, see W. Croce, "Die niederen Weihen und

century, there was a practice of a closing priestly blessing after the *Pater noster*.¹¹

It was but natural that the defenders of the Gallican tradition and the rights (there included) of the priest should not want to abandon this right of the priest to bless, especially since it was possible as always, to rest their claim upon the desire of the people and their spiritual needs.¹² In the transition to the Roman Mass, i. e., at first to the Gelasian Sacramentaries, a prayer of blessing *super populum* at the end of Mass was to be found in a large portion of the Mass formularies, and this was even preceded by a formal invitation to receive the blessing. At the same time a transfer of the blessing to the real end of the Mass could be welcomed, because the exit of the non-communicants right after the *Pater noster* would have looked almost like a universal flight from the house of God. But when the further transition was made to the Gregorian Sacramentary and only the post-communion remained as the *ultima benedictio*,¹³ many would not see therein a proper substitute and therefore, insofar as the *oratio super populum* was not kept in the ordinary plan of the Mass,¹⁴ they began to fix their attention on the gesture and phrase of blessing as they were prescribed by the Roman *ordines* at the recession from the altar. This manner of blessing must then have become widespread by the end of the eleventh century.¹⁵

Apropos of this, however, it is surprising that the true liturgical sources do not mention this new closing blessing until considerably later. For the liturgical texts not only of the eleventh century but even those of the twelfth are almost entirely silent about the matter.¹⁶ This is quite understandable, though, because first, the blessing was not given till "after the Mass"—and even today in many churches there are various additamenta "after the Mass" which are not to be found in any liturgical book; and because, secondly, liturgists still regarded the action as not justifiable and would rather not talk about it. But because occasionally even in the later Middle Ages there were *ordines* of the Mass—and among them some which describe the close of the Mass in exact detail—which leave out any reference to a blessing, we are forced to infer that the blessing was really not given in many places. And this is true especially¹⁷ in monastery

ihre hierarchische Wertung," *ZkTh*, 70 (1948), 297 f.

¹¹ *Supra*, p. 294 f.

¹² Lechner, 662; 672; 683 f.

¹³ *Supra*, p. 343, n. 11.

¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 432.

¹⁵ We must agree with Lechner, 679 f., that the final priestly blessing goes back to the time of Charlemagne, even though his more detailed explanation is incomplete, as indicated.

¹⁶ The Sacramentary of Brescia at the close of the 11th century is an exception, with

the direction, *finita missa*, to bless the people: *Benedictio Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos*. For the rest, the Italian Mass-books even at the turn of the 12th century make no mention of the blessing; see, e.g., Ebner, 334-336.

¹⁷ Not exclusively. In England none of the four Mass-arrangements from the end of the Middle Ages presented by Maskell, 202 f., has a blessing of the people. Two of them have the phrase *In nomine Patris* . . . follow immediately upon the *Placeat*,

churches, where many private Masses were said and consequently there was no need of a blessing. In this sense the Dominican *Ordinarium* of 1256 concludes the Mass *ordo* with the remark: *Et si consuetudo patriæ fuerit et extranei affuerint hoc expectantes, det benedictionem secundum modum patriæ*.¹⁸ The silence especially of the monastic Mass books at the end of the Middle Ages must be understood, as a rule, as implying that the blessing was omitted. The Benedictines,¹⁹ Cistercians,²⁰ Premonstratensians,²¹ and Dominicans²² did not incorporate the final blessing in their Mass-plans until later, and the Carthusians have not done so even to this day.²³

On the other hand, another final blessing at the Sunday high Mass was to be found precisely in monasteries; namely, a blessing of the reader at table for the coming week.²⁴

The citation of a special formula of blessing was generally superfluous, because ordinarily the form used was the form common in that particular country, the same as that always in use at private blessings.²⁵ Consequently,

a phrase probably combined with the making of the sign of the cross on one's own person; cf. below, n. 31. In some French cathedrals also there was no final blessing at the High Mass even as late as 1700; de Moléon, 159, 169; cf. 200.

¹⁸ Guerrini, 245. The same note also in the Carmelite Ordinal (about 1312; ed. Zimmermann, 84); also in a Carmelite Missal of 1514 (according to Eisenhöfer, II, 223).

¹⁹ The concluding blessing is still lacking in the Missal of the monastery of Fécamp about 1300 and 1400; Martène, I, 4, XXVI f. (I, 638, 642); in the Lyons monastic missal of 1531; *ibid.*, XXXIII (I, 661 D). In this connection it is worth remarking that the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 97), which otherwise generally repeats the Dominican *Ordinarium* word for word, passes up the above-mentioned note as superfluous.

²⁰ As Bona, II, 20, 4 (905), remarks, the blessing was first introduced *paucis abhinc annis* (his works appeared 1671); cf. Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 266 f.

²¹ The bestowal of the blessing is included in the *Liber ordinarius* for the first time in 1622; Waefelghem, 98, note 0.

²² A Dominican Missal that appeared at Venice in 1562 still has no concluding blessing; Ferreres, 213.

²³ A writing of the 15th century alleges as

the reason for this, because they have no congregations; Franz, 595.

²⁴ Regula s. Benedicti, c. 38: *Qui ingrediens post missas et communionem petat ab omnibus pro se orari, ut avertat ab ipso Deus spiritum elationis*. He himself begins three times: *Domine labia mea aperies*, whereupon he receives the blessing.—Later this blessing was at times incorporated in the liturgy of the Mass; see already the Sacramentary of Fulda (Richter-Schönfelder, n. 29), as an appendix to the Mass-*ordo*; a few versicles are said over the reader and then the blessing formula: *Dominus custodiat introitum tuum et exitum tuum et auferat a te spiritum elationis*. Cf. Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 34 (PL, 149, 725 r.); *Missale Westmonasteriense* (about 1380), ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 524, and the editor's commentary (HBS, 12), 1506 with reference to the Monastic *Consuetudines* of the 11th century. See also the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 97, 1. 16), where the blessing follows the *Placeat*; the Missal of Monte Vergine (15th cent.; Ebner, 158), where it follows the *Ite missa est*. Cf. Köck, 59; Radó, 56; de Moléon, 135; 392; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 267 f.

²⁵ *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 cited above. Two Minorite Missals of the 13th and 13-14th centuries (Ebner, 317, 351) give only the blessing without indicating any accompanying formula; so also the Augsburg Missal of 1386 (Hoeynck, 376).

where the texts of blessings are mentioned, we find the most diverse formulations.

However, the connection with the blessing as it was described in the Roman *ordo* and as it became ever more strongly anchored in the episcopal service, remained clearly evident. The liturgical commentators pay more and more attention to this episcopal blessing.²⁶ As far back as the middle of the twelfth century, even in Rome, this blessing was no longer given on leaving, but imparted from the altar.²⁷ At the beginning of the fourteenth century we find it in a heightened form.²⁸ It is the same ceremonial that has become customary at episcopal pontifical Mass and also in the episcopal private Mass.²⁹ Even in the later Middle Ages this Roman method of imparting the blessing had often become current also outside of Rome and Italy.³⁰ Thus, the living model of the episcopal rite could gradually have encouraged the sacerdotal blessing, all the more so in northern countries, since the episcopal blessing given in this place—perhaps generally on less festive occasions—did not have the solemn form of the Gallic pontifical blessing, which was always reserved to the bishop. But we also recall at once the simple *Benedicat nos Dominus* of the Roman rubric booklets when, in the accounts of the sacerdotal blessing that now begin to be more plain and outspoken, we find frequent mention made of the priest blessing himself³¹ or when, in addition, formulas appear which begin with the same words (and by degrees become more expanded)³²

²⁶ Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, III, 8 (PL, 213, 143); Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 14 (PL, 217, 914); cf. Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 59.

²⁷ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 87, 1. 18).

²⁸ *Ordo* of Cardinal Stefaneschi, n. 53 (PL, 78, 1169 D): beforehand the pope should sing *cum nota: Sit nomen Domini benedictum*.

²⁹ *Cæremoniale episc.*, I, 25; I, 29, 11. In the solemn pontifical Mass, when no sermon was preached after the Gospel, the *publicatio indulgentiæ* (cf. above, I, 494), the announcement of 40 days or 100 days indulgence, occurs here in connection with the blessing.

³⁰ *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (about 1285; Volk, 103, 1. 32). About the same time Durandus mentions this bestowal of the blessing in his Pontifical beside the Gallican Pontifical blessing, and he considers it a less solemn method used by the bishop when he imparts the blessing at the end of the Office or a Mass that was not celebrated by himself. On the contrary, this final blessing in the Mass would not be necessary, if the solemn pontifical bless-

ing mentioned before had been given. Martène, I, 4, XXIII (I, 623 C); Andrieu, *Le Pontifical*, III, 655 f. Cf. too Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 59, 7.

³¹ Thus in the Sarum Ordinary of the 13th century (Legg, *Tracts*, 228): confession of one's faults with *In nomine Patris . . .*; likewise in the later texts of the Sarum: *ibid.*, 268 and Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 671 B). There is no particular notice at all here of a blessing of the people.

³² Missal of Paris of the 14th century (Leroquais, II, 182): *Benedicat nos Deus omnipotens P. et F. et Sp. S.*; Missal of Toul (about 1400; Martène, I, 4, XXXI ([I, 652 E])): *Benedicat nos divina maiestas et una Deitas, Pater . . .*; German missals of the 15-16th centuries (Köck, 136; Beck, 310; cf. 272): *Benedictione celesti benedicat nos divina maiestas et una Deitas . . .*; the Mass arrangement "Indutus planeta" (Legg, *Tracts*, 188): *Benedicat nos et custodiat omnipotens Dominus Pater . . .*; Mass-*ordo* of Bec (Martène, I, 4, XXXVI ([I, 675 D])): *Dominus nos benedicat . . .* (with broader execution); a Franciscan missal of the 13th century (Leroquais, II,

or which in some other way modestly include the one imparting the blessing.³³ Formulas or variants that employ the word *vos* appear comparatively seldom: *Benedicat vos*,³⁴ *Benedictio . . . descendat et maneat super vos*, and so forth.³⁵ The formula in use today, *Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus*, appears (amongst other places) at the Synod of Albi (1230).³⁶

Here and there, however, the solemnity of the concluding sacerdotal blessing began gradually to increase, taking on forms which, according to modern ideas, belong to the episcopal rite. There are introductory versicles, which have been used even in the thirteenth century as a specialty of the episcopal rite:³⁷ *Sit nomen Domini benedictum . . .* and *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini*.³⁸ The words of blessing are accompanied

129): *In unitate Sancti Spiritus benedicat nos Pater . . .*

³³ *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (Legg, *Tracts*, 51): *Et benedictio . . . descendat super nos . . .* Custom of Tongern in the 15-16th centuries (de Corswarem, 144): *Benedicat et custodiat nos et vos divina maiestas . . .*

³⁴ Cf. nevertheless the above, n. 16.

³⁵ Salzburg Missal of the 12-13th centuries: Köck, 135.

³⁶ P. Browe, *Eph liturg.*, 45 (1931), 384. The formula is also in the Ordo of Card. Stefaneschi (about 1311), n. 71 (PL, 78, 1192 A).—Durandus gives two other blessing formulas with *vos*; Durandus, *Instructiones et constitutiones* (ed. Berthelé, p. 77; Browe, 384, n. 4.: *In unitate Sancti Spiritus benedicat vos Pater et Filius; Benedicat et custodiat vos omnipotens Dominus P. et F. et Sp. S.* A missal from Metz dated 1324 (Leroquais, II, 208): *Benedicat vos divina maiestas, una Deitas . . .* In Germany about 1450 we have the witness of Egeling Becker for the formula: *Cælesti benedictione benedicat vos et custodiat vos P. et F. et Sp. S.*; Franz, 549. Similar forms were also typical in the Scandinavian countries: Segelberg, *Eph. liturg.*, 65 (1951), 260.

³⁷ Durandus, IV, 59, 7.—Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect. 89, finds himself confused by the fact that even priests use this versicle.

³⁸ Salzburg Missal of the 12-13th century: Köck, 135; South German Mass-orders of the 15th and 16th centuries: Beck, 272; 310; Franz, *Die Messe*, 754.—But (mostly

with a reversal of the order of the two versicles) also in French Mass-arrangements since the 14th century: Leroquais, II, 182; 208; de Moléon, 200; Legg, *Tracts*, 50; 67; Martène, I, 4, XXVIII; XXXI (I, 645 E, 652 E).—A yet more solemn form is presented in the monastic breviary of Rouen (Martène, I, 4, XXXVII ([I, 678 f.]): the two versicles are preceded by a prayer of praise: *Te invocamus, te adoramus, te laudamus, o beata Trinitas!* Thereupon follow four orations, then other versicles and the double blessing formula: *A subitanea et improvisa morte et a damnatione perpetua liberet nos P. et F. et Sp. S., Et benedictio Dei omnipotentis P. et F. et Sp. S. descendat et maneat super nos. Amen.* Similarly the *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (about 1415): Legg, *Tracts*, 50 f.; cf., too, the Ordinarium of Coutances (1557): *ibid.*, 68; in all three instances the benediction rite comes after the last gospel.—A Missal of Rouen offers an older form of the rite (Martène, I, 4, XXVI, n. ([I, 638 E]): the blessing in a simpler form precedes and only the oration follows upon the gospel. A weakened version also in the rite of the private Mass of the Monastery of Bec: *ibid.*, XXXVI (I, 675).

³⁹ Thus already in a sacramentary of the 11th century from Bologna (Ebner, 17) and still about 1500 in Burchard of Strassburg (Legg, *Tracts*, 167). Even the Missal of Pius V still provided for a triple blessing by the priest at a *missa sollemnis*, to be made in three directions (in the Ritus serv., XII, 7; Antwerp edition of 1572).

not with a single sign of the cross, but with three³⁹ or even four⁴⁰—towards the four points of the compass. In pronouncing the blessing a chant tone is used.⁴¹ In all these matters the missal of Pius V and its revision by Clement VIII (1604) have indicated retrenchments and clear restrictions.

On the other hand, the consciousness that there ought to be some difference even in the final blessing between the bishop's way of doing it and the priest's was manifested in various ways also in the Middle Ages. The bishop made the sign of the cross with his hand, while the priest was to use some blessed object. It had been the custom in some places already in the eleventh century to place relics on the altar during Mass⁴² or a particle of the true cross, and to use these to impart the blessing at the end of Mass.⁴³ Durandus advises the priest to make this sign of the cross with a crucifix or with the paten or with the corporal.⁴⁴ This manner of giving the sacerdotal blessing, especially with the paten or with the corporal, is frequently attested since the fourteenth century, at first in France, and then also in Germany.⁴⁵ The chalice and paten, indeed, generally remained uncovered on the altar till the end of Mass.

While these methods of imparting the final blessing have disappeared, yet one peculiarity which, aside from the words, distinguished it from the sacerdotal blessing otherwise used outside of Mass, has been kept: before giving the blessing the priest raises his eyes and hands towards heaven.⁴⁷ This gesture is explained by the medieval allegorism, which saw in this blessing the last blessing of our Lord before He ascended into heaven⁴⁸ when He blessed His disciples, *elevatis manibus* (Luke 24:50).⁴⁹

⁴⁰ John Bechhofen (about 1500), who advocates the simple sign of the cross; (Franz, 595); Bursfeld missal of 1608 (Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 406).

⁴¹ According to Eisenhofer, II, 224, in France still in the 18th century.

⁴² Shrines for relics were the first objects that one dared place on the altar; see above I, 258.

⁴³ P. Browe, "Der Segen mit Reliquien, der Patene und Eucharistie," *Eph. liturg.*, 45 (1931), 383-391.

⁴⁴ Durandus, *Instructiones et constitutiones*, ed. Berthelé, p. 77; Browe, 384, n. 4.

⁴⁵ Browe, 385 f. Also a blessing of individuals with the corporal was quite customary after Mass: it was either laid on the face or fanned in front of the person, a practice that Henry of Hesse (d. 1397) mentions with some disapproval; *ibid.*, 385 f. An extraordinary veneration for the

corporal, which often deteriorated into superstition, is verified already since the 10-11th centuries; Franz, 88-92.

⁴⁶ A Persian missal of the start of the 14th century (Leroquais, II, 182): *cum calice vel patena*. Likewise the ordinarium of Coutances, 1557): Legg, *Tracts*, 67. Data from England in Browe, 386.

⁴⁷ This rite provided for in the *Missale Rom.*, *Ritus serv.*, XII, 1, remains restricted to the bestowal of the blessing in the Mass, at least according to Ph. Hartmann - J. Kley, *Repertorium Rituum* (14th ed.; Paderborn, 1940), 625. Otherwise M. Gatterer, *Praxis celebrandi* (3rd ed.; Innsbruck, 1940), 333. The rubrics have no further directions about this. The attitude mentioned is nowhere prescribed in the Roman Ritual for the blessing of the people and objects.

⁴⁸ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 36 (PL, 105, 1155 B); Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 20 (PL, 990); Durandus, IV, 59, 4.

⁴⁹ Cf. above I, 91.

The final blessing was sometimes given before kissing the altar and reciting the *Placeat*, sometimes after. In general the determining factor seems to have been the priority of the respective development. In France, where the *Placeat* had been incorporated earlier, the blessing generally followed.⁵⁰ On the other hand, in Germany, where the *Placeat* was introduced only later, the blessing was as a rule given before.⁵¹ This latter sequence was for a time the prevailing one also in Rome.⁵² It is found even in various editions of the Roman Missal, e. g., in those of 1474, 1530 and 1540.⁵³ The inversion, as fixed in the missal of Pius V, must have originated from the notion that, if blessing and prayer were to follow the dismissal, then surely the blessing which at one time was itself called a *missa* must necessarily stand at the end.⁵⁴ The same feeling lay at the root of the practice in the church of Rouen where, in the dying years of the medieval era, when the final blessing had been magnified into a form of great solemnity, this blessing was placed after the last Gospel.⁵⁵ In regard to the formula to be used, for a long time—as we have already said—there was no fixed rule. In the printed editions of the *Missale Romanum* of 1530 and 1540 we find a choice between two forms; they were essentially the ones which had been recommended by Durandus. In the printed editions of 1505, 1509, 1543, 1558, 1560 and 1561 only one of them is given, *In unitate Spiritus Sancti, benedicat vos Pater et Filius*, which was eventually displaced in favor of the formula we have at present.

The editions of the Roman missal printed in 1558 and 1560 also presented a special form of blessing for the Mass of the Dead: *Deus, vita vivorum, resurrectio mortuorum, benedicat vos in sæcula sæculorum*.⁵⁶ But here, too, the later *Missale Romanum* asserted the general principle that all blessing of the living should be omitted in Requiem Masses. German missals of the declining Middle Ages introduced in the Mass *ordo* a blessing for the departed, even outside of Masses of the Dead. As in the office the oration and *Benedicamus Domino* are followed by *Fidelium animæ*, so also in the Mass following the post-communion and the dismissal first a blessing for the dead was given and then the blessing of the living.⁵⁷ In

⁵⁰ Durandus, IV, 59, 8; Martène, I, 4, XXVIII; XXXI (I, 645 E, 652 E); Legg, *Tracts*, 67; cf. 228.

⁵¹ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 21 f. (PL, 151, 991 f); Beck, 272; 310 f.; Hoeynck, 376; Franz, 576; 754. Latter arrangement also in the Minorite missals in Ebner, 317; 351.

⁵² Ordo of Stefaneschi, n. 53 (PL, 78, 1169 D).

⁵³ R. Lippe, *Missale Romanum*, 1474, Vol. II (HBS, 33), 114 f. Louis Ciconiolanus' *Directorium divinarum officiorum*, which appeared in Rome in 1539, leaves the choice to the priest; *in suo positum est arbitratu*. Legg, *Tracts*, 212. The present

usage was instituted in the revision of the Roman Missal under Pope Clement VIII (1604).

⁵⁴ Gavanti gives a more external reason, hardly an apposite one: "The Mass that has begun with the kissing of the altar, should also end with the same."

⁵⁵ Missale of Rouen and *Alphabetum sacerdotum*, above, n. 38.

⁵⁶ Lippe, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁷ Above, n. 36.

⁵⁸ Lippe, 115; also see Ferreres, 212.

⁵⁹ Lippe, 115.

⁶⁰ Regensburg Missal of 1500 (Beck, 272): *Et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum*

the Roman missals at Rome this blessing of the dead did not have a place. But the *Requiescant in pace* at Requiem Masses, which seems like a shortened form of this blessing, appears to have sprung from a similar source.⁶¹

5. The Last Gospel

It is certainly remarkable that at the close of the Roman Mass a gospel pericope should be read. But if we go back to its origin, we find that this reading harmonizes with the series of dismissal rites and more particularly with the blessings. The prolog of the Gospel according to St. John, with the exalted flight of its ideas and the profundity of its mysteries, was accorded an extraordinary esteem even in the early Church. Augustine quotes the saying of a contemporary of his that this text ought to be placed in gold letters at some prominent place in all the churches.¹

The prolog of St. John is rightly regarded as a summary of the Gospel, the divine power of which is, in a measure, concentrated there. Just as sacred symbols, words or pictures were used as pledges of divine protection, just as blessings were and still are imparted with holy objects, cross, chalice, paten, or (in the Orient) with *dikirion* and *trikirion*, so in the course of time the beginning of the Gospel of St. John began to be used as an instrument of blessing. It might be that the written words were carried on one's person, or that they were recited or listened to. Naturally it could happen that, in place of that Christian trust in God which, inspired by the sacred word, looks up to Him in humble petition, superstitious and magical practices would creep in.² In the year 1022 the synod of Seligenstadt noted that many lay people and especially women placed great store in daily hearing the Gospel *In principio erat Verbum* or special Masses *de s. Trinitate* or *de s. Michael*. In future this was to be allowed only *suo tempore* and insofar as it was asked out of reverence for the Blessed Trinity, and *non pro aliqua divinatione*.³

But alongside this misuse of the holy text there was still room for the proper and Christian use of it. The beginning of the Gospel of St. John was read in the sick-room before dispensing the last sacraments,⁴ or after baptism over the newly baptized child.⁵ A particularly favorite use, dating

requiescant in sancta Dei pace. Likewise the Augsburg Mass-*ordo* from the second half of the 15th cent.: Franz, 754; Freising Missal about 1520: Beck, 310; Missal of the Bursfeld Benedictines of 1608: Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 405 f.

⁶¹ An immediate derivation is not possible because of the time interval—the *Requiescant in pace* appears 300 years earlier.

¹ Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, X, 29 (CSEL, 40, 1, p. 499).

² Cf. A. Jacoby, "Johannisevangelium":

Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, edited by Baechtold-Stäubli, IV (1931-32), 731-733.

³ Can. 10 (Mansi, XIX, 397 f).

⁴ Missal of Remiremont (12th cent.): Martène, I, 7, XVII (I, 911 A). Also according to the present-day *Rituale Rom.*, V, 4, 24, John 1: 1-14 is one of the favorite selections that should be read when visiting the sick.

⁵ *Rituale* of Limoges: Martène, I, 1, 18, XVIII (I, 215 A).

back to the twelfth century, was as a blessing for the weather,⁶ just as later the introductions of the four Gospels (for the four points of the compass) were used, and are still used, for the purpose. Just as during the summer—from Holy Cross (May 3) to Holy Cross (Sept. 14)—this blessing in some form or other is given even today, in many dioceses every Sunday, and in some places every day after the parish Mass,⁷ so it might have happened that the prolog of St. John, as a pericope of blessing, became more and more a permanent part of the end of Mass. In his explanation of the Mass which appeared about 1505, the Augustinian hermit John Bechhofen speaks about the reading of this Gospel as a *laudabilis consuetudo*, and he grounds the custom on the argument that reading or hearing the Gospel is a direct attack on the devil, who is trying to rob us of our union with God and to harm us in soul, body and goods.⁸

The first evidence of the Gospel of St. John at the end of Mass—it is a question here primarily of private Mass—is found in the *Ordinarium* of the Dominicans, which was fixed in 1256: The priest may recite it when unvesting or later, together with the oration *Omnipotens æterne Deus, dirige actus*.⁹ This custom must have rapidly found favor in the Dominican order, for members of the order working in the Armenian mission introduced the last Gospel, among other things, into the Armenian Mass, and with such effect indeed, that in spite of the break-down of the union in 1380 it remained in the liturgy even of the schismatics down to the present¹⁰—an example of missionary latinizing which, to the Middle Ages (which were not renowned for their historical sense), seemed only natural.

In the West, however, it had not become common everywhere even at the close of the Middle Ages.¹¹ When, in the year 1558, the first general

⁶ A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, II (Freiburg, 1909), 52, 57 f.

⁷ A daily blessing of the weather at the end of Mass is still customary in the diocese of Salzburg and in parts of Carinthia; cf. the Ritual of Gurk (1927), 160. The Joannine gospel passage always forms the start of this blessing.

⁸ Franz, *Die Messe*, 595.

⁹ Guerrini, 250. The Dominican Bernard de Parentinis about 1340 speaks of an optional reading of the Gospel of St. John; Franz, *Die Messe*, 595, n. 2.

¹⁰ Brightman, 456.

¹¹ The Gospel of St. John is provided for about 1285 in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 102), here also only for the private Mass. Durandus, IV, 24, 5, mentions it in passing but does not describe it at the end of Mass (IV, 59). Later it appears in several French Mass orders: Mar-

tène, 1, 4, XXXI; XXXIII; XXXVII (I, 652 E, 661 D, 678 D); Leroquais, III, 12; 57; 70; 107; 113, etc.; Legg, *Tracts*, 50, 67. According to the late medieval Missal of Sarum in England (Martène, 1, 4, XXXV ([I, 761 C]) it is said *redeundo* by the priest, just as today in the Rite of Lyons (Buennner, 258) and also in the Roman rite at the Pontifical Mass (*Cærimoniale episc.*, II, 8, 80). In Germany about 1494, as Balthasar of Pförtia wrote, the Last Gospel was not in general use; Franz, 588; cf. 595, 727. In the description of 79 Styrian Missals of the 12-15th cent. made available by Köck, the Last Gospel is mentioned only once (p. 191). Still it is verified at the turn of the Middle Ages in the Mass-arrangement of Regensburg (Beck, 272) and Augsburg (Franz, 754) and by John Bechhofen (*supra*). For Scandinavia it is mentioned in the breviary of Skara (1498): Freisen, *Manuale Lin-*

chapter of the Society of Jesus, convened to choose a successor to St. Ignatius, expressed the desire to make the rite of the Mass uniform within the order, the last Gospel was one of the points that still hung in balance even in Rome itself.¹² A last Gospel was indeed decided upon for the order's rite, but it was left free to choose Luke 11:27 f.: *Loquente Jesu ad turbas* (the pericope which recounts the happy cry of the woman in the crowd: "Blessed is the womb that bore thee"), or the prolog of St. John.¹³ On the other hand, the Carthusians have not yet taken the last Gospel into their rite even today,¹⁴ just as they have not inserted the last blessing.

Oftentimes the last Gospel was rounded off liturgically by reciting an oration after it, and as a rule this latter was introduced by a few versicles.¹⁵

Already in the thirteenth century the prolog of St. John was not commonly regarded as the only possible last Gospel,¹⁶ although this is seldom indicated in earlier sources. But with the increasing possibility of using another Gospel reading, the thought suggested itself with ever greater force that the last Gospel, besides having the character of a final blessing and sacramental, might at the same time be a commemoration in which the main text of a second formulary could be taken up in this place in the Mass. This notion was all the more natural because even in the sixteenth century the *missa sicca* was still current custom. At such a "mass,"

copense, p. XXXI, and in the missal of Trondheim (1519): *ibid.*, p. LXI; still these seem rather to be exceptions; see Yelverton, 21.

¹² As Bona, II, 20, 5 (908 f.) remarks, the *Missale Romanum* which was approved at Rome and appeared 1550 in Lyons, still had no Last Gospel, while the reading of the same in the Ceremonial of the Roman Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis (d. 1528), was left to the choice of the celebrant.

¹³ *Decreta Congr. gen.* I, n. 93 (Institutum S.J., II; Florence, 1893, 176).

¹⁴ So likewise the Castile Cistercians; see see B. Kaul, *Cist.-Chr.*, 55 (1948), 224. Several French churches about 1700 also did not have it, or they let the priest recite it on his return from the altar; de Moléon, see in the Register, p. 522., s. v. *Evangelie*.

¹⁵ In the *Liber ordin.* of Liège (Volk, 102) it is the Oration *Protector in te sperantium* (today on the 3rd Sunday after Pentecost); likewise in the monastic Missal of Lyons of 1531; Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 661 D). In the Carmelite Ordinal of 1312 (Zimmermann, 89) the Oration *Actiones* is added. With four ora-

tions and various versicles in the Breviarium of Rouen; Martène, 1, 4, XXXVII (I, 678); still these four orations, as the Mass Ordo of Bec (Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI ([I, 675]) shows, were joined to the Communion prayers even without the concluding Gospel (cf. above, n. 38); or as the Missal of Rennes (15th cent.; Leroquais, III, 70) directs, a *memoria de beata Virgine vel de dominica vel de quodam sancto vel de mortuis* was to precede the Last Gospel.—The *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 250), and likewise also the Missal of Bursfeld of 1608 (Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 406) uses after the concluding Gospel, the Oration *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus* (today on the Sunday within the octave of Christmas). Cf. *Ordinarium* of Coutances of 1554; Legg, *Tracts*, 68.—The Augsburg Missal of the 15th century (Franz, 754) adds to the concluding Gospel, as to the Gospel of the Fore-Mass, the blessing *Per istos sacros sermones*. Similarly the Premonstratensian Ordo of Averbode (about 1615); Lentze (*Anal. Præm.*, 1950), 149.

¹⁶ Durandus, IV, 24, 5: some read the Gospel of St. John at the end of Mass, *vel aliud*.

at which the priest officiated without chasuble,¹⁷ and which was generally added to the regular Mass, the celebrant as a rule read the entire proper text of the second formulary, along with other Mass prayers (except the canon), or else only the Epistle, the Gospel and the *Pater noster*.¹⁸ Then, as the *missa sicca* gradually disappeared after the Council of Trent, it did not involve too great a change to keep at least the proper Gospel of the second formulary as an appendage to the first Mass.¹⁹ It did not take long to make such a proposal. In the missal of Pius V a special addition of this kind was proposed first of all for those formularies of the *proprium de tempore* which were hindered. In 1920, in the new edition of Benedict XV, this was extended to all those Masses which have an *evangelium stricte proprium*, as, for example, the Mass formularies of the Blessed Mother or an apostle.²⁰

It cannot be denied that through such directions a progressive change in the character of the last Gospel and a refinement of its function is revealed. The note of blessing draws into the background. It is the content of the pericope, even that of St. John, that comes to the fore. More recent exponents of the Mass no longer mention the benedictional character of the last Gospel; they try to portray the Johannine pericope, with the mystery of the incarnation therein contained, as the real epilog of the entire Mass, the concluding paragraph by which the Mass is brought back to its "eternal root" or source.²¹ The prolog of the "good tidings" has thus become the epilog of the sacrifice by which those tidings are renewed. Naturally a convincing reason for the necessity of such an epilog is not forthcoming. In consequence there is something incongruous, something discordant about this last point of the Mass-liturgy.²² This is shown also by the fact that there is no actual "proclamation" of the Gospel, no public reading of it. True, the Gospel is introduced with the same forms as the Gospel of the fore-Mass, a greeting, an announcement, with an acclamatory response; while the faithful are accustomed to rise and cross themselves with the priest as at the Gospel of the fore-Mass.²³ But this greeting and announcement and acclamation, like the reading itself, are all done

¹⁷ In the 15-16th cent. the Gospel of St. John was frequently read after the chasuble was removed. Leroquais, III, 107; 135; 227; Legg, *Tracts*, 67.

¹⁸ J. Pinski, "Die missa sicca," *JL*, 4 (1924), 90-118, especially 104 f.

¹⁹ Along the same lines see G. Malherbes, "Le dernier évangile non-Johannique et ses origines liturgiques": *Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, 25 (1940), 37-49.

²⁰ Additiones et Variationes, IX, 3. More clearly defined by a decree of the Cong. of Rites, March 29, 1922; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 4369.

²¹ Kössing, *Liturgische Vorlesungen*, 598 f. One could describe this also as a sort of doxology about him who became man for and among us, a sort of Christ-doxology at the end of Mass, similar to that at the end of the canon.

²² In the new Easter Vigil Mass the Last Gospel is left out: *AAS*, 43 (1951), 137.

²³ The Regensburg Missal about 1500 notes that he makes the sign of the cross upon the altar and then upon himself *in fronte et in corde*; Beck, 272. About the same time the genuflection at the *Et Verbum caro factum est* is insisted upon, and the demand is supported by a genuinely me-

only in a semi-audible voice. Evidently, then, these are only imitations designed to create a worthy frame around the priest's reading. In fact, the reading itself has not the formal character of a lesson; it is normally recited by rote, like a sacred text which is always handy. At the end of the Middle Ages, "in many countries," as the *Hortulus animæ* (published at Strassburg in 1503) averred, the Gospel of St. John was recited by all present, a practice which obviously was planned to strengthen its function as a blessing.²⁴ In the pontifical high Mass the bishop speaks these words while leaving the altar; he merely makes the sign of the cross on the altar, to show that he receives the word of the Gospel from the altar, from Christ, from God.²⁵

6. Final Blessings Sanctioned by Particular Law

When we keep in view the living liturgy, that is, not only the shape it has insofar as it accords with the universal prescriptions of the *Missale Romanum*, but beyond this, the factual performance as it exists in different places, we are forced to state that often the Mass celebration does not come to an end with the last Gospel. The urge to bless and the desire to receive the blessing of the Church has called still other forms into being.

We spoke before about the blessing of the weather which in many places still follows the Mass during the summer months, in forms which have developed since the Middle Ages in various ways in the different bishoprics.¹ Insofar as the blessing is added to the Mass day after day, it consists as a rule only of a prayer (that the priest either recites at the foot of the altar or leads the people in reciting) and of a blessing with the Blessed Sacrament or with a particle of the cross, accompanied by the words of the blessing of field and meadow.

In other places during the whole year, especially on Sundays and feast-days, the blessing is given to all the faithful with the monstrance;² either

dieval *exemplum*. Franz, 576, n. 7.—In England it must have been customary to kneel and kiss the ground at *Verbum caro factum est*; cf. E. Peacock (ed.), *Myrc's Duties of a Parish Priest*, EETS-OS, 31 (1868), 1, 1665 ff. Cf. also Lydgate's poem "On Kissing at Verbum caro factum est" in H. N. MacCracken (ed.), *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, EETS-ES, 107 (1910).

²⁴ Franz, 719.

²⁵ Cf. above I, 444 f. This symbolism is clearly indicated already in one of the earliest references regarding a Last Gospel, namely in Durandus, where this particular sign of the cross is used as a proof to show that the Gospel book must always be taken from the altar.

¹ Regarding this cf. P. Browe, "Die eucharistischen Flurprozessionen und Wettersegnen," *Theologie u. Glaube*, 21 (1929), 742-755; Eisenhofer, II, 447 f.

² A blessing with the Blessed Sacrament at the end of the Mass became customary in the 14th century first of all on the Feast of Corpus Christi; in the 15th century in the Thursday Masses frequently established for the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament. The first mention of this in a Thursday Mass comes to notice in the year 1429 at Ingolstadt. The blessing was generally combined with the hymn *Tantum ergo*. At the word *Benedictio*, a sign of the cross with the monstrance was formed, thus giving the word a sort of outward interpretation. Besides this, a blessing was

the monstrance is exposed during the whole Mass, as is still the custom on many occasions in southern Germany,³ or it is removed from the tabernacle at the end of Sunday high Mass and after a brief period of adoration is raised in benediction.⁴

Then there are forms to be used when the blessing is not only given to the entire congregation as a unit but in a certain manner is intended more or less for each one singly. In the primitive Church we find the individual imposition of hands,⁵ but as this requires a great deal of time, it is used nowadays almost only when necessary for the performance of a sacrament, as in confirmation and ordination. The most widespread form for giving a blessing that touches each individual in the assembled congregation is sprinkling with holy water. Frequently, especially in many south German country parishes, this sprinkling with holy water is the actual end of the Mass. Immediately before he leaves the altar, the priest passes through the ranks of the faithful, swinging the aspergillum and reciting the psalm with the prescribed antiphon *Asperges*; in this way the faithful take home with them in a visible form something as their share in the blessings of the Church. This has been the practice for centuries.⁶

Somewhat distantly related to the sprinkling with holy water is the distribution of blessed bread, the *eulogia*, which survives in the oriental liturgies and also in France even today. In the Byzantine liturgy the custom has an especially elaborate form. After the closing prayers the priest steps out of the sanctuary and hands out the so-called ἀντίδορον.⁷ These are the pieces left from the host-breads from which are taken the particles used for consecration. The name *antidoron*, ἀντίδορον, is usually explained in the sense that this gift is meant to take the place of the real and infinitely greater gift of the Eucharist.⁸ The ἀντίδορον is thus a

frequently given also at Mass during the Sequence *Lauda Sion* at the words *Ecce panis angelorum*. Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, 151 f.; 181-185.

³ Cf. above I, 122 f.

⁴ This latter method is frequently followed where one wishes to restrict the Mass of Exposition and yet avoid a complete break with tradition. Thus the Diocesan Synod of Vienna, 1937, combines a far-reaching restriction of these Expositions with the hint that it is still permissible to impart the blessing with the Blessed Sacrament at the end of the Mass according to the method prescribed in the ritual; *Die Erste Wiener Diözesansynode* (Vienna, 1937), p. 36.

⁵ *Supra*, I, 477.

⁶ According to the ecclesiastical customs of the village of Biberach, as they were listed

in 1530, the priest on definite occasions first had to give the blessing at the end of the Mass with the monstrance and then had to sprinkle the congregation with holy water. A. Schilling, "Die religiösen und kirchlichen Zustände der ehemaligen Reichsstadt Biberach unmittelbar vor Einführung der Reformation," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, 19 (1887), 154; Browe, 185. The original place for the sprinkling with holy water in church, as is known, is before the divine service in parishes on Sundays. Here the early indications of a sprinkling can be verified already in the 8th century. Eisenhöfer, I, 478-480; cf. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 581-598. ⁷ Brightman, 399; cf. Pl. de Meester, *La Liturgie de s. Jean Chrysostome* (3rd ed.; Rome, 1925), 135.

⁸ Thus Brightman, 577; Mercenier-Paris, 253, n. 1. On the other hand, Baumstark,

substitute for Communion, although nowadays it is also taken by the communicants.⁹ Essentially the same custom prevails amongst the Armenians¹⁰ and Syrians. Among the East Syrians the distribution of the *eulogia* belongs to every liturgy;¹¹ among the West Syrians it is restricted to Lent and the vigil Masses. The bread used at this function need not have any relation to the Eucharist, but it is given a special blessing immediately before the distribution.¹²

That appears also to be in accord with the original conception of the *eulogia*. It may be that we have here a survival of that blessing of natural gifts which in the ancient Roman liturgy since Hippolytus is found at the end of the canon,¹³ but elsewhere, even quite early, at the end of the entire celebration.¹⁴ The gifts in many cases were ones that the faithful themselves had brought or even offered up, and which they now received back as tangible transmitters of the divine blessing.

In the West this custom of the *eulogia* at the end of Mass developed most vigorously in the area of the Frankish realm.¹⁵ It is seen first in the sixth century.¹⁶ In the ninth century it appears in full light in the direction stipulating that after Communion on Sundays and feast days priests should take this bread, which is to be blessed beforehand with a special formula, and distribute it to non-communicants.¹⁷ From then on the custom was gen-

Die Messe im Morgenland, 179, renders ἀντίδορον by "countergifts" (to the faithful in place of the previous customary bread offering).

⁹ Thus the monks on Mt. Athos. R. Pabel, *Athos* (Münster, 1940), 23; cf. 27.

¹⁰ Brightman, 457.

¹¹ Brightman, 304; A. J. Maclean, *East-Syrian Daily Office* (London, 1894), 291.

¹² A secularized form of the distribution of the Eulogia also among the Copts; see Baumstark, *loc. cit.*, 179.

¹³ *Supra*, I, 29; II.

¹⁴ In the Euchologium of Serapion (Quasten, *Mon.*, 66) after the prayer that concludes the Communion of the Faithful, there follows a "prayer over the oil and water that was offered" and then the final blessing over the people. Likewise in the *Testamentum Domini*, I, 24 f. (*ibid.*, note; Rahmani, 49); cf. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 178.

¹⁵ A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, I (Freiburg, 1909), 247-263; Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie*, 68-71; Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion im Mittelalter* 185-200 ("Der Kommunionersatz: Die Eulogien"); G. Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittel-*

alters, 213-282, especially 229 ff., 262 ff. Cf. also the materials in Corblet, I, 233-257.

¹⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, V, 14 (PL, 71, 327 B): *Post missas autem petit [Merovech], ut ei eulogias dare deberemus*. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 35 (PL, 71, 298 B). These liturgical eulogias are to be distinguished from the private eulogias that are frequently mentioned at that time; cf. Franz, *op. cit.*, I, 239-246; Nickl, 69 f.; Browe, 187 f.

¹⁷ Hincmar of Reims, *Capitula presbyteris data* (of th year 852), c. 7 (PL, 125, 774): *Ut de oblatis, quæ offeruntur a populo et consecrationi supersunt, vel de panibus, quos deferunt fideles ad ecclesiam, vel certe de suis presbyter convenienter partes incisas habeat in vase nitido et convenienti, ut post missarum sollemnia, qui communicare non fuerunt parati, eulogias omni die dominico et in diebus festis exinde accipiant*. The prayer of blessing cited afterwards is in its essence the same as that offered in today's *Rituale Romanum*, VIII, 16. A pertinent prescription also in the almost contemporaneous *Admonitio synodalis* (among others, PL, 96, 1378 B). Cf. also the corresponding Visitation

eral throughout the West for centuries.¹⁸ It died out earliest in Germany, where Wolfram von Eschenbach in 1209, writing in *Willehalm*, a translation of a French epic, speaks about the bread that "*alle suntage in Fran-crîche gewîhet wirt*"—bread that was blessed every Sunday in France.¹⁹

The custom was so closely associated with Communion, being regarded as a substitute for the benefit of non-communicants, that when the change to unleavened bread was made, the *eulogiæ* at first were also changed and took the form of hosts. But since the twelfth century cognizance began to be taken of the danger that lurked in having both Communion hosts and *eulogiæ* look alike, and so a distinction began to be made not only in the form of the bread but often also in the manner of distribution.²⁰ Then, too, the idea which was still much in prominence towards the end of the twelfth century, namely, that the *eulogiæ* were a substitute for Communion,²¹ gradually vanished, and so this blessed bread became simply a "sacramental which was dispensed like holy water."²²

In this sense the custom of the *panis benedictus*, *pain bénit*,²³ survived for a long time in France and Switzerland, in the rural districts, especially in Burgundy and Brittany, where it still exists today. A family of the parish, chosen in fixed rotation, is designated to furnish the bread for a certain Sunday which that family therefore regards as its own particular feast. On that Sunday the family, accompanied sometimes by relatives and friends, transports the bread to church.²⁴ Before the beginning of Mass or before the offertory, or else at the end of Mass, it is brought up to the altar to be blessed and divided into small pieces and so distributed to all present. If those who receive it do not intend to communicate they eat it

Question in Regino of Prim (above, p. 9, n. 45) and a related decision for monasteries already in the *Capitulare monasticum* of 817, n. 8 (MGH, Cap., I, 347). In monastic circles the *eulogiæ* were distributed in the refectory; see Udalricus in PL, CXLIX, 711, 723; William of Hirsau, PL, CL, 1014-1015. Cf. Leclercq, "Le Pain Bénit Monastique," DACL, 13: 460; Franz, *op. cit.*, I, 247 ff.

¹⁸ In Italy the practice is still presupposed about 1320. In England a confession questionnaire about 1400 asks "Have you taken your Sunday meal without blessed bread?" In Spain in 16th century liturgical books there are still texts for the blessing of the bread brought by the faithful; Browe, 189 f., 194 f.—The custom was retained the longest for the days of the Easter Communion and in many monasteries besides, and in such cases it was clearly marked as a substitute for Communion. Browe, 191-194.

¹⁹ II, 68, 4 f.; Wolfram of Eschenbach, *Werke*, edited by Lietzmann, II (Alt-deutsche Textbibliothek, 15), 54.

²⁰ Browe, 198 f. Cf. the parallel case regarding the ablution chalice, *supra*, p. 414.

²¹ John Beleth (see above, p. 325, n. 23); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 8 (PL, CCXIII, 144). Durandus, IV, 53, 3, calls it *communio vicarius*.

²² Browe, 194.

²³ Also called *panis lustratus*, *panis lustralis*; in old English it was known as *gehalgod hlaf* (hallowed bread). Cf. U. Seres, "Le pain bénit," in *Les questions liturg. et paroiss.*, 1933, 248 ff.

²⁴ G. Schrieber, *loc. cit.*, 278 f. Here also more details from various descriptions of the practice during the past century. Sometimes a definite number of breads is provided, three, twelve, fourteen (273 f.). In the district of Metz, bread was distributed on Sundays (274), but on feast days cake. A candle generally went with the offer-

at once.²⁵ Bringing the bread to the altar before the offertory seems to show a certain connection with the former offertory procession, but the original idea of the blessed bread is best retained where the distribution takes place at the end of Mass.²⁶

7. The Prayers of Leo XIII

The additions to the Mass-liturgy described above have sprung more or less organically from the closing of Mass; namely, from the notion that before the conclusion of the divine service the Church should once again show its power of blessing. But in the nineteenth century—though only at private Mass—prayers were added of which we cannot affirm any such inner relationship. They are intercessory prayers in time of stress, pleas for the great needs of the Church, appeals in which the people should share and which therefore are recited with the faithful in their own language.

More than once in the course of our study of the Mass-liturgy and its historical development we have come upon this notion of intercessory prayers, and precisely intercessory prayers for the needs of the Church, to be said by the people in common. They had their original place at the end of the readings or lessons, in the General Prayer of the Church. When this General Prayer was dropped from the Roman liturgy at the turn of the fifth century, its popular components acquired a fresh and rich development in the *Kyrie* litany, while the priest's intercessory plea entered more deeply into the innermost sanctuary of the canon. Then, as the *Kyrie* litany was reduced to a manifold repetition of the *Kyrie* invocation and modified into a melodic song for the choir, the need for supplication in times of dire trouble produced anew, since the ninth century, a mode of expression in conjunction with the Lord's Prayer, at first after the embolism, later before it.

And finally, in the later years of the Middle Ages, prayers for wants and peace were injected into other places, especially after the *Dona nobis pacem*.¹ In the latter cases we are dealing only with common prayers to be

ing of bread, as was the practice already in the Middle Ages.

²⁵ Paul Claudel in one of his poems, *La Messe La-Bas* (15th ed., Paris, 1936), 103, dedicated a section between the *Ite missa est* and the Last Gospel to this popular custom: "The part of the Mass the youngsters in France like best of all is when, near the end, the server sallies forth from the altar with a large basket full of bread from which one has only to grab . . ." In the Mass arrangements of the Middle Ages the blessing of the bread is mention-

ed only rarely, thus in the Missal of Evreux-Jumièges; Martène, I, 4, XXVIII (I, 646 A), and in the Westminster Missal (about 1380), ed. Legg (HBS, 5) 524; in both cases it is at the end of the Mass.

²⁶ The double character of the old rite is displayed in its purest form when, as reported to me from a congregation in the neighborhood of Besançon, the bread is brought up after the Gospel, then into the sacristy where it is cut into pieces and lastly distributed after Communion.

¹ See above, p. 292.

recited by the clerics assembled in choir, but the *literati* who knew Latin were expected to join in.²

Oriental liturgies which were faced with a change in the language of the people, like the Byzantine-Melkite, the West Syrian and the Coptic after the ultimate victory of the Arab element, did not hesitate, despite their otherwise conservative attitude, to translate into the new vernacular not only the readings but also such litanies (corresponding to the intercessions) which the deacon was accustomed to recite alternately with the people;³ they are now recited in Arabic. Except for some tiny ventures in the earliest period,⁴ a similar accommodation has not been made in the Western liturgies. In the Roman liturgy in the centuries that followed, there was even less occasion than elsewhere for such an adoption of the vernacular, as long as a Latin culture dominated the West and thus gave assurance that the Latin prayers would at least be faintly echoed in the congregation. For very different reasons, conditions had not become any more favorable in the nineteenth century when the desire arose for such a prayer for needs. Even in the middle of the century every effort was still directed towards emphasizing the boundary-lines between priest and people, as can be seen from the 1857 prohibition to translate the *Ordo missæ*.⁵ True enough, Leo XIII urged the faithful to pray aloud during Mass, but it was the praying of the rosary in the month of October, a prayer that in its ultimate significance, but not in its concrete form, displays a certain relevance to the action of the Mass and even to the step-by-step movement of the liturgy. So if an intercessory prayer was to be recited by all the people for the needs of the Church, then in accordance with the stand taken by the liturgists at that time, this could have a place only before or after Mass.

The kernel of the prayers which we recite after private Mass had been in use even before Leo XIII. In 1859, when the danger to the Papal States grew ever more serious, Pius IX ordered prayers for the area of his secular dominion. The prescription continued even after the Papal States had fallen. When Leo XIII made his last efforts to set aside the laws of the *Kulturkampf* in Germany and to win back the liberty of the Church, on January 6, 1884, he extended these prayers to the whole Church.⁶ Even after the liberty of the Church was essentially won back here, the prayers nevertheless remained. In their new form, as we have it today,⁷ they were

² *Supra*, p. 293 f., p. 339 f.

³ Baumstark, *Von geschichtlichen Werden*, 102.

⁴ *Supra* I, 335, n. 11.

⁵ *Supra* I, 161.

⁶ *Acta S. Sedis*, 16 (1883), 239 f. The oration closes here: . . . *et omnibus sanctis, quod in præsentiibus necessitatibus humiliter petimus, efficaciter consequamur. Per.*

⁷ It was published in the diocesan papers and church magazines, e.g., *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3rd ser., 7 (1886): 1050. There is nothing to be found in the *Acta S. Sedis*, 19 (1886). Two slight changes were silently made in the prayers about 1900: *beato Joseph* replaced the unusual *Josepho* and *eumdem* was added to the *Per Christum D. N.*

broadened to include a purpose which undoubtedly must be dear to the heart of the Church at all times: in the oration, among other things, the words *pro conversione peccatorum* were added.

Measured by the ceremonial form of the Roman Mass-liturgy, it is indeed striking that these prayers are recited kneeling at the foot of the altar. It had been customary for the priest to give expression to the humble and suppliant petition of such prayers by means of a low bow. But since such a bodily bearing was no longer customary among the faithful, and it is with the faithful that the priest is to say these prayers, nothing was left but this kneeling together, an attitude of prayer for which there were precedents even at the altar.⁸ This kneeling position at the end of Mass had been prescribed in the liturgy of the Carthusians long ago, in their *Statuta antiqua* (before 1259); according to this direction the priest, after laying aside his vestments, is to recite the *Pater noster* at the foot of the altar *flexis genibus*.⁹

As regards their construction, the prayers of Leo XIII follow in all essentials the laws of form of the Roman liturgy. Whereas earlier examples of similar prayers in need regularly began with psalms, here the more popular element of the Hail Mary¹⁰ was chosen; with the petition which is a part of it, this prayer is recited three times, and then the *Salve Regina*¹¹ is added to further enforce the tone of supplication. As we know, the effort to give the liturgical celebration a Marian note in the high Middle Ages led to the practice of concluding the canonical office, or at least certain hours of it, with a Marian antiphon. A prayer of praise addressed to the Blessed Virgin was sometimes added also in the Mass, either after Communion¹² or at the close.¹³ The *Salve Regina*, too, some-

⁸ *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, 6 (1921), 63, rightly emphasizes that this prescribed genuflection for all times of the year is in contradiction to the rules otherwise obtaining in the Roman liturgy.

⁹ Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 635 C). The present-day *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 19, demands *Pater* and *Ave*.

¹⁰ This is not the first appearance of the *Ave Maria* in the liturgy of the Mass. It was taken into the prayers at the foot of the altar (*Stufengebet*), e.g., at the end of the Middle Ages; see above I, 297 f., n. 30, 33. The combination of Lk. 1: 28 and Lk. 1: 42 occurs as an insertion in the intercessory prayer after the consecration in the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 56) and (without *Dominus tecum*) as an offertory hymn in the oldest MSS. of the Roman antiphonary (Hesbert, n. 5, 7, bis, 33), that is, in the basic text of the antiphonary at the beginning of the 7th cen-

tury. The addition of the name of Jesus and the petition *Sancta Maria . . .* originated from the popular practice of the Middle Ages and is confirmed today in its present form through the breviary of Pius V, 1568. Cf. H. Thurston, "Hail Mary," CE, 7: 110-112.

¹¹ The *Salve Regina* must have originated in the 11th century in the monastery of Reichenau; for more details about its history see A. Manser, "Salve Regina": *LThK*, IX, 137 f. Cf. also Wm. Martin, "The Salve Regina," *Liturgical Arts*, 16 (1948), 41-48.

¹² Above, p. 406.

¹³ Two Mass arrangements of the late Middle Ages from Normandy added to the Trinitarian formula of the concluding blessing: *Et beata viscera Mariæ Virginis quæ portaverunt æterni Patris Filium*. Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI f. (I, 675 D, 679 A). According to the Pontifical of Durandus the

times formed the close of the *ordo* of the Mass.¹⁴ The versicle *Ora pro nobis* then leads over to an oration, as is ordinarily done according to traditional usage after a psalm or an antiphon. And the oration gathers together our prayers and formulates our pleading. Here again the old stylistic rules of the Roman method of prayer are at work: in view of the intercession (already sought) of the Mother of God, with whom are ranged the great protectors of holy Church, we beg of God's grace the internal welfare and the external freedom and growth of the Church, and we close the prayer with the *Per Christum*.

Finally, to this addition other further additions were made, and again we cannot affirm that these additions have any intrinsic relationship to what has gone before. Leo XIII himself, in 1886, when issuing the new form of the oration, added the invocation to the Archangel Michael.¹⁵ There is no question here of a second oration but rather of an isolated invocation, something very unusual in the Roman liturgy.

Another independent composition, of an entirely different character, strikingly in contrast with the final words of the preceding prayer, *in infernum detrude*, is the threefold cry: *Cor Jesu sacratissimum, miserere nobis*, added under Pius X. However, here is not a matter of regulation but of permission granted by the Congregation of Indulgences, dated June 17, 1904.¹⁶ If, however, a certain obligation has arisen in this matter, as it seems it has, it must be derived from the custom that has been established.

The publication of the prayers of Leo XIII included the direction that they be said with the people, but no official text in the vernacular was prescribed. As a result almost every diocese uses its own version. This is true not only in Germany but elsewhere, too.¹⁷ Obviously such a state of

priest may still add the prayer, *Salve sancta parens* at a Mass that he celebrates in the presence of the bishop, but only after the bishop has given the final blessing. Martène, I, 4, XXIII (I, 620 C); Andrieu, III, 647.

¹⁴ According to a French monastic missal of 1524 (Leroquais, III, 268) the *Salve Regina* or another antiphon, along with the appropriate oration, was said after the Gospel of St. John. Similarly also in the Cologne rite of the 16th century; Peters, Beiträge, 188.—The Carmelites added it during the 14th century (it was not yet in the ordinal of 1312). The *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), 323, inserts it, with its oration, between the final blessing and the Last Gospel. B. Zimmermann, "Carmes," DACL, II, 2170 f. Cf. the problem answered by the Congregation of Rites on June 18, 1885; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n.

3637, 7.—The Missal of Braga (1924), 336-338, includes after the Last Gospel a *commemoratio b. Mariæ Virginis* that varies according to the seasons of the Church year.

¹⁵ The opening words of the invocation are similar to the Alleluja-verse in the Mass for the feast of the Archangel on May 8 and Sept. 29.—Bers, "Die Gebete nach der hl. Messe," *Theol.-pŕakt. Quartalschrift*, 87 (1934), 161-163, vehemently combats a legend making the rounds that this prayer was introduced by Leo XIII after a dream or vision (!) of the powers of hell.

¹⁶ *Acta S. Sedis*, 36 (1904), 750; F. Beringer, *Die Ablässe*, I (14th ed.; Paderborn, 1915), 194.

¹⁷ On the difficulties of translation see the article by R. E. Brennan, "The Leonine Prayers," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 125 (1951), 85-94, especially 89 f.

things did not help to endear the prayers to either priest or people. Insofar as they had to be added¹⁸—and they had to be added even on feasts that excluded every commemoration!—these prayers not seldom underwent that same "liturgizing," that same reduction to an exchange between priest and server, that same fusion with the Latin of the rest of the Mass-liturgy that forced other textual elements which were originally conceived in the vernacular—like the phrases before the distribution of Communion—back into a Latin mold.

In France, Italy, and elsewhere for the past few decades another prayer in the vernacular has become customary at the end of Mass and Benediction. This prayer consists of a number of laudatory sentences recited singly by the faithful after the priest. It is called "The Divine Praises." It begins with the praise of God: "Blessed be God," then touches on the most important mysteries of faith in the form suited to the religious thought of the time, and ends with the words, "Blessed be God in his angels and in his saints."¹⁹ In this way the close of the Mass acquires a final harmony which re-echoes in the *Benedicite* of the priest.

8. Recession

When all the final obligations have been taken care of, the priest leaves the altar. In the Mass celebrated without levites, the priest—according to present-day practice—himself carries the chalice, with the paten on top and a veil covering it, and the burse with the corporal, back to the sacristy, while the Mass-server as a rule precedes him with the book. At a high Mass the sacred vessels remain on the credence table.

This order, which appears to us so natural, is of relatively recent date.

¹⁸ Regarding the extent and limits of this obligation and details of ceremonial an elaborate system of rubrics has arisen; cf. Brennan, *loc. cit.*, especially 90 ff.

¹⁹ The "Divine Praises" originated in Rome, the work of Fr. Aloysius Felici, S.J., who presumably publicized them in 1797 as a means of combating blasphemy. It is as *Laudes in Blasphemiarum Reparationem* that they appear in the official collection of indulgenced prayers, *Enchiridion Indulgentiarum*, (Vatican City, 1950), n. 696. The first grant of indulgence was made by Pius VII, July 23, 1801. Cf. A. P(aladini), "De laudis 'Dio sia benedetto' historia, progressu et usu," *Eph. liturg.*, 63 (1949), 230-235. It was not long before the prayer came into quasi-liturgical use: in Italy frequently after Mass, as also in France; in America and Spanish and Portuguese lands after Benediction of the

Blessed Sacrament. The Congregation of Rites made it its concern several times: in connection with Benediction (March 11, 1871; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3237), inclusion of an invocation of St. Joseph (Feb. 23 1921; *SRC*, n. 4365), and of an invocation in honor of the Assumption (Dec. 23, 1952; *AAS*, 45 [1953], 194).

²⁰ Where it is customary it is permitted to add the Divine Praises or prayers indulgenced for the faithful departed (*S.C. Indulg.*, June 17, Aug. 19, 1904; *SRC*, n. 3805).—Dom Bede Lebbe, *The Mass: A Historical Commentary* (Westminster, 1949), 168, mentions the time-honored custom which exists in Ireland of reciting after Mass a *De profundis* with the verses and prayer *Fidelium Deus*, a practice which appears to go back to the troublesome days of the 17th century.

That the chalice and paten should be carried in the manner customary today could not have been considered, as we have seen, until the time when the paten was reduced in size. A German Mass-plan about the year 1000, in describing the end of the high Mass, directs the subdeacon to carry the (uncovered) chalice, and an acolyte, the paten.¹ But after that both chalice and paten are taken together. However, because even at the close of the Middle Ages our chalice-veil did not yet exist,² the priest—according to the Mass-*ordo* of Burchard of Strassburg (1502)—placed the chalice and paten in a small bag which he then tied, put the burse with the folded corporal on top of the bag, and carried the two into the sacristy, while the server preceded him (according to this *ordo*) carrying the book, the pillow, the cruets, the box for the hosts, the altar candles and the elevation candle.³ The present arrangement, therefore, dates back only to the time of Pius V.

At the recession the priest begins the canticle *Benedicite*, the song sung by the three young Hebrews in the Babylonian furnace (Dan. 3:57-88). This, and the prayers that go with it are now found in the Roman missal no longer as part of the text of the *Ordo missæ* but in the *Gratiarum actio post missam* which is prefaced to the missal. The pertinent rubric⁴ is therefore today considered as merely directive.⁵ On the other hand, medieval Mass books which include this canticle and the other closing prayers that follow it, after they became customary about the year 1000, regularly group them with the preceding texts without indicating any distinction.⁶ This song of praise, which was recited at the recession and which from the very start was united with Psalm 150, was on about the same level with the psalm *Judica* which was said at the beginning of Mass, and it was recited or sung by the celebrant, together with the assistants, at the altar, as the oldest witnesses from about the tenth century expressly remark.⁷ Even here the psalmody was followed by a number of versicles and the oration *Deus qui tribus pueris*. But, soon after, various expansions begin to appear.

Between the *Benedicite* and Psalm 150, Psalm 116 *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, was sometimes inserted,⁸ or the ancient hymn *Te decet laus*

¹ *Ordo "Postquam"* for episcopal Mass (Andrieu, II, 362; PL, 78, 994).

² In the archdiocese of Cologne it was first prescribed at the Synod of 1651. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 214.

³ Legg, *Tracts*, 169.

⁴ Cf. also *Ritus serv.*, XII, 6.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, I, 275 f.

⁶ Cf., e.g., the facsimile of an 11th century central Italian Sacramentary in Ebner, 50. Still in a part of the Mass-arrangements, although not in the oldest (see *infra*), the priest is ordered to say the prayers *exuens se vestibus*; thus e.g., Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 995).

⁷ Mass arrangement of Séz (PL, 78, 251 A): *Expletis omnibus episcopus rediens ad sacrarium cum diaconibus et ceteris cantet hymnum trium puerorum et Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius*. Then follow, without a preceding *Pater noster*, ten versicles, among them those ordered by the present *Missale Romanum*, and then the first oration, which however is somewhat elaborated. Similarly in two related witnesses; Martène, 1, 4, IV, XIV, XV (I, 517 f., 582, 594), where, however, in the rubric given, twice after *et ceteris* is added a restrictive: *quos (quibus) voluerit*.

⁸ The 11th century central Italian Sacra-

was appended.⁹ Later we find that they sometimes added the *Nunc dimittis*.¹⁰ At the head of the versicles which were subject to a great deal of shifting, we find the *Pater noster*¹¹ and the *Kyrie*,¹² and as an addition to the oration *Deus qui tribus pueris*, which for centuries has been used even in other circumstances as an adjunct to the canticle of the Three Young Men,¹³ we find a second oration, *Actiones nostras*.¹⁴

Much later, and only occasionally, do we find the oration (in the third place in our day) which refers to the victorious suffering of St. Lawrence.¹⁵ Some have suggested that this rather strange oration is to be traced back to the practice of the pre-Avignon popes, who were accustomed to celebrate daily Mass in the papal chapel of the Lateran's *Sancta sanctorum* dedicated to St. Lawrence.¹⁶ The facts, however, contradict this opinion.¹⁷ The oration from the Mass of St. Lawrence would have been adopted whenever they began to put greater emphasis on the character of the canticle as the song of the three young men in the fiery furnace, with whose fate St. Lawrence's had such a likeness. That was evidently the case after the song was framed with the antiphon *Trium puerorum cantemus hymnum*, which appears for the first time in 1170 in the pontifical of Mainz.¹⁸ For in the medieval texts the Laurentian oration has a different position than in the Roman missal, either immediately after the oration

mentary already mentioned: Ebner, 50; 299.—*Missæ Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 517 C); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 102.

⁹ *Missal* of St. Lawrence in Liège: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 594 C).

¹⁰ Mainz Pontifical (about 1170): Martène, 1, 4, XVII (I, 602 E); *Missal* of Toul: *ibid.*, XXXI. Regensburg *Missal* about 1500; Beck, 272. Cf. the use of the same song of praise after Communion, *supra*, p. 404.

¹¹ *Missæ Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 517 C).

¹² Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 995); *Missal* of St. Vincent: Fiala, 216; *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 102.

¹³ Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sakramentarium Gelasianum*, n. 841, 891, 1146 and the further findings reported, *ibid.*, p. 317 f., 335.

¹⁴ *Missæ Illyrica*, *loc. cit.*; cf. also Martène, 1, 4, XIV f., XXXII (I, 582 D, 594 C, 658 B); Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 995); Fiala, 217. In two Roman documents this oration alone is added to the first: in *Vetus Missale Lateranense* (Ebner, 169) and in the Mass-*ordo* of the papal court chapel about 1290, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 209.

¹⁵ Blew MS. of the Sarum Manuale (14th cent.): Legg, *Tracts*, 268; *Missal* of Toul (about 1400): Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 653); Pressburg *Missale* D (15th cent.): Jávör, 120; Regensburg *Missal* about 1500; Beck, 273.

¹⁶ H. Grisar, *Die Römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum* (Freiburg, 1908), 23; adopted also by Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 145.

¹⁷ The Canticum, contrary to a remark of Eisenhöfer, II, 227, was current in Rome before the *Ordo* of Stefaneschi, therefore, as a matter of fact, before the Avignon period; see Roman sources cited above, n. 14. To these belongs also the Mass-*ordo* of the papal chapel of this time, that developed from the *Ordinarium* of Innocent III. The oration *Da nobis quæsumus* is not mentioned in it, nor in the *Ordo* of Stefaneschi, n. 71 (PL, 78, 1192 B), where about 1311—and this precisely in Avignon—we find the last phase of the development in the papal court chapel, where, too, only the two orations *Deus qui tribus* and *Actiones* appear.—In other Italian sources of the 11-13th century, in Ebner, 317, 331, 334, 349, all we find is the prescription to say the *Benedicite*.

¹⁸ Martène, 1, 4, XVII (I, 602 E).

Deus qui tribus pueris,¹⁹ or separated only by the oration *Ure igne Sancti Spiritus* which is intrinsically akin to it.²⁰ These orations were intended to petition help against the most dangerous enemy, the enemy within us. In this tradition the oration *Actiones nostras* was not at first provided.²¹

On the other hand, the versicles which even at present precede the orations endeavor to take up the tone of praise and above all to continue the theme started in the verse *Benedicite sacerdotes Domini Domino*, the stirring call to priests whose very first duty it is to hymn the praises of God. Hence such versicles as *Sancti tui benedicant tibi, Exultabunt sancti in gloria*.²² One series of sources, in fact, provides only that part of the canticle itself beginning with the verse cited above.²³ In the concluding orations there was less room for such a tone of joy, since they were prayers of petition.²⁴

The idea of a psalmodic song of praise at the end of Mass is so natural that there is hardly any need of a special explanation, more particularly when such a song of praise at the recession (as is the case in the oldest witnesses) is only the counterpart of the psalm of longing which has accompanied the accession to the altar.²⁵ We should rather wonder that the song of praise at the end did not, like the psalm at the beginning, remain an integral part of the actual liturgy to be recited at the altar. Hence if legal-minded reformers in the centuries following,²⁶ intending to give more prominence to these prayers, cite from the old Spanish church a

¹⁹ Toul, Pressburg, Regensburg (see above, n. 15).

²⁰ Blew MS. This MS. shows, in addition to the three mentioned, three further Orations; see *infra*, n. 24.

²¹ It was incorporated only into the Missal of Pressburg where it is the final oration so that it does not interfere with the thought of the other two formulas. The two traditions are brought together in another way by Burchard of Strassburg in his *Mass-ordo* (Legg, *Tracts*, 170 f.): to the two orations *Deus qui tribus pueris* and *Actiones* anciently current in Rome, *Da nobis* is added only externally. This sequence was retained in the Missal of Pius V.

²² In the Missa Illyrica (*loc. cit.*) too: *Sacerdotes tui, Domine, induantur iustitiam*.

²³ *Vetus Missale Lateranense* (about 1100): Ebner, 169. Late medieval Mass-orders from Normandy (Bec, Rouen): Martène, I, 4, XXXVI f. (I, 675 D, 679 A); Ordinarium of Coutances (1557): Legg, *Tracts*, 69. It is therefore unnecessary to refer for this versicle to the chapel

of the Sancta Sanctorum and its relic treasure, as do Grisar (above, n. 16) and F. Cabrol (R. Aigrain, *Liturgia* [Paris, 1935], 554).

²⁴ In single instances a pertinent attempt has been made here, thus in a preceding oration of the Missa Illyrica, *loc. cit.* (517 E): *Deus quem omnia opera benedicunt*. The Ordinarium of Coutances (Legg, *Tracts*, 70) has an oration with the character of a *Postcommunio* in the third place: *Purificent vos*, a very natural solution. The Blew MS. of the Sarum Manuale offers besides the three orations relating to fire (*Deus qui, Ure, Da nobis*), three others: *Infirmis nostris, Deus qui conspicis, Protector in te sperantium*; still such an accumulation is rare. The missal of Braga (1924) emphasizes the tone of joyful thanksgiving by ushering in the *Benedicite* with the *Te Deum* (p. XCII; 338).

²⁵ Cf. *Mass-ordo* of Séz (PL, 78, 251 A, respectively 246 A). Cf. *supra*, I, 94.

²⁶ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 22 (PL, 151, 992); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 8 (PL, 213, 144 A).

canon which does indeed treat about this canticle of ours, but which actually has an entirely different connection in view,²⁷ we may not exchange such a canonistic underpinning with the actual reason for the origin of this recessional prayer.²⁸ The canticle *Benedicite* and Psalm 150 are eminently suited to the purpose. In view of what has occurred at the altar, all creation seems to us to resound in wordless jubilee and to sing the praises of Him who has so richly favored the world and mankind.

Then, too, the canonical hours have been drawn on occasionally to prolong the praise of God. In the Lateran basilica during the twelfth century, after the *Ite missa est* of a pontifical high Mass, sext was begun, and only after it was finished did the bishop return to his seat, *hymnum trium puerorum cantando cum eisdem ministris*.²⁹ A similar thing is still done in many cathedrals at the present.

Next comes silent prayer and meditation. It is no discovery of modern piety that the time after Mass and Communion, when the crowd has dispersed and quiet has settled over the church, is a time for the priest—and the same holds for the faithful—to give himself to more than vocal prayer. Monastic Mass-plans of the thirteenth century, after indicating the recessional prayers, add this direction for the priest: *Terminatis vero omnibus potest orare sacerdos secreto prout ei Dominus inspiraverit*.³⁰ In the spirit of olden prescriptions³¹ the canon law at present warns the priest that just as he prepared himself for the sacrifice by prayer, so he ought not to forget to make a proper thanksgiving afterward, *gratias Deo pro tanto beneficio agere*.³² This is in accord with a long-established ascetical practice.³³

For this, of course, the liturgical books can offer nothing else but more prayer texts. In the Roman missal the appendix to the real recessional

²⁷ The IV Council of Toledo (633), can. 14 (Mansi, X, 623): *in omnium missarum sollemnitate* the *Benedicite* must be sung immediately, but what is meant here is the Canticle that belonged to the Mass of the Catechumens in the Gallican liturgy; cf. above, I, 47.

²⁸ As also in Eisenhöfer, II, 227.

²⁹ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 87, line 20).

³⁰ Dominican Ordinarium of 1256 (Guerini, 251); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 102).

³¹ *Rituale Romanum*, IV, 1, 4; already in older editions.

³² *Codex Iur. can.*, c. 810.

³³ Already in Bk. IV of the *Imitatio Christi*, c. 1,24, there is an indication that the devotion after Communion ought to last a half hour or so. Etienne Binet (d. 1639) directed his attention to the matter of how long the eucharistic Presence endures after Communion (he judges an hour) and then

combines with his ascetical considerations some even broader calculations; H. Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France*, I, 141 f.—Demands for a quite prolonged thanksgiving after Communion are also to be found recurrent in St. Alphonsus de' Liguori, *Dignity and Duties of the Priest* (ed. Grimm, rev., 1927), 228; *True Spouse of Jesus Christ* (ed. Grimm, rev., 1929), 577: "I say 'at least for half an hour,' for an hour is the proper time for thanksgiving." Similar reflections appear to have been made during the period of the pseudo-Isidore Decretals, though they were concerned less with the time of thanksgiving than with the continuation of the fast; the priest who in the morning consumed the remnants of the people's Communion, it was said, should remain fasting until noon, etc.; cf. *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 2, 23 (Friedberg, I, 1321).

prayers, the *Orationes pro opportunitate sacerdotis dicendæ*, contains such texts, of which particularly the first, captioned as *Oratio s. Thomæ Aquinatis*, is very old.³⁴ The prayer following, which is called *Oratio s. Bonaventuræ*, actually comes from the pen of that doctor of the Church.³⁵ For the rest, the series of prayers here presented has in recent years been enriched in many ways. Missals of the Middle Ages now and again contain at the end an addition of private prayers of a similar sort.³⁶ But here a distinction between private and public prayer, while not absolutely excluded, is even harder to make than in the present missal, since indeed some of the Mass prayers themselves were still in the stage of private prayers.

When we look farther back and try to get a picture of the first thousand years of the Mass-liturgy, we must admit that generally with the *Ite missa est* not only communal divine service but also personal devotion were terminated, so that the Mass in the Roman liturgy, even when the older oration of blessing was still customary, came to a relatively rapid and abrupt end, and there could be but little talk of a special thanksgiving for all the great things which God had granted in Christ and in His Church. What was momentarily received in the Sacrament was only a sacramental corroboration of the presence of that grace in which our Christian life is imbedded. If the realization of this were revived in the celebration, the work of the entire day could actually become a sufficient thanksgiving for this new hour of grace, as many a *post-communio* sets forth.³⁷ But with the increasing separation of a gradually fixed Mass-liturgy on the one side and of personal piety, ever seeking new roads, on the other side, and with the growing accentuation of the Eucharist as an all-embracing and all-illuminating gift of God, it was but natural that a *gratiarum actio* should become a requirement even after the *εὐχαριστία*. The more conscious practice of meditative prayer, which was known to the ancient monks only in the form of the *lectio divina*, was also bound to lead in the same direction. For no moment is so opportune for meditating on what we have received and what we possess, as the moment when the last prayers of Mass have died away. Although we are less shocked than our forebears were when the faithful who have work to do take the *Ite missa est* more or less literally, even when they have been to Communion, still for clerics at least a good solution would be to use the few moments of quiet prayer after the sacred action as an opportunity to allow the spirit of the Eucharist to permeate our innermost soul more and more.³⁸

³⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 404 f.

³⁵ M. Grabmann, "Der Einfluss des hl. Bonaventura auf die Theologie und Frömmigkeit des deutschen Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift f. Ascese u. Mystik*, 19 = *ZkTh*, 68 (1944), 20.

³⁶ The missal of Valencia (before 1411) has an additional prayer after the *Placeat*,

namely, *Sit, Jesu dulcissime, ss. corpus tuum*. Ferreres, 209.

³⁷ *Supra*, p. 424.

³⁸ Cf. in a like sense the explanation given by Pius XII in his encyclical *Mediator Dei* of Nov. 20, 1947: *AAS*, 39 (1947), 566-568.

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