

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

By Rev. JOSEPH A. JUNGSMANN, S.J.
Professor of Theology, University of Innsbruck

Translated by Rev. FRANCIS A. BRUNNER, C. SS. R.
Professor of Theology, St. Joseph's College, Kirkwood, Missouri

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

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

VOLUME II begins on PDF page 258

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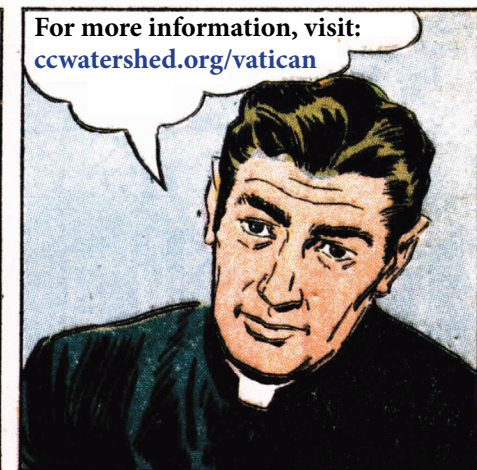
FRANCIS J. FAGEN, C. SS. R.
Provincial, St. Louis Province of Redemptorist Fathers
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Author's Foreword

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOS. A. JUNGMAHN, S.J.

INNSBRUCK,
Easter 1948.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

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

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

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

FRANCIS A. BRUNNER, C.Ss.R.

St. Joseph's College,
Kirkwood, Mo.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Author's Foreword | V |
| Translator's Note | VIII |
| Abbreviations | IX |
| Bibliography | X |
| Introduction | 1 |
| <i>Part I</i> —The form of the Mass Through the Centuries..... | 7 |
| 1. Mass in the Primitive Church..... | 7 |
| 2. From Justin to Hippolytus of Rome..... | 22 |
| 3. From Hippolytus to the Separation of Liturgies..... | 28 |
| 4. The Mass in the Orient after the Fourth Century..... | 33 |
| 5. The Latin Mass in Christian Antiquity..... | 44 |
| 6. The Roman Mass from the Third to the Sixth Century.... | 49 |
| 7. The Oldest Books of the Roman Mass..... | 60 |
| 8. The Roman Stational Services in the Seventh Century.... | 67 |
| 9. The Roman Mass in France..... | 74 |
| 10. The Romano-Frankish Mass as a New Basic type, and its Differentiation | 92 |
| 11. The Gothic Period..... | 103 |
| 12. The Close of the Middle Ages and the Tridentine Reform.. | 127 |
| 13. The Mass in the Baroque Period, the Enlightenment and the Restoration..... | 141 |
| 14. The Mass since Pius X..... | 159 |
| <i>Part II</i> —The Nature and Forms of the Mass..... | 169 |
| 1. Names of the Mass..... | 169 |
| 2. Meaning of the Mass. The Mass and the Church..... | 175 |
| 3. From the Episcopal Collective Service to the <i>Missa Solemnis</i> | 195 |
| 4. From the Presbyter Mass to the <i>Missa Cantata</i> | 207 |
| 5. From Domestic Eucharist to Private Mass..... | 212 |
| 6. Forms of Popular Participation..... | 233 |
| 7. The Time of the Celebration of Mass..... | 245 |
| 8. Accommodations of Space..... | 252 |
| <i>Part III</i> —The Mass Ceremonies in Detail..... | 261 |
| 1. The Opening or Entrance Rite..... | 261 |
| 1. The Fore-Mass and Opening as a Unit..... | 261 |
| 2. <i>Præparatio ad Missam</i> | 271 |
| 3. Putting on the Liturgical Vestments..... | 276 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 4. The Prayers at the Foot of the Altar as a Unit..... | 290 |
| 5. Confiteor | 298 |
| 6. Greetings. Kissing the Altar..... | 311 |
| 7. The Incensing of the Altar..... | 317 |
| 8. The Introit Chant..... | 320 |
| 9. <i>Kyrie Eleison</i> | 333 |
| 10. <i>Gloria in excelsis</i> | 346 |
| 11. The Collect. The Inclusion of the Congregation Assembled. | 359 |
| 12. The Collect. Form and Content..... | 372 |
| 2. The Service of Readings..... | 391 |
| 1. Start and Plan of the Service of Readings..... | 391 |
| 2. The Choice of Readings..... | 393 |
| 3. The Liturgical Setting of the Lessons..... | 403 |
| 4. The Epistle..... | 419 |
| 5. The Intervenient Chants..... | 421 |
| 6. The Gospel | 442 |
| 7. The Homily..... | 456 |
| 8. The Credo..... | 461 |
| 9. The Dismissals..... | 474 |
| 10. The General Prayer of the Church..... | 480 |
| 11. Further Adjuncts to the Sermon..... | 490 |

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part I

THE FORM OF THE MASS THROUGH THE CENTURIES

1. Mass in the Primitive Church

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

paschal supper.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁴ Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7.

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

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

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

¹⁷ Cf. Acts 3:1.

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

¹⁹ Cf. Goossens, 136.

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

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

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

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

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

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

²² Cf. Luke 14:1.

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

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

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

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

First concerning the cup:

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

"To Thee be the glory forevermore."

Next, concerning the broken bread:

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

"To Thee be the glory forevermore."

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

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

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

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

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

"To Thee be the glory forevermore."

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

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

"To Thee be the glory forevermore."

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

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

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

"Hosanna to the God of David!"

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

But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they desire.²⁶

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

²⁶ Tr. J. A. Kleist, S.J., *The Didache* (Ancient Christian Writers, VI; Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1948), 20-21. Quoted with permission of the publisher.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ap. (Dix, 46) the independent agape still bears the name “Lord’s Supper.”

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

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

³⁸ Elfers, 166-175. The confusion in later

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

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

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

invitation must have fused already in this early period into the double exclamation, *Sursum corda* and *Gratias agamus*, which we find, along with their corresponding answers, practically unaltered in all the succeeding liturgical traditions. The grace or thanksgiving prayer itself, which even in its pre-Christian original had led from gratitude for food and drink into gratitude for the benefits of the grace-filled guidance of God's people,⁴ could and did take on Christian features.

This new Christian concept is revealed in the prayers of the *Didache*, which are ever so much more meaningful if they are considered simply as table prayers. Besides, the *Didache* also stresses (10, 7) the improvisation of this prayer of thanks by the "prophets." Certainly if anything in the story of Redemption was to be the occasion for happy remembrance and thanksgiving, it would be this moment of fulfillment in Christ. To build up these thoughts expressly, the example of the Jewish Easter and feast-day Haggada would provide a model, although this was scarcely necessary since the apostolic preaching itself supplied ample material for such memories. Many of the heavenly songs which in St. John's Apocalypse are sung to God and the Lamb can very well be placed in the mouth of an earthly congregation which is gathered with its officiant for the celebration of the Eucharist.^{4a}

The consecration of the bread which stands at the beginning of the service must have been drawn over to the consecration of the cup of blessing, and this very soon, perhaps even in the first generation, at least in the sense that bringing them together was considered admissible. Our Lord's words of institution used on these two occasions were thus merged into a single two-part account, and the εὐλογία—εὐχαρίστια spoken over the bread became then a thanksgiving prayer which introduced or even enclosed the account and the double consecration therein contained. For the words, "For as often as you shall eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord," with which St. Paul continues his narrative of the institution, and even the sense of Jesus' own command, would early have given rise to the practice of expressing these thoughts right after the account itself, as we again actually find it in all the liturgies, namely in the anamnesis.^{4b}

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

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

action that followed.

⁴ Vide *supra*, Note 25.

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

^{4b} Cf. amongst others Gewiess, *Die urapostolische Heilsverkündigung*, 165, who takes the καταγγέλλετε of 1 Cor. 11: 26 as an imperative, so that a "heralding" or proclamation in words is demanded.

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁵ Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Philad.*, c. 5, Σπουδάζατε οὖν μὴ εὐχαριστῆτε ἡρώσθαι.

⁴⁶ Acts 20:7; *Didache* 14.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁵ 1 Cor. 11:28 f.

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

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

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

an absolution. Cf. Brightman, 235-237.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. From Justin to Hippolytus of Rome

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"not be sterile and ungrateful."⁶ Origen maintains: "We are not men with thankless hearts. True, we do not make any offerings, we do not sacrifice in worship things which, far from being of benefit to us, are really our enemies. But toward God, who has showered us with benefits . . . we are ashamed not to be grateful. The token of our gratitude to God is the Bread which we call Eucharist."⁷

One cannot help but notice with what enthusiasm the ecclesiastical writers of this period describe God's benefactions; first of all, those in the order of creation, but more especially those with which the children of the Church have been favored. And with what energy they urge that deep feeling of self-sacrifice and of subservient obedience, from which gratitude proceeds. According to Clement of Alexandria, the Christian owes God a life-long gratitude; this is the expression of true reverence.⁸ "The offering of the Church," thus Clement continues, "consists in a prayer in which all our thoughts, given over to God, are wrapped up along with the offering."⁹

The subjectiveness and spirituality of worship and the offering of the heart to God are so emphasized in the Christian sources of this period¹⁰ that one might have supposed that there was an absence of outward offering; before Irenæus (so runs the opinion), no offering was recognized in the Church except that which consisted in thanksgiving.¹¹ Actually, many pronouncements during this period lend a semblance of verity to this supposition and appear to our ears very exaggerated. God "does not demand an offering of victim or drink nor of any visible things."¹² He requires "not blood-oblations and drink, not the odor of flowers or of incense, since He is the perfect perfume, without want or blemish." The highest sacrifice one can offer Him is to acknowledge Him and tender Him our spiritual service.¹³ The only honor worthy of Him is to put His gifts to use for ourselves and for the poor, and to "be thankful and by our spirit send heavenward

⁶ Irenæus, *Adversus hæres.*, IV, 17, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 346).

⁷ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VIII, 57 (PG XI, 1601 f.).

⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 7, 7 (PG IX, 449 C).

⁹ *Ibid.*, (PG IX, 444 C). Cf. the exposition of the devotional ideas which form the background for the eucharistic teaching of the second century, in Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 263-275. From a later period, cf. for thanksgiving as a basic Christian notion, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 100), Chrysostom, *In Matth. hom.*, 25, 3 (PG LVII, 331); *In I Cor. hom.*, 24, 1 (PG LXI, 199).

¹⁰ Cf. the chapter "Das Opfer im Geiste" in O. Casel, *Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier* (5th ed.; Ecclesia Orans 9; Freiburg

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

¹¹ Fr. Wieland, *Der vorirenäische Opferbegriff* (Munich, 1909). Wieland had expressed the same ideas in two earlier writings (since 1906), which led to a controversy with E. Dorsch; see esp. E. Dorsch, *Der Opfercharakter der Eucharistie einst und jetzt* (2nd ed.; Innsbruck, 1911). See the summary of the results of the dispute in G. Rauschen, *Eucharistie und Buss sakrament in den ersten Jahrhunderten der Kirche* (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1910), 71-95; Goossens, *Les origines de l'Eucharistie*, 58-71; 367-369.

¹² Aristides, *Apology*, par. 1, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. IX. (New York, 1912.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁰ Hauler, 107; Dix, 8 f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 17, 5; cf. V, 2, 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 18, 1; 19, 3; 21, 10, and *passim*.
³⁰ A more complete discussion in Vol. II, Chapter 1, 1.

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

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

3. From Hippolytus to the Separation of Liturgies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Hauler, 106 f.; Dix, 7-9.

⁶ A portion of this came by a very roundabout way into the Roman Pontifical, and here survives within the ceremony for the consecration of the oils on Maundy Thursday, at the close of the canon, as in Hippolytus; cf. J. A. Jungmann, "Beobachtungen zum Fortleben von Hippolyts 'Apostolischer Überlieferung'," ZkTh, LIII (1929), 579-585. The additional prayers for communion found in the Egyptian text-transmission are not Hippolytus'.

⁶ Dix, 39 f.; Hauler, 111 f.

⁷ *Supra*, Chapter 1, p. 15.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³ *Supra*, p. 19.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 24.

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

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

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

4. The Mass In the Orient after the Fourth Century

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

covered in a monastery on Mt. Athos in 1894, contains amongst other things the liturgy of the Mass, but unfortunately with no explanatory rubrics.⁹

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

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

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

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

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

⁹ Text in Quasten, *Mon.*, 48-67. The exact arrangement of the prayers is not certain.

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

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

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

The eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is, in its structure and its legal regulations, little more in general than a revision of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. But as regards the Mass-liturgy the traces of Hippolytus' draft are faint. In its place we have the usage, by now somewhat fixed, of the Syrian capital. But the eucharistic prayer itself is textually a creation of the redactor, a model formulary that could be spun out to vast proportion, and must therefore be looked upon not as a real usage,⁴ but as a suggested source to which the celebrant could turn in freely composing his prayer. In this liturgy the service of reading is definitely combined with the sacrificial worship. The Clementine liturgy begins with the readings which here, as in the case of Hippolytus, precede the consecration of a bishop. It presupposes a fourfold reading. There is a reading from the Law and from the Prophets—the synagogue tradition, quite obviously—and then from the Apostles and the Gospels. Afterwards there is a homily. Then those who are not full members are dismissed—the catechumens, energumens, candidates for Baptism and the penitents—each group after an intercessory prayer of the congregation and a blessing by the bishop. Then there is a two-part prayer for the faithful. After the kiss of peace and the washing of hands, the gifts are brought in and the eucharistic prayer begins. We will do well to try to visualize at least its outline and sequence. The prayer begins with the introductory dialogue, and continues:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(20) [After the trial and fall] hast justly driven him from Paradise, but in Thy goodness didst not despise him who was entirely lost, since he was Thy creature [the stories of Cain and Abel, Abraham, Melchisedech, Job, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses and Aaron, and the wonders of the Exodus from Egypt are recounted⁶].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ This passage, 12, 21-26, is derived from the post-exilic Temple service; see A. Baumstark, "Das eucharistische Hochgebet und die Literatur des nachexilischen Ju-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The appendix in Brightman's work, p.

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

The fourth century, especially in the Orient, is still a time of lively development. But the fundamental liturgical texts are already beginning to take on a fixed shape. A new investigation of the Basilian formula of the Byzantine Mass, and of the formularies related to it,⁹ permits us to get a clearer view of the manner in which the texts extant at that time were revised and expanded. A Greek redactor—there are good grounds to suggest St. Basil the Great (d. 379)¹⁰—came upon a prepared eucharistic prayer which was for him apparently too jejune, although it was not poor in scriptural allusions. He enlarged it, and enriched it with a stronger sifting of quotations from the Bible. The still extant basic text,¹¹ had this to say, for instance, right after the *Sanctus*: After we had transgressed Thy command in Paradise, “Thou hast not thrust us aside entirely, but hast watched over us through Thy prophets, and didst appear to us in these latter days through Thine only-begotten Son, who took flesh of the holy Virgin and became man and showed us the way of salvation.” The redactor weaves into the text, after the mention of the Son, a number of phrases: the praise of His divinity, from Hebrews 1:2 f.; the quotation from Baruch 3:38 about the Wisdom that appeared on earth; the quotation about the nature of a slave, from Philippians 2:6 f.; and then the conquest of sin and of death, to which all had been condemned through Adam, in phrases from Romans 5:12 and 6:29.¹²

It was also Basil who first makes us aware of a new trend which, as it grew, became for all oriental liturgies a fundamental trait. This trend was a growing consciousness of sin and a mounting reverence in the presence of the great mystery—a trend which increased to almost gloomy proportions.¹³ Those celebrating the liturgy describe themselves as “Thy lowly and sinful and unworthy slaves”¹⁴ who should be tried “on the day of Thy just judgment.”¹⁵ This change in expression coincides clearly with the veering in theological attitude resulting from the struggle with Arianism, a struggle waged over the essential divinity of the Son. The noise of this battle penetrated even into the house of God and is reflected in the wording of prayers. In place of the doxology, customary up to then, which

⁹ H. Engberding, O.S.B., *Das Eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileios-liturgie* (Münster, 1931).

¹⁰ Engberding, p. lxxxiv, ff.

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

¹¹ This is the Egyptian Basilian anaphora: Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orient. collectio*, I (1847), 57-85.

¹² Engberding, 10-21.

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

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

¹³ M. J. Lubatschewskyj, “Des hl. Basiliius liturgischer Kampf gegen den Arianismus,” *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 20-38.

¹⁴ Brightman, 317 Z, 12 f.; cf. *ibid.*, 329 Z, 13 f.

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

offered praise to the Father “through the Son in the Holy Ghost,” Basil favored the new form, which offered praise to the Father “with the Son, at one with the Holy Ghost”¹⁶—a way of praying and of praising in which our vision is no longer cast upon Christ’s humanity, by which He is our intermediary before God, but upon His divinity, in which He is one in nature with God. Emphasis is not on the grace which He brings but in the right that He exercises, His might as a fearsome judge, before whom we ought to tremble and be afraid.¹⁷ And already in Basil the sentiment towards the Eucharist is altered. The pertinent chapter in his *Shorter Rule* is entitled: “With what fear . . . we ought to receive the Body and Blood of Christ.”¹⁸ The same attitude towards the Blessed Sacrament, even aside from the thought of communicating, is noticeable in various parts of the eastern world. It is especially strong in Chrysostom, who time and time again talks about “the terrible sacrifice,” about the “shuddering hour” when the mystery is accomplished, and about the “terrible and awful table.”¹⁹ This attitude left its mark not only on the character of the oriental liturgies, but on the peculiar form of oriental piety.²⁰ Even Chrysostom gave vent to the complaint that few dared approach the holy table for Communion. The decline in the frequentation of Communion in the East was already remarked by Latin Fathers of the fourth-fifth century.²¹

It is therefore no mere accident that precisely in the Orient the celebration of the mysteries took on an ever greater splendor. The activities at the altar became the object of the awesome gaze and wonder of the assembled congregation. The clergy appear in splendid vestments, lights and incense are introduced into the service, an external ceremonial with bowings and Προσκύνησις is gradually evolved. Forms broaden out, following the pattern set by the Emperor and his highest officials on festive occasions.²² The bearing of gifts to the altar and, of course, the procession

¹⁶ Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, 3 (PG XXXII, 72 C). Cf. Lubatschiwskyj, 24; Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, 155-163.

¹⁷ Lubatschiwskyj, 25 f., 32 ff.

¹⁸ Basil, *Reg. brev. tract.* 172 (PG XXXI, 1195 BC); Lubatschiwskyj, 34 f.

¹⁹ E. Bishop, in an appendix to R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge, 1909), 92-97; Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 217-222. Remarkable is the fact that a man friendly to the Arians, like Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* II, 13 (Bidez, 25) should use the phrase τὴν φοβεράν θυσίαν.

²⁰ Cf. Karl Adam, *Christus unser Bruder*; English translation, *Christ our Brother* (London, 1931), 48-49. Against this line of thought already expressed by me previously, a number of considerations have been presented by, amongst others, O.

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

²¹ Cf. *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 11.

²² As Prof. Th. Klauser pointed out to me (in a letter of Oct. 18, 1942), the ceremonial rights were transferred to the bishops already under Constantine when they were raised to the rank of the official hierarchy. Amongst these ceremonial rights were the right to be preceded by lit torches and the προσκύνησις. Some of these ceremonies will engage us in the older Roman *Ordines*;

for their distribution in Holy Communion are turned into solemn parades of the clergy, who appeared like the legions of the heavenly spirits (as the festive hymns expressly declare).²³

In addition the line of demarcation between the altar-sanctuary and the people became more and more pronounced. The railings which lay between the two grew higher until at last they became the ikonostasis, the picture-wall which fully hides the sanctuary from the gaze of the people.²⁴ Thus the action at the altar is all the more raised in dignity. It is enveloped in an atmosphere of holy awe. As a further result, the actions before the liturgy—that is, before the readings—are formed into a more important prelude.²⁵ And so the divine service is noticeably lengthened. Later on, it would seem they strove for more brevity here by having the celebrant say some of his prayers silently, for instance, reading his oration softly even while the deacon is still repeating with the people the litany which was intended as an introduction to the oration.

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

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

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

²³ The details mentioned are noticeable as a group for the first time in the Syrian explanation of the Liturgy which is ascribed to Narsai (d. about 502); R. H. Connolly, *The liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge, 1909), and the appended discussion by E. Bishop, "Ritual Splendour," *ibid.*, 88-91. Bishop maintains that the pictures sketched by Narsai correspond to a wealth of cult such as the West reached about the thirteenth century. The later so-called "Great Entrance" with the offerings, is already described by Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), *Sermones catech. V* (Rücker, 21 f.), who compares the solemn parade of

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

²⁴ There are great differences of opinion regarding the antiquity of the ikonostasis. For an early appearance, see Bishop, *op. cit.*, 91. On the other side, Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 666 f.

²⁵ See *infra*, p. 263.

²⁶ The main texts of all Mass-liturgies in the Orient are found in Brightman, *Liturgies*.

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

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

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

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

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

(containing remnants of a related Greek Mass-liturgy),²⁶ there survive also some documents of a Greek liturgy of St. Mark. The oldest of these are certain fragments of the basic anaphora of St. Mark, from the fourth-fifth century,²⁷ distinguished from the rest of the composition by the lack of many amplifications. The Copts possess only three anaphora formularies. The Ethiopian liturgy is known to have seventeen, but not all are in common use. The effect of the Monophysite attitude, which is inclined to view in Christ only His divinity, is noticeable in several anaphoras: the Coptic anaphora of St. Gregory Nazianzen, for instance, directs all prayers straight to Christ; the Ethiopian anaphora of Mary directs all to our Lady.²⁸

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

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

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

²⁶ Quasten, *Mon.*, 37-45.

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

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

²⁹ *Supra*, p. 38.

³⁰ Brightman, 416, 456.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. The Latin Mass in Christian Antiquity.

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

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

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

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

tian Egypt (edited by H. Hyvernat).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

de Silos, 1928).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵ Duchesne, *Ibid.*, 32 ff, 91 f.

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

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

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

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

¹⁶ *Vide infra*, p. 52.

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

¹⁷ Duchesne, 93 f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ F. Cabrol, "Canon Romain," *DACL*, II (1910), 1847-1905, gives an extensive notice of this problem; likewise Fortescue, *The Mass* (1912), 138-171; idem., "Canon of the Mass," *CE*, III (1908), 255-267. The most important solutions proposed are: Chr. Bunsen (1854): in the canon two different parts have been shoved together, the main text of the priest and the the diaconal "diptychs"; P. Cagin (1876): the "diptychs" are an insertion which previously, in the older, ostensibly Gallican arrangement of the Roman liturgy, had had a place before the preface; P. Drews (1902): after the *Sanctus* there followed a continuation of the thanksgiving prayer, while the *Tc igitur*, the *Memento* for the living, and *Communicantes*, after the model of the liturgy of St. James, originally had a place after the consecration as a resumption of the *Supplices*; Baumstark (1904): in addition, the prayers of oblation, *Hanc igitur*, *Quam oblationem*, *Supra quæ*, and *Supplices*, are to be traced from Alexandria by way of Ravenna; Buchwald (1906): the present-day text, aside from the "diptychs" is developed from what was left of an epiklesis, which in turn was bound up with the *Supra quæ*; and W. C. Bishop (1908): the clue to the original arrangement of the Roman canon

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

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

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

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

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

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

year 360 the Roman rhetorician Marius Victorinus cites a Greek quotation from the Roman *oratio oblationis* of his day: *σῶσον περιούσιον λαὸν ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων*.⁶

While the variable formularies of the Latin Mass book could naturally arise only by a slow process, and even the principle of change and the method of its employment could not have been uniform all at once, there must have been from the start a requirement regarding the formulation of the great eucharistic prayer that could not be rejected. Was this first formulation already our Roman canon? The conjecture has indeed been put forth, and an attempt made to support it.⁷ But it is more probable that the change-over from Greek to Latin produced many intermediary forms, particularly since in the third century we have not in general to reckon with any universally fixed texts. Besides, it is hardly likely that the sober temper of the Romans, which speaks so plainly even in the prayer-language of the canon, would have penetrated through and through immediately after such a transition.

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

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

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

⁶ Marius Victorinus, *Adversus Arianos*, II, 8 (PL, VIII, 1094); cf. *ibid.*, I, 30 (VIII, 1063).

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

⁷ A. Baumstark, "Ein Übersetzungsfehler im Messkanon," *Studia catholica*, V (1929), 378-382; *idem.*, *Missale Romanum*, 13 f. In the phrase *summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech* the word *summus* is somewhat surprising. According to Baumstark this is explained on the supposition that the fundamental Greek text read: *τὴν προσφοράν Μελχισέδεκ τοῦ ἱερέως σοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου*; in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸ Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 239.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 215.

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

some other canon-text that was making the rounds.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cf. Kennedy, 21.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²³ Botte, *Le canon*, 32.

²⁴ Kennedy, *The Saints*, 32-35; 58.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even in the prelude to the *Pater noster* that same trait is dominant: *præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati*. Sometimes he employs a three-member phrase, and in the petition for the consecration (epiklesis) and in the prayer of blessing before the closing doxology there are even five members: *benedictam, adscriptam . . .*, and *creas, santificas . . .*²⁰

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

The documents of the fourth century still show the Mass beginning abruptly with the lessons,²¹ and these are followed—as in the oriental and Gallic liturgies of the following centuries—by the general prayer for the Church. With regard to both of these items the Roman Mass made changes.

The general prayer for the Church was still a part of the Roman rite under Pope Felix (483-492), and precisely with a division into prayer for the catechumens and prayer for the faithful.²² After that there are no further records of it, and the oldest sources of the Latin Mass show it to have disappeared.²³ On the other hand an oration has appeared just before the lessons. This can be explained only as a part of some already existing introductory act, like those subsequently developed in other liturgies.²⁴ The adopting of such an introductory act, with the opening oration just spoken of, must be as old as the oldest examples of the Mass formularies which are regularly fitted out with such an oration. Now these reach back at

²⁰ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 228-230; Cabrol, *La messe en Occident*, 76 f.

²¹ Thus especially clear *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 5 ff.; VIII, 5, 11 ff. (Funk, I, 161 ff., 476 ff.)

²² Felix II, *Ep.* 13 (Thiel, 263). Further details in the special discussion, *infra*.

²³ The probability that the second of the

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

²⁴ For the citation to show that this was the first part of the Roman fore-Mass, and for further details regarding the entrance rite, see *infra*, p. 263. ff.

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

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

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

³³ Many formulas exhibit in their wording a striking resemblance to the style of Leo the Great (440-461); F. Cabrol, "Léonien (sacramentaire)," *DACL*, VIII (1929), 2552; cf. also C. Callewaert, *S. Léon le Grand et les textes du Léonien* (Bruges, 1948), ed. D. E. Dekkers.

There are also indications that Damasus (366-384) was the first author of some of the Mass prayers handed down; F. Probst, *Liturgie des 4. Jahrhunderts und deren Reform* (Münster, 1893), 455 f.; R. Buchwald, *Das sogenannte Sacramentarium*

Leonianum (Vienna, 1908), 23 ff.

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

Cf. also *supra*, p. 55.

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

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

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

³⁷ Kennedy, 34.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

factors contributed: the greater splendor of the Christian capitol, and the Roman's native sense of order. The effect was not only to fix forms, but to fix them in such wise that they were regulated for the whole course of the year—*per circulum anni*, as the caption puts it. With this we come to the books of the Roman Mass over which we will tarry long enough to get to understand the references made to them in our later elucidations.⁴²

7. The Oldest Books of the Roman Mass

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

⁴² For a more detailed study, cf. above all A. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum* (Eindhoven-Nijmegen, 1929); Eisenhofer, I, 60-87; 103-111.

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

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

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

⁴⁴ See Salaville, *An Introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies* (Trans. Barton; London, 1938), 185 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ The most important editions: C. L. Feltoe,

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

⁵ H. Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* (2nd ed.; Berlin, 1927), 30-35; idem., *JL*, II (1922), 101 f.

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

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

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

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

⁸ Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 32 f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³ H. Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar* (LQ 3; Münster [1921]); corresponding to Muratori, II, 1-138; 241-271; 357-361.

¹⁴ Th. Klauser, *Histor. Jahrbuch*, LIII (1933), 179.

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

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

¹⁷ E. G. the Christmas preface, the oration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁰ Th. Klauser, *JL*, XV (1941), 469.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. The Roman Stational Services in the Seventh Century

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cf. *supra*, p. 39.

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

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

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

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

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

The *sustentatio* by two clerics was subsequently transferred to the ceremonial of pontifical high Mass; see esp. *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 4, 9, 14 (PL, LXXXVIII, 970 A; 973 A; 976 A); *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer 82 l., 21; 87 l., 21; cf. 886 l., 6); the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, *Le pontifical Romain*, III, 638); cf. Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 6, 10. It likewise stayed in the ceremonial of papal worship for centuries: *Ordo Roman. XI* (ab. 1142), n. 17 (PL, LXXVIII, 1032 B); an *Ordo* in Martène, I, 4, xxxvii (I, 686 D), which can belong at the earliest to the 13th century. (See the stressing of *perfusio*); *Ordo Rom. XIV* (ab. 1311; here also in the recasting by Peter Amelii, d. 1403), n. 95 (PL, LXXVIII, 1220 C). It still survives in a diluted form; see Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 4, 7, etc., referring to two assisting cardinal deacons. Similarly the *Cærimoniale episc.* of 1600, still in force, provides for two canons to assist the bishop in *habitu diaconi*, and details their duties further: *procedente episcopo a secretario ad altare . . . ipsum medium facientes ac fimbrias anteriores pluvialis hinc inde sublevantes . . . et, si opus erit, eius brachia sustentantes deducunt* (I, 8, 2). Some of the ritual, like holding the edge of the *pluvialis* or chasuble by assisting levites, e.g., at incensing, was transferred to the ordinary high Mass of a priest, and is still demanded by rubricists; Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 4, 4 (I, 214 f.; 217 f); J. B. Mueller, *Zeremonienbüchlein* (13th ed.; Freiburg, 1934), 91; Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (7th ed. rev. by J. O'Connell; London, 1943), 104.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the occasion demands) the alleluia or the tract. The chanting of the Gospel is attended by a flourish of ceremony. First the deacon goes up to the *cathedra* and kisses the foot of the pontiff,¹⁶ who then pronounces a blessing over him. The deacon then takes the Gospel book from the altar, kisses it, and preceded by two subdeacons—one carrying a censer—and two acolytes with torches, he marches to the ambo from which he reads the sacred text. Then the papal subdeacon (*subdiaconus sequens*) takes the book, holding it with the ruffled *planeta*, reaches it to every one in the *presbyterium* to be kissed, and then hands it to an acolyte who immediately carries it back to the Lateran.

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

The pope again greets the throng with *Dominus vobiscum* and intones *Oremus*—but there is no prayer immediately following. Now the external preparations for the Mass-sacrifice begin. First there is the covering of the altar which up till now has stood there, a stately but empty table, decorated only with a costly cloth that hung from the edges¹⁰—the forerunner of the antependium. An acolyte approaches with a chalice over which he has laid the folded corporal. A deacon takes the latter, lays it on the right side of the altar and throws the open end to the second deacon at the other side in order to spread it over the entire top.¹⁷ Then the offertory begins with the offering of the gifts of the people.¹⁸ The pope starts proceedings by receiving the bread-offerings of the nobility, while the archdeacon accepts their offerings of wine. The other members of the clergy continue accepting the offerings, while the pope returns to his throne. After the people have presented their gifts, the archdeacon, at a signal from the pope, goes to the altar and, with the help of a subdeacon, arranges the breads that are to be consecrated. The chalice is placed on the altar and water is added to the wine by one of the members of the singing choir. After all this is done the pontiff leaves his place and kisses the altar and then himself receives the oblation of the assisting clerics. Lastly he lays his own obla-

¹⁶ The kissing of the foot is a moderated form of the proskynesis stemming from the Orient. It was part of the court ceremonial as a prerogative of the senators in regard to the emperor; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, 189 f.

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

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

¹⁰ Cf. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 192 ff., and the illustration, page 195.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

pretation of the Mass.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Greek influence, which for two centuries had also been felt in the Byzantine domain in Italy, forms at the beginning of the Middle Ages an important factor in the development of the Roman Mass. Even at an early period the *Kyrie eleison* and certain names of oriental martyrs in the canon—Cosmas and Damian, Anastasia—had already been introduced. The Roman Antiphonal shows a great many chants which were created at this time from Greek models,²⁶ and not seldom—according to the evidence of various *ordines* and also several manuscripts—songs in the West were sung in Greek.²⁷ The readings at a solemn papal Mass are still today sung in both Latin and Greek, following an old tradition.²⁸ Even greater was the influence of the Orient in other spheres of the liturgy, especially on the festival calendar. It was not without solid grounds that the statement was made that the Roman liturgy in the eighth century was seriously in danger of being intrinsically orientalized.²⁹

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

9. The Roman Mass in France

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

²⁶ Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 63, with the note 14.

²⁷ L. Brou, “Les chants en langue grecque dans les liturgies latines,” *Sacris erudiri*, 1 (1948), 165-180.

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

²⁸ Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 14-16.

²⁹ Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 82 f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 208 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹² See A. L. Mayer, "Altchristliche Liturgie und Germanentum," *JL*, V (1925), 80-96, esp. 83 f.; I. Herwegen, *Antike, Christentum und Germanentum* (Salzburg, 1932).

¹³ See below, pp. 317, ff.; 450 ff. and Volume II, Chapter 1, 5.

¹³ Details below, pp. 432 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 441-444.

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

¹⁸ The word *apologia* has here a meaning

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

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

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

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

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

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

in the Romano-Frankish liturgical documents, e.g., in two revisions of the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, iv (I, 499 E, 501 A).

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

²³ Examples from the period in question in Martène, 1, 4, iv-xvi (I, 490-598).

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

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

Cf. also F. Cabrol, "Flacius Illyricus." DACL, V (1923), 1625-1635. Cabrol's very conjectural transfer of the origin of the *Missa Illyrica* to the court of Charlemagne is based almost exclusively on a consideration of the *apologiae* and on the attribution of a large portion of them to Alcuin (instead of to the 10th century Pseudo-Alcuin; cf. *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 12, Note 5). The study of the Mass *ordo* (*infra*, pp. 273, ff., 281 ff.) confirms Braun's dating. The text of the *Missa Illyrica* in Martène, 1, 4, iv (I, 490-518); also in Migne, PL, CXXXVIII, 1305-1336, and in Bona, *Rerum liturg. libri duo*, App. (913-954).

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

²⁷ Martène, 1, 4, x (I, 552-562). These are obviously Votive Masses for private celebration. See *infra*, p. 217.

It is not easy to comprehend the world of thought in which so remarkable a crop could be produced, a world which speaks to us in almost frightening fashion of the consciousness of sin and its attendant miseries.²⁹ Besides a popular factor which we cannot well grasp, there are two things we must take notice of. On the one hand, there was the Gallic tendency to confusing God and Christ, which obscured the concept of saving grace. On the other, the fact that up into the eleventh century sacramental penance was customary only once a year even in monastic institutions,³⁰ while for an acknowledgment or confession as such, because of the *erubescencia* attached to it, there was claimed an extraordinarily high power of forgiveness.³¹ The disappearance of the *apologiæ* is bound up with the clarification of the notions of forgiveness and the growth of the practice of more frequent sacramental confession.

If there is here a tie-in with the history of dogma, the case is even clearer with regard to the apparently insignificant text-change which not a few of the variable prayer formulas of the Roman Mass underwent, a change which became more and more a determinative standard for the texts newly incorporated. The orations of the Roman Sacramentary were so constructed that they concluded, without exception, in a *Per*, that is to say, they were directed to God the Father and could come to a close with the well-known mediation formula. Not a few of these orations, wherever they offered the opportunity, now acquired the conclusion *Qui (vivis)*, that is, they were now considered as being addressed to the Son even if they perchance had the introductory greeting *Deus qui*. The inclination to make such a change derived from the style of prayer in the Gallican liturgy, whose earliest development in the atmosphere of the anti-Arian struggle had led to a similar rejection of this mediation formula and a similar stressing of the essential equality of the three divine Persons, just as the oriental liturgies have done.³² A connected element, the Gallican emphasis on the Trinity, has had visible effect even on our present Ordinary of the Mass, in the two prayers addressed to the Holy Trinity, *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* and *Placeat tibi*. The same grounds have been effective in annexing to the liturgy the *Credo* which originated amidst the doctrinal battles of the East.³³

²⁹ As an example of an unnaturally extended self-accusation this shorter formula, which in the *Missa Illyrica* is said after kissing the altar, will do: "*Suscipe confessionem meam, unica spes salutis meæ, Domine Deus meus, Jesu Christe, quia gula, ebrietate, fornicatione, libidine, tristitia, acidia, somnolentia, negligentia, ira, cupiditate, invidia, malitia, odio, detractio, perjurio, falsitate, mendacio, vana gloria, levitate et superbia perditus sum et omnino cogitatione, locutione, actione atque omnibus malis extinctus sum; qui iustificas impios et vivificas mortuos, iustifica me et*

resuscita me, Domine Deus meus. Qui vivis." Martène, 1, 4, iv (I, 496 B). The formula occurs again *ibid.*, v, vi, xiii, xv (I, 520 C, 531 B, 575 D, 588 B).

³⁰ Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 172 ff., 282-285.

³¹ See the bibliography *ibid.*, 268.

³² Details below, p. 380 ff.

³³ A complete picture of this background in J. A. Jungmann, "Die Abwehr des germanischen Arianismus und der Umbruch der religiösen Kultur im frühen Mittelalter," *ZkTh*, LXIX (1947), 36-99, esp. 54 ff., 57 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁵ See *supra*, p. 38 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

tum, while the people stand praying without, as once they did when Zachary burned incense in the Temple sanctuary.⁴⁴

The idea is extended and developed with conscious tenacity. At a spot where it was still thought that changes could be made, a new rite was introduced during the eighth century. When the priest has laid out and prepared the gift-offerings, before he steps into the sanctum of the canon he turns around once more at the altar and begs the bystanders for their prayers that he—as one commentator puts it—might be made worthy to offer up to God the oblation of the whole congregation.⁴⁵ Even in the text of the canon a slight emendation was permitted. If one thought about it, it seemed rather surprising that the *Memento* for the living should speak about the faithful as people *qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*—as offerers. Although no one in general dared to cross out these words, nonetheless an addition was introduced, to make certain of the leading role of the priest; in the recension of the Gregorian Sacramentary emanating from Alcuin are prefaced the words *pro quibus tibi offerimus*.

The line of separation between altar and people, between clergy and laity, between those whose duty it was to perform the sacramental action and those who formed the celebrating congregation—a separation which was always taken for granted as essential to the Church's constitution, and which was never really forgotten—was now made into a broad line of demarcation, not to say a wall of division. This had its effect even on church architecture. The altar was moved back to the rear wall of the apse. In cathedrals, that necessitated transferring the bishop's throne⁴⁶; it is now generally⁴⁷ placed at the side of the altar.⁴⁸ The choir-stalls of the assistants, which in the old arrangement formed a half-circle around the altar, following the line of the apse, are now set in two rows facing each other in front of the altar. The way was open for a further development, the rood-gallery or choir which somewhat later became in many places a

⁴⁴ For references see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 2, 1 and 2, 5.

⁴⁵ Amalar, *De off. eccl.* III, 20 (PL, CV, 1132 C).

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

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

⁴⁶ According to the *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1321 A), which in this matter obviously repeat the ideas of Amalar's *Expositio* of 813-814 (*infra*), the bishop after the collect still sits *versus ad populum*. Cf. also the *Expositio* "Introitus missæ quare," ed. Hanssens, (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 44. In the

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

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

⁴⁷ For the *cathedra* in the older position Martène I, 4, iii (I, 364 f.) refers to the cathedrals of Lyons and Vienne. In Mainz, too, the choir is behind the altar and the *cathedra* forms its center.

⁴⁸ The new arrangement is made clear from the changes which *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 1, 5 (PL, LXXVIII, 969 A, 970 C) shows by comparison with *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 4, 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 939 B, 942 A): *p̄git ad dexteram altaris ad sedem suam*.

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

The function of the priest, by whose action the Eucharistic Presence was effected, and the reality of this Presence itself were brought more sharply into focus than heretofore. Even theoretically such questions were studied more thoroughly. About the middle of the ninth century (after 831) a controversy was waged in which Ratramnus maintained, against Paschasius Radbertus, that the Body of Christ was present in the Sacrament in all reality, not, however, in His earthly appearance but only in substance. Into the background recedes that interest in the symbolism of the Sacrament in which Augustine laid such great—perhaps too great—stock, and which is exhibited in the prayers of the Roman Sacramentaries, particularly in the post-communions. Forgotten is the relationship between the sacramental Body—the “mystical” Body, as it was then often termed—and the Body of Christ which is the church.⁴⁰ The same is true for the connection between the Sacrament and the death of Christ.⁴¹ And so, too, the conscious participation of the community in the oblation of Christ is lost sight of, and with it that approach of the community towards God to which the Sacrament in its fulness is a summons or invitation. Instead the Mass becomes all the more the mystery of God’s coming to man, a mystery one must adoringly wonder at and contemplate from afar. The approach to the Holy Table of the Lord in Communion is no longer the rule even on feast days; already the Eucharist had not been our daily bread for a long time.

Closely connected with such extinguishing of the Sacrament throughout all phases of every-day life was the change which took place about this time in the type of bread used, the change to unleavened bread. Alcuin and his pupil Rabanus Maurus are the first indisputable witnesses to this new practice,⁴² which spread only very slowly. The increased reverence for the Sacrament probably helped to introduce the use of the pure white wafers which could be so much more easily broken without worry about crumbs.

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

⁴⁰ Cf. H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum. L'Eucharistie et l'Eglise au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1944).

⁴¹ See the amplifications of this in O. Casel, “Das Mysteriengedächtnis der Messlitur-

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

⁴² Geiselman, *Die Abendmahlslehre*, 21-36; particulars *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 1, 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 236.

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

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

faithful *totius religionis studium et christianitatis cultum*.⁶⁴ As a matter of fact, amongst the explanations of the Mass that appeared around the turn of the eighth-ninth century, there is one—the *Expositio* “*Quotiens contra se*”⁶⁵—which is concerned only with the texts spoken aloud, and handles them with remarkable minuteness and detail. After a short survey of the fore-Mass, it takes up the words and phrases from *Dominus vobiscum* and *Sursum corda* to *Hosanna in excelsis*; then it skips over the canon and continues with *Præceptis salutaribus moniti*.

If, in the instance named, the pronouncement on the instruction of the faithful reveals nothing more than that the prayers which are not audible, especially the canon, are missing, a new and different sort of explanation soon evolves which is developed entirely from the viewpoint of the faithful, being concerned generally not with the words of the Mass, which are of course spoken in a strange tongue, but with the form and external actions that are perceptible to the eye. This is the allegorical interpretation of the Mass. It was known even in pre-Carolingian France. The seventh century *Expositio* of the Gallican Mass already mentioned is dominated by it,⁶⁶ and even earlier yet it was common in the Orient. Just as in pre-Christian times the olden myths of the gods were explained as meaning something else (ἄλλα ἀγορεύειν) than what their immediate sense indicated, and just as Philo of Alexandria had begun in a grand style to

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

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

⁶⁴ Capitulary of 802, n. 5 (MGH, Cap. I, 106 l. 23).

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

sollemniter dicuntur. Cf. Nickl, 7.

⁶⁵ “*Quotiens contra se*”: Martène, I, 4, xi (I, 443-461); PL, XCVI, 1481-1502.

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

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

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

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

⁶⁶ *Supra*, p. 46.

give a philosophical turn to the accounts of primitive biblical history, so too in Christendom it early became the practice to put an allegorical interpretation on sacred texts whenever they appeared mystifying.⁷⁷ At first it was the Old Testament, where actual types were at hand to suggest the possibility of extending such prefigurements. Then, as liturgical life began to become fixed and standard, and thence to become obscure, the liturgy, too, received this treatment.⁷⁸ A preparatory step and condition for the introduction of allegorization was a delight in symbolism. Rites were in use that had been consciously introduced into the liturgy as indications of deeper things, like the washing of hands and the kiss of peace; there were others which had indeed a different origin but whose significance easily obtruded, like the mixing of water with the wine. Allegory went a step further and sought no longer for any apparent and actual signification.

One of the first to champion this liturgical allegorization at the start of the sixth century was Pseudo-Dionysius, whose neo-Platonic thinking inspired not only the method but, to a degree, also the content of his interpretation of the liturgy. However, he uses the allegorical system to explain only isolated moments in the Mass, as when he interprets the priest's coming from the altar to distribute Communion as an image of the Incarnation.⁷⁹ Before him others had already gone much further: Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and the Syrian Narsai (d. about 502), who understand, for instance, the carrying of the gift-offerings to the altar as the burial of Jesus, the transubstantiation as His Resurrection, and the breaking of the consecrated bread as the appearance of the risen Saviour.⁸⁰ Of a different sort are Sophronius (d. 638) and Maximus Confessor (d. 662), of whom the former finds in the Mass-liturgy representations of our Lord's life (the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Revelation on the banks of the Jordan, the Transfiguration) and especially of His Passion,⁸¹ while the latter perceives predominant therein images of the relationships and activities of the spiritual life.⁸²

In regard to the Roman liturgy, it was seemingly Alcuin who first applied the allegorical method.⁸³ But it was his pupil Amalar⁸⁴ who made the most

⁷⁷ J. C. Joosen-J. H. Waszink, "Allegorese," RAC, I, 283-293.

⁷⁸ The many intellectual associations out of which liturgical allegory arose are pointed out in an (unprinted) Innsbruck theological dissertation by P. Rusch, *Wurzeln und Anfänge der allegorischen Liturgieerklärung* (1933), esp. pp. 61 ff.

⁷⁹ Ps. Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 3, 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 313).

⁸⁰ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, V and VI (Rücker, 21 f., 31 ff.). Connolly, *The liturgical homilies of Narsai*, 3 ff., 11, 23 f., 55 f.

⁸¹ Sophronius, *Commentarius liturg.* (PG, LXXXVII, 3981-4002); Franz, 336 f.

⁸² Maximus, *Mystagogia* (PG, XCI, 657-718); cf. Franz, 337 f.

⁸³ Franz, 361 f.

⁸⁴ The first piece to be considered is the masterwork of Amalar of Metz, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* or, as the title reads in the manuscripts, *Liber officialis* (PL, CV, 985-1242). The work presupposes the author made a pilgrimage to Rome about 813; it was completed by 823. A revision in which a fourth book was added to the three already written appeared in 831. The manu-

extensive and thorough use of it. Although it was nothing new, still the type of explanation as handled by Amalar with such thorough logic appeared unwonted and strange. Pressed by one of Amalar's opponents, the deacon Florus of Lyons, the interpretation was condemned at the Synod of Quiercy in 838,⁶⁶ the allegation being that shadows and images might perhaps suit the Old Testament but certainly not the New, which claimed a *rationabile obsequium* without superstitions or nebulous fancies.⁶⁷ But this judgment was unable to halt the triumphal progress of Amalar's allegorical method, or to hinder the constant spread of his writings.⁶⁸ The following centuries do, however, exhibit expositions of the Mass that give scarcely any space to allegory. Florus (d. 860) himself composed an interpretation that relied essentially on quotations from the Fathers.⁶⁹ Following his example, Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908) worked hard at a good verbal explanation of the Ordinary of the Mass.⁷⁰ Rabanus Maurus (d. 856) was content to stress the chief ideas that course through the Mass.⁷¹ Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) goes into details, and displays not only a great deal of interest but an astonishing insight into liturgico-historical matters.⁷²

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

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

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

two allegorizings might actually produce evidence for a distinction.

⁶⁶ Franz, 359 f., 394 f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the whole, then, this way of explaining the Mass, as practiced by Amalar, marked out the trend for the future. The share of the Church was perhaps less prominently mentioned, but in other matters the majority of commentators, as we shall see, followed in Amalar's footsteps.

It can thus be seen that the transplanting of the Roman liturgy into Frankish lands was associated with many profound changes. These changes clearly bear witness to the intense spiritual life with which the Carolingian epoch was filled, a spiritual life which sparkled especially in the monasteries and in the cathedrals, whose clergy were organized in conventual life by means of chapters. It is to be noted that, in spite of difficulties of travel, distance put hardly a barrier in the way of mutual exchange and mutual stimulation. Thus at St. Denis they were studying Greek culture, rewriting a life of St. Dionysius from Greek sources⁷⁸ and adapting liturgical texts from the Antiochene liturgy.⁷⁹ Liturgical creativeness is to

⁷⁶ *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1126).

⁷⁷ *op. cit.*, III, 26 (PL, CV, 1145 A).

⁷⁸ Abbot Hilduin, later chancellor of Louis the Pious, was the first to identify Dionysius of Paris with pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite whose writings were at that time becoming known in France. On the cultivation of Greek at various Carolingian educational centers, see H. v. Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Früh-*

mittelalter (Tübingen, 1921), 723-726; cf. 464. Greek studies in the Occident from the 9th to the 12th centuries are examined by A. Strittmatter, *Eph. liturg.*, LV (1941), 8, Note 11.

⁷⁹ The Mass *Ordo* of St. Denis in Martène, I, 4, v (I, 518-528; acc. to Leroquais, I, 142, the MS comes from the 11th century) contains not less than six formulas derived from the Greek liturgy of St. James, one

be traced at several points within the confines of the Frankish empire. At the outset of the period of accepting the Roman liturgy, the German monasteries—like St. Gall, Reichenau, Rheinau—stand out above all as the native places of more important liturgical manuscripts. But from the ninth century on, we can detect, through the manuscripts, a shift in the centers of Carolingian culture, first to places in the heart of French territory, like Tours, Corbie, Paris, Reims, but then also to some on the periphery, like Arles, Verona, Regensburg, Fulda or the episcopal cities of Normandy.⁸⁰

For the enlargement of the Roman Ordinary by new prayers, the first important source, still in the ninth century, is the manuscript of Amiens already referred to,⁸¹ with which two other pieces are partially connected, namely the tenth-century manuscript sacramentary of Abbot Ratold of Corbie (d. 986)⁸² and the contemporaneous sacramentary of Fulda,⁸³ the last, however, distinguished from the other two by a greater reserve in admitting new creations, for example, the *apologæ*.

10. The Romano-Frankish Mass as a New Basic Type, and Its Differentiation

Out of all this shaping and shifting of liturgical forms in the Carolingian area a new Mass rite of the Romano-Frankish type was produced. It was at once rich and sharply outlined and soon had won wide acceptance. The evidences are scattered over broadly separated parts of a Carolingian realm which had meanwhile disintegrated. The episcopal city of Séz in Nor-

for the entrance to the sanctuary, one for the washing of hands before the offertory, and four for incensing (519C, 523D, 525); cf. Brightman, p. liv, and *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 1, 5.

At St. Denis, too, during the following centuries they used to sing Greek songs at Mass on certain occasions, especially Epiphany and Pentecost; this was done at several monasteries, but St. Denis was the chief. The songs in question were as a rule chants from the ordinary: *Κύριε, Δέξα, Πιστεύω*. This wonderful monastic culture continued to blossom at St. Denis till the outbreak of the French Revolution. Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 92 f. Cf. also the accounts in Martène, I, 3, 2, 8-10 (I, 281); de Moléon, 263.

Sacramentaries containing these chants in Greek are noticed in L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*

(Paris, 1886), 103, 107, 263, 398. Further discussion in Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine en France*, 214-216, 223 f.

⁸⁰ Cf. the sketch in Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, p. xvii-xxvi, or the discussion of the sacramentary manuscripts in Leroquais, I, 1 ff., and of the *ordines* manuscripts in Andrieu, I, esp. 467 ff. ⁸¹ *Supra*, p. 77.

⁸² PL, LXXVIII, 239-245; cf. *ibid.*, 19. Also in Martène, I, 4, xi (I, 562-568). According to Leroquais, I, 79, Ratold must have gotten the MS. from Arras. The vesting prayers are composed for the most part in hexameters.

⁸³ Ed. By G. Richter and A. Schoenfelder (Fulda, 1921). On the typography of this sacramentary, all examples of which come from Fulda itself, and all of which are distinguished by excellent miniatures, cf. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 123 f.

mandy,¹ and Minden on the Weser, (which is considered the place of origin of the *Missa Illyrica*)² the monastery of Gregorienmünster in Alsace,³ and St. Lawrence in Liège⁴—these are the principal places where this Ordinary was to be found. It appears in various settings and was soon transferred also to Italy.⁵

The nearest thing to a basic form of this Ordinary is in general apparently the Mass *ordo* of Séez⁶; accordingly we can speak about a Séez group. However, it cannot be the basic form itself since—to instance one point—the *apologiæ* which are inserted here are replaced in the other manuscripts by different *apologiæ*.⁷ The basic form must have developed somewhere in Franco-German territory before the year 1000, since there are extant several derivatives to be dated about this period.⁸

¹ The Mass *ordo* designated *ex codice Tiliario*, edited by H. Ménard, in Migne, PL, LXXVIII, 245-251; cf. *ibid.*, 20 f.

Also in Martène, 1, 4, XIII (I, 574-580), with the misleading superscription *Ex ms. pontificali Salisburgensi*. This label is probably to be explained by the fact that the Mass *ordo* belongs to a supplement which was added at Séez during the second half of the 11th century to a pontifical which actually came from Salzburg (at present in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 820); see Andrieu, *Les ordines*, I, 351-355.

² *Supra*, p. 79.

³ Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 594-600).

⁴ *Ibid.*, XV (I, 582-594). Martène's reference to Stablo in Belgium is erroneous; see M. Coens, *Analecta Boll.*, LVIII (1940), 48 ff.

⁵ Cod. Chigi in Bona, *altera app.* (955-964); Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 568-574). This is only partly preserved. It is related to the more important Mass *ordo* in the Missal of St. Vincent's Abbey at Volturno (Cod. Vat. lat. 6082), a work of the end of the 11th century, only recently published by V. Fiala in *Beiheft z. 23. Jahrg. d. Benediktinischen Monatschrift* (1947), 180-224. Likewise incomplete is the *ordo* preserved in the Pontifical of Halinardus which was meant for Langres and was sent in 1036 to Dijon; Martène, 1, 4, XIV (I, 580-582). Also in the Missal of Troyes in Martène, 1, 4, VI (I, 528-534), originally about the middle of the 11th century; see G. Morin, *Revue Bénéd.*, XXXIV (1922), 288; it breaks off after the offertory.

A late example is found in the Sacramentary of Seckau, originally about 1170, of which excerpts are given in Köck, 17 ff.,

95 ff., etc. Another in the Sacramentary of Boldau in Hungary, originally 1195, described by Radó, 31-58.

⁶ Proof in the citations given below for the various parts; see, for example, the prayers at accession and vesting.

⁷ Also the first acts, washing the hands and putting on the sandals, with the respective companion prayers, reappear (in reverse order) only in the Missal of Liège and in Cod. Chigi, but these books show secondary additions, e.g., aside from the rubrics, the insertion of Ps. 25 before Ps. 42 on the way to the altar. The rubric for the *mixtio* is inverted, being found unchanged in Liège and Gregorienmünster, but preserved at Séez in a curtailed form; see below, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 5. Nor is the entrance-rite at Séez entirely original; see below, p. 291 ff.

⁸ Leroquais, *Les pontificaux*, I, 142, dates the *Pontificale* of Halinardus as the second half or end of the 10th century. According to Browe, *JL*, XIII (1935), 47, Note 11, a Mass *ordo* from Münster i. W. belonging to the "10th/11th century" agrees "almost word for word" with that of St. Lawrence in Liège (first half of the 11th century)—and proofs presented by Browe confirm this. The date for the *Missa Illyrica* is about 1030, yet in this the schema is already much expanded; cf. *supra*, p. 79.

The Cod. Chigi is dated by Bona, 1, 12, 4 (149 f.) as 10th century, but the evidence of the Lombard script makes a different date possible; the MS. seems to have disappeared, since it is not mentioned in Ebner, 167. The contents suggest rather the middle of the 11th century (the rite of high Mass, see below, II, 3; the *Confiteor*, see below, III, 5).

Amongst the peculiarities to be found in the Mass *ordo* of the Séez group is the insertion in four places of psalm prayers. While the sacramentary of Amiens adds Psalm 50 right before vesting, this Ordinary includes along with a fully developed series of vesting prayers,⁹ an independent group of prayers, the kernel of which is composed of Psalms 83, 84, and 85, with the versicles and the oration *Aures tuæ pietatis*. Here, too, Psalm 42 appears for the first time, to be said upon entering the House of God; it begins with the antiphon *Introibo ad altare Dei*, and concludes with the oration *Aufer a nobis*, and only after that follow the avowals of sinfulness or, *apologia*, which are different in the various redactions. At a high Mass, at least, these continue all through the fore-Mass. Only one short, oration-like *apologia*, *Omnipotens (sempiterna) Deus qui me peccatorem*, seems to belong to the original form of this group of prayers, recurring as it does in the same form in all the manuscripts. Just before bringing the gift-offerings to the altar, there are a number of sacerdotal oblation prayers, of the Gallican type *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, like those that already appear in the sacramentary of Amiens. The offertory itself is accompanied by some new texts. At the mixing of the water with the wine the formula *Deus qui humanæ substantiæ* is used. The incensing that follows is accompanied by all the prayers still in use today. The assisting clergy respond to the bidding *Orate fratres* with a prayer which is taken up again after the *Sanctus*, a whole series of appropriate psalms being said in common; thus the quiet of the canon is again undermined. The communion series is composed of most of the prayers still in use.¹⁰ A psalm prayer—namely the canticle of the Three Young Men, with Psalm 150 and corresponding conclusion—follows at the end, on the return to the sacristy. The obligation to say this final series—just as with the entrance prayers—was far less strict than the obligation with regard to the other parts of the Mass.

As can be seen, in this Mass Ordinary which hails from Franco-German territory, there are not a few elements that are still to be found in today's Roman Mass or at least appear as preparation and thanksgiving.

Soon after its origination, this Ordinary was on its way to Italy where its further development was again decided. In many Italian Mass books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find not only the elements still retained at present but also other peculiarities, some of them trivial, which have since disappeared.¹¹ Some of the items of this *ordo*, like Psalm 42

⁹ The prayers differ from those of Amiens (*supra*, p. 78), from which the formulas customary today stem for the most part.

¹⁰ Namely *Domine Jesu Christe Fili, Perceptio, Panem cælestem, Quid retribuam*; the order in which they follow varies.

The *Missa Illyrica* also contains the Prayer for Peace, the formula at the sumption and the *Quod ore sumpsimus*.

¹¹ Amongst these (aside from certain texts

which already appeared in older arrangements of the Mass, even in part in the Sacramentary of Amiens) are: the prayer previously mentioned as attached to the *Aufer a nobis*, an oration having the character of an *apologia*: *Omnipotens Deus qui me peccatorem*; the formula which follows for kissing the Gospel-book, *Pax Christi quam nobis*; the words with which the deacon hands over the chalice, *Immola Deo*; the

and its oration, or the prayer for incensing, appear from this time on in all the Italian Mass books. We could refer particularly to some manuscript witnesses which either present us with the complete *ordo* unaltered, as does Codex Chigi,¹² or at least give us the greater part with more or fewer additions. Among these latter are especially two Mass books of the eleventh century, from the Benedictine center of Camaldoli,¹³ a somewhat later book from Monte Cassino,¹⁴ another Benedictine sacramentary from the vicinity of Verona,¹⁵ the sacramentary of Modena which was finished before 1174,¹⁶ and two pontificals of the eleventh and twelfth century.¹⁷

Thus we come to that episode which proved to be of such incalculable importance for the entire subsequent history of the Roman liturgy. About the middle of the tenth century the Roman liturgy began to return in force from Franco-Germanic lands to Italy and to Rome, but it is a liturgy which meanwhile had undergone radical changes and a great development. This importation entailed supplanting the local form of the Roman liturgy by its Gallicized version, even at the very center of Christendom. A Romano-Germanic pontifical compiled at Mainz about 950—the basic model of today's *Pontificale Romanum*—at that time found its way to Lucca and to Rome, as we learn from manuscripts which were written about this period at both the places mentioned.¹⁸ It was likely the frequent journeys to Rome of Otto the Great, in whose company a large number of German clerics made the trips, that brought the book into Italy.¹⁹ The earliest copies of the pontifical²⁰ contained the so-called *Ordo Romanus VI* which provides an arrangement for the bishop's Mass that is in extraction and content very similar to our own Ordinary.²¹ Some usages had already got to Rome from the North at an earlier period.²² A great many others were

formula for offering up the chalice, *Domine Jesu Christe qui in cruce*; the formula for blessing both the offerings, *In nomine D.N.J.C. sit sacrificium*; the psalm-prayer after the *Sanctus*; the formula at Communion: *Communicatio et confirmatio*; the formula attached to the *Placeat: Meritis*. A second *apologia*-like oration, *Fac me quas*, is missing in the Séz text, but in most other texts is found near the oration *Aures*.

A more detailed study of the sources of these prayers can be gotten (with the help of the Index) in the explanations which follow in Parts III and IV.

¹² See *supra*, note 5.

¹³ Ebner, 297 ff., 300 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 309 ff. The *ordo* begins with the *Kyrie*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 306 f.

¹⁶ Muratori, I, 86-95; cf. Ebner, 97 f.

¹⁷ Ebner, 311 ff., 327 ff.

Cf. still another missal of the 12th/

13th century: Ebner, 321 ff.

¹⁸ Andrieu, *Les ordines*, I, 511 ff.

¹⁹ Klauser, *Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen* (*Hist. Jahrbuch*, 1933), 186 f., concludes that the years 962-964, in which Otto I was in Rome, were the years during which this transfer to a Franco-German liturgy took place. This would hold true in the first place for the rites retained in the Roman Pontifical.

²⁰ MS. of Lucca, probably written about 962-964 (Andrieu, *Les ordines*, I, 156 ff., as n. X); also the two MSS. from Monte Cassino and Rome-Vallicellana, which were copied from an original written ab. 1000 (*ibid.*, 176 f., 199).

²¹ Before the entrance procession the clergy pray *VII psalmos*; this is presupposed also—in fact doubly—in the *Missa Illyrica*. After the *Orate pro me* the Gradual Psalms are said. *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 1, 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 989 C, 993 B).

²² Klauser, 183 f.

soon to follow, as northern liturgical books replaced those locally in use and thus crowded out the customs hitherto obtaining.

At the time, this displacement was unfortunately not very difficult. In matters liturgical (as in other matters) the tenth century was for Rome an era of collapse and demoralization. It would seem that at that time new manuscripts were simply not being produced.²³ In the scriptoria of the North, on the contrary, there was bustling activity; in particular there flourished at the time in German monasteries the art of manuscript illumination.²⁴ It is worthy of note that Pope Gregory V made an agreement in 998 with the abbey of Reichenau, stipulating that in return for certain privileges accorded on the occasion of the blessing of a new abbot, the monks were to send, amongst other things, a new sacramentary.²⁵ It goes without saying that this would mean only the style of Mass book then current in the North.²⁶

Of course there were many different ways in which this revamped Mass book from Carolingian territory, with its new *ordo*, could get to Italy. In the instance cited in the last paragraph the path led from a German monastery directly into the Lateran. But in other cases it could be easily the road from one monastery to another. Amongst the examples of places on Italian soil where this new Mass *ordo* clearly made its appearance, the Benedictine share looms very prominent. Even Codex Chigi, one of the earliest witnesses, is of Benedictine origin.²⁷ Recall the early shift of the Cluniac reform to Italy. Abbot Odo (c. 942) was able to draw into the reform a great number of monasteries of Rome and its environs, and even Monte Cassino.²⁸ In 1000 Abbot Odilo was at Ravenna to meet St. Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese,²⁹ from whose ranks we already mentioned two witnesses of the new Mass *ordo*. On the other side, Cluny also had won great power and influence in France even during the tenth century, so extensive that it came into contact with the new Mass *ordo* at many points and could thus become its "carrier,"³⁰ if it had not already assisted at its birth.³¹

²³ Klauser, 183.

²⁴ U. Berlière, *L'ordre monastique des origines au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1924), 150.

²⁵ A. Brackmann, *Germania pontificia II*, (Berlin, 1923), I, 152; Andrieu, 515 f.

²⁶ Andrieu, 516, Note 1, refers to the fact that in the canon of the Mass books used in the papal chapels from the 11th/12th centuries on, the extra-Roman practice of naming the bishop is followed: *una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N.*

²⁷ Bona, *op. cit.*, 955.

²⁸ E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, (Halle, 1892), I, 93-114.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 346-349.

³⁰ Around the year 1000 both Verdun and

Dijon, among others, were involved in the movement. From Verdun comes one of the texts of the Mass *ordo* published by Martène (*supra*, note 4). Another such reached the reformed monastery of S. Bénigne in Dijon at least in the year 1036 (*supra*, note 5).

³¹ Abbot William of Dijon, who came from Cluny, took over in 1001 the monastery of Fécamp, which from then on, because of its school, became the center of reform not only of the monasteries but also of the secular clergy. Sackur, (Halle, 1894) II, 44-48; G. Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, (Paderborn, 1926), II, 185, 213 f. Some such point of departure would best explain the uniform spread of the

The chief factor for ensuring the penetration, through and through, of this new fashion in Roman liturgy and its arrangement of the Mass, was the political power of the Romano-German empire. Although this influence was indirect it was considerable, for since Otto the Great, the Emperor had interfered in the affairs of Rome and Italy and had time and again put his own candidates in the chief positions. In one case, in fact, we are told of a direct interference by a German ruler in the shaping of the liturgy of Rome; when Henry II came to the Eternal City for his imperial coronation in 1014, he asked as a favor that at Rome also the *Credo* be sung at Mass as was long the case in the North.

So, for a second time in the West, liturgical unity was achieved but this time it was not the members that yielded to the head, but rather the head accommodated itself more and more to members grown meanwhile strong and wilful. The refined clarity of the old forms was no longer present in the newer growth, nor were latent there the inner forces that might have reformed it in the olden spirit.

Fundamentally the new Mass *ordo* from the North was only one type out of many. Open suggestions were offered therein for new elements in the Mass-liturgy as demanded by the trend of the times, but none of these had any real binding force. Such elements were left on principle to local or at most regional regulations. Indeed the new silent prayers, which formed a goodly part of the recent acquisition, could be changed or even extended by the priest himself, since they were purely the expression of private devotion. Many details of external deportment, especially in a non-solemn Mass, such for instance as the manner of preparing the chalice, and the precise moment of the Mass that this was to be done, were left more or less free, since the rubrics were concerned only with a high Mass where many assistants took part. Thus we find throughout the later Middle Ages a great variation in all those parts of the Mass-liturgy which were not fixed as a heritage of the ancient Roman sacramentaries—variation not only from country to country but from church to church, in fact, from Mass book to Mass book. Amongst the Mass books from the latter half of the Middle Ages which are still in existence—there are thousands of them—there are seldom (to judge from descriptions at hand) two Mass books that agree to such an extent that the later copy does not add a prayer text or a rubric, or leave one out, or consciously alter it.

A special case, all through the Middle Ages, is the variation in the wording of many prayers, particularly the shorter ones. The shorter the formula, the greater the diversity. The formula for the distribution of Communion, the text accompanying the offering of host and chalice, or the *Suscipiat*—only with great trouble can one arrive at a fixed basic text. A phrase is

Mass *ordo* both in episcopal and abbey churches. The Norman episcopal city of Séz was not the home of these original witnesses by mere accident. From Nor-

mandy, half a century later, when liturgical writing was still scarce elsewhere, came the work of John of Avranches, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*.

enlarged here or there, it is doubled, it is enhanced with emotional highlights, or it is even changed to something else or left out entirely. This is understandable, for such texts were mostly handed down, not in writing, but by word of mouth, and were spoken by heart till such time as they were again taken down, somewhere, somehow, in writing.³² In many Mass books they were not to be found at all, or they were inserted only as an appendix. They were on the very verge between official prayers and private prayers. And so there was sometimes no hesitation in inserting absolutely private prayers in the course of the Mass, as did a certain twelfth century Bishop Gundulph of Rochester, who daily said a second Mass in the presence of his monks, and after the Gospel, while the choir-boys sang the offertory, he sat down and gave himself over entirely to his devotions, and sighed and wept.³³

The direction of all this lay as a matter of principle in the hands of the metropolitan.³⁴ But there was no stopping the continual procurement of books (and consequently of ritual customs) from other church provinces, if the books were not obtainable from one's own. Nor was there any special aversion to a conscious difference of usage. Over and over during medieval times the phrase of St. Gregory is reiterated: *in una fide nil officit Ecclesiae consuetudo diversa*,³⁵ sometimes word for word,³⁶ sometimes only in substance.³⁷

It was the monasteries that first introduced a more rigid discipline. The customs of the larger reformed abbeys, which were written down chiefly

³² A parallel from the present day might help to establish this point. The verse *Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum* has become a popular prayer among the people, being frequently used at the Way of the Cross. But little changes have crept in; in my own South Tyrol, for instance, instead of *Christe* they say "Lord Jesus Christ," and in the second part usually "by Thy holy cross and Passion Thou hast redeemed us and the whole world."

³³ Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine*, 153 f.

³⁴ In this sense we must interpret many of the decrees of synods of the 5th/7th centuries, some of which were included in medieval collections of canon law; see Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 149, 296. Cf. also the fifth Synod of Arles (554), Canon 1 (Hardouin, III, 328 B). A similar demand is made by Burchard of Worms, *Decretum III*, 66 (PL, CXL, 687): *ut institutiones missarum sicut in metropolitana ecclesia fiunt, ita . . . in omnibus provincialibus ecclesiis . . . servantur*. The same basic notion is still enunciated at the

close of the Middle Ages by Gabriel Biel (d. 1495), *Canonis expositio*, lect. 80. The lectures contained in this work were delivered at Tübingen, and the author therefore—following the argument already indicated—submits the use of Mainz.

³⁵ Gregory the Great, *Ep. I*, 43 (PL, LXXVII, 497). The far-reaching advice which the same pope is supposed to have given to St. Augustine in England, *Ep. XI*, 64, 3 (PL, LXXVII, 1187), agrees with this trenchant axiom; choose, he said, the best of the various customs that you get to know on your trip through Gaul, and introduce them into England. This letter, however, is not genuine, as S. Brechter, *Die Quellen zur Angelsachsenmission Gregors d. Grossen* (Münster, 1941), 13-111, proves quite conclusively.

³⁶ The Trier *Liber officiorum* (11th cent.; in Franz, *Die Messe*, 374); Anselm, *Ad Waleranum querelas*, c. 1 (PL, CLVIII, 552 D); Bernhard von Waging (d. 1472; in Franz, 571).

³⁷ Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1029), *Ep. 3* (PL, CXXI, 192 D).

since the eleventh century, contain in good measure prescriptions for divine worship and, amongst these, exact and detailed regulations of the Mass *ordo*. This is true, first of all, of the catalog of the customs of Cluny as set down in the middle of the eleventh century by the monk Bernard,³⁸ and in a stricter arrangement around 1080 by the monk Udalrich.³⁹ Therein everything is carefully regulated that concerns the handling of the Eucharist, from the preparation of host-bread to the ablation after reception, for which a series of new regulations are introduced.⁴⁰

The new branches of the Benedictines too, soon after their establishment, prescribed fixed liturgical arrangements for their churches. Amongst these were also a peculiar regulation of the Mass *ordo* which was afterward altered very little. A concomitant factor was—as in similar cases—the local tradition of the home diocese of the mother-house. Take the case of the Cistercians whose rite was regulated in the *Liber usuum* shortly after 1119,⁴¹ incorporating the usage of Chalon-sur-Saône. As regards singing and architectural appointments, the Cistercian service is very simple, a conscious contrast to Cluny. For an external portrayal of this special rite—outside Castile⁴²—which was given up in 1618, the most significant point was this: almost nothing except the preface and canon was said at the center of the altar; the *Gloria* and the greeting that followed were said on the Epistle side, the *Credo* and the secret on the Gospel side.

The liturgical arrangement for the Carthusians was compiled in the *Statuta antiqua* just shortly before 1259,⁴³ but it belongs substantially to

³⁸ *Bernardi Ordo Cluniacensis* (Herrgott, *Vetus disciplina monastica*, 133-364).

³⁹ *Udalrici Consuetudines Cluniacenses* (PL, CXLIX, 635-778). A further development of these customs is extant in the *Constitutiones Hirsauenses* of Abbot William of Hirsau (d. 1091), in PL, CL, 927-1146. But even before Cluny itself, these customs were fixed in writing by other monasteries affected by Cluny's reform ideas. Thus especially the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (PL, CL, 1193-1300; Albers, I, 1-206), written down about 1040, but containing adaptations to local conditions.

For a survey of the inter-relationships of the various *Consuetudines*, see P. Polk, *Der Liber ordinarius des Lütticher St. Jakobsklosters*, p. xiii-xxi; cf. also U. Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine* (Paris, 1927), 24-36; E. Tomek, *Studien zur Reform der deutschen Klöster im 11. Jh.*; I. Die Frühreform (Vienna, 1910), 173 ff.

⁴⁰ A synopsis of the liturgical prescriptions according to Udalrich and a partial commentary on them in Tomek, 184-232. A general evaluation of the sources is found

in a pertinent chapter of G. de Valous, *Le Monachisme Clunisien*, (Paris, 1935), I, 327-372.

⁴¹ Critical text in Ph. Guignard, *Les Monuments primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne* (Dijon, 1878); H. Séjalon, *Nomasticon Cisterciense seu antiquiores ordinis consuetudines* (Solesmes, 1892). I use a text which is apparently only slightly different, in Migne (PL, CLXVI, 1421-1442).

R. Trilhe, "Cîteaux (Liturgie de l'ordre de)", DACL, III, 1787-1811; F. Schneider, "Vov alten Messritus des Cistercienser Ordens," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, XXXVII (1925), 145-152, with 30 further articles till XL (1928), 77-90; in the last there is an index (88-90); there is a French edition, slightly revised: *L'ancienne messe cistercienne* (Tilburg, 1929). Cf. A. A. King, *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies*, 62 ff.

⁴² B. Kaul, "Auf den Spuren des alten Cistercienserritus in Spanien," *Cist.-Chronik*, LIV (1947), 226-235; LV (1948), 218 f.

⁴³ In the chapter (I, 43) *De officio sacer-*

the twelfth century.⁴⁴ The Savoyard origin of the first Carthusians explains the similarities to the rite of Lyons. The Mass ceremonial, in use even today, is distinguished by its archaic character. In this rite the Mass still concludes with the *Ite missa est*. The liturgy of the Premonstratensians was also put in order by the twelfth century.⁴⁵ But the ancient form of the *Liber ordinarius* which was then compiled, unlike the corresponding books of the Cistercians or the Dominicans, was altered in the course of years, until in the seventeenth century the Missal of Pius V was finally adopted.

If the old orders, living on the basic principle of *stabilitas loci*, found it necessary to secure uniformity in liturgical regulation, this was true in a higher degree even with regard to the itinerant orders of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans had their first Mass book determined even before 1244. This was fixed by the *Ordinarium iuxta ritum sacri Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*,⁴⁶ and was produced under the General, Humbert de Romans, and enacted into law in 1256.⁴⁷ As far as the rite of the Mass is concerned—there was a special chapter on the *missa privata*—this extremely careful regulating had its repercussions far beyond the confines of the order itself. Various monastic groups, like the Teutonic Knights, adopted the Dominican rite. The Mass ceremonial of the *Liber ordinarius* of the Benedictine abbey of St. James in Liège, which in its turn had an extensive influence, was nothing else than a slight modification of the Dominican.⁴⁸ The same is true of the ceremonial established by the Carmelites in the General Chapter of 1312,⁴⁹ a ceremonial still used by the Calced Carmelites. While the Dominican rite in some details displays certain antique traits, as for instance the shortness of the prayers at the foot of the altar, in others it exhibits an energetic progress and development. Thus, for the first time, the repetition at the gradual is underlined, the customary ablution rite

dotis, diaconi et subdiaconi: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 631-635).

⁴⁴ A. Degand, "Chartreux (Liturgie de)," DACL, III (1913), 1045-1071.

⁴⁵ Pl. F. Lefèvre, *L'Ordinaire de Prémontré d'après des mss. du 12. et du 13. siècle* (Louvain, 1941); M. van Waefelghem, *Le liber ordinarius d'après un ms. du 13./14. siècle* (Louvain, 1913). Wherever there is no question of text variants, I cite from the latter book, since it is accompanied by a thorough-going commentary giving indications of later changes in the rite. I am also indebted to a finished study, still in manuscript, by Dr. Hermann Joseph Lentze, O.Præm. (Wilten), "Die Liturgie des Prämonstratenserordens."

Cf. also B. Luyckx, "Essai sur les sources de l'Ordo missæ Prémontré," *Analecta Præmonstratensia*, XXII-XXIII (1946-47), 35-90.

⁴⁶ Newly edited by F. Guerrini (Rome, 1921). The prescriptions for conventual Mass according to an English MS. of the 13th century, also in Legg, *Tracts*, 73-87, with further remarks, pp. 87-96.

⁴⁷ M. H. Lavocat, "La liturgie dominicaine," *Liturgia*, ed. by Aigrain (Paris, 1935), 860-864; further bibliography cited there. The liturgical arrangement before Humbert is thoroughly discussed by G. G. Soelch, *Hugo von S. Cher, O.P., und die Anfänge der Dominikanerliturgie* (Cologne, 1938). Cf. also William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (N. Y., 1944), 28-35; and esp. 118-129.

⁴⁸ P. Volk, *Der Liber ordinarius des Lütlicher St. Jakobs-Klosters* (Münster, 1923). For genealogical relationships see p. lxxii.

⁴⁹ B. Zimmermann, *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre Dame du Mont Carmel par Sibert de Beka* (*Bibliothèque liturgique* 13)

makes its first appearance, and likewise the St. John Gospel at the end of the Mass. The dramatic moments are visibly high-lighted—the extension of the arms after the consecration, and the signing of the chalice at the end of the canon.

Even more extensive in its effect on the history of the Mass-liturgy was the conduct of the other mendicant order, the Franciscans. They too at first took up the liturgical usage of the order's native place, but afterwards, prompted by the many diversities of the Mass-liturgy which they met with in their early wanderings, they chose for themselves the *Missale secundum usum Romanæ curiæ*. The papal curia, which already by that time had grown into an organization of quite considerable range, had formed for itself, out of the various designs of the contemporary city liturgy, especially along the lines of the old patriarchal basilicas, a special type of Roman Mass book.⁶⁰ This was done chiefly, it appears, under Innocent III. This type is characterized by a sanctoral calendar cataloging many old popes, and by a Mass *ordo* that is really simple,⁶¹ as the unsettled life of the papal court at that time indeed required. The new enlargement by multifarious greetings and blessings and petitions, versicles and responses, as we find them in the Mass books of Northern lands, especially in the compass of the offertory and the communion, are omitted, and continue to be omitted during the succeeding centuries. In fact in some places there is a noticeable attempt at simplification.⁶² Here especially the change from sacramentary to missal which we will investigate in a moment, had been comparatively swift.

This missal the sons of St. Francis made their own, but without renouncing the right to make changes—the trend of the time.⁶³ But from this period on, the Franciscan missal and the *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romanæ curiæ* (also called *Missale Romanum* for short) are almost identical.⁶⁴ This missal type was carried all over the world by the wandering mendicant Friars. It was soon the predominant type of Mass book in

(Paris, 1910); *idem*, "Carmes (Liturgie de l'ordre des)," DACL, II (1910), 2166-2175. Cf. King, *op. cit.*, 75-85.

⁶⁰ M. Andrieu, "Le missel de la Chapelle papale à la fin du XIIIe siècle," *Miscellanea Ehrle*, II (Rome, 1924), 348-376; Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 144-148. According to this the *ordinarium* used in the papal chapel service must have been composed already under Innocent III. However, there is question here of an arrangement quite different from the one Innocent used as a basis in his work, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, written before he was elected Pope (1198). Batiffol, *Leçons*, 6.

⁶¹ *Ordo et Canon missæ* (Cod. Vat. Ottobon. lat. 356; about 1290), ed. J. Brinktrine,

Eph. liturg., LI (1937), 198-209. Excerpts from the same MS. also in Ebner, 347 f.

⁶² In the Mass *ordo* of *Ordo Rom. XIV* (about 1311), which represents a revision of that of Innocent III (see note 50 *supra*), the prayer said while spreading out the corporal (*In tuo conspectu*), still extant in the Mass *ordo* about 1290, is no longer found; n. 71 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1186 C).

⁶³ Cf. A. van Dijk, "Il carattere della corruzione liturgica di Fra Aimone da Faversham O.F.M.," *Eph. liturg.*, LIX (1945), 177-223.

⁶⁴ Other orders also followed the example of the Franciscans; Ebner, 251, cites a *Missale fratrum ordinis s. Augustini sec. consuet. Rom. curiæ* (of the year 1314) and

Christendom.⁶⁶ And after the inauguration of printing it won public prevalence in the whole Latin Church.⁶⁷ It paved the way for the reform under Pius V.

Also in other churches of the later Middle Ages were found special rites clearly designed. This was true of solemn pontifical service in the cathedrals; several *ordines* of such churches, especially in France, give us further knowledge of them.⁶⁸ For a non-solemn Mass, however, there was seldom if ever any written regulation, and in fact the tendency was toward utter simplicity. Local tradition and living custom had to suffice. However, certain centers were the exception, amongst them the church of Lyons, which developed its own definite rite and has retained it, with some modifications and restrictions, to this very day.⁶⁹

In England too, where since William the Conqueror liturgical life had been determined to a great extent by that of Normandy, the rite of Salisbury or Sarum was gradually developed as a distinct and, up to the Reformation, an essentially conservative and fixed arrangement, both for the entire service and more especially for the Mass.⁷⁰ It was the standard not only in a great portion of the English Church but also here and there on the Continent.

In general, however, the right to regulate and supervise the liturgy by dioceses and ecclesiastical provinces appears to have produced very little.

a *Missale fratrum servorum s. Mariæ sec. consuet. Rom. curiæ* (14th century).

⁶⁶ Ebner, in the index p. 479 under the *Missale* (*M. sec. consuet. Rom. curiæ*), cites 33 source-places for important manuscripts amongst Italian libraries alone, and for the Minorite Missals (*Missale fratrum minorum sec. consuet. Rom. curiæ*), *ibid.*, 478, 18 other source-places. But the missals themselves must be far more numerous than these registered sources; see, e.g., Ebner, 22, Note 1.

⁶⁷ Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 149. Substantial additions in R. Menth, O.F.M., "Ein Missale Romanum von 1481," *Franziskan. Studien*, XX (1933), 89-129; according to him during the period 1474-1570 more than 320 printings of the *Missale Romanum* appeared in various presses, chiefly in Italy and France.

A new printing of it which appeared in Milan in 1474, with collations of various other later printings in R. Lippe, *Missale Romanum 1474*, 2 vols. (HBS, 17, 33; London, 1899, 1907).

⁶⁸ See, e.g., in Martène the excerpts from Ordinaries of Laon, Soissons, Bayeux, Chalon-sur-Saône.

⁶⁹ B. Buenger, *L'ancienne liturgie romaine. Le rite Lyonnais* (Lyon o. J., 1934). Cf. the pertinent remarks of Th. Klauser, *JL*, XIV (1938), 455-458.

See Archdale King, "The Rite of Lyons," *Orate Fratres*, XIII (1938-9), 450-454.

⁷⁰ The Mass *ordo* of Sarum according to an older (13th century) and a more recent (14th century) version in Legg, *Tracts* (HBS, 27). Further examples in Martène and in W. Maskell, *The ancient liturgy of the Church of England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1882); the latter has parallel columns containing the arrangements of the Mass at Hereford and York. A survey of the more important peculiarities of the Sarum *ordo* in Fortescue, *The Mass*, 202-205; see also F. Thos. Bergh, "Sarum Rite," *CE*, XIII (1912), 479-481.

There are two more recent editions of Sarum Mass books; the latest is J. W. Legg, *The Sarum Missal edited from three early manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916). Regarding manuscripts of the Sarum Missal that were brought to Spain before 1472 and continued to have an influence there, see Ferreres, p. xcii f., 72, Note c.

In German territory it was rather the literary work of one liturgist that produced big results in directing, coordinating, and simplifying the liturgy. This work was the *Micrologus* written about 1085 by Bernold of Constance,⁸⁰ a champion of the reform of Pope Gregory VII, who had traveled much in Italy. His short explanation of the Mass, distinguished by its calm clarity, contained a special chapter (c. 23) with the text of the *Ordo Missæ* which he considered correct. While the psalmodic prayer of the *Præparatio Missæ* and at the end the Song of the Three Young Men, with the pertinent prayers, form a single series with the other parts of the Mass *ordo*, still, as regards adopting the prayers within the Mass that had long been in circulation, a great amount of discretion and conservativeness is exercised. For instance, both the prayers at the offering of host and chalice are missing. Between *Agnus Dei* and communion only one prayer, *Domine Jesu Christe Fili*, was adopted. Bernold expressly states (c. 12) that in the canon nothing was allowed to be added, not even the names of saints.

Thus out of the great amount of prayer material that had grown up, a fixed core was lifted out, to become the basis, at least in Germany, for further development.⁸¹ In Hungary about 1100, the bishops, by explicit decree, prescribed the arrangement laid out in the *Micrologus* as the obligatory norm.⁸²

A similar importance for France, if not a similarly extensive influence, might be attached to the short and predominantly rubrical portrayal of the Mass which Bishop John of Avranches, who died in 1079 as Archbishop of Rouen, offers in his explanation of the liturgy.⁸³

11. The Gothic Period

Someone has said, and rightly, that Gothic is in a special degree not only an art style (*Kunststil*) but a period style (*Zeitstil*). Because up till now the younger peoples of the North had studied zealously in the school of the older order of things, propriety and proportion, as they appeared in Romanesque, could become the expression of their life. But their growing powers were beginning to spring the old grooves on all sides, seeking newer designs. The individual and subjective, seeing and feeling on one's own personal activity and personal capability—these came to the fore, and led to a stressing of the concrete and realistic, and consequently to a multiplicity of forms which could be kept together and coherent only by a renewed desire for organization. This new spirit did not call a halt even

⁸⁰ Bernold, *Micrologus* (PL, CLI, 977-1022). Regarding the question of Bernold's authorship, see Franz, 414. Cf. also Schwertner in CE, II (1907), 512-513.

⁸¹ Cf. Franz, 415 f.

⁸² D. Kniewald, *Eph. liturg.*, LIV (1940), 221.

It is significant that the MS. which contains the oldest sacramentary of Hungary (12th/13th centuries) also offers the *Micrologus*; see C. Mohlberg, *Eph. Liturg.*, XLI (1927), 67 f.; Radó, 31-36.

⁸³ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 27-62).

with regard to divine service¹; the arrangement of the Mass felt its influence in a most profound manner. Already there was talk of that multiplicity of forms which had developed after the year 1000, but an effort was also made to codify the new forms; we can see in this a parallel to an attempt at mastering the heaped-up resources of knowledge by means of the *summas* which have been ranged side by side with the daring architecture of the Gothic cathedrals.

At least in the eleventh-century community, forces still held the balance of power in ecclesiastical life and the life of divine worship. Beside the cathedral chapter there was in every larger place, and often also in the country, a collegiate chapter in which clerics under the leadership of a provost or dean led a life in common, and above all conducted a community service of worship. In contrast to them the clerics who were individually in the service of the nobility remained absolutely in shadow, especially since most of them lacked any higher education. For these capitular churches, and for Roman church architecture in general, a characteristic was the roomy choir with its stalls, no longer set in a half-circle around the altar but arranged in several parallel rows between altar and people. The daily conventual Mass, which was celebrated, as in the monasteries, in the presence of the assembled clerical community, formed the crown of choir prayer and the very climax of divine service. In the Mass regulations and in the rubrics of the liturgical books this community service is almost the only one considered; there the celebrant appears nearly always accompanied by deacon and subdeacon, even though private celebration is not unknown. Above all, however, the entire setting of the liturgical texts is still always predicated on the cooperation of a plurality of officials and ministers. The priest needs only the sacramentary. Lectionary and antiphonary continue to be separate books for the use of those who are to read or sing. This situation continues to prevail till about the start of the twelfth century.

But then a new arrangement of the liturgical books breaks into the picture; on the strength of this the priest can take over the roles of lector and chanter and thus discharge the duties of his office independently of them. The ties of the individual are thus loosed in the liturgy, just as in this same period the organization of the canonries had slackened or even dissolved with the trend towards personal prebends and separate residences. In the thirteenth century the *Missale Plenum* displaces the sacramentary.² Presages of this new arrangement were the many silent prayers which, as we have seen, had begun to appear in the sacramentaries, at first (since the ninth century) only here and there, but since the eleventh almost universally. These prayers the priest did not have to perform with the community, but softly by himself.

There are isolated instances, especially within the confines of monas-

¹ Cf. A. L. Mayer, "Die Liturgie und der Geist der Gotik," *JL*, VI (1926), 68-97.

² Ebner, 359-363; Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 132-143.

ticism, where even at an earlier period the priest's Mass book was fitted out with the lessons, so that the service of a lector could be dispensed with.⁴ Such books were very likely intended for the convenience of wandering monks, as may also be judged, in the case of the Missal of Bobbio, from the smallness of the book. In the church of Milan too, the oldest sacramentaries almost all incorporate the readings.⁵ Since the ninth century there appeared at various places sacramentaries in which, appendix fashion, a number of Masses with readings are inserted, sometimes also with the chant-texts. As a rule, in fact, the Masses of the *commune* and the *Missæ diversæ*, along with the Votive Masses, including the Masses for the Dead, were thus distinguished.⁶ Votive Masses and Masses for the Dead were employed essentially in the interests of individual families and persons, and especially if they followed each other in rapid succession, were held in the simplest form, often without the lector whose presence was, as a rule, still presumed.

But cases occur at least as often, in which the song-texts are inserted all through the sacramentary. Frequently all that was done was to indicate the first words on the margin—in an age that knew all the psalms by heart this was more than sufficient.⁷ In other instances an antiphonary was bound up in one volume with the sacramentary.⁸ Especially since the eleventh century, Mass books which contain the song-texts but (outside of the *commune* and the Votive Masses) not the readings, occur more often.⁹ There again the first thought must have been private celebration,¹⁰ in which John the Arch-chanter's¹¹ notion prevailed, that these texts were never to be left out. They had to be in the Mass books even when the lessons were left out, because a lector always cooperated, reading the Epis-

⁴ Here belong the Missal of Bobbio (7th century) and, as the earliest example of a Roman "Lection-Sacramentary," the palimpsest text of Cod. 271 of Monte Cassino (8th century) ed. A. Dold, *Vom Sakramentar, Comes und Capitulare zum Missale (Texte und Arbeiten)*, 34; Beuron, 1943).

⁵ Examples, beginning with the 9th/10th century: Ebner, 71, 73, 87, 91, 92, 93. Also a sacramentary from the suffragan see of Brescia, from the middle of the 9th century: Ebner, 22.

Later examples from other churches, *ibid.*, 362, Note 6.

⁶ Two examples of the 9th century from Verona: Ebner, 286 ff., 290 f.; one from the 9th/10th century: *ibid.*, 286. Further examples from the same period in Leroquais, I, p. xii, f. From a later period, see Ebner, 192, 293 ff.; cf. 15 ff., 33 f., 47.

⁷ Already found, written by a second, almost contemporary hand, in the well-known

MS. of the Gregorianum, Cod. Ottobon. 313 (first half of the 9th century); these marginal notations reprinted in Muratori, II, 7 ff.

More recent examples are cited by Ebner, 362, Note 3.

⁸ Several examples from the 10th/13th centuries mentioned in Ebner, 361, Note 3. On the contrary, cases in which a lectionary (*ibid.* Note 4) or a lectionary and an antiphonary (Notes 5 and 6) are added are less frequent.

Cf. also Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 133.

⁹ Examples in Ebner, 47, 134, 141, 224; Köck, 3.

¹⁰ In the early Middle Ages the song texts might be missing even in a *missa cantata*; see *infra*, p. 209. All the more does this hold for private Mass.

¹¹ *Supra*, p. 65.

tle and perhaps sometimes the Gospel also, if he did not have to hand the evangeliary to the priest¹¹ or if the priest did not have the pertinent Gospel pericope in his own Mass book.¹²

Since the thirteenth century simple sacramentaries were very seldom produced.¹³ The *Missale Plenum* or complete missal, which had at first predominated only in monasteries,¹⁴ has become the rule. The cleric to read the Epistle disappears from private Mass. If there are no deacon and sub-deacon, both readings are done by the priest himself, and are therefore indispensable in the Mass book, just as the chant-texts, too, cannot be omitted from it.

At high Mass the chant-texts are to be read by the celebrant (and the assistants); this we find stipulated for the first time in 1140 in regard to the introit, and the prayers the priest intones, *Gloria, Credo, Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*.¹⁵ This is expressly ordered for all the chant-texts for the first time, about the middle of the thirteenth century,¹⁶ although a similar rule for the readings is not yet prescribed.¹⁷ Here in this approach to the private Mass we find a sensitive loosening of the liturgical texture, corresponding in general to the centrifugal tendency of the Gothic period. The priest makes himself, to a certain extent, independent of the singing choir. What the latter is doing is no longer considered as a complementary part of the community celebration. Thus the trend to secular song instead of ecclesiastical can grow all the more powerful. But another factor may have had some influence with regard to the priest himself. Right into the twelfth century it had been customary for the celebrant to fill every pause in his prayers at high Mass with *apologiæ*. Were people finally getting tired of them? It was at any rate a step forward to admit that it would be

¹¹ Amongst the Cistercians in the case of a (conventual) Mass *cum uno ministro*—and the same thing held, no doubt, for a private Mass—the missal was laid on the altar to the right, the evangeliary to the left; the latter was then removed after the Gospel: *Liber usuum*, c. 54 (PL, LXVI, 1429 A). According to the Augsburg Missal of 1555 (Hoeynck, 372), the priest at the beginning of Mass kissed the evangeliary at the left of the altar, the missal at the right.

¹² Not a few of the sacramentaries since the year 1000 contain the Gospels along with the prayers, but omit the Epistles and the chant texts. Amongst these are the so-called *Vetus Missale Lateranense* (11th/12th century) in which the Epistles and chant texts were added later; Ebner, 168. Other examples, *ibid.*, 13, 96 f., 174, 185, 280; cf. 39.

¹³ Amongst the latest examples we must list the sacramentary of the papal chapel (c.

1290) mentioned in the last chapter, note 51 (cf. Ebner, 234 f.) and a 15th-century sacramentary from SS. Apostoli in Rome (Ebner, 146 f.). Another 15th-century sacramentary (Autun) is cited by Leroquais, III, 84.

¹⁴ Examples since the 10th century in Baumstark, 134 f. A newly recovered fragment, probably done at Monte Cassino about 1000, is edited by A. Dold, JL, X (1930), 40-55.

¹⁵ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.*, ed. Fischer, 80, 82 f., 85; *officium* = Introit.

¹⁶ *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235, 237, 239, 244). This could not have been the usual thing much earlier, since the Mass regulations of the preceding years, otherwise rather full and exact, make no mention of it.

¹⁷ But the Epistle is indicated in the *Ordo* of the Lateran church (Fischer, 81, line 12).

much more fitting if the priest would replace those endless self-accusations with the biblical texts which were being sung by the choir.

The complete missal is therefore the product not indeed of the predominance of the private Mass (which had long been in use), but at least of its general extension and its increased acceptance.¹⁸

For the participation of the faithful, the Mass celebrated as a service with or without sacred ministers, with its Latin chanting and its mystery-filled ceremonies, continued during the years to follow as the standard form. The manner of explaining also remained the same, namely *allegory*, as we saw in Amalar. The Mass is looked upon as a holy drama, a play performed before the eyes of the participants. But meanwhile the graphic ceremonial has been enriched. The signs of the Cross in the canon, most of them of pre-Frankish origin, were multiplied till far into the eleventh and twelfth centuries—at the *Supplices* and at the closing doxology. In addition there were in many churches signings with the Cross, and corresponding blessing formulas at the offertory, after the presentation of the gifts¹⁹; and the priest blessed himself a number of times, especially at the Gospel. The Gothic principle of cumulation, the repetition of the same detail, the heaping up of ornament, had its effect on the kissing of the altar. Although up to the twelfth century, this was customary—in line with tradition—only when first approaching the altar and again when leaving, since the end of the thirteenth century it was performed every time the celebrant turned around at the altar.²⁰ The kiss at high Mass when handing the celebrant any object, and the kiss of greeting for the celebrant are also added at various places.²¹ The extension of the hands after the consecration became, since the thirteenth century, a vivid imitation of the outstretched arms of the Crucified. For a time, too, the ceremonial was built up further; the priest at the anamnesis, on recalling the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, was supposed to mimic these movements with his hands.²² Bowing the head at the end of the *Memento* of the dead, and

¹⁸ For a more detailed discussion cf. *infra*, p. 212 ff.

¹⁹ *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 1, 4.

²⁰ *Infra*, p. 317.

A Hungarian missal of the 13th century demands a threefold kissing of the altar at *Veni sanctificator* and *Supplices*; Radó, 62.

²¹ Cf. the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (c. 1140), ed. Fischer, 80-87 and in the Index under the word *osculum* (p. 181); the numerous places at which the kiss is expressly prescribed make it clear that this is not an old tradition taken for granted. Cf. however the trend manifested already about 1100 in the Missal of St. Vincent; Fiala, 201 ff. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 6 (PL, CCXVII, 909 f.), has a special chapter "*De diversis osculis quæ dantur in*

missa"; he mentions, amongst other things, seven ways in which the pope receives the kiss.

²² According to Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Soelch, 37), the priest was to *extendere [manus] in modum crucis*—*parum erigere in signum quod Christus invictus leo resurrexit*—*erigere in signum quod Christus Deus et homo ascendit*. Similarly the Missal of Riga (about 1400; v. Bruiningk, 85) and Hungarian Mass books of the 15th century (Jávör, 116). Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 93 f. In like manner it was customary among the Premonstratensians for the priest at the *Credo* to wait till the *Et resurrexit* before he rose from the genuflection; see JL, IV (1924), 252.

striking the breast while saying *Nobis quoque* in a loud voice—these actions appear to have been introduced as a vivid presentation of our Lord's death and the impression it made on the bystanders.²⁵

And the dramatization of the readings²⁶ took a new turn since Ivo of Chartres (d. 1117); where there was no single ambo to determine the place for the readings, older memories were recalled and so the Gospel was read at the right side (reckoned from the viewpoint of the ancient position of the episcopal throne) and the Epistle at the left. This led to the distinction between the Gospel side (church or altar) and the Epistle side.²⁷

All these usages, making a bid for the curious and fascinated eyes of the Christian people, obtained an allegorical significance. Less and less did the spoken word project its own contents; one concentrated rather on the alternation between the loud and the soft tones of prayer.²⁸ The meaning of ceremonies was often a synthetic one, abstracting entirely from the course of the sacred action, and giving a fixed significance to each repeated ceremony just as a fixed significance was given to the visible appurtenances. Ever since Amalar the priestly vesture had been treated allegorically,²⁹ and in the years that followed this treatment was extended to the church building.³⁰

In the same way, the ceremonies that were oft repeated acquired a fixed meaning, with little thought given to their particular status here and now in the liturgical action. Often enough, besides the picture which presents

Ceremonies of this sort of imitative symbolism were developed in great number, as is well known. And they often turned into something quite playful, as (for instance) when the boy-abbot in the monastery schools on the Feast of Holy Innocents (Dec. 28) at Vespers, when the words *deposuit potentes de sede* were sung, was summarily shoved from his chair. The same dramatic instinct was at work here which produced the mystery plays.

Cl. de Vert, *Explication simple littérale et historique des cérémonies* (Paris, 1706-1708), wanted to use this imitative symbolism of the late Middle Ages as the main principle for the explanation of the ceremonies.

²⁵ Such attempts to create a symbolism that would push the allegory of existing ceremonies even further and produce new ones, were at work quite early. St. Anselm, who died 1109, in a letter, *Ad Waleranum querelas*, ch. 3 (PL, CLVIII, 553 f.), chides those priests for leaving the chalice uncovered during Mass on the plea that Christ had hung naked on the cross of suffering.

²⁶ Cf. *supra*, pp. 77 ff.

²⁷ In greater detail *infra*, p. 414 ff.

²⁸ Cf. the anonymous explanation of the Mass in the Graz Cod. 730 (about 1300; in Franz, 631): *Ea autem quæ laici noscere et quæ eis dici possunt, quæ ad missam pertinent, in tribus comprehenduntur, videlicet in gestibus—ut sunt VII oscula, V versiones, IV inclinationes, XXV cruces sive benedictiones, locorum mutationes, manuum extensiones—in verborum prolationibus...*

²⁹ Perhaps it would be more correct to say "symbolically," since, to be exact, the vesture does not of itself express or signify anything and therefore it cannot rightly be said to "say something else." But in reality we are dealing here not with any original symbolism (the sort of thing found, for instance, in the washing of hands), but only with a secondary symbolism subsequently connected with it—which is hardly to be distinguished from allegory; cf. J. Braun, *Liturgisches Handlexikon* (2nd ed., Regensburg, 1924), 333 f.

³⁰ J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes* (2nd ed., Freiburg, 1924). Sauer follows especially the meanings developed in Honorius Augustodunensis.

itself, the number of repetitions offered a solution. Thus the triple silence in the Mass proper—at the secrets, during the canon and after the *Pater noster*—represents the three days our Lord rested in the tomb.²⁹ The five-fold turning of the priest toward the people³⁰ refers to the five appearances of our Lord after the Resurrection.³¹ Similarly the number of crosses made over the *oblata* received by preference a numerological meaning. The three crosses after the *Te igitur* typify the three times our Lord was mocked before the high priests and Herod and Pilate, the five crosses in the *Unde et memores* typify the five wounds, and so forth.³² The signs of the Cross within the canon are, since the eleventh century, the main theme for instructing the people about the Mass.³³ A didactic poem of this period outlines the minimum that each priest must know about the Mass; what is the sacrifice, and what the altar and chalice, water and wine, and the crosses signify.³⁴

With few exceptions³⁵—among them the straightforward and objective exposition by the Parisian doctor, Jean Beleth (d. about 1165), deserves a prominent place³⁶—the explanation and interpretation of the Mass remains strictly within the bounds initiated by Amalar. The Mass is understood as a dramatic presentation of an action in the divine economy, especially of the suffering, death and resurrection of Christ, beginning with the longings and sighs of the patriarchs and prophets and concluding with our Saviour's ascension into heaven.

The newly developed and newly added ceremonies had also to be considered in this allegorizing. Keeping the book at the altar and moving it from Epistle side to Gospel side—this did not fit easily into the plans heretofore in vogue. It led, as a consequence, not only to an architectonic enlargement of the measurements of the altar, up to now rather modest,³⁷

²⁹ A rhymed explanation of the Mass (12th century) ed. by A. Leitzmann, 2nd ed. (*Kleine Texte*, LIV), 19, 1. 30.

³⁰ The number, but without its meaning, already in Jean Beleth, *Explicatio*, ch. 37 (PL, CCII, 45).

³¹ A preacher of the 13th century draws this oft-repeated meaning out still further: the third turning around, at the *Orate*, is a "secret" greeting and refers to the appearance to Peter which is not known to us in detail. Franz, 643 f.

³² Thus several interpreters, according to the account by Albertus Magnus; cf. *infra*, p. 113. Moreover it was precisely in the field of number-symbolism that the most widely diversified solutions were offered. Durandus, IV, 36, 8, for example, gives five different explanations for the three crosses after the *Te igitur*.

³³ *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 2, 5.

³⁴ Ps-Hildebert, *De s. eucharistia* (PL, LXXI, 1209).

³⁵ Amongst these are Richard of Weddinghausen (12th century), who throughout his explanation of the canon carries out a symbolism built on the number three, but without any rememorative allegory (Franz, 418 f.), and Odo of Cambrai (d. 1113), who creates his exposition on the basis of word meanings and theology (*ibid.*, 426 f.).

³⁶ Jean Beleth, *Explicatio divinorum officiorum*, also known as *Rationale div. off.* (PL, CCII, 13-166).

³⁷ Until the 11th century the altar tables were rarely more than 3 or 4 feet square. (But by the 15th it was not unusual to find them 12 feet long.) At this time, too, the altar began to be built up beyond the simple *mensa*; not only temporary and occasional reliquaries were placed over it, but permanent altar-pieces as well—the start of the

but also to a revamping of the Mass-allegory. Even the first sure evidence of the term "Gospel side"—in Ivo of Chartres—refers to it as the *sinistra pars ecclesiae*³⁶ and the author is then faced with the riddle, why the Gospel should be given the less honorable side; he solves it by explaining that this signifies how when the Jews refused the faith, the apostles turned to the Gentiles (Acts 13:46).³⁷ Thus in the rememorative allegory of the Mass the preaching to the Jews—in contrast to Amalar's plan—had to come before the reading of the Gospel. The collects, too, since they preceded, had to get a new interpretation. Ivo explains them as typical of how our Lord taught His disciples, especially how He taught them to pray. The Epistle then signifies the mission of the disciples.³⁸ The intervening chants refer to the joyous response of those who were well disposed.³⁹

The same interpreter, taking a cue from older projects, sketches for the first time a well-rounded explanation of the canon and its silence as a fulfillment of Old Testament prefigurements. His is therefore a typological allegory intermixed with rememorative elements. Like the high-priest on the great day of Atonement, so the celebrant walks alone into the Holy of Holies, carrying the memorial of the Blood of Christ, and on his breast the names of the twelve patriarchs (the naming of the twelve Apostles), and with the Blood of the Saviour he sprinkles it. When he returns, the scapegoat is chased into the wilderness in the *Jube haec perferri*. Then, instead of changing his garments, he changes his voice and speaks the *Pater noster* aloud.⁴⁰ This attempt at an explanation was carried on by later interpreters and deepened theologically, ultimately to the better un-

immense reredoses of a later date; Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 253 ff., 277 ff. Moreover, cross and altar candles appear on the table; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 466 ff.

³⁶ Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. Vet. et Novi Test* (PL, CLXII, 550 A).

³⁷ *Ibid.*

This interpretation recurs constantly down to the present; cf., e.g., Paul Busard, *The Sacrifice* (St. Paul, 1939), 84.

A second meaning in Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 35 (PL, CCXVII, 820): hereby is represented the truth that Christ came to call not the just but sinners to repentance (Matt. 9:13; cf. 25:33). Durandus, IV, 23, repeats both significations.

⁴⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *op. cit.*

A similar meaning of the Epistle, but for other reasons, is already found in Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1250 A).

³⁹ *Loc. cit.*

Ivo's interpretation of the pre-Gospel pieces reappears in Hildebert of Le Mans,

Versus de mysterio missae (PL, CLXXI, 1178) and likewise in some other later expositors. Still even near the end of the 12th century, Robertus Paululus, *De cæremoniis*, II, 17 (PL, CLXXVII, 421 f.) interprets the Epistle as the preaching of John the Baptist. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 29 f. (PL, CCXVII, 816) also gives the preference to this signification.

In addition, Ivo also suggests a new interpretation of the start of the Mass-sacrifice which is frequently repeated later: the quiet prayers during the offertory refer to the prayer of our Lord on Olivet; at the preface he interrupts them and goes to his disciples to exhort them to pray; *op. cit.* (PL, CLXII, 553 f.).

³⁸ *Op. cit.* (PL, CLXII, 559 B). In some details the interpretation is not always in taste. Cf. also Franz, 429-431.

Hildebert, in his verses, has made an acceptable selection; *op. cit.* (PL, CLXXI, 1182 f.).

derstanding of the sacrificial character of the Mass.⁴⁵

New images of Old Testament origin were introduced into the allegorizing of the Mass by Honorius of Augustodunum (d. about 1125).⁴⁶ In the Mass the exodus from Egypt, the revelation of the commandments, the conquest of Amalec at the prayers of Moses pleading with arms outstretched, the entrance into the Promised Land under the leadership of "Jesu"—all these are re-enacted in a new manner. The bishop, accoutred in his sacred garments as in the armor of war, is the general; the lector is the herald, bells and chants are the fanfare of battle. Even the struggle between David and Goliath is rehearsed in the Mass. Since Honorius adds other pictures, includes audacious number-symbolism, and embraces also much of the traditional allegory of Christ's Passion, the result is a bewildering wealth of variegated meanings, to which one could scarcely apply the title of an explanation. Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215) wanders along the same pathway, but adds to the confusion with a plethora of quotations.⁴⁷

In general, however, the work of the medieval Mass commentators is wedded to the extension of the rememorative type of allegory. Rupert von Deutz (d. 1135) expands it to include the sacerdotal vestments, in which he perceives the person of Christ outlined; the humeral reminds one of the concealment of Christ's divinity by His humanity; the alb, of His purity; the stole, of His obedience unto death; the chasuble, of His raiment which is the Church.⁴⁸

A healthy reaction to this increased overloading of the interpretation of the Mass with so many diverse elements, and at the same time a high point of rememorative allegory is found in the work composed by Innocent III, at that time still Cardinal Lothar, just before his election as Pope (1198).⁴⁹ Except for an abundantly practical number-symbolism, he restricts himself almost entirely to the traditional meanings derived from Christ's life and Passion, which he presents distinctly in simple words. His work, therefore, became the basis for the Mass interpretations of the later Middle Ages, which are often content to repeat the words of the great Pope, either cutting them down or broadening them out.⁵⁰

The great compiler of medieval liturgical allegory, William Durandus (d. 1296), acknowledges—in his *Rationale divinarum officiorum* which we

⁴⁵ In this category is the work at one time attributed to Hugh of St. Victor, *Speculum de mysteriis Ecclesiae* (PL, CLXXVII, 335-380), which expounds the Mass from offertory on as a fulfillment of the Old Testament types; the *tube hac perferri* in his explanation realizes the sprinkling of the Holy of Holies; ch. 7 (368 ff.).

The interpretation of the canon proposed by Isaac of Stella (d. c. 1169) will be treated later, Vol. II, Chap. 2, 15.

⁴⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animæ* (PL, CLXXII, 541-738). Whether the word Augustodunum refers to Autun or to Augsburg is still in dispute; Franz, 420-425.

⁴⁷ Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ seu de officiis ecclesiasticis* (PL, CCXIII, 13-434).

⁴⁸ Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis* (PL, CLXX, 11-332).

⁴⁹ Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio* (PL, CCXVII, 773-916).

⁵⁰ Cf. Franz, 459, 565, 493, 509, 523, etc.

must come back to time and again because of its opportune mention of the rites then in use—that he took Innocent III as his guide for the explanation of the Mass.⁴⁹

In Innocent we find for the first time a determination of liturgical colors for specified days,⁵⁰ along with the respective significance thereof. His rules are more or less those still in force today: white as the festive color (and he tries to discover a reason for the white—even in the white of the clouds on Ascension Day!), red for martyrs' days and Pentecost, black for days of penance and for Masses for the Dead, green for days without a festal character.⁵¹ The sensuous interest in colors and the zeal in explaining their significance were alike manifestations of the spirit of the Gothic period.

A new trend is manifest also in the understanding and meaning of the various liturgical vestments. Innocent himself⁵² finds chiefly a moral meaning like that which Amalar offered; in particular, he is familiar with the spiritual battle (I. 64), although this is better developed in other writers.⁵³ But Innocent also avails himself of a christological explanation somewhat similar to Rupert von Deutz who saw relationships between the priestly garments and the properties and attributes of Christ's person. But by the middle of the thirteenth century this had turned to a form of rememorative allegory, which here too perceived symbols of the Passion of Christ.⁵⁴

Development is also to be found in practical paramentics. The Gothic chasuble is still broad and mantle-like, but the two ornamental stripes falling down from the shoulder and joined as a line down the middle became in time a forked cross and this in turn became (on the back of the chasuble) a regular cross with horizontal cross-beam. This development means that the allegorical presentation of the Crucified could be imaged even in the external figuration,⁵⁵ but it also led not only to a richer and richer ornamentation but also, because of the need for a stiff surface, to the later misshaping of the garment. Similar forces were at work in changing the shape of the altar. The altar screens (polyptych retables or "wing-

⁴⁹ Durandus, IV, 1, 2.

⁵⁰ About the same time the *Liber ordinarius* of the Premonstratensians (Lefèvre, 6, 1. 18) not only pays no attention to a rule regarding colors, but even insists that chasubles all be *unius coloris*, a regulation which is missing in later sources. Cf. Waefelghem, 28.

⁵¹ Innocent III, *op. cit.*, I, 65 (PL, CCXVII, 799-802). Cf. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 729-736. Cf. E. G. Atchley, "Liturgical Colours," in V. Staley, *Essays on Ceremonial* (London, 1904), 89-176.

⁵² Innocent III, *op. cit.*, I, 11-64 (PL, CCXVII, 781-799). In a Klosterneuburg MS. of the 13th century, there is a poetic elaboration of this section of Innocent; H.

Maschek, "Eine metrische Symbolik der Sakralgewänder aus dem 13. Jh.," *Eph. Liturg.*, XLVII (1933), 368-377.

⁵³ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 705 f.

⁵⁴ This meaning, along with the moral one, is found in a Franciscan writer who is otherwise generally very dependent on Innocent, William of Melitona, *Opusculum super missam* (ed. A. van Dijk), in *Eph. Liturg.*, LIII (1939), 219-349; see 312-14. William sees in the shoulder-cloth the scornful blind-fold, in the alb the white robe of ridicule, in the cincture, maniple and stole the cords, and in the chasuble the purple mantle. Similarly also Hugh of St. Cher, *Tractatus super missam* (Sölch, 8-10).

⁵⁵ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 209-219.

altars") offer us the very best in Gothic from the viewpoint of artistic performance, but from the viewpoint of the liturgy they were definitely an aberration.

The allegorical method of contemplating and explaining the liturgy had to face a crisis in the thirteenth century, and it is really a matter of wonder that it was able to weather the storm and that the old method should survive unscathed in the period to follow. In a century when medieval Scholasticism reached a peak, the very basis of all allegory was naturally called into question. For allegory is founded entirely on a conception of the world which is interested in the sensible and visible phenomena only insofar as they are mirrors and symbols of an invisible, intangible higher world. Even in the book of nature, attention was focused not on the forms of individual things, not on the shapes of the "letters," but only on the hidden meaning which, one thought, could be read therein. It is the spirit within the writing, the spirit within the liturgy—especially in its space-visible appearance—that is sought, every effort being made to grub out the thought that must lie hid there.⁶⁴ Art in this period, whether concerned with animals and plants, or the attributes of the saints, or geometrical patterns, seeks principally to enlarge and explain this world of symbols. This is nothing more, really, than the logical consequence of carrying through Plato's theory of knowledge, with its sharp separation of the world of sense and the world of ideas. But with the switch to Aristotle and the new basis for a theory of knowledge—*Cognitio incipit a sensibus*—the world of sense, and the concrete phenomena of forms in divine worship along with it, at once appears in a new light. It deserves to be studied and appreciated for its own sake.

Albertus Magnus was the pathfinder who led the Scholastics along the new way of explaining Holy Mass.⁶⁵ First of all, he presents an enlightened and theologically grounded explanation of the course of that Mass that is for the most part derived from the text of the Mass *ordo*. Besides he makes repeated thrusts at the allegorical exposition, especially at the rememorative. He says it is *mirabile* to refer the silence of the Mass proper to events in the story of our Lord's Passion—things in no way touched upon in the text of the Mass.⁶⁶ In fact, in reference to the explanation that the kissing of the altar at the *Supplices* signified Judas' traitorous kiss, and the signs of the Cross that follow signify the bonds and ropes by which our Saviour was led to Annas, he says scornfully: *omnino profanum est et omnibus fidelibus abominandum*.⁶⁶ The different signification attached to the signs

⁶⁴ E. Mäle, *Die kirchliche Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich* (German trans., L. Zuckermann; Strassburg, 1907), 24-34; P. Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, II (trans. S. J. Jacques; N. Y., 1924), 109-117: "The Symbolistic Conception of the Universe" (in the 12th century).

Cf. also A. Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium*

(Munich, 1929), 229-268: "Der deutsche Symbolismus des 12. Jh."

⁶⁵ Albertus Magnus, *De sacrificio missae* (*Opera omnia* ed. Borgnet, 38, 1-189). See in this connection Franz, 466-473.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, III, 2, 5 (80).

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, III, 15, 2 (130).

of the Cross at the *Quam oblationem* he termed: *deliramenta et hominum illiteratorum*.⁶⁰ But Albertus' objections made little headway. Allegory continued to hold the field. Even St. Thomas' *Summa Theologica* contained an interpretation of the Mass that made many concessions to allegory.⁶¹

One result of Scholastic thought must be acknowledged, the consideration given to the organization of the Mass into parts following one after the other. Allegorical thought was concerned mostly with a series of pictures, and either took their order for granted or considered the division a mere external.⁶² Now, however, intrinsic and theological viewpoints became paramount. Albertus Magnus had distinguished three parts: *introitus* (up to the collects inclusive), *instructio* (up to the *Credo* inclusive), and *oblatio*, with appropriate subdivisions for the last. This division recurs in the *Expositio missæ* of Nicholas Stoer, written about 1412.⁶³ Another outline derives from Alexander of Hales (d. 1245).⁶⁴ It is found in a bettered form in Bernard de Parentinis, O.P. (about 1340)⁶⁵ and in Henry of Hesse (d. 1397)⁶⁶; Henry heads the sections: *præparatio*, *instructio*, *oblatio*, *canon*, *communio*, *gratiarum actio*. Hugh of St. Cher, O.P. (d. 1263), like so many medieval authors, takes the Augustinian interpretation of the words of St. Paul, *obsecrationes*, *orationes*, *postulationes*, *gratiarum actiones*,⁶⁷ and applies them to the Mass, thus distinguishing four parts, of which the first embraces everything up to the *Sanctus*, the second takes in the canon, the third begins with the *Pater noster* and the fourth with the post-communion.⁶⁸

In these new attempts at a division of the Mass, the segment before the Epistle, as is remarked more than once, is (even today) instructive. But the weakest point in the outline is the placing of the preface. Since the Mass is viewed chiefly from the standpoint of the consecration and the canon is reckoned as beginning with the *Te igitur*, the prayer of thanks, which had such great importance in the ancient Church, no longer presents a problem. Albertus Magnus, and also Alexander of Hales and his

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, III, 10, 2 (118).

The examples mentioned, and others cited by Albert, are also found word for word in Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, III, 12; V, 5.

⁶¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, III, 83, 5. The section under consideration is not the work of Thomas himself, as is well known.

⁶² Franz, 460.

It is significant that Honorius Augustodunensis—and similarly Sicard—gives a seven-fold division, in which the fifth part is the canon, the sixth the blessing of the bishop (cf. *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 3) and the seventh the kiss of peace. Franz, 422, 450 f.

⁶³ Franz, 529. Also in the *Compendium doctrinæ catholicæ* of Petrus Soto (1549);

see Ch. Moufang, *Katholische Katechismen des 16. Jh.* (Mainz, 1881), 352-362.

⁶⁴ Franz, 640 f. Its value is to be found not in the main divisions (*illuminatio*, *immolatio*, *rememoratio accepti beneficii*—the last meaning from the post-communion on), but in the detailed subdivisions. Slightly altered in William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam* (ed. van Dijk), in *Eph. liturg.*, LIII (1939), 317-349.

⁶⁵ Franz, 505 f.

⁶⁶ That is, Henry of Langenstein, author of *Secreta sacerdotum*; Franz, 518.

⁶⁷ I Tim. 2:1; Augustine, *Ep.* 149, 16 (CSEL, XLIV, 362 f.).

⁶⁸ Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (Sölch, 11). The same division in Durandus, IV, 1, 50.

school, considered the preface a part of the offertory, a sort of conclusion to it. According to Belet, the second of the four Augustinian portions begins with the *secreta*; the preface is thus drawn closer to the canon, but makes of it a very secondary member in the series.⁶⁹ Others take a middle course—like Hugh of St. Cher⁷⁰—by placing the preface in the first part of the Mass without further ado, and thus it becomes accidentally one of the preparatory acts for the consecration.

That is about all that Scholastic thought effected in the interpretation of the Mass. As for the development of the Mass-liturgy, or for all that, the development of an understanding of the Mass-liturgy, Scholasticism left scarcely a trace—a rather surprising thing. The *Rationale* of Durandus which is constructed entirely on the basis of allegory, continued to be the liturgical handbook for the late Middle Ages and beyond.⁷¹ And the later interpreters, whose number is not without weight, follow more or less along the same paths.⁷²

A further evolution was gradually effected. The vestments which the priest wore to the altar had been interpreted as signifying Christ's Passion. The next step was certain—to conceive of the Mass, not only from the canon but from the beginning on, as a presentation of Christ's suffering. An anonymous interpreter of the fifteenth century does just that.⁷³ According to him, when the priest goes to the altar our Lord is taken away captive, at the *Confiteor* he stands before Annas and Caiaphas, etc. A more pronounced extension of this type of consideration does not however come to notice till the post-medieval Mass expositions.⁷⁴ A broadening-out of

⁶⁹ Jean Belet, *Explicatio*, ch. 43, ff. He calls the preface a *prælocutio quæ est ad ministerium præparatio* (ch. 45; PL, 202, 53 B), thus like Amalar, *De off. eccl.*, III, 21 (PL, CV, 1133 A), who had simply rendered the name as *præparatio*.

⁷⁰ The same is true of Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 61 f. (PL, CCXVII, 835-840).

⁷¹ This is shown by the countless manuscripts and even more by the fact that by 1500 there were already 43 printings of the work.

⁷² As works of greater importance, though in part not printed, Franz lists and describes, amongst others: the interpretations of the Mass by Guido of Mont Rocher (circa 1333; Franz, 490 ff.), Henry of Hessen (circa 1390; *ibid.*, 517 ff.), Bernard of Waging (1462; *ibid.*, 566 ff.), Balthasar of Pforta, O.Cist. (circa 1494; *ibid.*, 584 ff.), John Bechofen, Erem. S. Aug. (circa 1500; *ibid.*, 592 ff.).

The *Expositio canonis missæ* of Magister Egeling Becker (circa 1450; *ibid.*, 537 ff.),

which grew out of a series of lectures, did not find a wide circulation until it was revised in 1488 by Gabriel Biel and reappeared in print under his name (*ibid.*, 550 ff.). This extensive work is essentially a study of the wording of the canon; sometimes the treatment of the more important ideas is built up into a theological tractate.

Nor was the number of smaller studies of the Mass at the end of the Middle Ages inconsiderable. How well-liked the discussions on this matter were is shown by the example of a university instructor, probably from Vienna, who used to spend his vacation with the Benedictines at Mondsee and repaid them for their hospitality by lecturing on the Mass. Franz, 565 ff.

⁷³ Surviving in a Stuttgart MS.; Franz, 740 f.

⁷⁴ Franz, 735 f.

Those who were affected by the *devotio moderna* towards the end of the 15th century sometimes engaged in a type of devotion for Mass based on the contemplation of Christ's Passion but freed more or

the allegory of Christ's Passion resulted also from the elevation of the species at the consecration, a custom which grew, as we will see, from the thirteenth century on. This ceremony naturally suggested the raising of Christ on the Cross.⁷⁵

Besides, allegorical interpretation of the Mass again went awry in the late medieval period. Elements of different types of explanation were thrown together. The oft-changing explanation of the sign of the Cross did not fit well into the course of the Mass. In the last analysis, all that was needed was a little imagination to invent more arbitrary explanations for the various liturgical details which were already explained quite arbitrarily. So, besides the exclusive Passion interpretation there were other plans—seeing exemplified in the Mass the forty *opera* of Christ's life,⁷⁶ or his thirty-three years.⁷⁷ With the eclectic methods then in vogue this could lead only to further confusion.

That is precisely what happened, and since no one seemed able to manage any other form of devotion or interpretation, attempts were again made towards the end of the Middle Ages to bring order into the allegorizing by trying to establish a clear and neat series built up on a time basis. Of this sort are the explanations of Simon van Venlo⁷⁸ and Franz Titelmans (d. 1537).⁷⁹

Despite this vacillation, the fundamental theme of all Mass allegory was the suffering, or at least the life and suffering of Jesus. Our Lord's command, "Do this for a commemoration of me," was never lost sight of even in the plain and simple devotion of these centuries; rather it had been fulfilled in a sort of figurative fashion. Significant in this respect is the picture of St. Gregory's Mass, a theme repeatedly utilized by artists of the late

less from any consideration of the ceremonies; this devotion, however, was for clerics and religious. Franz, 26-28.

⁷⁶ Thus already explained by Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272) in the first Latin sermon on the Mass, printed in Franz, 744. Likewise later interpreters like Ludolf of Saxony (d. 1377), *Vita D. N. Jesu Christi*, II, 56, 8 (Augsburg, 1729, p. 558), and John Bechofen, *Quadruplex missalis expositio* (Basel, 1500; no page numbering). The latter relates the elevation of the sacred host to the *Ecce homo*, and the elevation of the chalice to the raising of our Lord on the Cross.

Moreover Radulphus Ardens (d. 1215), *Hom.* 47 (PL, CLV, 1836), had already explained the older elevation at the words *accepit panem* as referring to Christ's being raised on the Cross.

⁷⁸ An interpretation of the Mass found in an Andechs MS. of the 15th century, in Franz,

609 f. Here are represented the entrance into the Virgin's womb, the flight into Egypt, etc.

⁷⁷ The Minorite Michael de Hungaria distinguishes 33 acts in the Mass which he refers to the 33 years of Christ's life. Franz, 675.

⁷⁸ M. Smits van Waesberghe, "Die misverklaring van Meester Simon van Venlo," *Ons geestlijk Erf*, XV (1941), 228-261; 285-327; XVI (1942), 85-129; 177-185; see esp. XVI (1942), 116 ff.

⁷⁹ Fr. Titelmannus, *Mysteriorum missæ expositio* (Lyons, 1558). Here are some new suggestions that fit nicely into the full picture: the priest's sitting silently during the singing of the interposed chants after the Epistle is related to Christ's stay in the wilderness; the praise of God in the preface is related to the meal at Bethany, when the whole house was filled with the fragrance of the ointment.

Middle Ages. While Gregory is at Mass our Lord appears to him above the altar as a man of suffering, with the instruments of His Passion.⁸⁰ On the other hand, the notion of sacrifice as such, and of the sacrifice which is here consummated and which the Church here co-offers—that stays surprisingly in the background, even though the theologians hand on the traditional doctrine.⁸¹ The offertory procession is still the practice on many occasions, but in the various explanations of the Mass there is hardly any mention of the fact that the assembled people have a part in the oblation or at least participate in praising and honoring God. By the gifts which the faithful present at the offertory “*kauffent (sie) sich und frument sich in die marter Christi und in das verdienen seines leidens, das da wirt bedacht in der mess*”⁸²—they purchase and make available to themselves the sufferings of Christ and the merits of His Passion which is commemorated in the Mass. The Mass is viewed almost exclusively as an action of God. In the liturgical unfolding of the celebration of Mass, the action of the Church, its prayer of thanks, and its gift-offerings are no longer perceived as in former ages; only the work, the redeeming work of God. The priest alone is active. The faithful, viewing what he is performing, are like spectators looking on at a mystery-filled drama of our Lord's Way of the Cross. It is no accident, then, that Calderón in his *autos sacramentales* should employ the traditional medieval allegory to present a drama in which the whole economy of salvation, from Paradise to world's end, is hinged to the Mass; and yet never a word, either at the offertory or at the Communion, of the concelebration of the laity. The *eucharistia* has become an *epiphania*, an advent of God who appears amongst men and dispenses His graces. To gain a share in these graces, we are gathered before the altar, in an attitude of wondering contemplation that bespeaks our longing to take part in the Mass as often as possible.

It is no wonder that the allegorical method which reigned supreme through so many centuries should leave its traces on the Mass-liturgy which has come down to us. The Middle Ages inserted certain rites to make the sacred drama more potent. Amongst these, as we shall see, is the ceremony of hiding the paten under the corporal at the offertory—to signify our Lord's self-abasement and the hiding of His divinity in His Passion; the bowing of the head at the end of the *Memento* of the Dead—to signify our Saviour's death; the lifting of the voice at *Nobis quoque*—to

⁸⁰ R. Bauerreiss, “Gregoriusmesse,” LThK, IV, 689 f.; Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 453-455.

⁸¹ How little and how seldom the idea of sacrifice entered into the liturgical thought of the 12th century is seen rather pointedly in the reasons given for daily Mass in Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 36 (PL, CLXXII, 555); daily Mass is celebrated, he says, so that (1) the laborers in the

vineyard—that is, the priests only—might be able to communicate; (2) that neophytes might be included in the Body of Christ (by the Baptismal Communion; cf. A. Landgraf, ZkTh, LXVI [1942] 119-131); and (3) that the *memoria passionis* might remain alive amongst the faithful.

⁸² The explanation of the Mass in a Stuttgart MS. of the 15th century; Franz, 705.

signify the cry of the captain of the guard; the five crosses at the doxology concluding the canon—to signify the five wounds; the anticipation of the commingling—as symbol of the Resurrection—so that the greeting *Pax Domini* might appear as the greeting of the risen Saviour; the lifting of hands and eyes before the last blessing—after the model of our Lord before the Ascension.⁸³

This consideration of the Mass as an epiphany, although brought to the fore by the allegorizing pattern, received, at one point at least, a further impetus and enforcement when, at the turn of the twelfth century, the practice of elevating host and chalice after the consecration came into being.⁸⁴ All our bodily eyes can see of Christ in the Eucharist is the sacramental covering and wrapping beneath which His Body and Blood are concealed, but medieval man was so eager⁸⁵ to view even this, that various devices were employed to render possible this perception of the Sacrament.⁸⁶

Out of the distant past, eucharistic thought had gradually taken a new turn, so that from the time of Isidore and the controversies of the ninth century it began little by little to look upon the Sacrament (omitting its symbolism) almost entirely from the viewpoint of the Real Presence.⁸⁷ This Presence and the mode of its achievement were the topics on which theologians focused their attention more and more. Since Anselm of Laon (d. 1117) and William of Champeaux (d. 1121) theological teaching had become more clear and precise, namely that in the Sacrament not only were the Body or the Blood of Christ present, but the whole Christ, *totus Christus*, was present.⁸⁸ Thus a formula was attained which blended well with the popular eagerness, nursed by allegory, to look at the Eucharist. The people had learnt that at Holy Mass the Blessed Sacrament was not so much a *thing*, Christ's Body and Blood as sacrificial gift and sacrificial meal, to be offered up prayerfully and received devoutly, but rather a *person*, the person of the Lord, to be accompanied thoughtfully on His path of redemption. Thus the contemplation of the Christ of history and His earthly-ethical appearance (thoughts which had grown more and more prominent in the popular consciousness since the time of St. Bernard)⁸⁹ could mingle with the contemplation of the Eucharist, and strengthen interest therein.⁹⁰

A like trend was produced by the defense against heretical agitation

⁸³ For further details see *infra*, Parts III and IV.

⁸⁴ The records of the origin and development of the rite will be studied in Vol. II, Chs. 2, 13.

⁸⁵ Cf. A. L. Mayer, "Die heilbringende Schau in Sitte und Kult," *Heilige Überlieferung, 11d. Herwegen zum silbernen Abtsjubiläum* (Münster, 1938), 234-262.

⁸⁶ E. Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie* (Paris, 1926); P. Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich,

1933), 26 ff., 49 ff.; Mayer, *op. cit.*, 255-262.

⁸⁷ Cf. H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum* (Paris, 1944), especially the comprehensive meditation, "du symbole à la dialectique," pp. 255-284.

⁸⁸ Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre*, 80 ff.

⁸⁹ Cf. the deductions regarding St. Bernard's delineation of Christ in W. Kahles, *Radbert und Bernhard* (Emsdetten, 1938).

⁹⁰ Still the older forms of speech continued to prevail. We still say *festum Corporis*

during the same period. The heresy of Berengarius of Tours (d. 1088), whose rationalistic explaining-away of the Real Presence had been condemned by various synods, was only a remote attack. The controversy raised by him had hardly gone beyond theological or clerical circles. Here, in any case, and especially in the monasteries, the greatest care was from this time on devoted to the forms with which the Sacrament was surrounded; prescriptions about the choice and preparation of the materials, the custom of keeping the fingers together which—after a special cleansing—had touched the Sacrament, the detailed rules for the ablution of the fingers and of the vessels after Communion.⁹¹

But in the wider ranks of the people a deep impact was first caused after the rise of the neo-Manichean heresy of the twelfth century which had been aroused over the wealth of a Church become a feudal institution. The heresy had grown particularly conspicuous and rank as Albigensianism. Along with its almost complete denial of the hierarchy and of the sacraments, it had rejected belief in the Eucharist.⁹² Here indeed was a struggle for the souls of men! The very word for heretic in German, *Ketzer* (Cathari), which originated at the time, suggests this very pointedly. The new teaching, with its ideal of a poor church and the primitive simplicity of its statements, was indeed alluring. It explained the Blessed Sacrament outright as simply bread, *purum panem*⁹³; it regarded its own blessing of bread as an equivalent substitute for the Eucharist.

On the Catholic side, however, even in the twelfth century, we begin to hear accounts of eucharistic miracles.⁹⁴ In place of the species of bread, our Lord was seen in His own human appearance. Even if these accounts cannot withstand critical examination, still they are professions of faith all the more emphatic because couched in the realistic language of the people.⁹⁵ Here again is a clear expression of that longing to see what is concealed in the Sacrament. Even if the ordinary Christian acknowledges his unworthiness to be favored by the visible appearance of the Redeemer, he will at least want to see the outward veil beneath which He lies hid.

Christi and the new elevation hymn uses the words *Ave verum Corpus* (*infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 2, 13). On the other hand see the formulas used to designate the Sacrament before Communion, e.g., in the *Rituale* of Bishop Henry I of Breslau (*infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 12).

Another usage, very widespread in the later Middle Ages, substituted simply "God" for "Christ." Even Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272) had already preferred the term *Gottesleichenam* (God's body); cf. his sermons, ed. Pfeiffer, II, 87 ff.

⁹¹ *Infra*, Vol. II, Chap. I, 3; 2, 13; 3, 16.

⁹² G. G. Grant, S.J., "The elevation of the

host a reaction to twelfth century heresy," *Theological Studies*, I (1940), 228-250.

⁹³ Radulphus Ardens (d. 1215), *Serm. in dom. 8 post Trin.* (PL, CLV, 2011).

⁹⁴ Grant, 247 f. Cf. P. Browe, *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* ("Breslauer Studien zur hist. Theologie," N.F. 4; Breslau, 1938).

⁹⁵ Abbot Eckebert of Schönau (d. 1184), *Serm.* 11, 15 (PL, CXCV, 93 f.) confronts the Cathari with the story of St. Gregory's Mass (cf. *supra*, p. 116). Alanus ab Insulis (d. 1203), *Contra hæreticos*, I, 62 (PL, CCX, 365) speaks about a great number of eucharistic miracles which had occurred *propter infirmitatem quorundam*.

That was for him, at the same time a substitute for sacramental communion which was then seldom permitted him.

For such a view of the host the first opportunity was offered by an old traditional rite, when at the words *accepit panem* the priest took the bread in his hands, as once our Lord himself had done, and lifted it slightly. Urged by the desire of the people, the priests emphasized and augmented the rite. But since the interest of the people was centered not only on the outward act of oblation but on the presence of our Lord (which was not yet at this moment actual), many bishops were greatly concerned lest the people adore the bread, and so about 1210 a decree of the Bishop of Paris introduced the regulation which determined everywhere that the priest should elevate the Host only after the words of consecration, and so high then that all might see and adore.

Thus the Mass acquired a new center, a new focal point, and the devotion of the people acquired an object which corresponded to their understanding and to which they thenceforth clung tenaciously. To see the celestial mystery—that is the climax of the Grail-legend in which, at this same period, the religious longing of the Middle Ages found its poetic expression.⁹⁶ And as in the Grail-legend many grace-filled results were expected from seeing the mystery, so too at Mass.⁹⁷ Esteem for this opportunity to look upon the Host went to such lengths that it was placed side by side with Holy Communion, and the question was asked, would sinners commit a new mortal sin by looking at the sacred Host?⁹⁸

To look at the sacred Host at the elevation became for many in the later

⁹⁶ Even in the oldest poetic version of the Grail story, that of Chrétien de Troyes (circa 1168-1190), the Grail procession formed a culmination, a climax. Here the Grail appears as a mysterious, jewel-studded vessel in which the Eucharist is brought to the ailing King (v. 3220 ff.; cf. v. 6423). In the brilliance that emanates from it the light of the accompanying candles fades away as do the stars before a bright moon. Cf. K. Burdach, *Der Gral* ("Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte," 14; Stuttgart, 1938), 415 ff. See also A. E. Waite, *The Holy Grail, Its Legends and Symbolism* (London, 1933).

While in Chrétien the miraculous, life-giving effects are still traced to the host contained in the Grail, in the work attributed to Robert de Borron (about the turn of the 12th century) and in that of Wolfram von Eschenbach, these effects are ascribed to the Grail itself, and are produced by looking at it. Burdach, 456 f., 475, 516.

But about Burdach's attempt to trace the

main elements of the Grail legend to the Greek liturgy we must say what M. Lot-Borodine said about the more precise thesis outlined by E. Anitschkof in three articles in *Romania*, LVI (1930) to LIX (1933); cf. the notice in *JL*, XIII (1935), 402 f.

⁹⁷ It is in the first decade of the 13th century that mention is first made of the wonderful effects of gazing at the Eucharist; see Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, 18f. There is a startling parallel here, but the notion that the efficacy of the vision of the Grail was transferred to the Eucharist is rightly repudiated by Dumoutet, *op. cit.*, 27 f.

⁹⁸ Dumoutet, 18-25; Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, 59-61. The question was answered by theologians in the negative. Still those who were under excommunication or interdict were sometimes expressly forbidden even to look at the Eucharist; it was to get around this prohibition that now and then the persons concerned made holes in the church walls. Browe, 61 f.

Middle Ages the be-all and end-all of Mass devotion. See the Body of Christ at the consecration and be satisfied! In the cities people ran from church to church, to see the elevated Host as often as possible,⁹⁹ since rich rewards could be expected from such a practice.¹⁰⁰ People even started lawsuits to ensure their getting a favorable view of the altar.¹⁰¹ There are examples of congregations where the majority of the faithful waited for the sance-bell signalling the approach of the consecration before they entered the church and then after the elevation they rushed out as quickly as they had come in.¹⁰²

Of course such abuses were discountenanced, but the underlying usage itself gradually obtained ecclesiastical approval.¹⁰³ Great preachers knew how best to inculcate the right attitude. Berthold of Regensburg in one of his sermons on the Mass cried out: "At the elevation of the Sacrament the priest seems to be saying three things to you: See the Son of God who, for your sakes, shows His wounds to the Heavenly Father; see the Son of God who, for your sakes, was thus lifted on the Cross; see the Son of God who will come to judge the living and the dead."¹⁰⁴ For this reason some wanted the elevation of the sacred Host at this spot to be not a mere momentary lifting but an actual "showing" lasting some time, so that the congregation could greet and worship the Body of the Lord in prayerful song. The ceremony might even be repeated at other places in the Mass—at the end of the canon¹⁰⁵ or after the Agnus Dei¹⁰⁶—and it was not to be omitted even on Good Friday.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, naturally, warnings about moderation had to be given, since some priests seemed to know no bounds.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁹ Browe, 66-68

¹⁰⁰ A Graz MS. of the 15th century indicates that on that day, among other things, one will not lose one's eyesight, will not starve, will not meet a sudden death; that heedless words will be forgiven, etc. Franz, 103; cf. 70.

¹⁰¹ Dumoutet, 67 f.

It could happen—as it did in England—that if the celebrant did not elevate the host high enough, the people would cry out: "Hold up, Sir John, hold up. Heave it a little higher." Fortescue, *The Mass*, 341 f.

¹⁰² They rush out of the church *quasi diabolum vidissent*, is the moan of the Franciscan Michael de Hungaria. *Sermones dominicales* (Hagenau, 1498), Sermon 74; Dumoutet, 69. A similar complaint is registered by a Westphalian preacher; Franz, 18.

¹⁰³ Theologians manifested a certain reserve as early as the end of the 14th century; the people's interest lagged after the 16th. Dumoutet, 29 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Franz, 744. Cf. Bridgett, *A History of*

the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain (London, 1908), 100-102.

¹⁰⁵ Thus the ancient elevation of host and chalice grew into a sort of "showing," tied in often with the *Pater noster*; see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Thus for a time the Dominicans; Browe, 63. This was but an augmentation of the custom they still have at present of holding the host over the chalice from the *Agnus Dei* to the Communion; see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 7.

The *Officium curatorium* of Autun, printed in 1503, opposes such customs with the injunction that the host is to be shown only once, because Christ was crucified only once, but it adds: *quamvis secundum aliquos trina fiat ostensio propter crucifixionem linguarum Judæorum dicentium, Crucifige*; Dumoutet, 55.

¹⁰⁷ Browe, 64. The practice is retained to this very present.

¹⁰⁸ Browe, 63 f. There were even ecclesiastics who took a stipend for these longer "showings"; Dumoutet, 70 f.

However, it was not long before this “showing” was freed from its connection with the Mass, and, with the introduction of the monstrance, was transferred to other occasions. From the beginning of the fourteenth century it became customary to carry the Blessed Sacrament, unconcealed, in solemn procession through the streets on the feast of Corpus Christi, a feast which had come to the fore since 1246 as a result of the new movement.¹⁰⁹ Then, during the high Mass that followed, It was allowed to remain on the altar; this was continued through the entire octave, and sometimes the solemn exposition was extended through the whole period of the choral office in this festival season.¹¹⁰ During this same fourteenth century it even became customary to leave the Blessed Sacrament exposed on other feast-days of the year, especially on Maundy Thursday, in connection with the Votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament.¹¹¹

Mass before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, which then became customary and which, after the Reformation, along with the rest of the exposition cult—again as a protest against heresy—was given a new impetus, was from then on the most striking expression of the fact that in the whole course of the Mass-liturgy interest and understanding was still centered mostly on the moment of consecration. There was still a desire that this moment and the corresponding elevation of the Host might be stretched out through the whole Mass.¹¹² Roman legislation had always held aloof from these efforts which had, in the years to follow, grown to great proportions particularly in the south; for such things Rome allowed very little leeway.¹¹³

Towards the end of the Middle Ages there arose, out of the same zeal for honoring the Blessed Sacrament, a rite which penetrated everywhere

¹⁰⁹ Browe, 98 f.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 154 f.

¹¹¹ Browe, 141-154. In Klosterneuburg a weekly solemn Votive Mass in honor of the Blessed Sacrament was instituted as early as 1288; Schabes, *Alle liturgische Gebräuche*, 71.

In my own native parish, Taufers in the Pustertal, during my youth it was still customary every Thursday to celebrate this Votive Mass, the so-called “Pfingstamt,” as a *missa cantata* with exposition. The practice was discontinued in 1910. While here the choice of Thursday makes it plain that the reason for the custom was thankfulness for the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, there are to this day parishes in the Alpine countries where every day there is celebrated either a Requiem or a “*Segenmesse*,” that is, a German *Singmesse* before the Sacrament exposed.

¹¹² The notion that the whole liturgy was

properly only a decorative framework for the accomplishment of the Sacrament was given rather unreserved utterance in the metrical *Pastorale novellum* of the Bero-münster choirmaster, Rudolf von Liebenegg (d. 1332): *Missa sacramento servit specialiter isti, Cuius ad ornatum patres hanc constituerunt, Præcipue Jacobus et Basilius venerandi*. Franz, 488. Cf. in a similar vein Heinrich von Hessen (d. 1397); *ibid.*, 518.

¹¹³ See Codex Jur. Can., c. 1274 and the numerous sources noted there. Cf. J. Kramp, *Eucharistia. Essays on Eucharistic Liturgy and Devotion* (trans. Wm. Busch; St. Paul, 1926), 111-157.

Nicholas of Cusa (circa 1400-1464), when sent by Nicholas V as papal legate to Northern Germany and the Netherlands, 1450-1452, took a very determined stand against the practices of long expositions and exposition Masses (outside of Corpus Christi). Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 170-172.

and changed the outward picture of the Mass-liturgy between consecration and Communion, ornamenting and enlivening it in remarkable fashion—the genuflection before and after every touching of the Blessed Sacrament. This was not known before the fourteenth century.¹¹⁴ Thus at this very late date there was transferred to the Blessed Sacrament a token of honor which—like the use of lights and incense, and throne and baldachin—originated in princely ceremonial and from thence had long ago been taken over into the liturgy as an honor to persons.¹¹⁵

A clear parallel to the conception and presentation of the Mass-liturgy as a dramatic play which appeals primarily to the eyes of the onlooker was to be found in the efforts made to enrich also the audible side of the liturgical action.

Gregorian Chant had already achieved a great height in the eighth century, especially in Rome itself. Not a few Frankish and Anglo-Saxon clerics, coming to Rome, had taken the trouble to procure from Rome books and teachers of the ecclesiastical chant. It was an art-song rich in melodies, demanding a *schola* properly trained, but—save for the accompaniment of boy voices singing an octave higher—strictly built on the principle of unison. But even in the last years of the Carolingian period the first waves of ornamental enrichment had risen. At that, it affected chiefly only the text.¹¹⁶

The long melismas or series of notes, often built upon a single syllable, seemed to have had little appeal to Germanic tastes. So new texts were created in which each syllable corresponded to a note of the given melody. This is the original form of the so-called *tropes*. They were sung as decorative covering by one part of the choir, while the rest of the singers sang the foundation text to the same melody. In the tenth century they had spread everywhere, on festive occasions accompanying first the Proper parts of the Mass, later on also the Ordinary, from introit and *Kyrie* right through to the end of the Mass, sometimes including also the *Ite missa est*. At the same time, corresponding phrases were inserted in the traditional melody along with the corresponding text, or—especially in the introit—introductory phrases preceded the melody. A very special case was the sequence which arose out of the many-toned melodies of the alleluia. It then acquired an independent existence, was developed far and wide during the Middle Ages, and produced thousands of poems. It is noteworthy that Rome and Italy, which showed the greatest reserve towards Gothic art, were also very reluctant to admit the sequences which

¹¹⁴ See *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 2, 13.

¹¹⁵ A genuflection is still prescribed for the clergy whenever they pass before the bishop; *Cæremoniale episc.*, I, 18, 3. The relation to the ancient *προσκύνησις* is made clear in *Ordo Rom. VIII* (8th century), n. 7, which enjoins upon the candidate for episcopal

consecration a triple *prostratio* before the pope.

¹¹⁶ Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 67-75; Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 248-299; Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), 185-193. The exact origin of the tropes and sequences has not yet been determined with sufficient clarity.

were the very first metrical productions to be introduced into the Mass. Since as a rule only new texts were under consideration, this enrichment of the liturgy was generally of value only to clerics who understood Latin.

But new melodies too, were composed, especially after the year 1000, melodies for those texts which were repeated at every Mass, the texts of the Ordinary. Up to this time the chants of the Ordinary had the same simple recitative character as the altar chants of the priest; in fact, they were often only continuations of these¹¹⁷—or like the acclamations and responses from which they differed only in length.¹¹⁸ They were little more than elevated speech, relieved by certain cadences. Everyone could therefore take part in them.

A corroboration of what has been said is found in the fact that only by way of exception is the *schola cantorum* mentioned as carrying these melodies.¹¹⁹ It is true that even in the Carolingian period they were not as a rule sung by the people—excepting perhaps the *Sanctus*—but they were at least at this time and, in general, also in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, reserved for the clerics in the sanctuary who formed the choir.¹²⁰ The trained singers who sang the chants of the *Proprium* would naturally take the lead here, and as the chants of the Ordinary grew more ornate, gradually take over. This was the case with the *Kyrie* as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries. The songs of the fore-Mass thus assumed a greater importance than those of the Mass proper.¹²¹ Richer melodies for the

¹¹⁷ In this class belongs the Gregorian Mass numbered XVIII in the *Kyriale*, still used at present on ferias in Advent and Lent and, with changes, at Requiems.

¹¹⁸ Actually not only the *Kyrie*, but also the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei* have an acclamatory quality at least in a wider sense, and even the *Gloria* is composed in good part of acclamatory materials.

¹¹⁹ This is the case, in part, in the Roman *Ordines*, especially clear in that of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 456, 458) and in the Roman city *Ordo XI*, n. 18 (PL, LXXVIII, 1032 f.).

¹²⁰ Wagner's opinion, expressed in *Einführung*, I, 61, that by the 11th/12th century the choir displaced not only the people but also the clergy at singing, cannot be sustained, at least in this general form. True, the authors do usually ascribe the singing to the *chorus*, but as a rule this included not only the *schola cantorum* but all the clergy present in "choir." This is especially plain in John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 38; cf. 36 ff.): the kiss of peace is given in *utroque choro*, and then at once the *chorus* sings the *Agnus Dei*. Sicard of Cremona, *Mirale*, III, 2 (PL,

CCXIII, 96 f.), in describing the singing of the *Kyrie*, uses *chorus* and *clerus* as synonymous.

But there is another terminology, to be noticed in Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 6, 7, 16, 19, 23, etc. (PL, CLXXII, 545, etc.), where a distinction is made between the *chorus* as a singing choir and the *clerus*.

In our study of the individual chants of the Ordinary we will have the occasion to note that the clergy still undertook them as late as the 12th and 13th centuries. Of a lay element in the choirs the liturgists of this period as yet make no mention.

¹²¹ This distinction, in which the considerations that led to the silence of the canon continue to function, was consciously kept in view for a long time. Even polyphony was restricted at first to the texts of the fore-Mass; Ursprung, *Die Kath. Kirchenmusik*, 121. Likewise Nicholas of Cusa, in the course of the reform he undertook as papal legate, wanted to restrict the use of the organ to the Mass of the Catechumens; *ibid.*, 163 f. He made the same demand as bishop of Brixen; G. Bickell, *Synodi Brix-*

Sanctus and *Agnus Dei* were not created until somewhat later. The *Gloria* and *Credo* retained a simple, psalmodic-recitative character even in the new forms they now acquired.¹²² Still the musical ornamentation of the chants of the Ordinary had become so elaborate by the time of St. Bernard (d. 1153) that, under the reform of church music begun with his cooperation, it was thought these forms would have to be banned from use in churches of his order.¹²³ At that time the chants of the Ordinary were not conceived as units. The oldest example of a chant Mass comprehending all its parts as a unit is one originating about the end of the thirteenth century, a Mass still frequently sung, the *Missa de Angelis*.¹²⁴

Gradually *chorus* begins to mean something new. It turns into a choir of singers separated from the clergy, often composed of laics, and independent even as regards its place in the church. First it rambled to the rood-loft, the high reading- and singing-gallery often found in Gothic structures in place of the sanctuary enclosure between the choir and the nave, and elevated in its entire width. Later it finally wandered to the upper gallery which was built at the back of the church.

Polyphony begins to take on some importance in Church music. The first attempts at counterpoint, starting in the ninth century, affected only the songs of the *Proprium*. These attempts resulted from the use of a second voice singing an accompaniment to the main melody at the interval of a fourth or fifth. The text might be with a trope or without. And the accompanying voice—*vox organalis*—might be an instrument.¹²⁵ In the twelfth century it is the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris that takes the lead. On festive occasions the gradual or alleluia was sung not to the chant melody alone, but a second or even a third or fourth voice was added here and there in a free independent movement. And sometimes, where an over-elaborate melisma presented the opportunity, a special text, often even one in the vernacular, was added to the proper one.¹²⁶ Of a similar sort, but of course not so high a rank was the song art of the travelling singers who, we are told, were wont to sing their verses at Mass *super Sanctus et Agnus Dei*.¹²⁷ Such music seemed to suit the time which liked this type of light

nenses sæc. XV (Innsbruck, 1880), 34.

The same idea, in a new dress, is proposed today by E. Drinkwelder, O.S.B., *Die Grundfunktion der Gesänge im Amt: Heiliger Dienst*, II (Salzburg, 1948), 143-145.
¹²² Ursprung, 57 f.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 116 ff.; cf. also Eisenhofer, I, 231-233. Further notes on organum and disant in G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (N. Y., 1940), 249-330.

¹²⁶ The so-called "motets"; see the tables in Ursprung, 129 f., with examples from MSS. of the 13th/14th centuries. A late German

example is presented in a Klosterneuburg MS. of 1551; here the Easter Mass *Resurrexi* has a polyphonic setting with an upper voice accompanying the Latin text with the German Easter hymn, *Christ ist erstanden*; Schabes, 150. See the discussion in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), 311 ff.

¹²⁷ The Synod of Trier (1227), can. 9 (Mansi, XXIII, 33). Other synods which forbade the appearance of *ioculatores, truttanni* or *goliardi* in Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion*, 97.

There was even some consideration of refusing players and ballad-singers Com-

embellishment. But it was a dangerous road to take. So warning voices were raised to safeguard the seriousness of the traditional ecclesiastical chant and even to induce the ecclesiastical authority to take a definite stand.¹²⁸

As a matter of fact the art of Church music did again confine itself to stricter bounds during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. It was satisfied—especially in Germany—to accompany the Gregorian Chant melodies at holyday services, even (and later, especially) the music of the Ordinary, with a form of falso bordone, as it was the practice to do—and is still done today in many churches—in psalmody.¹²⁹ By the fourteenth century the organ had been perfected enough to make its entrance everywhere in the larger churches, provided no stricter principles stood in the way, and could perform a like duty.¹³⁰ About this same time in France the first example of Mass composition in our modern sense begins to appear—compositions in which all the parts of the Ordinary of the Mass, from *Kyrie* to *Agnus Dei* are set to polyphony and are no longer bound down to the Gregorian Chant, even though chant melodies are used as a *canto fermo* or are interwoven with the harmony.¹³¹ When, in 1377, the papal court returned with Pope Gregory XI from Avignon to Rome, the papal singers brought the art of polyphony with them to Italy. Slowly the new art spread to other countries. It did not get the same joyous reception everywhere; thus Swiss monasteries were very reserved in their attitude, and at St. Gall it was banned from divine service even as late at 1560.¹³² But all in all a new period had begun in the history of Church music and in the history of the external embellishment of the liturgy.¹³³

munion; *ibid.*, 93 ff. Cf. W. Bäumker, *Zur Geschichte der Tonkunst* (Freiburg, 1881), 106-122.

¹²⁸ In this connection an enactment of the II Ec. Council of Lyons (1274) is often cited (but hardly with right); amongst other things it forbids *publica parlamenta* (Mansi, XXIV, 99 A); a reference to singing (*quod . . . ars cantus melius doceretur*) is found in the Appendix, III, 1 (*ibid.*, XXIV, 130 B). More emphatic is one of the decretals of John XXII of 1324-5, which does not condemn polyphony outright but does expressly forbid that the plainsong melodies be smothered *tripolis et motetis vulgaribus*; *Corpus Jur. Can., Extrav. comm.* III, I (Friedberg, II, 1256). Cf. Ursprung, 138 f. This decretal and other references to church music conveniently available in *Oxford History of Music*, ed. H. E. Wooldridge, (2nd ed., 1929), I, 290 ff.

¹²⁹ Ursprung, 141 f. For a study of fauxbourdon and English discant see Reese, 398 ff.

¹³⁰ Ursprung, 163 f.

¹³¹ Ursprung, 147 f.; P. Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe*, I (Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte, XI, 1; Leipzig, 1913). A study of Machaut's Mass and the *Messe de Tournai* in Reese, 356.

¹³² Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe*, 27, note.

¹³³ How sweeping this change was is seen, for instance, in the choice of the patrons of music. In the high tide of the Chant it was St. Gregory the Great; at the start of the polyphonic era it was John the Baptist (at whose birth his father had been given back his speech). But now the heavenly patronage is switched to St. Cecilia, on account of the words *cantantibus organis* in her Office, although amongst the Irish her musical association had long been cultivated. All in all the development in the musical world as well as in the entire later medieval culture was from unity and simplicity to plurality and multiplicity. B. Ebel, "Die Kirchenmusik als sinnbildlicher Ausdruck

During the years that followed, the chants of the *Proprium*, whose texts were built up on the lyrical materials of the psalms and which had been knowingly inserted into the "rest" periods of the service as an artistic element, retained the archaic simplicity of their ancient traditional Gregorian melodies.¹³⁴ But the unassuming acclamatory phrases, in which originally the people were able to frame their cries of prayer and praise, or in which at any rate, represented by the clergy, they professedly resumed and continued the altar chants of the priest—these were fitted out in the pomp of polyphony.¹³⁵ Even if these latter texts (with the exception perhaps of the *Credo* which arose out of the doctrinal struggle of the East, the recitation of which was in part at least quite prosaic), because of the pithiness of the words, proved favorable to an artistic handling and were not ill-fitted for the musical development of their contents, still it was precisely this artistic elevation above the ordinary plane that put them beyond the reach of the people who were called upon to cooperate, and so to a certain extent the texts departed from their proper function.

In view of the foreign language of the liturgy, the only possible pathway was again the stressing of the *Ordinarium*, since there was no question, in general, of creating new texts.¹³⁶ Through the development of these various choral Masses, a road was opened to getting away from the traditional melodies. The texts were always the same, and their meaning could easily be explained even to people not knowing Latin; hence these texts lent support to the propagation or spread which came about through their new musical setting. Their constant repetition made their performance rather easy. And if the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* especially filled in with their sound the vacancy left in the canon, this was a compensation to the hearing of the congregation for whom the basic tone of the *eucharistia* was thus once more rightfully restored where it had been barred by the silence of the canon and, fundamentally, by the insertion of the intercessory prayers.

12. The Close of the Middle Ages and the Tridentine Reform

The designation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the "autumn of the Middle Ages" (Huizinga) proved to be exceptionally apt in the history of the liturgy and not least in that of the Mass. There is indeed a rich and manifold growth, as we have just seen exemplified in Church music.

der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im Wandel der Zeiten." *Liturg. Leben*, V (1938), 223-233, esp. 230 ff.

¹³⁴ The only exception was the *Requiem* which still incorporates both Ordinary and Proper.

¹³⁵ Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 61, arrives at

this judgment from a different viewpoint: "This evolution of things brought about no special gain."

¹³⁶ An exception is to be found in the songs at the consecration and, partly, in the new Communion songs (*infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 2, 13 and 3, 14).

New forms, new inferences are continually being developed. But the inferences are developed only from what is already at hand. There is no cutting back to the living roots, no springing forth of new, healthy growths. Scholastic theology produced nothing for the liturgy of the Mass or for a better understanding of it. So the forms appear over-ripe, the growth becomes dry and withered.

But all this does not hold so true for the text of the Mass *ordo*. Even though here too, especially outside Italy, the preparatory prayers, the versicles and invocations of the prayers at the foot of the altar, the blessings at the offertory, the hymnic greetings before the Communion have become prevalent, still, since they are all the silent prayers of the priest, this is all more or less in the background. However, within the ambit of the Ordinary there were some things that fit more surely into the description we have given—the musical expansion mentioned in the last chapter and the increase in the forms by which the Sacrament is venerated.

Reverence for the Sacrament led to a change in policy regarding the handling of the sacred Host by lay people. No lay hand was allowed to touch it, even if that meant depriving a dying person of Viaticum. It was a very special favor when Popes of the fourteenth century gave to princes in certain instances the permission to touch the chalice on Communion days with their bare hands.¹ In the late Middle Ages the corporal was often shown honor that amounted to superstition.² For the washing of the corporal special prayers were composed.³ In this same connection we might note that the chapters on the *pericula* or *defectus* which might occur in the Mass grew larger and larger. The early medieval period had already considered certain contingencies, like spilling the chalice or dropping a particle, and had prescribed stern punishments for them.⁴ Now pertinent mistakes and defects are discussed and decided with reference to theology and from the practical viewpoint of what to do so that due reverence will be shown towards the Sacrament in every instance. Innocent III had considered certain cases at some length⁵ and St. Thomas devotes an Article of his *Summa* to them.⁶ But new *pericula* were constantly being discovered—even such as: what if the Lord should appear in *specie carnis vel pueri!*⁷—and for each, corresponding instructions were given.⁸

¹ Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion im Altertum und Mittelalter," ZkTh, LX (1936), 13.

² Franz, 88-92.

³ Breviarium of Linköping of the year 1493 (J. Freisen, *Manuale Lincopense*, Paderborn, 1904, p. XIX).

⁴ P. Browe, "Liturgische Delikte und ihre Bestrafung im Mittelalter," *Theologie u. Glaube*, XXVIII (1936), 53-64.

⁵ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, IV, 11; 16; 24; 31 f. (PL, CCXVII, 863; 873; 877 f.). Cf. also the work attributed to Odo

of Paris, *Præcepta synod.*, c. 22 ff. (Mansi, XXII, 681 f.).

⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, III, 83, 6.

⁷ Franz, 474, note 1; Beck, 330.

Bernard de Parentinis devotes to the *pericula* the third of three main sections of his exposition of the Mass (ab. 1340); Franz, 505 f. Cf. also *ibid.*, 491, 605.

⁸ A selection of the useful portion has been inserted in our Missal as the chapter *De defectibus in celebratione missarum occurrentibus*.

Of course here it was often only a lack of proportion—too much of a good thing! But considerable consequences were to be feared from the one-sided discussions and the unenlightened and isolated popularizing of another phase in the teaching of the Mass, the phase of the effects of the Mass. That the Mass not only offers God due honor but also redounds to the welfare of living and dead was already a conviction of Christian antiquity. But now this side of the sacrifice comes to the fore. In the declining Middle Ages it becomes the main theme of sermons on the Mass.⁹ Formal enumerations of the fruits of the Mass are compiled, especially of those fruits which derive from a devout hearing of Holy Mass.¹⁰ Such enumerations first appear in the thirteenth century. People were satisfied then with four or five or six points, with the spiritual effects foremost.¹¹ But soon it became ten fruits, finally twelve. The editor of a German version of them made the remark that “the formulas for the fruits of the Mass take on a more gross appearance the nearer they stand to the end of the Middle Ages.”¹² For each of the spiritual effects a Father of the Church is cited in support—no matter how incredible the effect may sound.¹³ Although contemporary theology did not approve such exaggerations, still they were able to flourish unimpeded in the homiletic and devotional literature of the day. That meant the people were encouraged to zealous attendance at Holy Mass, but also they were lulled into a false security, as though the salvation of their souls could be assured by merely hearing Mass.¹⁴

With this exaggerated description of the effects of the Mass, another fact is intimately connected, the Votive Mass. Towards the end of the Middle Ages there appear numerous new formularies.¹⁵ And they are ar-

⁹ Franz, 738 f.

¹⁰ A considerable portion in Franz, 36-72: The “Fruits” of the Mass, is devoted to this matter. Cf. also *supra*, p. 117.

¹¹ Franz, 37 f. The heart of the matter is found in the following assurances: One returns from Mass *quasi deificus, minor peccato, confortatus contra diabolum, felicius quam prius*.

¹² Franz, 40.

¹³ Thus Augustine is saddled with the statement that during the time one hears Mass one does not grow older; Franz, 51; cf. 57. Other fruits are these: after hearing Mass one's food tastes better; one will not die a sudden death; the souls in Purgatory will not have to suffer while one is hearing Mass for them, etc. In a poetic rendering which appeared about the 14th century, the first of the fruits of the Mass is thus described: If one owned all that sun and moon shone upon, and he gave it all to the poor, and if he wandered over the face of the earth, in heat and cold, in hunger and thirst,

that would not do his soul as much good as the hearing of one Mass; Franz, 48 f.

Similar presentations of the *virtutes missarum* circulated in England; see examples in Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 131 f.; 366-371.

As a rule the emphasis was laid on a devout attendance in the state of grace. A portion of these assurances was transferred to the devout looking at the Host; see *supra*, Chapter 11, note 100.

¹⁴ See the conclusion in Franz, 71 f. Also *ibid.*, 61-71, a theological discussion of each of the medieval “fruits of the Mass.”

¹⁵ To those already at hand are added formularies of Masses against various sicknesses, against dangers to right and property, against attacks by an enemy, and especially formularies in honor of those saints who were honored as patrons and protectors in these various situations; see the thorough treatment in Franz, 115-217; numerous examples also in Ferreres, *Historia del Misal Romano*, 350-376.

ranged in marked and defined series, the particular order of the Masses being thought to obtain certain specified results. The start of this custom of a series of Masses is traced to the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory the Great, where we read—though without a particular significance being attached to the numbers—that Mass was said for a deceased person in one case for seven days in a row, in another for thirty.¹⁶ This example had successors all through the medieval period.¹⁷ But it was not till the last few centuries that any arrangement was decided upon and carefully planned out. Series are stipulated for 3, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 30 Masses, even for 41, 44 or 45, for the benefit of the dead and also for the wishes and intentions of the living. For each Mass a specified formula, independent of the day's Mass, is prescribed; sometimes, too, a specified number of candles and a specified number of alms-gifts are stipulated.¹⁸ What was really questionable in this practice of Mass series and Votive Masses was the assurance—recurring time and again—of unfailing results. Such assurance could even be seen in Mass books; *Si quis positus in aliquo necessitatis articulo has triginta missas celebraverit vel celebrare petierit, liberabitur sine mora.*¹⁹

It is hardly to be wondered at that the faithful seized upon an easy means like this which coincided with their own mania for miracles. And so there arose during the last centuries of the Middle Ages an unnatural multiplication of Masses and, along with it, an unnatural increase in clergy of whom a part, at least, derived their entire income from Masses either through endowments (foundations or chantries) or by way of Mass stipends.²⁰ For the most part they celebrated Votive Masses or Masses for

¹⁶ Gregory the Great, *Dial.* IV, 55 (PL, LXXVII, 416-421).

¹⁷ K. Eberle, *Der Tricenarius des hl. Gregorius* (Regensburg, 1890), 20-38.

¹⁸ Franz, 218-291; L. A. Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1936), 26 ff.

Thus, for example, a septenary for each day of the week included on the first day a Mass *de Trinitate* with three candles and three alms; on the second *de angelis* with nine candles and nine alms, etc.; Franz, 254, 255, 258 f., 265 ff. Other examples of the Gregorian trentals and votive lists in Bridgett, *A History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, 131 ff.

¹⁹ Missal of St. Lambrecht of 1336: Köck, 34. Similar assurances in other Styrian missals, *ibid.*, 27; 36 f.; 41 f.; 74; 81; 83; 137; 138; 139. Cf. Franz, 250, 262, 266, 270, 278, etc. For Hungary, see Radó, 171 f.

²⁰ Towards the end of the Middle Ages every town had countless "altarists" ("altar-thanes") who had no other duty except to

say Mass and the Office. Strassburg, for instance, in 1521 had 120 Mass foundations; L. Pfleger, *Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg* (Colmar o. J., 1941), 172. Further details in F. Falk, "An der Wende des 15. Jh.," *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXII (1893, II), 545-559. In England Henry VIII suppressed 2,374 chantries just before his death; Bridgett, *History of the Eucharist*, 136.

The rise of this spiritual proletariat was a source as well as an effect of these curious views. W. Neuss, *Das Problem des Mittelalters* (Colmar o. J., 1943), 26 f., shows that the increase of these city clerics who were unemployed was associated with the fact that in many of the guilds only a specified number of craftsmen and laborers were given entry. This gave the impulse to find some security for the other young people of the town in the clerical state, sometimes by means of established foundations, but more often on the chance of making something out of the various Mass bequests.

the Dead, since these the people wanted most.²¹

This multiplicity of Masses had its effect on the rites and ceremonies. Some of the Masses were celebrated with chant. But since in churches only one Mass could be sung, a solution was worked out by which several such Masses could be celebrated in close succession. These were the so-called "Boxed Masses" which followed each other in this way: one Mass was sung to the offertory or to the *Sanctus*, then continued as a low Mass while at another altar a second Mass was begun.²² But the most pronounced result of the multiplying of Masses was the increase in low Masses, since most of them were for private requests and had no public character. This trend to the private and the subjective, to an independence from the grand order of things was also displayed in another abuse, namely, setting aside the arrangement of the ecclesiastical year and confining oneself to Votive Masses either chosen at will or arranged according to the rules of the Mass series.²³

Even while these various conditions were setting in, Peter Cantor (d. 1197) was inveighing against the evil he saw coming; there would have to be fewer churches, fewer altars, fewer and better priests.²⁴ Several later German mystics spoke in a similar vein.²⁵ John Gerson comes out publicly against the nuisance. He says: Preachers who attach extravagant promises to the Mass are misleading the people into Judaism and promoting superstition.²⁶ In Germany too, voices were raised in like denunciation.²⁷ Nicholas of Cusa gave the example of practical reform. As Bishop of Brixen, he ordered in 1453 and 1455 that all Mass books in his diocese should be

²¹ The Provincial Council of Florence in 1517 imposed a penalty of two ducats upon priests who out of avarice celebrated anniversary Masses even on Sundays and feasts in place of the Mass of the day (Mansi, XXXV, 240).

²² J. Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch* (Reformationsgeschichte. Studien u. Texte, 4-5; Münster, 1908), 81-83; J. B. Goetz, *Das Pfarrbuch des Stephan May in Hilpoltstein vom Jahre 1511* (same series, 47-48; Münster, 1928), 65, 95; cf. 24, 27; A. Gümbel, *Das Messnerpflichtbuch von St. Lorenz in Nürnberg im Jahre 1493* (Munich, 1928).

Berthold von Chiemsee, *Keligpuchel* (Munich, 1935), Ch. 20, 9, mentions this method of celebration as an "unbecoming custom" which is to blame that many think they can leave after the consecration.

The custom continued even down to modern times, especially at funerals; the diocese of Brixen had to forbid it as late as 1900; *Synodus Brixinensis* (Brixen,

1900), 33 f.; and in some parishes in the Salzburg diocese the practice lasted even into the present century.

²³ There were complaints that often only the *missa favorabiliores*, which were likewise *missa obolaria*, were chosen; Franz, 149 ff. There is an account of priests who never said any Mass except that *de beata Virgine* and whose action was guarded against ecclesiastical authority even by miracle; *ibid.*, 152 f.

²⁴ Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, c. 28 f. (PL, CCV, 102-107). A further demand, which is rather startling to us, was that the offertory procession be reduced to three or four times a year.

²⁵ Franz, 298 f. Amongst other warnings is this remark of Meister Eckhart: "Note that neither blessedness nor perfection consist in saying or hearing a lot of Masses."

²⁶ John Gerson, *Opera* (Antwerp, 1706), II, 521-523; Franz, 299 ff.

²⁷ Franz, 301-308; 312 f.

assembled at certain centers, Stams, Wilten, Neustift and Innichen, and corrected according to one stipulated unobjectionable exemplar.²⁸ The use of uncorrected books was sternly forbidden. Unfortunately men of such energy were not to be found elsewhere. In general, the evil continued to flourish. The holiest of the Church's possessions remained, it is true, the center of genuine piety. But alas, the clouds and shadows surrounding this center brought matters to such a pass that the Institution of Jesus, that well of life from which the Church had drawn for fifteen-hundred years, became an object of scorn and ridicule and was repudiated as a horrible idolatry by entire peoples.

The complaints raised by the Reformers, especially by Luther, were aimed accurately and quite relentlessly against questionable points in ecclesiastical praxis regarding the Mass; the fruits of the Mass, the Votive Masses with their various values, the commerce in stipends.²⁹ But the complaints went far beyond that. Taking as his principle the Bible alone, Luther denied the sacrificial character of the Mass and thought in this way to have reached the root of the trouble. The Eucharist was only a "testament," a bequest and benefit handed us, and as such—this is Luther's rash conclusion—in no wise a "*bene-fit*" or good work that we can offer God in order to "merit" from Him something for ourselves or especially for others. Therefore, the Mass cannot be read either for the living or for the dead.³⁰ All prayers in the Mass-liturgy in which there is any mention of this, particularly of sacrifice—like the canon—are bad human additions and must be dropped. A special work of Luther's deals with "the abomination of the low Mass called the canon" (*Von dem Greuel der Stülmesse so man Canon nennet*, 1524). Very effective were the charges made that Masses, especially Masses for the Poor Souls, were a means of fleecing the people. The result was felt even in sections of Europe which remained staunchly Catholic, so that as early as 1528 we are told that in the church of Salzburg a hundred *gratiani* (priests who lived on stipends) could formerly be maintained more easily than now even a single one.³¹

The reference to self-interest and superstition had made an impression. And considering the low state of religious training, this adverse criticism threatened to destroy in people's minds not only the excess foliage but the very branch and root. The Mass was disregarded, despised. And nothing was done about it. The Council of Trent did indeed accomplish one thing; in its doctrinal definition the Council clearly distinguished between truth

²⁸ G. Bickell, *Synodi Brixinenses sæc. XV* (Innsbruck, 1880), 37, 39 f., 53; Franz, 308.

²⁹ Examples in Franz, 316-322.

³⁰ M. Luther, *Eyn sermon von dem neuen Testament*. The passages in Franz, 314 f. Cf. L. Fendt, *Der lutherische Gottesdienst*

des 16. Jh. (Munich, 1923), 78-81; N. M. Halmer, "Der literarische Kampf Luthers und Melanchthons gegen das Opfer der hl. Messe," *Divus Thomas*, XXI (1943), 63-78.

³¹ Berthold von Chiemsee, *Tewtsche Theologie* (Munich, 1528), ch. 66, 6; Franz, 324.

and error and declared the objective character of the Sacrifice of the Mass as something more than a mere reminder of the Sacrifice of the Cross or a mere Communion rite. Thus the foundations of Catholic liturgy were secured. But a reform was also needed, a reform which would attack the ecclesiastical praxis of the celebration of Mass and, not least, take cognizance of the Mass books which had in many ways become a jungle.³²

According to the law then in force, the diocesan and ecclesiastical provinces were called upon to undertake such a reform provided only they did not touch the ancient traditional Roman core of the Mass book, particularly the canon. Thus the provincial synod of Trier in 1549 commanded that in all the dioceses of the province the diocesan missal alone should be standard, or if there was none, the Trier missal should.³³ Something similar was prescribed in Mainz, along with the demand that every diocese have its missal checked and corrected by experts, so that some common arrangement might be reached in the whole province.³⁴ But neither here nor in any other church province was a program, so carefully circumscribed, ever put through. The demand for the reform of the Mass book itself was expressed in the German Reichstag at Speyer in 1526, long before any synod even thought of it. The demand could not be refused.

About the same time there was hue and cry for a unified missal in which only the special diocesan saints' Masses would be added as a sort of appendix. The first such recommendation was made in Italy in 1546, and then later, more strenuously, in Spain and Portugal.³⁵ But the idea was not shared everywhere. The proposals sent to the Council from France preferred internal regulation within each country, and the attitude of England during the brief period of Mary Tudor was much the same.³⁶ But in the last analysis, as previous experiences had demonstrated, some sort of initiative on the part of the Church as a whole was quite indispensable.

So the Council of Trent took up the matter. In 1546-1547, while considering the use and misuse of Holy Scriptures, it had touched on the question of the Mass book. And in 1562, in connection with the discussions regarding the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, the subject was finally taken up. A special commission was to assemble the *abusus missæ*. This task was not difficult, since sore points had been constantly marked out not only by the innovators but by the Council itself, by synods, in memorials and reform programs. Saints' sequences and prefaces with legendary content, prayers for peace, prayers in need, and various chants after the consecra-

³² Cf. H. Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des Römischen Messbuches," *Liturgisches Leben*, VI (1939), 30-66. Most of what is said in this chapter is based on this article of Jedin's or his other in *Eph. liturg.* noted below.

³³ Hartzheim, VI, 601.

³⁴ Hartzheim, VI, 579.

³⁵ Jedin, *loc. cit.*, 34, 37 f.

This point is illustrated more clearly in another article by the same author, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform der liturgischen Bücher," *Eph. liturg.*, LIX (1945), 5-38; esp. 8, 11, 28, 37.

³⁶ Jedin, in *Liturg. Leben* as above, 40.

tion," new Mass formularies of questionable origin, especially the abuses regarding Votive Masses, Mass series, and the setting aside of the order for Sundays and the Church year in favor of privately chosen formularies—these were all pointed out. Add to the list the great variety of Mass rites which, as Cardinal Hosius charged, sometimes went so far that, to the surprise and bewilderment of the people, not even in the same Church did all follow the same rite.³⁸

The commission did not neglect any of this and even added to its collection,³⁹ which was "the most comprehensive accumulation of reform ideas,"⁴⁰ a long list of minutiae which, because they were theologically controversial, would have to be examined and tested. They included certain expressions like *Hostia immaculata, calix salutaris* at the offertory, the crosses after the consecration, the prayers at the commingling which in Italian Mass books began with *Fiat commixtio*, the offertory of Masses for the Dead. Likewise the custom of saying private Masses in church while high Mass was going on, and the practice of saying private Masses without at least two participants present were placed amongst the disputable points. Without imposing a complete uniformity, the commission desired chiefly for the secular clergy a certain consistency, at least for the beginning and conclusion of Mass, where the greatest differences were to be found, and a certain consistency in the rubrics, especially in external ceremonial.

It stands to reason that the Council, already assembled overly long, could hardly discuss details of this sort, about which there could be many opinions. The plan of the commission had to be drawn in a second, a third and finally a fourth draught, each one shorter and more likely to obtain general acceptance.⁴¹ The *Decretum de observandis et evitandis in celebratione missæ*, which was passed on September 17, 1562, in the twenty-second session, as a supplement to the teaching and the canons regarding the Sacrifice of the Mass, is concerned only with the most obvious abuses and evil conditions which could be lined up under the notions of avarice, irreverence, and superstition. The bishops should be vigilant about stipends. Mass should be celebrated only in consecrated places. Disturbing and irreverent conduct and frivolous music must be banished. The capriciousness of

³⁸ Thus at Hilpoltstein about 1511 an antiphon was daily sung after the consecration, usually *Gaude Dei Genitrix*; Goetz, *Das Pfarrbuch des Stephan May*, 28 f.

Customs of this sort existed in other countries besides the north. As late as 1677 the Congregation of Rites was asked by Seville whether it was permissible to interrupt the Mass after the elevation of the chalice or just before the *Pater noster* and to insert prayers for various needs, the priest participating; *Decreta authentica* SRC, n. 1588, 9.

³⁹ Jedin (*Liturg. Lebens*), 34-5.

The confusion grew all the more with the start of the Reformation era, since many priests took it upon themselves to start their own reforms. In Austria many priests even left out the canon. *Ibid.*, 44.

⁴⁰ *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Soc. Goerres., VIII, 916-921.

⁴¹ Jedin (*Liturg. Leben*), 47.

⁴² *Concilium Trid.*, VIII, 921-924; 926-928; 962-963. See Schroeder, 144-152 for the pertinent chapters on the Eucharist.

priests regarding rites and prayers at Mass, and the superstitious observance of numbers for fixed Masses would have to cease.⁴² There was no mention of the reform of the missal. By a decree in the twenty-fifth session this was left—along with the reform of the breviary—to the pope.

Pius IV at once (apparently in 1564) set about carrying out this decree by creating for this purpose a commission which his successor, Pius V, enlarged.⁴³ Unfortunately there are no detailed reports of what the commission did. Only the product of their activity, *Missale Romanum ex decreto ss. Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum* which by a Bull of July 14, 1570, was made binding, with certain reservations, on the whole Western Church, gives us some ideas, for by comparing this composition with what was then in existence, and adding the few occasional remarks that have been handed down, we can learn something of the work done and of the aims that directed it.⁴⁴

The task of reform was not therefore solved by a number of ordinances and decisions by which the abuses were branded and the proper lines for creating new missals pointed out. One of the proposals sent to the Council had suggested that the regional differences in the Roman Mass and the episcopal right to regulate them be left unrestricted. But the commission took another course, by establishing the wished-for uniform missal. This uniform missal was in truth a Roman Missal, for as its basis they chose the *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romanæ Curie* which already had the greatest vogue. However, this choice could not have been taken for granted, since not only was Pius V a Dominican, but members of the Dominican order, which had its own well-integrated rite, had been in the commission even before this Pope ascended the throne.⁴⁵

As far as the calendar and the collects and Gospels of each Mass were concerned, the new missal agreed very closely with the *Breviarium Romanum* which the same commission had produced and published just two years before—an agreement hardly to be found in previous books. For the exact rules about the choice and arrangement of each Mass formula and for the directions regarding the ritualistic aspect of the Mass, the *Rubricæ Generales Missalis* and the *Ritus servandus in celebratione Missæ* were prefaced to the new Mass book. These were taken almost bodily from the *Ordo Missæ* of the papal master of ceremonies, John Burchard of Strassburg, a work which appeared in 1502 and had meanwhile circulated widely.⁴⁶

⁴² Only the Gregorian series for the dead has finally been allowed to continue.

In our own day a new series of 44 Masses (and the usual superstitious promises) has turned up in Poland; it was immediately condemned by Roman authorities; *AAS*, XXVI (1934), 233.

⁴³ Jedin (*Liturg. Leben*), 52-54.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 54-66.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁶ Printed in Legg, *Tracts*, 124-174. Another edition, prepared by F. Ravanat, appeared as a supplement to *Eph. liturg.*, XXXVIII (1924).

Cf. K. Schrod, "Die Rubricæ generales des Römischen Messbuches. Eine literarhistorische Notiz," *Der Katholik*, LXIV (1884), I, 314-316.

By this means Votive Masses were restricted to proper limits.⁴⁷ Besides, only a few of these Masses were retained, a small selection of formularies where the danger of superstition was less likely, mostly those for each day of the week, Sundays excepted. The fear that greed might induce abuses prompted the dropping of the offertory procession which was still provided for in Burchard's *Ordo*.⁴⁸ One practical innovation was a *Commune Sanctorum* in which not only a number of texts were included for introit, collect, etc., but complete Mass formularies were provided.⁴⁹

Other viewpoints which guided the reform come to light in the study of the festal calendar of the new missal. First of all, the Church year is freed somewhat from the overburden of saints' feasts which in the later Middle Ages had increased immensely. The new missal had, in round numbers, 150 days free of feasts, not counting octaves. This was achieved by retaining only those feasts which were kept in Rome itself up to the eleventh century.⁵⁰ Of the countless feasts later introduced, especially under the influence of the Franciscans, only a small number were preserved, and few of these of saints outside Italy.⁵¹

The commission's ideal, therefore, was a return to the liturgy of the city of Rome, and indeed, the liturgy of that city as it was in former times. With this coincides the stern opposition the commission showed toward the sequences which abounded in other Mass books and amongst which—even apart from the four kept—there were genuine pearls which might have heightened the splendor of many a solemnity. But they were a modern growth and had never taken hold in Rome or Italy. Besides, their unclassical rhythm might not have suited the humanist taste of the era.⁵²

In many places there was the intention of putting through a real reform in the sense of disengaging the basic "form" from all distorting accretion. This can be seen from the fact that already in 1563, when the correction of the missal was still being taken up by the Council, a Vatican manuscript of the Gregorian Sacramentary was sent from Rome to Trent. This was not a solitary instance. The commission, too, had investigated the ancient sources. In the Bull of July 14, 1570,⁵³ introducing the new missal, Pope Pius V expressly attests that the scholars on the commission had discharged their work *diligenter collatis omnibus cum vetustis Nostræ Vaticanæ Bibliothecæ aliisque undique conquisitis, emendatis atque incorruptis codicibus, necnon veterum consultis ac probatorum auctorum scriptis*, and that they had thus brought the missal *ad pristinam sanctorum Patrum normam ac*

⁴⁷ *Rubr. gen.*, IV, 3.

⁴⁸ See *supra*, p. 129 ff.

⁴⁹ A *Commune Sanctorum* is to be found even in some of the earliest sacramentaries, lectionaries and antiphonaries; cf. Righetti, III, 99-101.

⁵⁰ E. Focke and H. Heinrichs, "Das Kalendarium des Missale Pianum und seine Tendenzen," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, CXX

(1939), 383-400; 461-469.

⁵¹ Germany, for instance, was represented only by St. Ursula (*loc. cit.*, 466).

⁵² An attempt was made to re-introduce a portion of these old sequences; see G. Mercati, "Un tentativo d'introdurre nuove sequenze sotto Gregorio XIII," *Rassegna Gregoriana*, VI (1907), 141-145.

⁵³ Printed in every missal.

ritum. The self-evident idea, that the development which had taken place meanwhile, separating the present from the *pristina sanctorum Patrum norma* should not be put aside as long as it did not disturb the ground-plan but rather unfolded it—that idea was never once expressed.⁶⁴

No one need be surprised that this high aim should have been attained only in a very limited way. Even if there had been further sources for research, one could not expect a commission composed of a few men and entrusted with a practical job, to anticipate in two years the liturgico-historical knowledge which would be attained only by the continued efforts of many students during several centuries. So much in the Mass book and in the Mass *ordo* remained unaltered and perhaps even unexamined—much that during the Franco-German period had been overlaid inartistically upon the austere form of the Mass of the city of Rome, or that had during the Gothic period found a place in the Mass books *secundum usum Romanæ Curie*.⁶⁵ The Mass book of this type, and therefore the traditional practice in Italy, remained the standard, in general, for the *Ordo Missæ*. But whatever could be done with the tools of the period, was done substantially. In particular the humanistic period had an opportunity to leave its own trace on the work.⁶⁶ The newer appraisal of the Church Fathers was shown in the fact that, besides the memorial days of the four Latin Fathers who were alone acknowledged in the Middle Ages, those of the Greeks were also included. Here and there in the literary style the humanist touch was added.⁶⁷ Besides the whole task of purifying the Mass book of disturbing accessories was itself in line with the “love of humanism for the clean, the unadulterated form.”⁶⁸ This work of purification was accomplished with remarkable energy. The members of the commission were not held back from doing away with added trimmings which the pious mind considered untouchable, like the already traditional Marian insertions in the *Gloria in excelsis*.⁶⁹ Finally, it was because of the humanist artistic spirit that the Council did nothing to hinder the polyphonic Church music

⁶⁴ Similar principles, aiming at a return to ancient models, were at work some decades later in the reform of the *Rituale Romanum*; see B. Löwenberg, “Die Erstausgabe des Rituale Romanum von 1614,” ZkTh, LXVI (1942), 141-147, esp. 142.

⁶⁵ Obviously the Commission did not want to go as far as Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), *De canonum observ.*, ch. 22, f. (Mohlberg, II, 124-156) had sought. He deplored, especially in the Office, the use of the rite of the papal court, which the Franciscans had spread everywhere, preferring the older rite of the Roman basilicas. In the Missal the Mass order of Micrologus (see *supra*, p. 103) appears as the ideal. Cf. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 148 f.

⁶⁶ Cf. A. L. Mayer, “Renaissance, Humanismus und Liturgie,” JL, XIV (1938), 123-171.

⁶⁷ Amongst these the careful insertion of *eundem, eodem* in the conclusions of orations. There are slight differences, too, in many prayers; the text of Burchard still has in the *Suscipe s. Trinitas*: . . . *memoriam facimus*; in the *Suscipiat*: . . . *et totius Ecclesie*; in the Memento for the living: *circumstantium*; in the prayer for peace: *pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis*. Cf. Jedin (*Liturg. Leben*), 58, note 87.

⁶⁸ Mayer, 158.

⁶⁹ See *infra*, p. 359 f.

which meanwhile had become strong and flourishing, and so left the road open for the great masterpieces of Church music.⁶⁰

To have gone farther and deeper, say in the direction of a restoration of a stronger communion between priest and people, would have demanded different spiritual conditions amongst the faithful. It was understandable that a preference was felt for things which even in their traditional form had a meaning and a solid foundation, and not for exorbitant and often heretical pretensions of reformational polemics, particularly since their supporters had refused to take part in the Council.⁶¹ Clear limits were here the thing that was essential. One exception was made in the case of the chalice for the laity; the experiences were not favorable. For that reason the dogmatic chapters of the Council did not confine themselves to putting down errors. They tried to focus attention once more on the grand outlines of the Christian sacrificial celebration, even to the point where they recommended that the faithful receive Communion each time they came to Mass, a notion far removed from the practice of the day.

The greatest and most consequential innovation of the Mass book of Pius V was the enactment, clearly expressed in the Bull of introduction, that this book was to be, from then on, the standard in every church and that no changes were to be made therein. Only churches which could demonstrate a two-hundred years' custom for their own usage, were permitted to retain that usage. This was the case with the ancient orders which since the eleventh century had produced their own variants of the Romano-Frankish Mass-liturgy and which have kept them, for the most part, till the present.⁶² Many dioceses also took advantage of this stipulation, among them—besides Milan and the remnant of the Mozarabic rite—Trier, Cologne,⁶³ Liège, Braga and Lyons, of which only the last two have kept their own rite until now.⁶⁴

Such a broad and sweeping unification could never have been completely accomplished before the day of the printing press. Even as things stood,

⁶⁰ The compositions of the Fleming, Jacques de Kerle, which were sung at the Rogations during the last period of the Council, seem to have been decisive; Ursprung, 182-186. Palestrina's first works were also becoming known. Ursprung, 186, designates the new vocal polyphony which blossomed at this time as "a musical style closely related to the Tridentine liturgical reform."

⁶¹ Still some of the more pertinent questions were the occasion of debate in the Council. Several bishops advised that those who wanted to say the canon aloud be left undisturbed; *Concilium Trid.*, ed. Goerres, VIII, 756, l. 27; 757, l. 52; 768, l. 25; 771, l. 40. Many likewise were anxious that the use of the vernacular be not condemned;

ibid., VIII, 757, l. 51; 758, l. 12; 766, l. 20; 768, l. 25; 780, l. 3.

⁶² *Supra*, pp. 98 f.

⁶³ See the writing, issued anonymously, *Die Liturgie der Erzdiözese Köln* (Cologne, 1868). A special Cologne Missal appeared as late as 1756 (*ibid.*, 105).

⁶⁴ Cf. J. Schmid, "Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte des römischen Breviers und Missale," *Theol. Quartalschrift* (1885), 472 ff.

Details about the gradual change to the Missal of Pius V in P. Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques* (Le Mans, 1840), I, 445-476.

Regarding the Braga rite see Archdale A. King, *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies*, 153-207.

there were bound to be many doubts and problems resulting from such widely diverse conditions and local customs, not to speak of the difficulties of making the change. To handle these doubts and problems, Pope Sixtus V, by the Constitution "Immensa" of January 22, 1588, founded the Congregation of Rites. Its charge was to see to it that everywhere in the Latin Church the prescribed manner of celebrating Mass and performing the other functions of the liturgy were carefully followed. It had to settle doubts, to give out dispensations and privileges, and, since there was always a chance of introducing new feasts, it had to provide the proper formularies for them. On the other hand it was not in the ordinary power of the Congregation to change the rubrics or alter the wording of prayers.⁶⁵ Thus the Congregation of Rites was not to be an organ for liturgical evolution.⁶⁶ In so far as such a development might occur within the narrow limits left for it, the Congregation was to act as a regulator, charged with the duty of seeing that the status of things established by the Missal of Pius V be in no way altered or endangered. To regulate new questions in accordance with existing ordinances, that was the task fulfilled by the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites which have appeared since 1588.⁶⁷ Almost half of these have to do with the Mass-liturgy and its requisite concomitants.⁶⁸ Few of these decrees, however, provide any new regulations for the rites of the Mass itself. The chief ones are the stipulation of certain reverences, the decree that the chalice be covered after the Communion just as it was at the start of the Mass, the casuistic regulation of the order in which various saints are to be mentioned in the oration *A cunctis*, and who is the *antistes* to be named in the canon.

A greater number of the decisions dealt with the various circumstances around the Mass; the proper hour for celebrating it, consideration of locale in choosing the formulary, the *applicatio pro populo*, bination, removal of defects. Many decrees refer to special questions about high Mass or pontifical Mass, or to peculiarities incident to services with celebrants of various ranks, or to the reverence to be made when handing the celebrant the sprinkler (*aspergillum*), or when offering the Gospel book to be kissed, or at the incensings or at the *pax*. Or they refer to the function of the assistant priest and other assistants, or to the choir rules at a conventual Mass, or to the limitations regarding the use of chant and organ. Many are devoted to the various kinds of Votive Masses and to the Requiem and how the conflicting wishes of those who set up the foundation or ordered the Masses might be reconciled with the arrangements of

⁶⁵ See M. Gatterer, *Annus liturgicus, cum introductione in disciplinam liturgicam*, (5th ed., Innsbruck, 1935), 45-55.

⁶⁶ This is shown, for example, in the word *tuendis* which is still often used in the official headings of the documents: *Patres sacris tuendis ritibus præpositi*.

⁶⁷ The older collection, begun in 1807 by

A. Gardellini, had grown by 1887 to 5993 numbers. The new *Collectio authentica* published at Rome 1898-1900 contains but 4051, about a third of the older decrees being dropped; Gatterer, 80-87. Since 1909 the decrees of the Congregation of Rites also appear in the *AAS*.

⁶⁸ See the systematically arranged work of

the Church year. And finally, the changes in the Mass rite occasioned by the course of the Church year. Very many of the decrees settle an open abuse or decide an anxious question with the simple reply: *serventur rubricae*.⁷⁰

Some real changes since the sixteenth century in the rubrics and in the text of the Missal of Pius V have resulted in certain instances from papal orders. For instance, in the new edition of the missal under Clement VIII (1604), the biblical chant pieces, which in some printings had been arbitrarily changed in favor of the new Vulgate, were restored to their original state, and new regulations were made regarding the final blessing.⁷¹ In another new edition of the Mass book under Urban VIII (1634), the wording of the rubrics was greatly improved and the revision of the hymns already accomplished in the breviary was carried out also in the few hymns of the missal.⁷² No new edition with any notable changes came out till that of 1920 which contained the revisions based on the reform of Pope Pius X.⁷³ For the rest, excepting the increase in saints' feasts, very little was done to affect the arrangement of the Mass. Pope Clement XIII prescribed the Preface of the Holy Trinity for Sundays, and Pope Leo XIII ordered the prayers said after low Mass.

On the other hand, despite the force of general regulation, some rubrics, under pressure of custom, have dropped out of practice—the use of the *Sanctus* candle, for instance, and the rule that at the distribution of Communion each communicant should partake of the *purificatio*.⁷⁴

All in all, the changes thus made within the Mass-liturgy are very few indeed. After fifteen hundred years of unbroken development in the rite of the Roman Mass, after the rushing and the streaming from every height and out of every valley, the Missal of Pius V was indeed a powerful dam holding back the waters or permitting them to flow through only in firm, well-built canals. At one blow all arbitrary meandering to one side or another was cut off, all floods prevented, and a safe, regular and useful

P. Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum SRC* (4th ed., Regensburg, 1873).

⁷⁰ Gatterer, 84-86, holds, not without good grounds, that even the *decreta particularia*, even though they answer questions of a particular church, have a universally binding force.

⁷¹ Slight changes regarding the vesture of the Mass-server and the time of preaching; see *infra*.

Further details enumerated in J. O'Connell, "A sixteenth century Missal," *Eph. liturg.*, LXII (1948), 102-104. See also the introductory Bull of July 7, 1604 which is printed in all the modern missals

⁷² Cf. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 152-154.

Regarding the revision under Leo XIII (1884), see Fortescue, *The Mass*, 209.

⁷³ The changes are, in substance, found in a special chapter added to the general rubrics, *Additiones ad variationes in Rubricis Missalis*; they are concerned especially with the new regulations regarding the use of ferial Masses in Lent.

⁷⁴ *Ritus serv.*, X, 6, 9.

Further examples in Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit," *StZ*, II (1926), 212, Note 1. Cf. the thorough discussion in C. Callewaert, *De s. liturgia universim* (3rd ed., Bruges, 1933), 139-146.

flow assured. But the price paid was this, that the beautiful river valley now lay barren and the forces of further evolution were often channeled into the narrow bed of a very inadequate devotional life instead of gathering strength for new forms of liturgical expression.

I3. The Mass in the Baroque Period, the Enlightenment and the Restoration

Due to the reform of 1570, the divine worship of the Church became refined and purified. Since the new Mass book was not only declared binding everywhere, but also withdrawn from all regional initiative,¹ the Roman Mass entered into a condition of rigidity and fixation, even though this stiffening was not set down as necessarily permanent. To take the place of a development of existing things, prominence was given to the juristic and casuistic discussion of established norms. A special branch of knowledge was developed for this purpose, the science of rubrics. In fact someone has styled this period of liturgical history beginning with Pius V as the epoch of inactivity or of rubrics!²

However, it is hard to say whether in the period to follow, this circumstance was good fortune or bad. What would have happened to the Roman liturgy if the various irenic tendencies had taken a path of development closer to that trodden by Protestant worship? Or if the creative spirit of the Baroque had been allowed to tamper with the rite of the Mass as fully

¹ However, the notion that one could work out new formularies for Masses needed in a particular diocese or religious congregation, without getting a special approbation, continued for long. There are examples of formularies newly devised or revised in the 17th century in Bremond, *Histoire litt. du sentiment relig.*, II, 410, 510. The oldest formularies for the feasts of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Heart of Mary originated and spread in this private fashion; cf. N. Nilles, *De rationibus festorum ss. Cordis Jesu et purissimi Cordis Mariæ*, (5th ed., Innsbruck, 1885) II, 1-42.

² Theodor Klauser, "A Brief History of the Liturgy in the West," *Orate Fratres*, XXIII (1948-9), 7-17, 61-67, 116-121, 154-160. His fourth epoch is styled "The Period of Codified Liturgy and Rubrical Rule" (p. 154). Klauser further points out the dangers that lurked in this view of the rubrics (pp. 157-159) and the wisdom of Pius XI's move in setting up (Feb. 6, 1930) a special historical department within the Congregation of Rites.

³ Cf. G. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* (Berlin, 1900) I, 396-441; L. Fendt, *Der lutherische Gottesdienst des 16. Jh.* (Munich, 1923); P. Graff, *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, I, (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1937). The attitude of the Anglican High Church was hardly less conservative; after making the great change in liturgical tradition to the Book of Common Prayer, it stood pat and made few other changes; see the survey by H. Zettel, "Das anglikanische 'Book of Common Prayer,'" *Liturg. Leben*, III (1936), 177-197.

The greatest distinction between the Protestant and the Catholic tradition lay in the sacrificial character of the Mass; hence the canon was the part most affected. But even a Catholic bishop, Friedrich Nausea of Vienna, proposed a change in the canon at the Council of Trent: *Concilium Trid.*, XII, 420 f.

as did the Middle Ages, handling it according to its own conceptions of sacrament, sacrifice and solemnity?

In reality, the Baroque period was but little concerned with the liturgical form of the celebration of Mass. The contrast between the Baroque spirit and that of the traditional liturgy was so great that they were two vastly different worlds.⁴ The new life-spirit which would wrap earth and heaven in one whirling tempest—how different from the quiet dignity of the old Roman orations. More than this: theological and religious thought, caught up in the swirl of the Counter-Reformation, was as different from the old Roman tradition as it is possible to be, granted the basis of the same Catholic faith. No one who learns to know the intellectual situation of the time will make it a matter of reproach that the period had found no closer tie to the liturgy.

Through the controversy with the Reformers, the whole stress of thought on the Eucharist was directed to and bound down to the Real Presence, almost to the neglect of other aspects. Even for the scientific treatment of the liturgy which now began, how much the defense of the eucharistic mysteries stood in the foreground is seen in the fact that Muratori, who issued a careful edition of the older sacramentaries, devoted the greater part of the introductory study to a discussion of this dogma as revealed in the liturgical texts.⁵ A detailed re-evaluation of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist resulted from the efforts of a new blossoming of Scholastic study. But these studies were likewise aroused by the Protestants' impugning of the dogma and consequently more or less determined by it. Since the greatest concern was Christ's oblation which is constantly realized and re-realized without hurt to the singleness of the Christian sacrifice, and since no interest was felt for the offering through the Church, of which the prayers of the Roman Mass speak, these studies too merely skirted the edge of the liturgy. Thus the spirit of the times forced into the background any notion that the faithful had a part to play in the prayer of the priest or that they should co-offer in closer union with him. For, since the Reformers had denied a special priesthood, it seemed necessary to stress not what was common and connective between priest and people, but rather what was distinctive and separative. This was certainly the case in the Society of Jesus whose theologians were leaders in the intellectual movement of this period; its members had no close contact with the liturgy and did nothing towards a pastoral development of liturgical possibilities. True, the Ignatian *Exercises*, with their definite theocentricity and their conscious alliance to Christ, appeared to harmonize most favorably with liturgical prayer and thought, but the circumstances of the time did not permit this germ to bud forth—in fact, they acted quite the contrary.

But an important step toward realizing what the Mass had to offer was

⁴ Cf. A. L. Mayer, "Liturgie und Barock,"

⁵ L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus* (Venice, 1748), I, 101-288.

taken in the French Oratory of Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle (d. 1629). On the basis of meditation on the Word made flesh and of His complete lifelong dedication to the Father, worship was established from the start as the center of piety.⁶ Private prayer was deliberately allied to public liturgy.⁷ In fact participation in the oblation of Christ gradually became the fundamental concept of piety in the school of Bérulle, of Condren (d. 1641) and of Olier (d. 1657).⁸ Thus in regard to the Mass, the sacrifice of the Church and with it the liturgical side of the sacrifice became more prominent.⁹ During this period, one of the best explanations of the Mass came from the circle of the Oratory.¹⁰ The invitation was given to the people to draw closer to the priest's action.¹¹ Similar attempts, be it said in passing, were not absolutely lacking in Germany.¹²

But efforts of this sort did not at the time gain a favorable reception. Apparently fearing that an effort was being made to introduce the vernacular into the Mass, Alexander VII had in 1661 condemned a translation of the Roman Missal into French and had forbidden any further translations under pain of excommunication.¹³ The strict idea which had already obtained in the Middle Ages was thus increased.¹⁴ Rome took, and continued

⁶ Bremond, *Histoire litt. du sentiment relig.*, III, 22 ff., 155 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 118, and note 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 359 ff., 491 ff.

⁹ Lepin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la Messe*, 485 ff., 494-496.

¹⁰ P. Lebrun, *Explication littérale, hist. et dogm. des prières et des cérémonies de la Messe* (Paris, 1716-1726). The first volume contains a detailed explanation of the Mass; the other three are devoted to other discussions. Lebrun even studies the question, how the Church and the faithful take part in the sacrifice (I, 22-26, ed. 1860).

¹¹ N. Letourneux, *De la meilleure manière d'entendre la sainte Messe* (Paris, 1680). The so-called Montpelier Catechism, by the Oratorian F. A. Pouget, *Instructions générales en forme de catéchisme*, contained several thorough instructions on the Holy Mass, but the book was put on the Index in 1721 for its Jansenist leanings.

Cf. E. M. Lange, "Vergessene Liturgiker des 17. Jh.," *JL*, XI (1931), 156-163. See also an account of the liturgical materials in the work named above, *JL*, XIV (1938), 523-543.

¹² A. G. Volusius, *Catechismus biblicus* (Mainz, 1660), devotes fully a third of the book to an explanation of the sacrifice of the Mass and presents a careful instruction on how to unite one's prayer at Mass with

the priest. Cf. J. Hofinger, *Geschichte des Katechismus in Österreich von Canisius bis zur Gegenwart* (Innsbruck, 1937), 167 f., 334.

A forerunner of these efforts to get the people to join in the prayers and offering of the priest was the Strassburg priest who became papal master of ceremonies, John Burchard, whose Mass order appeared 1502 (Legg, *Tracts*, 135).

¹³ H. Vehlen, O.S.B., "Geschichtliches zur Übersetzung des Missale Romanum," *Liturg. Leben*, III (1936), 89-97. The undertaking in question, by Joseph de Voisin, was branded as *vesania*. The prohibition was eventually explained in many different ways, and was not everywhere accepted as binding.

Further studies in P. Bussard, *The Vernacular Missal* (Washington, 1937), 10-39. Cf. also Ellard, *The Mass of the Future*, 125-132.

¹⁴ Even in the late Middle Ages translations of the missal, with or without the canon, appeared. Vehlen, p. 89, mentions two manuscripts and one printed translation from the century before Trent. The little exposition of the Mass published in 1480, *Messen singen oder lesen*, included the canon; later editions left out just the words of consecration; Franz, p. 632. Johannes Busch, the reformer of northern German monasteries

to take,¹⁵ the stand that the Latin Mass prayers were not to be given to the faithful in any way, although nowhere was this formulated in a general Church law. In harmony with such a misconception, was another fundamental notion, that the faithful would reverence the liturgy of the Mass more if the veil of mystery were kept around it.¹⁶ The old idea of the canon as a sanctuary which only the priest could enter thus survived and was in fact extended to the whole Mass. There was therefore little chance of encouraging a closer participation in the priest's celebration,¹⁷ and in any case this approach was left to the devotion of each individual. All these endeavors made hardly any impression on the general picture of the divine service at this time.

On the other hand, it is the heritage of the Middle Ages, purified and refined by the Tridentine reform, which really determines the religious picture of the Baroque period as well as the picture of its religious service. The great abuses have all disappeared. But still the Mass remains a service in which only the priest and his assistants have an active role. The faithful follow the divine action only from a distance. As in the late Middle Ages, an effort is made to foster their devotion by bringing certain more general features of the Mass closer to them—its worth, its fruits, its imaging of the Passion of Christ. The old themes are thus the standard.

But there are plain traces of a deepening effected by the theology of Trent. The essence is more distinctly laid in the sacrifice and by preference unfolded on the basis of the four aims of sacrifice. The fruits of the Mass are spiritualized and the representation of our Lord's life and sufferings is no longer culled from the individual ceremonies but connected with the celebration only in their great phases.¹⁸ Allegorizing is not yet dead,¹⁹ but in an age already nearing empiricism and scientific

(d. circa 1479), bemoans the fact that lay people had *missale cum canone . . . in teutonico*; he himself found, and burnt, copies that nuns had; *ibid.*, 632, note 3.

A French translation of the Paris Missal is found as early as 1370; Batiffol, *Leçons* (1927), p. xix. Various translations of the Mass order also appeared long before Voisin—in 1587, 1607, 1618, 1651; Bremond, IX, 176 f.

¹⁵ In a notice to a Chinese missionary, Sept. 15, 1759, it was made clear that the prayers to be said in the vernacular by the people at Mass were not to be those said by celebrant or deacon or altar boy (servente) or choir; *Collectanea S. C. de Prop. Fide* (Rome, 1907), I, p. 267, n. 422; cf. X. Bürkner, *Die Sonn- und Festtagsfeier in der katholischen Chinamission* (Rome, 1942), 96, note 24.

¹⁶ Cf. Bremond, IX, pp. 164 ff.

¹⁷ But it grew and grew, as a statement of Claude Judde, S.J. (d. 1735) indicates; he would not recommend the method, but he timidly admits "the Church tolerates it; it can now be made use of without scruple" (*Oeuvres Spirituelles*, V, 397). See Lange, *JL*, XI (1931), 162; also G. Chevrot, *Unsere hl. Messe* (Einsiedeln, 1946), 25 f.

¹⁸ This description is certainly true of the commentary which was most widespread in Germany and German-speaking countries, the work of the Capuchin Martin von Cochem (d. 1712), *Medulla missæ germanica*, which aimed at gathering all the best and most useful material on the Mass into one book.

¹⁹ A noteworthy continuation of the Amalar ground-plan is seen in Bellarmine, *Christianæ doctrinæ latior explicatio* (1598; Kempton, 1711), 206-209; taken in relation

study it has lost most of its strength. No longer does it satisfy the people. It can no longer so shackle the minds of the faithful that they are able to follow the action in silence. Those who during the Counter-Reformation attempted to rebuild religious life had to look for other ways and means to enable the faithful to participate in a devout manner. Of course, judging from what we have said, these ways and means could only be stop-gap measures, filling in what the Middle Ages had to offer, since there were too many obstacles in the way of a closer approach to the priest's prayer.

Amongst these ways and means was the prayer book which, after the advent of the printing press, had gained in importance at least for people with some education. It is true there is at first only a slight inducement to any participation in Holy Mass, since the prayer book originated chiefly from the Book of Hours with its extra-eucharistic prayer material. In the early stage it generally appears in the form of one of the traditional allegorical explanations of the Mass,²⁰ but formulated prayers are also offered.²¹ Aside from the elevation of the species at the consecration, these prayers for the most part²² follow the course of the Mass along very general lines,²³ and even when the prayers are more or less faithful to the missal text, the fundamental rule still holds that the canon must be excluded.²⁴

The masses, however, were not reached by the prayer book. A genuine interest in souls, however, did hit upon a plan of overcoming the estrangement of those who attended Mass without really taking part in it—namely, common prayers and singing. This method had often been chosen since the beginning of the eighteenth century, especially during the popular missions

with his theory on the Mass we find: The *Pater noster* represents our Lord's words on the Cross; the fraction is the piercing by the lance; the Communion is the burial; etc.

Besides the prayerbooks, the allegorical exposition played a role also in religious instruction. In his catechetical missions in the Passau diocese in the latter half of the 18th century, Father Karl Helbling, S.J. was accustomed to explain the Mass from the pulpit while another read the Mass at the altar; he would relate the mysteries of Christ's Passion to the ceremonies and add an exhortation; B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Regensburg, 1928), IV, 2, p. 243.

Of course, in some form or other the method reached down to our own days.

²⁰ Cf. Franz, 709 f., 719 f.

²¹ F. Falk, *Die deutschen Mess-Auslegungen von der Mitte des 15. Jh. bis zum Jahre 1525* (Cologne, 1889). For the 16th

to the 18th centuries see A. Schrott, "Das Gebetbuch in der Zeit der katholischen Restauration," *ZkTh*, LXI (1937), 1-28; 211-257.

²² But there were always exceptions; Falk, p. 34, describes a prayerbook with prayers at the *Kyrie*, collect, preface, canon, consecration, communion. Two other samples *ibid.*, pp. 11, 31.

²³ Falk, 27, 32, 35 f.; also 34 f.

Peter Canisius, too, in his prayerbook. *Rechte und katholische Form zu beten* (2nd ed., Augsburg, 1563) inserts for the devotion at Mass long prayers of preparation to awaken faith, hope and love, and a prayer at the elevation of the Host; then follow prayers to Christ's Passion; Schrott, p. 214. Most prayerbooks contain, besides a devotion of this type, also an allegorical exposition of the Mass; Schrott, pp. 237, 243, 248. But the tie with the priest's prayers is apparently quite loose.

²⁴ Schrott, 244, 248.

of the Jesuits.²⁶ Thus they started, in certain instances even on the occasion of a common celebration, to have a low Mass but accompanied by prayers said out loud. In the prayer texts employed in such cases, one cannot expect any closer approach to the liturgy than was to be found in the prayer books. Quite often, it appears, the rosary was used,²⁷ with or without additions.²⁸ Inadequate as such an attendance at Mass might seem to us in the light of our own superior methods, it must be conceded that, in common with the allegorizing of the Mass, it offered the contemplation of the mysteries of Redemption, and offered it, moreover, in a way comprehensible to the people, and with the advantages of congregational participation.

There is somewhat more consideration of the course of the liturgy in the German Mass-songs which begin to gain in significance about this time. In their beginning in the Middle Ages, these songs did not manifest any close regard for the liturgy; a continued series of verses unfolded the meaning of the Mass as a memorial of the Passion and as a sacrifice, and interspersed appropriate petitions.²⁹ A short time later the custom appears of singing a song at the *Credo* and at the sermon, and of inserting into the sequence strophes in the German tongue.³⁰ The cultivation of German ecclesiastical song by the Reformers could not remain without its repercussions on the Catholic side. Canisius continually spoke out warmly for German church song.³¹ In the sixteenth century we again find not only the song at

²⁶ There are reports of morning devotions that started a half hour before Mass and continued all during the Mass with German prayers and songs; see Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, IV, 1, pp. 70, 73.

²⁷ The introduction of the rosary at Mass is mentioned *inter alia* at popular missions; F. Hattler, *Missionsbilder aus Tirol* (Innsbruck, 1899), 63, 66, 70. Similarly it was regarded as one of the lasting results of the mission at Elberfeld in 1784 that at the early Mass morning prayers, the rosary and other German prayers were recited and hymns sung; A. Schüller, "Die Elberfelder Jesuitenmission und ihre Katechismusdramen," *Bonner Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Seelsorge* (1927), 141. Cf. a report about Rastatt in the year 1718; Duhr, IV, 2, p. 261. That the custom of saying the rosary during Mass became quite general throughout German lands is evidenced by the fact that at the end of the 18th century the practice is everywhere combated by the protagonists of the Enlightenment; see *infra*, p. 153.

In some individual cases the private recitation of the rosary at Mass is indicated at

a much earlier period. Thus according to a poem by the Danish secular priest Michael which appeared in 1496, the members of the confraternity of the rosary were to say three rosaries each week "at the hours or even at Mass"; W. Schmitz, *Das Rosenkranzgebet im 15. und im Anfange des 16. Jh.* (Freiburg, 1903), 97; cf. 53 f.

²⁸ During the *devotio matutina* at the town of Hadamar mentioned in Note 25 above, the rosary was interrupted by the singing of a verse from one of the mission hymns; Duhr, IV, 1, p. 73.

²⁹ There are two traditional examples, one from the year 1200 of 43 verses, the other from the 12th century of 94 verses; see Franz, pp. 685-688. But it is not sure whether these poems were church hymns. Cf. also R. Stroppel, *Liturgie und geistliche Dichtung zwischen 1050 und 1300* (Frankfurt, 1927), 104 f.

³⁰ See *infra*, p. 440; 460 f.; 472 f.

³¹ Canisius appears to think of the German hymn as intimately connected with the sermon. He encourages the faithful to sing; on New Year's, 1562, he has the sermon introduced with the singing of "Der Tag der ist so freudenreich." B. Petri Canisii

the sermon but likewise (since the sequence had practically disappeared) a song in the vernacular at the gradual.³¹ Besides these, there was also a song at the offertory and at the communion,³² or one after the *Sanctus*³³ or after the consecration.³⁴ These do not appear to be anything but pre-Reformation growths which at that time sprang up into stronger life and spread out over a wider area.³⁵

The Cantual of Mainz (1605) contains a fixed plan for singing in German in churches in which non-Latin song had long been customary. The Cantual first makes a reference which is very significant for the changes in men's minds, namely, that many of the laity had a greater desire to sing than to meditate on Christ's Passion, as they did of old, by praying from their prayer books or on their rosaries; and because it often happens that there are not enough singers for the chant, the Cantual goes on to outline a plan for the sung-Mass (*Singampt*). According to this arrangement, German hymns could be inserted even at a Latin Mass, especially in place of the chants of the Proper, namely, instead of the gradual, the offertory, and likewise after the *Agnus Dei* and—"wann viel Communicanten seyn"—also during the Communion. Besides, one could also insert a hymn in honor of the Blessed Sacrament after the consecration. The Cantual also gives directions for singing German hymns during a low Mass: The singing should stop at the Gospel, at the elevation, and at the final blessing.³⁶ From then on, these directions are repeated in various places.³⁷

epistolæ et acta, ed. Braunsberger, III, 650-652; cf. IV, 889 f.; V, 569. In his letter of Oct. 2, 1566 he mentions the German hymn as *causam piam et Ecclesiæ salutarem*; *ibid.*, V, 327.

³¹ According to the Breslau Synod of 1592 (Hartzheim, VIII, 395), wherever Latin singing was not customary a song in the vernacular was to be inserted at the gradual and after the consecration.

³² So Joh. Leisentritt, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (Bautzen, 1567), Introduction (printed in W. Bäumker, *Das Katholische deutsche Kirchenlied*, I [Freiburg, 1886], 189).

³³ According to an injunction of the Würzburg Cathedral chapter of the year 1564, for the parish of Ochsenfurt, the priest was directed to have the people sing in German the Act of Faith, right after the *Patrem* and before beginning the sermon; and to keep the people till the elevation he should have the *Media vita* sung in German right after the *Sanctus*; this, they maintain, was customary in the Catholic church. A. Amrhein, *Reformationsgeschichtliche Mitteilungen aus dem Bistum Würzburg* (Reformationsgeschichtl. Stu-

dien u. Texte, 41-42; Münster, 1923), p. 154.

³⁴ See *supra*, note 31.

³⁵ It is striking that Luther, in his *Formula missæ et communionis* of the year 1523 (ed. Lietzmann: *Kleine Texte*, 36 [Berlin, 1936], p. 22) speaks of the possibility of inserting songs in the vernacular in his Mass (still in Latin) *iuxta Gradualia, item iuxta Sanctus et Agnus Dei*, either after the Latin chant or in place of it.

As a matter of fact, even German synods of the 15th century—among them the Synod of Schwerin (1492) which is often understood in a different way—were struggling against the obviously repeated attempt to introduce vernacular songs into the High Mass; see W. Bäumker, *Zur Geschichte der Tonkunst* (Freiburg, 1881), 128 f.; J. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (20th ed., Freiburg, 1913), I, 289, 291 (with note 3), 298.

³⁶ Text reproduced in W. Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied* (Freiburg, 1886), I, 198-200.

³⁷ Ursprung, *Die Katholische Kirchenmusik*, 225.

If certain starts were thus given to a communal celebration of Mass that reached down to the people, still in all these instances, as can be plainly seen, there was little thought of following the course of the Mass except within very modest limits. The liturgy of the Mass stands before the faithful in all its splendor, but it is a splendor whose greatness is self-contained and whose arrangement is as immutable as it is puzzling; and in the midst shines the Blessed Sacrament, a precious jewel for which this traditional setting appeared just, right, and necessary.

Indeed, the Mass was actually treated as self-contained even where it appeared in its festive form and where a Baroque culture could share with it its own riches. The mighty Baroque sermon was extended before the Mass whenever it did not—as it might rightfully have—lay claims to its own hours. And when it did find its way into the Mass, it seemed to burst beyond its limits, so that it seldom had any connection with the Gospel. Since the Middle Ages the site of the pulpit had gradually been altered, moved generally away from the altar and further into the nave. Like the sermon, it grew independent. The Communion of the faithful took place as a rule *after* the Mass, and *not* after the parochial Mass but rather—because of the law of fasting—after one of the early Masses. As far as frequency went, this was once more on the increase. But Communion was an independent, self-contained exercise, looked upon not as a participation in the sacrifice but simply as a reception of our Lord present continually in the Sacrament.

What has been said holds true also for church music at this time. Here, too, the Mass was treated as self-contained. Music spread its gorgeous mantle over the whole Mass, so that the other details of the rite scarcely had any significance. Encouraged by the moderate attitude of the Council of Trent, it had developed into mighty proportions. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are marked by a plethora of new musical forms. Besides the organ, there were accompaniments by other instruments, growing ever richer, more gorgeous. And often a single many-voiced choir was not sufficient, but use was made of several choirs either answering each other or even blending together. The history of music, therefore, makes mention of a particular “splendid” style which was formed during this period.³⁸ The victorious temper of the post-Tridentine age, which once more felt the courage to absorb the entire wealth of the contemporary culture into the Catholic cosmos—that temper found its triumphal voice in this music.

It is significant that the princely courts, both great and small, were the first places where this type of church music was cultivated and where it

³⁸ Ursprung, 204 f.

At the consecration of the cathedral of Salzburg, 1628, a festival Mass by Orazio Benevoli (d. 1672) was sung, requiring

two eight-part choirs and corresponding orchestras—in all 53 voices or parts; *ibid.*, 207.

reached its splendor.³⁹ Because of the religio-cultural situation it sometimes happened that this church music, which had fallen more and more into the hands of laymen, forgot that it was meant to subserve the liturgical action. As a result of this, the music often fitted very poorly into the liturgical setting. And since this latter was but little understood, and because esthetic consideration began to hold sway, the liturgy was not only submerged under this ever-growing art but actually suppressed, so that even at this time there were festive occasions which might best be described as "church concerts with liturgical accompaniment."⁴⁰ Even the connection with a text was taken very ill by music such as this. Texts which could be chosen at random—as was permitted after the elevation—were transferred to other places in the Mass,⁴¹ and the Proper especially was replaced by some such songs.⁴² On the other side, the celebrant often tried to continue with the offertory even while the choir was still singing the *Credo*,⁴³ or to restrict the singing of the preface and *Pater noster* to the initial words so as to leave the rest for the music and the organ.⁴⁴ Thus singing, too, had freed itself from the liturgical bonds and achieved independence.

The place taken by the choir corresponds to this new situation—not in the *choir* from which it derives its name, but far away, on the boundary between the world and the church, in the organ-loft.⁴⁵

The development in the field of music made it really possible to "hear" the Mass. In fact on festival occasions the hearing of polyphonic pieces—

³⁹ Ursprung, 220.

Right down to the present the court churches and palace chapels were in the forefront in the cultivation of church music, e.g., at Vienna, Munich, Dresden.

⁴⁰ Ursprung, 219.

⁴¹ As far as Rome was concerned this attempt was frustrated in 1657 by Alexander VII, who insisted on the use of approved texts. Ursprung, 219; cf. F. Romita, *Jus Musicae Liturgicae* (Rome, 1947), 77-79. The pertinent paragraphs are reproduced in the *White List* of the Society of St. Gregory of America (New York, 1947), 4.

⁴² Ursprung, 219.

⁴³ Even before the reform of the missal St. Francis Borgia had, on the occasion of the first General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, 1558, urged this procedure for all High Masses in the Society. *Monumenta hist. S.J., S. Franciscus Borgia* (Madrid, 1908), III, 346 f.; cf. 356.

But such a practice must have become widespread in France even after the reform of the missal, since Letourneux expressly combats it; JL, XIV (1938), 537. The Congregation of Rites replied in the

same tenor against similar attempts in answers to Beneventum, Sept. 13, 1670, to Besançon, April 3, 1677, and to Genoa, Dec. 17, 1695; Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum SRC*, n. 631, 700, 709. Similar practices of telescoping are not unheard of even nowadays!

But even more revolutionary things were to be met with. The Cologne Provincial Synod of 1536 had to enjoin that the Epistle, symbol, preface or *Pater* were not to be omitted or shortened on account of the music; can. 12 (Hartzheim, VI, 255). Likewise a Synod at Trier (1549), can. 9 (Hartzheim, VI, 600).

⁴⁴ Lebrun, I, 337, who had encountered this abuse during a trip through Germany, 1714; a condemnation at the Council of Basle, 1431, shows how early this practice had crept in.

⁴⁵ This change appears to belong to the 17th century; Ursprung, 219 f. For its previous position, see *ibid.*, 208-9; 215. Ursprung, p. 220, correctly points out that the chants of the Ordinary of the Mass were by rights the congregation's but had been taken over gradually by the clergy.

which demanded no activity whatever on the part of the congregation—cast all other sensations into shadow. But in ecclesiastical Baroque the eye, too, was satisfied. Looking at the Host at the consecration no longer possessed the attraction and significance that it had towards the end of the Middle Ages.⁶⁰ The new age sought not the sight of the holy, but the sight of the beautiful in art and universe. And so the church became a great hall, its walls shimmering with marble and gold. The paintings on the ceilings, which grew right out of the plaster of the entablature, made the room appear to fade away into heavenly glory. The *presbyterium* is hardly any longer distinct from the nave, and along with the latter it mounts upwards, by force of the cupola or dome, into a higher unity. At its base the glance falls on the mighty structure of the high altar in which the design of the Gothic altar-piece has been reconstructed architecturally. The prominent thing in this structure is the altar-piece itself, perhaps also the exposition throne for the Blessed Sacrament, and finally the tabernacle which has become part and parcel of the plan. By contrast, what really makes the altar an altar, the *mensa*, is not given the prominence it deserves. Its significance appears to have suffered, just as in Baroque polyphony the liturgical action suffered.⁶¹ The interior of the church has become a great hall filled with sensuous life. Even the galleries and boxes are there. And the liturgy itself is conceived of as a play, to be looked at and listened to. But it is no longer—as it was in the Middle Ages—the Mass itself with its succession of ceremonies which bears this dramatic character. Only the adoration of our Lord at the consecration retains its position as the dominating climax. Indeed, the adoration and glorification of the Sacrament, which had been so outrageously attacked by the Reformers, now stands so prominently in the foreground that one is almost bound to look upon the Mass in general chiefly from this point of view. The catechism of J. M. Kettler which appeared at Würzburg in 1734 treats the Mass as one of the five ways in which to worship Christ in the Sacrament.⁶² It is no wonder, then, that eucharistic devotion, especially the Forty Hours and the grand processions, vied with the Mass in splendor and in the fervor of attendance, and that in many countries it became the rule more and more to expose the Blessed Sacrament during Mass as an enhancement of the celebration,

⁶⁰ Dumoutet, 72-74; 102-104.

⁶¹ Mayer, "Liturgie und Barock," *JL*, XV (1941), 142 ff.; Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 288 f. See the description of Baroque in H. Lützel, *Die christliche Kunst des Abendlandes* (Bonn, 1932), where its relation to liturgy is carefully weighed (152 f., 160 ff.).

A very good description of the Baroque church is presented by Paul Claudel, *Ways and Crossways* (trans. Fr. J. O'Connor;

London, 1935), "On Art," p. 132.

⁶² J. Hofinger, *Geschichte des Katechismus in Österreich*, 168. Martin von Cochem, too, in his two chapters on devout attendance at Mass, deals mostly with the consecration; till the elevation, say your daily prayers, after that worship the divine Lamb (*Medulla*, 3rd ed., Cologne, 1724, p. 439). However he gives instructions about paying attention to the *Confiteor* and the *Sanctus* (*ibid.*, p. 433).

especially on feast days.⁴⁹ This type of piety achieved at this very time its highest artistic manifestation and, at the same time, the proof of its power in the *autos sacramentales* of Spanish poetry.⁵⁰

That the manner of celebrating Mass in the post-Tridentine era did not correspond in every respect to the deep mystery and especially to the faithfully guarded form of its Roman vesture could not even then remain hidden from everyone. The advent of the Reformers had not only awakened a theology of controversy but had also necessitated a closer and deeper study of the writings of the Fathers and of the life of the ancient Church. Along with the writings of the Fathers the old liturgical texts came to light—the sacramentaries, the *ordines*—and with them a picture of a divine service which, far and wide, had embraced the entire Christian people in the community of celebration.⁵¹ This picture easily became a pattern and model. Knowledge became a spur to make some attempt—on one's own initiative—in the direction which was deemed, or at least poetically painted, as the ideal. There were few restraints in the way of this attempt, at least where the relationship to the government of the Church Universal had become slack either because of dogmatic differences as in the circles of Jansenism, or because of canonical and legal disagreements as in Gallicanism, or finally because of a novel view of Christendom which de-emphasized the supernatural in favor of the natural, as in the Enlightenment. So various attempts were made at improvement, but even in the good and worthwhile things that they contained they were burdened by this double difficulty, that they worked on their own and that they were stimulated by questionable motives, so that they were from the outset bound inevitably to fail.

It was not a good omen when one of the first to take up the slogan that simple people were not to be deprived of the consolation of lifting their voices in union with the voice of the entire Church, was Pasquier Quesnel.⁵²

⁴⁹ The fact is attested especially by the efforts made to oppose it in the period of the Enlightenment; see *infra*, p. 153.

⁵⁰ In Germany the Corpus Christi play developed to a high degree during the era of the Baroque; see R. Hindringer, "Fronleichnamsspiele," *LThK*, IV (1932), 216; A. Dörner, *Bozner Bürgerspiele* (Leipzig, 1941), I, 107-239.

⁵¹ Of the liturgico-historical publications of this period only the few need be mentioned which are still of value in the study of the Mass: the editions of the Roman *Ordines* and of medieval explanations of the liturgy by M. Hittorp (1568); the work of three Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur: the edition of a Gregorian Sacramentary, with a goodly supply of notes by H. Ménard (1642), the collection of the Roman *Ordines* with a commentary by J.

Mabillon (1687-89), and the texts assembled from numerous MSS. and accompanied by a discussion in the important work of E. Martène (after 1700); further the edition of Roman and Gallican Sacramentaries by L. A. Muratori (1748) and the collection of ancient liturgical source-materials in German libraries by Abbot M. Gerbert (1779). Add the various drafts of an historical appraisal of the Roman Mass, especially those by Cardinal J. Bona (1671), by Cl. de Vert (after 1707), by P. Lebrun (after 1716) and by the learned Pope Benedict XIV (1748).

Further bibliography in Eisenhofer, I, 134-141.

⁵² In his *Reflexions morales* (1691; the work appeared earlier but in a different form); cf. the 86th of the propositions condemned in 1713 (Denziger-Umberg, *En-*

Soon after his appearance the endeavor was made in France to have the canon prayed aloud, but an episcopal prohibition was passed against this for the first time in 1698.⁴⁸ In a new printing of the Missal of Meaux in the year 1709 there suddenly appeared in the canon and in some other places a red-printed *R* just before the Amen; the people were thus expected to respond to each prayer section, and this presupposed that the praying was done aloud. A lengthy battle ensued regarding this inconspicuous but yet not unimportant innovation.⁴⁹ The ominous letter had to disappear. In the year 1736 a Missal of Troyes carried this notice regarding the praying of the canon: *submissa voce*; it sought thus to retain the rubric in a mitigated form. According to the same authority, the prayers before the distribution of Communion, from the *Confiteor* to the *Domine non sum dignus*—which had formerly been said in the Mass—were to be left out. And the priest was no longer obliged to repeat softly to himself the chants and readings which had formerly been performed aloud. There were also in this Mass book as in the Paris Mass book of 1684, attempts along another path, to substitute biblical texts for the non-biblical song texts. The former directions had to be rescinded, in accordance with a governmental decree which the then archbishop of Sens obtained in 1738.⁵⁰ But editions of the missal which made changes in the texts of the *Proprium* continued to appear and, following the example of Paris, were finally adopted in more than fifty dioceses.⁵¹

Later, but more pretentiously, the feeling of dissatisfaction with the traditional forms of the divine service found expression elsewhere. In Germany especially, where the Baroque had had its greatest development in ecclesiastical life, the reaction in that same ecclesiastical life—after this development had exhausted its strength—was the strongest. This occurred during the Enlightenment. The desire was to get free from all excess of emotions, free from all surfeit of forms; to get back again to “noble simplicity.” As in contemporary art, where the model for this was sought in antiquity and attained in classicism, so in ecclesiastical life the model was perceived in the life of the ancient Church. And so a sort of Catholic classicism was arrived at, a sudden enthusiasm for the liturgical forms of primitive Christianity, forms which in many cases one believed could be taken over bodily, despite the interval of a thousand years and more, even though one was far removed from the spirit of that age.⁵²

chiridion, n. 1436) : *Eripere simplici populo hoc solatium iungendi vocem suam voci totius Ecclesiae, est usus contrarius praxi apostolicae et intentioni Dei.*

⁴⁹ Prosper Guéranger, *Institutiones liturgiques* (Le Mans, 1841), II, 180 f.

⁵⁰ Guéranger, *op. cit.*, 181 ff.

The defense of silent prayer was taken up by Lebrun (see note 10 above), who devoted half of his fourth volume to the problem; IV, 226-520. He thought he was able

to prove silent prayer was to be found even in the earliest centuries of the Church.

⁵¹ Guéranger, *op. cit.*, 188 ff.

⁵² Guéranger, *op. cit.*, 365 ff.

The liberties taken with the Breviary were even greater; see F. Cabrol, “Liturgies néo-gallicanes,” *Liturgia* (Paris, 1935), 864-870. The Holy See did not take any stand whatever regarding these activities.

⁵³ A. L. Mayer, “Liturgie, Aufklärung und Klassizismus,” *JL*, IX (1929), 67-127.

One group of liturgists in the Enlightenment absolutely misjudged the essence of the liturgy and wanted to make of divine service a human service designed for instruction and moral admonition.⁶⁰ Others desired only to set aside disturbing non-essentials and to bring into prominence an outline of the celebration of the Mass which would consolidate the congregation. The whole community should assemble in the parish church; here one Mass, and only one Mass should be celebrated. After the Gospel there was to be a sermon, and after the priest's Communion the Communion of the faithful. Instrumental music was not to be allowed, or at most only on great feast-days. As much as possible the people themselves were to accompany the sacred ceremony with singing in the vernacular or even with prayer, which, however, should correspond to that of the priest. The common recitation of the rosary during Mass was censured. These demands are repeated in the pastoral theology of the period with almost wearisome uniformity.⁶¹ They are demands in which one would hardly say an ecclesiastical spirit was wanting.⁶² Other wishes which often reappear are for an increase in the frequency of Communion,⁶³ for a decrease in altars,⁶⁴ for the turning of the altar towards the people,⁶⁵ for greater restraint in the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament.⁶⁶ The offertory procession,⁶⁷ the kiss of peace,⁶⁸ and concelebration⁶⁹ are also proposed as the objects of reform.

B. Thiel, *Die Liturgik der Aufklärungszeit. Ihre Grundlagen und die Ziele ihrer Vertreter* (Breslau, 1926).

A very thorough and detailed survey is presented in W. Trapp, *Vorgeschichte und Ursprung der liturgischen Bewegung* (Regensburg, 1940), 14-189.

⁶⁰ Trapp, 19-68. A leading part was played by Canon Winter of Eichstätt; see A. Vierbach, *Die liturgischen Anschauungen des V. A. Winter* (Munich, 1929).

⁶¹ See the proofs in Trapp, 85-189. Most of these demands are found repeated by the extremists amongst the Enlightened; *ibid.*, 21 ff.; Vierbach, 102-151.

For reforms that were actually put into practice see Vierbach, 32-44. For a general idea of pastoral work in this period see E. Hegel, "Liturgie und Seelsorge in der Zeit der Aufklärung," *Theologie u. Glaube*, XXXV (1943), 103-107.

⁶² The proper notion is conveyed in a reform-writing which appeared in 1812, which points to the need of giving the liturgy "full play" in religious life, since, owing to the secularization which had occurred, so many external aids had been withdrawn; Trapp, 117.

⁶³ Trapp, 90, 157 f., 166 ff.

⁶⁴ Trapp, 102, 134.

Like so many of the points already mentioned, this part of the program was also taken up at the Synod of Pistoia (1786); the demand was made that in every church there be but one altar. This proposition was characterized as *temeraria* by Pius VI in the Bull *Auctorem fidei*; similarly other propositions requiring the use of the vernacular and the discontinuance of Mass-stipends and of private Masses (Denziger-Umbert, *Enchiridion*, n. 1528, 1530 ff., 1566). Cf. R. Pilkington, "La liturgia nel Sinodo Riciano di Pistoia," *Eph. liturg.*, XLIII (1929), 310-424; the author points out that not everything the synod did was bad, and that some of its liturgical notions contained "delle cose buone" (p. 410). The same must be said of the more conservative program developed in that same year, 1786, at the Congress of Ems; see Mayer, "Liturgie, Aufklärung und Klassizismus," 102 f., 111 f.

⁶⁵ Trapp, 122 f., 162 f., 219; cf. 25; also Vierbach, 149.

⁶⁶ Trapp, 90, 98, 103, 131, 136, 158.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 122, 222.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 126 f., 165.

In all of these desires for change, one point plainly recurs time and again, and that is that the participation of the faithful had reached a certain critical stage. The faithful ought not only to be present at Mass but ought to be able to follow along. Concern over this matter was practically as old as the split between the vernacular and the liturgical language. The solution adopted for many centuries, the allegorical interpretation, is no longer considered; it is not even mentioned.⁶⁸ The ornamentation of the Mass with rousing music is hardly a more practical remedy than the common praying of the rosary, which appears to have become quite extensive at the daily celebration of Mass.⁶⁹ So new ways had to be sought. One substitute would be the thorough instruction of the faithful.⁷⁰ Prayer books would have to be distributed in which the Mass prayers are offered in faithful translation.⁷¹ For a similar reason, praying and singing in common should be practiced. But ultimately one had to acknowledge that for a closer coordination between the people and the liturgy the language was the great stumbling-block. This was a time when Latin, which had already for a long time ceased to be the means of communication between the cultured, no longer served as the language of learned literature. Therefore the desire was expressed time after time for a more or less extensive use of the vernacular, especially where the priest turns to the people. A reference to 1 Cor. 14:16 f. often recurs. Still no one was blind to the value of Latin, any more than to the limits of the advantages which a language change could produce.⁷² Indeed there were continual warnings against any arbitrary procedure and a demand for deference to ecclesiastical superiors.⁷³

While other points in the program of the liturgists of the Enlightenment left no traces in the devotional life of the subsequent period, their work in one field was crowned with lasting success, namely, in the field of German church-song. As we have already seen, it had been customary even in the previous centuries under certain circumstances to accompany the celebration of Mass with singing in the vernacular. But now there was inaugurated a certain systematic promotion of popular church singing, which led eventually to the formation of the German *Singmesse*. German

⁶⁸ But cf. note 19 above.

⁶⁹ Cf. Trapp, 24f., 115, 134, 147f., 157, 178; Vierbach, 75, 109.

⁷⁰ Trapp, 90, 92, 106 f., 164.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 92, 119 f., 146, 159 f.

This demand was fulfilled to some extent by the Constance hymnbook of 1812: *Christkatholisches Gesang- und Andachtsbuch*; Trapp, 148. A complete translation of the Mass prayers was offered in J. M. Sailer, *Vollständiges Lese- und Betbuch* (Munich, 1783), I, 1-69.

⁷² Trapp, 106, 119, 161. Sailer especially, while emphasizing the seriousness of the question, also points out the preliminaries

that must be investigated before any change to the vernacular was feasible. Amongst these difficulties he names the incoherence that is to be found in many of the Scripture texts used; *ibid.*, 214-216. Similarly, K. Schwarzel; *ibid.*, 108.

⁷³ The "episcopalism" of the era is shown by the fact that usually only ordinaries and synods seem to come to mind; see Trapp, 106, 108 f., 130.

In the years that followed, two others especially sued for a German liturgy, F. A. Staudenmaier (*ibid.*, 248) and, with particular zeal, J. B. Hirscher (218, 222 f., 225 f.).

songs replaced not only the variable chants of the Proper but also those of the Ordinary which up till now had continued current here and there in their Latin text and with their ancient chant melodies even amongst the people.⁷⁴ The Paderborn Hymnal of 1726 contains German songs for the *Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei*; finally the Speyer Hymnal of 1770 contains a *Singmesse* with German selections for all parts of the Ordinary.⁷⁵ The best known example from this period is the *Singmesse* "*Hier liegt vor deiner Majestat*" (Here before thy majesty lies), which appears with a first melody in the Landshut Hymnal of 1777 and which, after acquiring a new set of melodies by Michael Haydn (d. 1806) continues in use even today.⁷⁶

Just as the first attempts to introduce German singing into the Mass-liturgy dealt with a service in which the priest continued to sing his part at the altar, so also in the eighteenth century no one had any misgivings about combining the new *Singmesse* with a chanted Mass as well as with a low Mass. That is plainly to be seen especially from the prefaces in the hymnals.⁷⁷ A circumstance which might have urged some such solution was the situation in which country choirs found themselves at that time—a situation even now not entirely overcome. The many-voiced church music performed at the court churches and the large city churches had become the fashion, a fashion which was followed even in the country, although with inadequate resources. Therefore a simple song in the vernacular actually appeared to deserve the preference, more especially since the ecclesiastical prescriptions regarding the language of the accompanying singing were not then so precise and the liturgical books generally left the question quite open.⁷⁸ Thus a German high Mass came into common use and

⁷⁴ W. Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied* (Freiburg, 1891), III, 13 ff.; (1911), IV, 13.

That the singing of the Chant was still alive amongst the people in the 18th century is seen by the fact that many proponents of the Enlightenment opposed it as vehemently as they opposed the rosary; Trapp, 178; cf. 59. The resistance of the people in the diocese of Mainz to the introduction of the German High Mass rested largely on this fact that the Chant would be ousted; see JL, VI (1926), 425. Gregorian chant did not disappear from Mainz until 1837.

⁷⁵ Ursprung, 225. A midway sample is found in the *Singmesse* in the *Lobklingende Harfe* published 1730 by the Jesuit missionary Anton Koniass (*ibid.*, 225, 227).

⁷⁶ Ursprung, 259 f.

⁷⁷ The hymnbook which appeared at St. Blaise in 1773 under Abbot Gerbert expressly proposed that the German songs be substituted for the Latin ones which the

farmers hardly used. Similarly the Catholic songbook of Ignaz Franz (1778) was intended as a replacement in villages and small towns for the figured music commonly employed. Trapp, 176 f.

In Mainz and Paderborn episcopal decrees commanded the substitution of German songs for the Chant. Ursprung, 257.

Further evidence in Trapp, 88, 136, 147, 156.

⁷⁸ The Paderborn Hymnal of 1726 refers to a decree of the Roman Provincial Council of 1725 under Benedict XIII ordering that at High Mass catechetical hymns be sung in the vernacular right after the sermon; Ursprung, 225.

On the other hand, the singing of vernacular songs at Mass was forbidden—in 1639 in a reply to Rimini (Gardellini, n. 1129), and on March 22, 1862, in a reply to Valencia (*Decreta Authentica SRC*, n. 3113). An admonition to get rid of the custom *sensim sine sensu* was addressed to the bishop of St. Hyacinth in Canada

as a result of a custom already in vogue it remained in use, especially in North German dioceses, all through the nineteenth century and right down to the present.⁷⁹

This type of service employed at sung Mass appears to have been carried over to the low Mass only secondarily. As a matter of fact the German *Singmesse*—the term was now by preference applied to this latter case—gave somewhat the impression of a one-sided conversation, for not only the orations but the readings (or at least the Epistle) and the preface and *Pater noster*, none of them unimportant parts in the structure of the Mass, do not receive any kind of expression. That there was no mention of any of the changeable chants of the *Proprium* was again a carry-over from the high Mass that was then current and is to a great extent still current. But, this much must be conceded, that in the German *Singmesse* a form of celebrating the Mass had been found which was both popular and dignified, a form moreover which was nowhere in contradiction to existing legal prescriptions; for with regard to the method of accompanying a *missa lecta* with prayer and song the fullest liberty reigned, and still reigns. It was a form by which the people could not only understand the action of the priest but also to a certain extent actively follow. It was a form in which, through singing in common, the community consciousness was aroused, and indeed imbued with a certain degree of solemnity. No wonder that in many dioceses the German *Singmesse* gradually won great popularity.⁸⁰ That this did not occur more quickly was due in part to the violent methods by which its introduction was effected in many places, in part also to the weaknesses of content which the creations of the period of Enlightenment so frequently displayed.⁸¹

The weaknesses and mistakes with which the Enlightenment proved to be burdened, in other fields more plainly perhaps than in the liturgy, turned out to be the reason why a reaction was bound to set in, a return to the complete affirmation of dogma and the supernatural, to a respect for the hierarchic structure of the Church and for tradition. A Catholic *Restoration* was bound to come.⁸² The excessive enthusiasm for reform reached an end. The older arrangements were once more honored, including the arrangement of the celebration of Mass, just as a former generation had

on Dec. 10, 1870 (*ibid.* n. 3230). The first *decretum generale* to forbid the mingling of vernacular singing with the Latin at High Mass did not appear till May 22, 1894 (*ibid.*, n. 3827). Since then several particular decrees (*ibid.*, 3880, 3994) and the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X (*ibid.*, n. 4121, 7) have confirmed this legislation.

⁷⁹ Its toleration for Germany has been affirmed by the Holy See by a letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State dated Dec. 24, 1943.

⁸⁰ In Lower Austria it appears to be a valid substitute even for the parish Mass on Sundays in many of the country churches, so that the Latin service (except for the *Requiem*) is heard only on feasts.

⁸¹ Cf. Ursprung, 258 f.

⁸² A. L. Mayer, "Liturgie, Romantik und Restauration," *JL*, V (1930), 77-141. Mayer maintains that Romanticism, because of the independence of its views, had little or no connection with the liturgy (104 f.); still certain Romantic elements did enter

found it, with all its excellencies and, to a great extent with all its deficiencies. No one wanted to listen to critical voices.⁸³ Even the healthy reform aims of the older period—many of which were to be taken up, a century later, by the highest authority in the Church—were looked upon with suspicion because they had emanated from the epoch of the Enlightenment.

Still by teaching respect for the existing liturgy, this period of Catholic Restoration did begin the necessary preparation for a healthier and more blessed resumption of these former strivings at a later time. The beauty of the Latin prayers, the dignity of the ceremonies, the harmony of the whole conglomerate—all these were extolled. Enthusiasm developed once more for Gregorian Chant and for all vocal art based on the chant after the manner of Palestrina.⁸⁴

It was in the field of church music that the Restoration set to work most visibly to remodel the divine service. The works of the Baroque period which had found in the liturgy only an occasion for unfolding a musical splendor that was all too worldly and which often bore no relationship to the seriousness of the liturgical text and the liturgical mystery—from these one turned aside. An effort was made to bring the unabbreviated words of the sacred songs into their rightful place. War was declared on the amalgamation of songs in the vernacular with the Latin service, which now frequently returned in its pure unadulterated form. The Cæcilian movement made the relevant demands and principles common property of the widest circles, and succeeded in introducing even in country churches many-voiced Latin singing in place of the German Mass-songs.⁸⁵

But this movement had one drawback; the people at Mass were once more—and this time more consciously than ever—reduced to the role of spectators, and the attempt to reveal the Latin liturgy to the faithful was turned aside partly as a matter of principle.⁸⁶ The Mass-liturgy was, for the leaders who espoused this tendency, a monument, finished and fixed once and for all, a monument which in its mystery-filled objectivity not only did not take the faithful into consideration but even shut off their

into the restoration, especially, e.g., the attraction of the Middle Ages.

⁸³ Cf. the views of M. v. Diepenbrock regarding the opposition of Hirscher; Trapp, 270.

⁸⁴ Ursprung, 280.

⁸⁵ Ursprung, 277 ff.; O. Rousseau, *Histoire du mouvement liturgique* (Paris, 1945), 151-166.

In many places, however—as in the Provincial Council of Cologne, 1860—Gregorian Chant was prescribed except on feast-days.

For the decision of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884) regarding

Chant, and for other early evidences of an American "liturgical movement" see Wm. Busch, "The Voice of a Plenary Council," *Orate Fratres*, XXI (1946-47), 452-458.

⁸⁶ This was the stand taken by H. Bone in the preface to his hymnal *Cantate* (Mainz, 1847); the temple of God, he maintained, would lose none of its sublimity even if no congregation ever assembled there for worship, for the living principle is not the congregation but the sanctuary and the sacrifice. The earlier attempts to introduce the vernacular and a participation of the faithful he tags as "devotional communism"; these attempts, he felt, went too far. Trapp, 271-273.

every approach. Therefore the liturgy is praised as a finished art-product, as a wondrous work of the Holy Spirit, and it is almost forgotten that in the service of this higher master, human hands had been at work through the centuries, probing and fumbling and not always very happily, endeavoring to make the eternally incomplete as fit for its purpose as they possibly could.⁸⁷

In such a treatment of the liturgy we recognize the expression of a time grown tired, a time which is accustomed, with every technical skill, to measure the tasks of intellectual culture, not by an independent judgment of things themselves but by comparison with certain finished patterns which thus passed muster as an unalterable canon. This was the age which started out in classicism, following the traces of classical antiquity, an age which in matters ecclesiastical considered Gothic the ideal in architecture, Raffaele and Perugino in painting, and Palestrina in music. It is an age in which our churches began to be filled with imitations and in which the liturgy of the Mass, by and large unquestionably wonderful, was crystallized in a framework that was utterly unworthy of it.

The intellectual backgrounds of this phase of evolution will be made more plainly visible by a consideration of the parallel phenomena in the French area. In Abbot Prosper Guéranger, founder of Solesmes (1833) and renovator of the monastic ideal, there arose an implacable adversary of the so-called neo-Gallican liturgies, or to speak more exactly, of the arbitrary changes introduced into the Roman Missal and Breviary. He demanded an uncompromising return to the books of the pure Roman liturgy,⁸⁸ and was so successful in carrying this out all along the line that in many dioceses even the Propers which were ancient and traditional were swept by the board. By 1860 the Roman Missal and the Roman Breviary without any additions had once more been reintroduced nearly everywhere.⁸⁹

Here, too, it is the spirit of the Catholic Restoration which stands behind the movement. At the same time, however, the opposition to the previous generation's deification of reason took on, in one strong group, the form of traditionalism. This became the teaching that, in general, man can achieve all higher knowledge, not through the labor of his own reason, but only from tradition, and in the last analysis from an original revelation. Tradi-

⁸⁷ See the survey in Trapp, 319-324. The most striking thing is the effort to compare the liturgy thus conceived (as a work finished and complete) with other products of spiritual culture. According to J. B. Henninger (d. 1892) the Church possesses in the prayers of the liturgical books a treasure "which would of itself suffice to prove its divine origin" (p. 320, note 244). According to F. Hettinger (d. 1890) the contents of the liturgy, especially the missal,

are amongst "the most perfect possessions of literature" (p. 323).

⁸⁸ P. Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, 3 vols. (Le Mans & Paris, 1840-1851). The second volume especially is devoted to this struggle. Miscellaneous polemic papers were assembled after his death (1875) in a fourth volume of the 2nd edition (1878-1885).

⁸⁹ F. Cabrol, "Guéranger," DACL, VI (1875-1879); H. Leclercq, CE, VII (58-59); Rousseau, 1-43.

tion and authority, as opposed to every individual project and all private initiative, thus acquired an unconscionably great importance. This attitude was prominent already in the case of Joseph de Maistre. And young Guéranger, too, paid homage to this spirit. He had picked it up in the circle of Lamennais and in his work with him. After Lamennais' condemnation Guéranger definitely broke with him, but the unsparing fight against the liturgical independence of the French bishops which he had opened up in Lamennais' publication, he continued to the end in the same spirit in which he had started it.⁸⁰ Guéranger therefore stood squarely for the persistence of the existing Roman liturgy and a veneration for it that set aside any critical consideration. In spite of his great work on the Church year he did not favor an unrestricted elucidation of liturgical texts and practices for the people; for the Christian multitude the liturgy should instead remain wrapped under a veil of mystery.⁸¹

14. The Mass since Pius X

Notwithstanding the shadows that envelop even a figure like Dom Prosper Guéranger, it was from him and from what he established that the most momentous impulses proceeded for that intense rapprochement of the liturgy to the people and for that far-reaching reorganization of divine service which we witness today. Reverent and loving submersion in actualities has at last proved to be a blessing, thanks to the wealth that lies buried deep in the liturgy. It led to a knowledge of the ways and means to bridge, at least in some scant manner, the thousand-year old cleft between the Mass-liturgy and the people, without using allegory and also without any fundamental changes.

First of all, the *opus Dei* as performed in the new centers of monasticism, dignified, replete with the spirit of adoration, became a drama in the best sense of the word, drawing to itself the eyes of all. The products of Beuronese art soon gave it a visible background. Gregorian Chant, too, was refurbished. There were many differences to be found in the various editions and even at Rome there was no obligatory norm regarding the use and execution of the chant,¹ but at Solesmes it was made the object of learned study, so that its true form in the flourishing period, as discovered in the manuscripts, was once more re-established. These studies received the highest recognition under Pius X, who had already in early life been influenced by the Benedictine movement for the renewal of chant,² and

⁸⁰ E. Sévrin, *Dom Guéranger et La Men-nais* (Paris, 1933); see the review, with further references, by A. Schnütgen, *JL*, XIII (1935), 442-444. For similar and related matters in Germany see Trapp, 268 ff.

⁸¹ Guéranger, *Institutions*, III, 210 ff.; cf. II, 230, 245.

¹ The *Editio Medicea* of the Roman Graduale, printed 1614-1615, was first declared authentic by Pius IX in 1868, and this only in the form of a privilege for 30 years to the publishing firm of Pustet (Regensburg) which edited the work. Ursprung, 279, 286.

² Ursprung, 283, 286.

who, as Pope, utilized the results of the labors of Solesmes as the basis of his efforts for the restoration of chant and for the new authentic editions of the chant books (*Editio Vaticana*).³ The chants of the *Ordinarium missæ* appeared in 1905, the complete *Graduale* by 1907. Already in the very first year of his pontificate, on November 22, 1903, the *Motu Proprio* on church music had appeared,⁴ calling attention to the dignity of Gregorian Chant, encouraging the participation of the people in its rendition, but also developing the norms for a polyphony and a harmonized music that is ready to serve in the sacred celebration.

Under Pius X, too, other endeavors, which in the nineteenth century had resulted in a deeper search into the treasures of the Church's heritage, began to bear fruit in the life of Christian worship. Not in vain had the life of the ancient Church been lifted out of the darkness of the catacombs. Not in vain had a more intense study of patristic literature been inaugurated. Not in vain had a revival of Scholasticism brought honor once more to an uncurtailed affirmation of dogma and of the Sacrament. Since the middle of the nineteenth century voices had been raised more and more confidently to seek for a return of the practice of the ancient Church regarding Communion, and to point to the natural conclusion of the Mass in the Communion of the faithful.⁵ Thus the ground was somewhat prepared for the decree *On frequent and even daily Communion* which appeared in 1905,⁶ marking a milestone in liturgical history even more important than the decrees of the same pope which were more directly liturgical.

At first glance the decree seemed to have little relation to liturgical affairs. It had indeed in its very first words (*Sacra Tridentina synodus*) alluded to the wish of the Council of Trent that the faithful receive Communion at Mass not only spiritually but also sacramentally. But for the rest, it had not gone into the connection between Mass and Communion at all, but had restricted itself to setting forth and analyzing the value and the conditions of frequent Communion. If you read through the religious periodicals in the years following the publication of the decree, conning the articles that urged frequent Communion, you will see that at first the liturgical connection hardly played any role at all in their arguments. For generations men had been accustomed to regard Communion as an exercise complete in itself, and everywhere, in town and country, in the convent and in the parish church, Communion was distributed each day, perhaps, but always before or after Mass. After a few years had passed, however,

³ A brief but satisfactory survey of the history and results of this work in Leon A. McNeill, "Sacred Music: Its Restoration," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXVIII (1928), 276-288, esp. 280 ff.; cf. also Sablayrolles' article on Gregorian Chant in *Liturgia* (Paris, 1935), 446 ff.

⁴ Printed in *Decreta authentica SRC*, n.

4121; in English in *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, XXI (1904), 113 ff. and in the *White List of the Society of St. Gregory* (New York, 1947), 7-11.

⁵ Trapp, 297-306.

⁶ *Acta S. Sedis*, XXXVIII (1905-6), 400-406. See *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, XXXV (1906), 75-81.

the realization began to grow that this Communion movement could last only if Communion were fitted into some larger entity and became fully integrated in the organization of Christian life—if it took its rightful and natural place within the Mass.

Here it was, then, that the Communion movement came into contact with the liturgical movement, a decade or so after the appearance of the decree. And the latter kept making these facts plainer and more manifest: the offering to God in the sacrifice is the proper preparation for Holy Communion; the sacrificial meal belongs to the sacrifice, God invites us to it; all the prayers of the Mass lead up to it; and this meal is at the same time the meal of the Christian community. The Eucharist once more appears in a new light. The ancient and more complete symbolism gradually creeps back into Christian consciousness; the simple cult of adoration, already shaken by the decree on Communion⁷ loses its dominance.⁸ After another decade these realizations begin to have an effect on parochial life: Communion once more stands in its natural liturgical relationship as a conscious participation in the Holy Sacrifice. From the viewpoint of liturgical history that was a very important step, and it was not the only one.

The liturgical movement, which, especially in its first beginnings was almost entirely a movement promoting the Mass, had come closer to the Mystery of the altar also from another angle. When the movement—a closed movement embracing wider circles—suddenly came into being in Belgium only to spread at once into Germany and other countries, it made itself manifest, above all, by a new way of participating in the celebration of Mass.⁹ Growing out of the intellectual movement of the past decade, it had still to overcome many obstacles. The first thing that demanded solution, even if it was not formally expressed, was the question whether the separation between people and celebrating priest, maintained for more than a thousand years, was to be continued. It was certainly continued in law by the prohibition to translate the Mass books. Efforts had been made to shake this prohibition, but even as late as 1857 the prohibition to translate the Ordinary of the Mass was renewed by Pius IX, although, to be sure, its enforcement was no longer seriously urged.¹⁰ However, it was not openly and definitely rescinded until near the end of the century. In the revision of the *Index of Forbidden Books*, issued under Leo XIII in 1897, the prohibition was no longer mentioned.¹¹ After that the spread of the

⁷ By the reference to the fact that the Eucharist is intended to sanctify the faithful, *non autem præcipue, ut Domini honori ac venerationi consulatur*; *op. cit.*, p. 401.

⁸ The transition is signalized somewhat by the booklet of J. Kramp, S.J., *Essays on Eucharistic Liturgy and Devotion*, trans. Wm. Busch (St. Paul, 1926).

⁹ Regarding the beginning see Rousseau, 217-229; Trapp, 362-367; A. Manser,

"Liturgische Bewegung," LThK, VI (1934), 615-617.

See also vol. 6 of the *Cours et Conférences* (Louvain, 1931), with the theme, "Le mouvement liturgique dans les différents pays."

¹⁰ Vehlen (*Liturg. Leben*, 1936), 95 f. Cf. 182 f.

¹¹ Vehlen, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

For that reason Schott's missal did not

Roman Missal in the vernacular took on greater and greater proportions.¹² Ever-widening circles of the laity began to read the prayers of the Mass along with the priest. And thus the separation between people and priest was closed in at least one definite point: in their prayer the faithful used the same words as the priest at the altar.

But now a new wish stirred, to do collectively and in common what many were already doing by themselves individually, and with this wish the liturgical movement brushed against the picture of divine worship which had prevailed up till now. Thus arose the problem of the community Mass—or as it is called in some places, the *missa dialogata* or *missa recitata*. The argument ran something like this: If reading along with the priest was to be something more than reading from a textbook, as is customary at the opera or at the production of an oratorio, there must be, in some measure at least, an external speaking along with the priest, especially since the rubrics of the missal in several places seem to expect some such response from the *circumstantes*.¹³ The first steps in this direction were taken in academic circles, and then by societies of young students. It was only later that parochial worship followed suit. At first there was no clear norm.¹⁴ But in the German area the threatening disorder was held off in some places by private projects.¹⁵ And finally, in 1929, a uniform text of all the prayers to be read in common was agreed on for Germany and this was used as a basis by most publishers.

Gradually the various principles on which the dialogue Mass is to be based became clearer. It is a fact that the history of liturgy must take into account, that at the beginning of the twentieth century the low Mass had

carry a translation of the canon till 1900, and the words of consecration were missing even in the 7th edition of 1901.

¹² The most popular missal in the German tongue was the *Messbuch der hl. Kirche* by Anselm Schott, O.S.B., which first appeared in 1884; in 1906, in its 10th edition it had reached 100,000 copies and by 1939, in its 45th edition some 1,650,000 copies. Predecessors were the translations of Ch. Moufang (1851; 19th ed., 1905) and of G. M. Pachtler, S.J. (1854; 9th ed., 1890); cf. Trapp, p. 363. But all these are surpassed by the popular American missals of J. A. Stedman, *My Sunday Missal*, of which 15 million copies sold in the years 1939-1945. Another popular English missal is the *Leaflet Missal* published in St. Paul, Minn.; see Ellard, *The Mass of the Future*, 129.

¹³ *Rit. serv.*, III, 9; IV, 2; VII, 7.

¹⁴ This was really but another step in a long, gradual process. For it was already cus-

tomary in many places for the youngsters at the "Children's Mass" to pray aloud either prayers of a private character or even devotions more or less liturgical. As early as 1883 V. Thalhofer had advocated the people's answering the priest. In one diocesan hymnal, that of Königsgrätz (1897), liturgical prayers were included along with the songs; the people were to say the *Confiteor*, an offertory prayer, etc., in German. Trapp, 293, 331; cf. 163 ff., 290 ff.

¹⁵ The earliest attempts included: R. Guardini, *Gemeinschaftliche Andacht zur Feier der hl. Messe* (1920); J. Kramp, *Missa* (1924). Greater success attended the work put out by Pius Parsch, *Klosterneuburger Chormesse*, and the version of the dialogue Mass in the *Kirchengebet* issued by L. Wolker which has reached five million. In the U. S. the greatest success followed the introduction of a version by the Sodality of our Lady (The Queen's Work).

gained such a great preponderance over the various forms of high Mass that without further ado it was used as the groundwork for the development of the dialogue Mass. No one seemed to notice that in this sort of Mass the alternation of functions between priest, lector, singing choir and people had been leveled off to a uniform speaking by the priest alone, and this more or less quiet. Now it was recognized that in essentials the high Mass had to set the norm, and that therefore at a *missa recitata* the people would answer and pray along in those parts that had been taken over by the choir, thus to some extent recovering these parts for themselves, while the old chants of the *schola*, the readings, and the prayers spoken aloud by the priest would be read aloud in the vernacular by a special reader or leader.¹⁶ In Germany the development reached a certain definite shape when in 1940 the whole problem of the liturgical movement, and along with it the question of the dialogue Mass, was taken over by the assembled episcopate¹⁷ and thus brought to some kind of clarification. In many dioceses, therefore, directions for the celebration of the dialogue Mass—which left no little room for variations—were published.

A most significant variant of the dialogue Mass grew out of the inclusion in it of elements proper to the German *Singmesse*.¹⁸ The so-called *Betsingmesse*—"Pray and sing" Mass—has very quickly gained recognition since its first trial use at the Vienna Catholic Day in 1933, and since it is at once liturgically inspired, popular, and solemn, not only has it often replaced the simple *Singmesse*, but it is even being used with increasing frequency as the Sunday parish Mass.¹⁹

A similar development was taking place about the same time in places where French is spoken,²⁰ and elsewhere it is still in process.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Gülden, "Grundsätze und Grundformen der Gemeinschaftsmesse in der Pfarrgemeinde," *Volksliturgie und Seelsorge* (Colmar o. J., 1942), 98-122. Cf. G. L. Dieckmann, O.S.B., in *Orate Fratres*, XXIII, (1948-9), 472 ff.

¹⁷ Encouragement was given the movement towards using this dialogue Mass when the Fulda episcopal conference of 1936 issued directions for aiding youth (*Volkslit. und Seelsorge*, 151); in Belgium the Provincial Council of Malines had urged it in 1920 especially for educational institutes and religious societies (see Lefebvre, p. 189, as below); in the U. S. inspiration came not only from individual bishops but from the Sodality of our Lady and the Liturgical Conference (see Ellard, *The Mass of the Future*, 202-210).

¹⁸ Gülden, 122.

¹⁹ Thus in the diocese of Salzburg in 1937

it was prescribed once a month as Sunday parish Mass in those parishes that had more than one priest.

²⁰ B. de Chavannes, "La messe dialoguée et ses réalisations," *La vie spirituelle*, LVIII (1939), 307-317; see also *Orate Fratres*, XII (1937-8), 225, 469, 517. G. Lefebvre, "La question de la messe dialoguée," *Cours et Conférences*, XI (Louvain, 1933), 153-196. (This whole volume is devoted to the topic of "Active participation of the faithful in worship.") The French form of the dialogue Mass is an outgrowth of the popular chant service, with a substitution of recitation for singing; it does not usually include any vernacular elements. A particularly festive form has been developed for the circles of Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique, including a symbolic decking of the altar and presentation of offerings. For the U. S. see G. Ellard, S.J., *The Dialogue Mass* (New York, 1942).

In all of these changes—some of them not unimportant—not one letter of the *Missale Romanum* was touched, not a word, not a rubric²¹; for in no case was there any tampering with the priest's performance of the Mass for which the norms of the *missa lecta* continued to serve always as unimpaired principles. All these changes had to do only with the participation of the people, for which there were nowhere any exact regulations. Therefore no objections were raised by the highest authority in the Church,²² especially since the new forms match the fundamental instructions of the popes with regard to the active participation of the faithful in the liturgy.²³ And yet something very important was achieved. In this setting—even though in a still imperfect form—our celebration of the Mass was assured, at least to some extent, an advantage which the liturgy of the Eastern Church appears to have retained all along by means of its accompanying interchange of prayers between deacon and people.²⁴ The old distance between altar and people was to a great extent broken down at the opportune moment. From the dialogue Mass the faithful gain a living knowledge of the actual course of the Mass and so they can follow the low Mass as well as the solemn Mass with an entirely new understanding. To have been deprived of such an understanding much longer would not have been tolerable even to the masses in this age of advanced education and enhanced self-consciousness. But what is even more important, now that the faithful answer the priest and concur in his prayers, sacrifice with him and communicate with him, they become properly conscious for the first time of their dignity as Christians and at the same time they achieve an awareness

²¹ The rubrics themselves take cognizance of the presence of people attending Mass, by regulating the use of the voice. The *clara voce* parts of the *missa recitata* correspond to the regulations of the *Rubricæ generales*, XVI, 2.

²² The common response of the people was given a reluctant approval by the Congregation of Rites, August 4, 1922; *Decreta authentica SRC*, n. 4375. For a detailed study of this decree see: J. Pauwels, "De Fidelibus qui Celebranti Respondeant," *Periodica*, XI (1923), 154-157; I. M. Hanssens, "Vetere et Nova de Missa Dialogata," *Periodica*, XXV (1936), 57-89; cf. also *Eph. liturg.*, XLVII (1933), 181-184; 390-393; and W. J. Lallou, "The Status of the 'Missa Recitata,'" *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, CIV (1941), 455.

²³ Pius X, *Motu proprio* of Nov. 22, 1903: The people assemble in God's house *ad eundem spiritum ex primo eoque necessario fonte hauriendum, hoc est ex actuosa cum sacrosanctis mysteriis publicis sollempnibusque Ecclesiae precibus communicatione*

(*Decr. auth. SRC.*, n. 4121). The same thought in Pius XI, Constitution "Divini Cultus Sanctitatem" of Dec. 20, 1928 (*AAS*, XXI [1929], 35) and again, with greater emphasis on concrete methods of participation, in the encyclical of Pius XII, "Mediator Dei" (*AAS*, XXXIX [1947], 521-595, esp. 554 ff., 560, 589 f.).

²⁴ In view of the system in the Orient, where the faithful do (and always did) have numerous opportunities to play an active part in the liturgy, but where the texts used are limited and the connection with the action of the priest is, to say the least, reserved, it may be questioned whether the ideal form of participation is achieved when the people say all the prayers along with the priest whether by means of a lay leader reading aloud or by silently following the prayers in the missal. Or should the prayers for the people be specially fitted out for them? On the other hand, the use of such newly-created texts always involves a great deal of bickering and is hardly ever free from justified objection. Regarding the special

that they are the Church, that they stand in corporate relationship to all those whom God has graciously drawn to Himself in Christ.²⁵ If in this way a start has been given to a broad and comprehensive cure of souls fed on the very basic forces of the Church, it is not hard to estimate what weight all this will have not only for the individual's confirmation in faith and for his mode of life, but also for the stabilization of the Church at a time when nearly all external props have fallen down.

The community or dialogue Mass achieves its goal by superimposing its own form like a shell over the fixed, permanent structure of the *missa lecta* or low Mass. The price it must pay is high, namely that the first *liturgus*, the priest, is wholly in the background during the audible part of the Mass, the greetings and summonings excepted. For this reason, the Mass which is adorned with the altar songs of the priest—the *missa cantata*—must and will take the first place. The questions about the proper form of the celebration of Mass all come back to this, and chiefly to the priest's celebration. The ideal which Pius V had in view, to give the Mass a purity and clarity such as it possessed in the time of the Fathers (*ad pristinam sanctorum Patrum normam ac ritum*) will always stand before the Church. Not, indeed, as though ancient forms should be or could be merely brought back—even the church architecture of the last century does not simply revive the ancient basilica—but in the sense that in the celebration of the Christian mysteries the inner wealth of the Church comes to light as of old and the children of the Church constantly renew their joy and gladness because of their possessions and their blessings.

The monumental greatness of the Roman Mass lies in its antiquity which reaches back to the Church of the martyrs, and in its spread which, with its Latin language, spans so many nations. Nowhere else is it so plain that the Church is both apostolic and catholic. But this double advantage of the Roman Mass also involves weaknesses. The Latin tongue has nowadays become more and more unfamiliar even to cultured people. Will there ever be any relaxing in this matter in the setting of the Mass? As a matter of fact, Latin is by no means the only liturgical language within the Catholic Church, even abstracting from the diocesan rituals in which the vernacular already occupies a large space. The Catholic Mass is celebrated not only in the ancient languages of the Orient and of the Slavic peoples, but also in several modern languages.²⁶ Even within the Roman Mass tendencies in this direction are to be found: in Glagolitic congrega-

form the people's prayer should have, see Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 122-124.

²⁵ For a moderate discussion of the desire for the vernacular in the readings, see E. Dolderer, "Die Volkssprache in der Liturgie," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, CXXVII (1947), 89-146.

²⁶ The Byzantine Mass, for instance, is cele-

brated by the Roumanians, even Catholics, in Roumanian. See the survey by W. de Vries, "Die liturgischen Sprachen der katholischen Kirche," *StZ* (1940-41), 111-116; and the chapter "de linguis liturgicis" in Raes, *Introduction*, 207-227; cf. also El-lard, *The Mass of the Future*, 146-158, and a pertinent bibliography, 159-160; cf. 257.

tions the Old Slavonic has been in use for centuries.²⁷ When at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Chinese missions began to flourish, the question was very seriously posed, whether the language of the liturgy should not be Chinese, for, unlike the early medieval mission to the Germans, here a people was being dealt with who already had a literary language of its own.²⁸

The Latin language is only one of the peculiarities of the Roman liturgy that, due to its venerable age, has to some extent become a problem. As we already saw in the exposition so far, each succeeding cultural epoch has overlaid the original plan of the Mass-liturgy with its own layer. Not always has this been a harmonious, progressive, organic growth. In our explanation of the various parts of the Mass we shall have to point out continually how in the process of development, displacements, intermixtures, contractions occurred which sometimes left nothing more than a remnant of the expression of the original idea. In other cases the basic idea itself has become strange to us.

Thus in the present shape of the Roman Mass, forms and practices have been retained which are no longer comprehensible to the ordinary onlooker and for which an adequate explanation can sometimes be found only after a tiresome search into history. And when this does not concern some inconspicuous, subordinate rite, it is really very irritating.²⁹ Still this venerable heritage, which took centuries to produce, should not be discarded lightly. Even so, it is clear that at a time when one unified missal is appointed for nearly all Christendom, it is no longer possible—as it was possible, perhaps, and self-evident in the era of manuscript missals—to make the changes that one recognizes ought to be made, or to make them all at once. A great deal of patient waiting is certainly needed.

And yet, because the Church is eternally young, it will not shrink back from a task however big. When Pius X determinedly undertook the revision of the psalter in the breviary, he remarked that he was thereby taking

²⁷ *Supra*, p. 81.

Benedict XV, on May 21, 1920, also approved the use of Old Slavonic at Mass on certain feasts in the many sanctuaries within Czecho-Slovakian territory; see *Bibel u. Liturgie*, X (1935-6), 113 f.

²⁸ The permission to use Chinese was actually given in 1615 by Paul V, but it never reached the petitioners. When, in 1631, after the new missal was finished, the request for permission was renewed, it was no longer granted; Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, II, 2, 13 (Schneider, 85); A. Vaeth, *Das Bild der Weltkirche* (Hannover, 1932), 96-98.

H. Chirat, in *Etudes de liturgie pastorale* (Paris, 1944), 227, tells of Pius XI's approval of a project to use the Roman liturgy, translated into Estonian, in Estonia.
²⁹ Cf. P. Simon, *Das Menschliche in der Kirche* (2nd ed., Freiburg, 1936), 52 f.

What H. Mayer, *Religionspädagogische Reformbewegung* (Paderborn, 1922), 141 wrote is not at all impertinent: At one time, he remarked, liturgy was the interpreter of religion, acting as a sort of sermon or catechism. Nowadays we are in the uncomfortable position of having to interpret what should be the interpreter, and of tuning up what should have been able to give us life and spirit.

only the first step towards a correction and reform of breviary and missal.³⁰ When at the same time he revamped the position of the Sunday Masses and the weekdays in Lent, making them privileged, he was but following a plan which Trent had followed, to emphasize the essentials and to repress what is merely rank overgrowth.³¹ The same line was traced in the years after Pius X when, for the first time in nearly a thousand years, new prefaces were composed for the Universal Church—arrangements of the prayer of thanksgiving which once more brought into renewed prominence the central themes of all *eucharistias*, the pierced heart of our Redeemer and His eternal Kingship. Great changes, like the sanctioning of evening Masses and the easing of the law regarding the eucharistic fast, are witnesses to the courage to make bold reforms when they are required. In the last analysis, the revival of elementary liturgical thinking, as it was ushered in, in such a magnificent fashion, by the encyclical letter of Pope Pius XII, *Mediator Dei* of November 20, 1947, is the foundation—supporting but also necessary—for any and every renovation in the matter of external forms.

³⁰ In the Bull "Divino afflatu" of Nov. 1, 1911 (printed at the beginning of the missal and of most copies of the breviary: *nemo non videt . . . primum nos fecisse gradum ad Romani Breviarii et Missalis emendationem*).

³¹ The rubrical formulation of this and other changes followed in the new edition of the missal which appeared in 1920 under Benedict XV.

Still shortly before efforts were made to add other unessentials even to the Ordinary of the Mass. Under Leo XIII, as the result of a postulatium of many Frenchmen, it was almost certain that the name of St. Joseph would be added to the *Confiteor*, *Suscipe s. Trinitas*, *Communicantes* and *Libera nos*; see E. Springer in *Pastor Bonus*, XXXIV (1921-22), 20 f.

Part II

THE NATURE AND FORMS OF THE MASS

1. Names of the Mass

THE NAMES BY WHICH THE EUCHARISTIC CELEBRATION HAS BEEN designated at various times do not give us an idea of its essence. They do not even suggest what that essence was thought to consist in. But they do show us certain aspects, whether purely on the surface or deeply intrinsic, by which the Mass was principally known to the faithful. These names are like a shadowy outline which permits certain characteristics of the essence to appear.

The earliest names we meet with are taken from outstanding details in the rite. The Acts of the Apostles uses the term “the breaking of (the) bread,” referring thereby to the act by which the presiding person, following the ancient custom and the example of our Lord Himself at the Last Supper, opened the meal.¹ But perhaps the idea behind the “breaking of bread” was not the material meal which was associated with the ceremony, but rather the sacramental bread itself: “Is not the bread we break a participation in Christ’s body?”² This is all the more certain if—as seems probable—the consecration of the bread was bound up with this rite of breaking. St. Paul himself calls the celebration “the Lord’s Supper,” *Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* (1 Cor. 11:20) and thus places its character as a meal all the more plainly in the foreground.

Since the turn of the first century the term “Eucharist” has been employed, and thus is brought into prominence a spiritualizing word which had been connected with the meal from the outset. *Εὐχαριστία* is first of all the prayer of thanks with which, after the manner of our Lord himself, the sacred action was surrounded. The word was used by Catholic writers as well as by the Gnostic groups from which the apocryphal histories of the Apostles stemmed.³ In the Fathers of the second century this is the word which suggests a precise phase of the celebration; it is a celebration

¹ *Κλάσις ἄρτον*, *fractio panis*: Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7. Cf. *supra*, pp. 9-11.

(Quasten, *Mon.*, p. 341); *Acta Thomæ*, c. 27 (*ibid.*, p. 343).

² 1 Cor. 10:16; cf. *Acta Johannis*, 110

³ Cf. e.g., *Acta Thomæ*, c. 27, 49, 158 (Quasten, 343-5).

in which the thanks of the redeemed rises up to God.⁴ In the *Didache*⁵ at least by inference, and plainly in Justin the consecrated gifts themselves are called *Εὐχαριστία*.⁶ And in this last meaning especially, the word is adopted by Tertullian and Cyprian as part of the vocabulary of the Latin Church,⁷ and has so remained till the present.

As we saw, the celebration of the Eucharist was very early designated as an *offering* or *sacrifice*. And the designation became a name then and there. In the Latin area there appeared, in this sense, the words *oblatio* and *sacrificium*, respectively from *offerre* and *sacrificari*—again first of all in the writings of the two Africans already mentioned. In Africa the word *sacrificium* appears to have prevailed as the usual name. Cyprian⁸ and Augustine⁹ use it regularly for the celebration of Mass. How strongly it was impressed on the literary usage of the Middle Ages we can learn from the fact that in the penitential books offenses against the eucharistic species are denominated as offenses against the *sacrificium*.¹⁰

But in other sections of the Church the word *oblatio* prevailed. Thus the pilgrim lady Aetheria, whenever she refers to the celebration of Mass on her pilgrimage, regularly uses *oblatio* and *offerre*.¹¹ Until the sixth century *oblatio* continued to be the usual name for the Mass.¹² To describe the action, *offerre* (even without an object) continued in use even later¹³; *sacerdotem oportet offerre* is what the bishop still says at ordination.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 20-22.

⁵ *Did.*, 9, 5.

⁶ Even Philo already calls the meal connected with the thanks-offering *εὐχαριστία*: Th. Schermann, "Εὐχαριστία und εὐχαριστεῖν" (*Philologus*, 1910), 391.

⁷ Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 49, where it is at once apparent that Tertullian had no fixed term to designate the celebration; for Cyprian see Fortescue, *The Mass*, 44.

⁸ Citations in Fortescue, 398.

⁹ See the index, PL, XLVI, 579 ff.

¹⁰ *Penitential Vallicellianum I* (8th century), n. 21: *si quis non custodierit sacrificium*; cf. n. 123-125 (H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche* [Mainz, 1883], 344 f.; cf. 386 f., 425 f., etc.). The terminology seems to hark back to Scottish penitentials: *Penitential Cummeani*, c. 13, 5-23 (*ibid.*, 641-643). As Prof. W. Havers wrote me in reference to R. Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (Dublin, 1887), 6360, the word is also to be found in Old Irish in the form *sacarbaic*.

In England the word was still in vogue in the late Middle Ages; see the Sarum

Missal: (Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667 A): *calicem cum patena et sacrificio*).

The word was also used in German; in the rhymed explanation of the Mass (12th century, edited by A. Leitzmann (*Kleine Texte*, 54), 19, l. 22, we read of the little elevation: the priest "daz sacrificium üf heuet" (the priest lifts up the sacrificium).

¹¹ *Ætheria Peregrinatio*; see the index in the edition of Geyer (CSEL, XXXIX, 408).

¹² H. Kellner, "Wo und seit wann wurde Missa stehende Bezeichnung für das Messopfer?" (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1901), 429-433, 439. Prof. Havers tells me that in Middle Irish the word *oifrenn*, from the word *offerendum*, had become the common term for Mass; but a Celtic word with the same meaning, *idpart* (the root means "to offer up") was also employed. In modern Celtic languages the only term used is one equivalent to "offering": Irish, *an t'aifreann*; Welsh, *yr offeren*; Cornish, *an offeren*; Scots, *an aifrionn*; see D. Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East* (Milwaukee, 1948), 30, footnote.

¹³ Citations in Batiffol, *Leçons*, 174 ff.

In the Greek Orient the corresponding word *προσφορά* was used only in passing.¹⁴ A word of similar import, *ἱναφορά* was generally employed only in the narrow sense of the Mass proper, and to designate the formulary used therein.¹⁵ On the other hand, the Syrians, both East and West, commonly used the word *Kurbono* or *Kurbana*, "gift"¹⁶ as the name for the Mass.¹⁷ The Armenians, too, use a word that means offering.¹⁸

We need not be surprised that, besides those names which go to the very core of the matter, other words are to be met with which—in accordance with a rule of sacral speech—designate the sacred action only with a certain reserve, as though from a distance. Several denominations of this sort are to be found.

Thus the West Syrians use, besides the word already referred to, another which expresses only the reverential and awe-filled "approach" to God, *Korobho*. It is generally used not for the whole Mass, but only for the Mass proper—the anaphora—and for the variable anaphora formulas.¹⁹

Elsewhere the Mass is called simply "the Holy," *sacrum*, just as we use it in modern Latin. Thus in one portion of the Semitic language-group various derivatives of the word *kadosh*, "holy," are employed. Amongst the Abyssinians (Ethiopians) the Mass is called *keddase*,²⁰ amongst the Arabs, *kuddas* or *takdis*.²¹ Amongst the Syrian Nestorians (and the Catholic Chaldeans) the corresponding word *kuddasha*, "the hallowing," is commonly used for the Mass formula.²² Of a similar sort is the Greek *ἁγιασμός*, which, however, designates more precisely the sacred—or better, the sanctifying—action. The word has become and has remained the usual name for the Mass amongst the Copts, obviously as a result of the influence of Alexandria.²³

Another name originated by considering the personal source from which the sacredness of the celebration springs—Christ our Lord. So the Mass

¹⁴ Synod of Laodicea, can. 58 (Mansi, II, 574).

¹⁵ So chiefly in the non-Byzantine rites, and usually in the respective national tongue.

This narrower use of *ἱναφορά* is quite appropriate, for while *προσφέρειν* means in a general way "to bring along," *ἱναφέρειν* means "to lay upon" (the altar); Brightman, 569, 594 f.

Cf. A. Baumstark, "Anaphora," RAC, I, 418-427.

¹⁶ Cf. Mark 7:11: *κορβάν, ὃ ἐστὶν δωρον*. Similarly the Coptic liturgy is sometimes called *korban*.

¹⁷ Brightman, 579; Hanssens, II, 22.

¹⁸ Brightman, 580: *patarag*.

¹⁹ Brightman, 579; but see the letter of James of Edessa (d. 708) who places the two words *kurobho* and *kurbono* as equivalents; *ibid*, 490, line 25. The two names are

etymologically connected, for *kurbono* (*kurbona*) is derived from the same stem, *kerabh*, "to approach"; that with which we approach, a gift.

²⁰ Brightman, 579.

²¹ Brightman, 580; Attwater, *loc. cit*.

²² A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian daily offices* (London, 1894), 295.

²³ Hanssens, II, 22.

In the *Euchologion* of Serapion *ἁγιασμός* is used for the praise contained in the *Sanctus* (13, 10) and for the blessing of baptismal water (19, tit.; Funk, II, 174, 180). In this word, therefore, two allied notions are inherent, two different meanings of the term "hallow": "to call holy," that is, to worship God; and "to make holy," that is, to bless some creature. Which of these notions applies in the case of the designation of the Mass has yet to be investigated.

is called *dominicum*, "the Lord's," a name which was current in North Africa and Rome around the third and fourth centuries.²⁴ During the Diocletian persecution the martyrs of Abitina declare: *sine dominico non possumus . . . Intermitti dominicum non potest.*²⁵ This formation of a name which calls the Mass the celebration of Christ is parallel to that which calls Sunday the day of Christ (*dominica*, κυριακή), and the Christian place of worship the house of Christ, the house of the κύριος (κυριακόν = church). Nor is the creation of either term far apart in time.

In other instances, the name for the Mass is derived from the fact that it is a *service* which those who are invested with the fulness of the Church's power perform for the believing congregation. That is, as we know, the sense of the word λειτουργία, liturgy,²⁶ which in church terminology designates primarily ecclesiastical functioning in general, then secondarily divine worship, and, amongst the Greeks since the ninth century, simply the Mass.²⁷ Even outside the Greek-speaking area of the Byzantine rite—especially amongst the Slavic peoples and the Roumanians—the same Greek word is in use as a name for the Mass.

There are other instances of a similar practice elsewhere. In German, for example, the solemn Mass is called *Amt* and *Hochamt* (service and high service, respectively), the latter corresponding to the Latin *summum officium* of the decadent medieval period.²⁸ In the closing years of Christian antiquity the common terms in Latin were *actio*, and the related *agere*. In Ambrose the expression for "to celebrate Mass" was either *agere* or *offerre*.²⁹ This expression designates the "consummation" of the sacred action.³⁰ This is brought out by the fact that later the word *actio* is taken in the narrow sense of the sacrifice proper, the canon, which is designated

²⁴ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 171 f.

²⁵ *Acta Saturnini*, etc., c. 10 f. (Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum* [Regensburg, 1859], 418 f.); cf. in Tertullian, *De fuga*, c. 14 PL, II, 141 A): *dominica sollemnia*. The Pauline term *dominica cana* (1 Cor. 11 :20) also belongs in this category.

²⁶ E. Raitz v. Frentz, "Der Weg des Wortes 'Liturgie' in der Geschichte," *Eph. liturg.*, LV (1941), 74-80; H. Strathmann-R. Meyer, λειτουργία etc., *Theol. Wörterbuch* z. N. T., IV (1938), 221-238.

²⁷ Eisenhofer, I, 5; Hanssens, II, 33-36.

²⁸ J. Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 79.

²⁹ F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, I (1929), 54-65.

In Gelasius I, *Ep.* 14, 6 (Thiel, 365) the Mass is called *actio sacra*.

³⁰ Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 295-299, derives the word from the usage in ancient sacrificial rites where the sacrificing minister, before

giving the fatal stroke, used to ask, *agone?* But it seems difficult to admit an immediate transfer of such a usage to Christian sacrificial speech. Rather we are dealing here with an emphatic *agere*, such as was in use in ancient sacrificial language, along with *facere* and *operari*, to designate a sacrificial deed (even in the general sense of "celebrating a feast"); see O. Casel, "Actio in liturgischer Verwendung," *JL*, I (1921), 34-39; *idem*, "Actio," *RAC*, I, 82 f. In any case we could complement the word with an object in the sense of the full expression *missas agere*, a phrase which actually appears, e.g., in Victor Vitensis, *Historia persec. Afric.*, II, 2, 13 (CSEL, VII, 25, 39); cf. Leonianum (Muratori, I, 401; Feltoe, 101): *actio mysterii*; *Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 239): *actio sacrificii*.

On the other hand the derivation from *gratias agere* proposed in Batiffol, *Leçons*, 170, is very unlikely.

the *canon actionis*.³¹ The word *agenda* is also used,³² so that the full expression for “celebrating Mass” was *agere agendam*.

While in these designations the point of view is the activity of the spiritual officiants, Christian antiquity also recognized names which view the celebration of Mass as an assembly of the Christian people—an assembly that was centered on the mysteries of the Eucharist. A Latin appellation of this kind was actually used for the Mass—the word *collecta*—but its use was only passing.³³ Since it was soon employed in the liturgy in another sense, the word did not endure. But it was different with regard to a Greek word having the same meaning, the word *συναξίς* which from the fourth century on, was for a long time the prevailing name³⁴ until it was displaced by the term *λειτουργία*. However, it still lives in modern Latin as a substitute for Eucharist: *sacra synaxis*.³⁵ A word of the same type was also developed amongst the Syrians.³⁶

That the celebration of the Eucharist which Augustine lauded as *signum unitatis* should have taken its name from a *coming together* is something we could very well understand. But it is puzzling indeed that, as a matter of fact, it has been designated by a *separating*, a *going apart*. Such, however, appears to be the case in regard to the word which both in Latin and in the modern languages of the West has practically supplanted all other names, the word *missa*, “Mass.” For today there is no doubt at all as to the original and basic meaning of the word: *missa* = *missio* = *dimissio*. It meant, in late Latin, a dismissal, the breaking up or departure after an audience or public gathering.³⁷ Thus too in the language of the Christian liturgy, it was used both to announce the closing of the assembly in the *Ite missa est* and to designate what preceded this close. In this latter signification the word emerges around the end of the fourth century.

³¹ A special feast-day text of the *Communicantes* will therefore carry the heading, to be inserted *infra actionem*. As we all know, this heading now stands, very unsuitably, even above the basic text of the *Communicantes* in the *Missale Romanum*.

³² Du Cange-Favre, *Glossarium*, I, 138.

³³ In the Acts of the Abitina martyrs the word appears time and again along with the word *dominicum*, sometimes as an extension of the latter, sometimes as its equivalent, e.g., c. 12 (Ruinart, 419), where, in connection with the proconsul's question, *Si in collecta fuisti*, the narrative remarks: *Quasi christianus sine dominico esse possit*. Cf. Eisenhofer, II, 4 f.

³⁴ Hanssens, II, 24-33; *ibid.*, 24 f., citations of a derived use of another word derived from the same root and used in a similar sense: *συναγωγή*.

³⁵ The word appears to have been given cur-

rency first by the Humanists. In the Middle Ages it was used only in the wider sense of a worshipping assembly; Du Cange-Favre, VII, 688.

³⁶ Brightman, 581: *cenushyo*.

³⁷ Avitus of Vienne, *Ep.* 1 (PL, LIX, 199): *in ecclesiis palatiisque sive praetoriis missa fieri pronuntiatur, cum populus ab observatione dimittitur*. For textual criticism of the passage see Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, VI (1940), 87 f.

Cf. for the following Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 34-52 (on the history of the meaning of *missa*); here will be found an extensive bibliography and the citation of sources. Among the latest untenable meanings suggested we must mention here the conjecture of C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg, 1917), 221, that *missa* is to be deduced from *mesa* (actually

This closing did not consist simply in a mere prosaic announcement, as we have it in the phrase *Ite missa est*. It regularly comprehended (whether at Mass or at some other service) a definite ecclesiastico-religious act, a dismissal in which the Church once more drew her children to herself with motherly affection before sending them on their way with her blessing. That is the way it was even in the early Church. Already in the church order of Hippolytus the catechumens are sent away each time with a laying-on of hands. And thus it continued for centuries both in the Mass and outside. In a different form this arrangement has remained alive, even today. Nor need that surprise us. For the arrangement is found in the very essence of the Church, which, as the holy Church, is for her members essentially a refuge of grace and blessing. Just as the word *missa*, when we first encounter it as a name for the close of divine service, often implies the blessing just mentioned,³⁸ so also the word *missa* became a designation for the concluding blessing, and then for the blessing in general.

In a more modern extension of the meaning, a custom grew up of calling every divine service as a unit a *missa*, because it included a blessing, much as we today style every evening devotion briefly as a benediction. This usage had already appeared about 400. Soon there was talk of a *missa nocturna*, of *missæ vespertinæ* and *matutinæ*. The celebration of Mass, too, was such a *missa*. The usage took hold all the more easily because the same posture of body—standing bowed—which was perceived when the priest or bishop stretched out his hands in blessing was to be seen frequently also at the high points in the various functions—at the priest's orations and especially at the preface and in the canon of the Mass. In a sense the

found in inscriptions), and this in turn from *mensa*, altar-table.

A recent explanation, without knowledge of the derivation I have proposed, comes from F. Bömer, *Ahnenkult und Ahnenglaube im alten Rom* (Leipzig, 1943), 128 ff., who makes the suggestion that *mittere inferias* or simply *mittere* was a sacrificial term of the Roman cult of the dead, with the original meaning; to send the dead in the grave a gift; from this we get *missa patella* as the designation of the corresponding sacrificial plate. On this Bömer builds the hypothesis that the Christian *missa* must have stemmed from this *mittere* of the cult of the dead (132, note 1). However, the connection with the cult of the dead is hard to demonstrate. The Mass was never "sent" to the dead Christ, still less to a dead martyr; it was always an offering made to God, commemorating the Risen Christ who overcame death. The regular connection

of the Christian altar with the grave of a martyr belongs to the beginning of the Middle Ages, and in Rome itself is not prior to the 7th/8th centuries, while *missa* already appears even here as early as the 5th century, and precisely with our signification. See *infra*.

³⁸ See especially *Ætheria Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 2, 6 (CSEL, XXXVIII, 71 f.), et al. In the oft-cited passage in Ambrose, *Ep.*, 20, 4 f. (PL, XVI, 1037) the word has this meaning; after Ambrose had dismissed the catechumens, following the fore-Mass, he turned to explain the symbol to some candidates for baptism (*competentes*); then the sudden invasion was announced to him: *Ego tamen mansi in munere, missam facere cæpi. Dum offero. . .* By *missa* is here meant the dismissal of the *competentes* (which was done by means of a blessing), for they had to be sent out just as the other catechumens were, before the *traditio symboli*; cf. *infra*, p. 480, note 33.

priestly praying was always a sort of *missa*, for it always drew down God's favor and blessing upon all who bowed down before Him in adoration; but especially was this true where Christ's Body and Blood became present through the word of the priest. So the name *missa* was gradually appropriated to the Eucharist, not (for a long time) exclusively, but at least by preference. Since the middle of the fifth century, examples are to be found in the most widely separated parts of the Latin area—Italy, Gaul, North Africa—examples in which *missa* is used univocally for the Mass celebration. The oldest extant example is in a decretal of Leo the Great in the year 445, in which he inveighs against certain instances in which divine service was held only once on Sundays, *si unius tantum missæ more servato sacrificium offerre non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte convenerint*.³⁹

At the outset, the word used in this narrower sense was employed mostly in the plural, *missæ*, or with some addition, *missarum sollempnia*.⁴⁰ Only by exception, however, was there any adjective appended like *sanctæ missæ*.⁴¹ Even to day in the official language of the Church such adjectives are as a rule left out; it is simply *fit missa* or *celebratur missa*. It is as though the word *missa* has in it so much splendor that it can well do without extra ornament.⁴² At the time of origin and development it must have approached, in content and mood, the Græco-Coptic ἀγιασμός, for it is *the* celebration in which the world is sanctified.

2. Meaning of the Mass. The Mass and the Church

If we put together such meanings as we derive from the names of the Mass we glean nothing more than a very superficial sketch. The Mass is a celebration for which the Church assembles, a celebration which occupies the center of her charge and service, a celebration which is dedicated to the Lord. It is a celebration which presents God with a thanksgiving, an offering, indeed a sacrifice. And it is a celebration which reacts with blessings upon those who gather for it. Other essential features have been revealed to us by the course of history, for we have learnt the various aspects which were given special prominence as time went by. But we must

³⁹ Leo the Great, *Ep.* 9, 2 (PL, LIV, 627). Further citations in Jungmann, *op. cit.*, 40-42.

⁴⁰ This last expression is employed as a rule by Gregory the Great; see, for instance, the Christmas lesson in the breviary. In the early Middle Ages the expression is quite frequent; see, e.g., *infra*, p. 196, note 7. It answers to the consciousness that the Mass had to be "celebrated" or "solemn-

ized," and to the fact that a solemn Mass was then the usual type.

⁴¹ Thus once in Cassiodorus, *Expos. in ps.* 25 (PL, LXX, 185 B).

⁴² The other names of the Mass already described are used as a rule without any qualifying additions, with the exception of those used in the area of the Byzantine rite, where the term is regularly "the divine liturgy."

now inquire what the Church herself has said in her formal pronouncements, whether by direct teaching or in theological discussion, regarding the meaning and the essence of this celebration.

It will not be out of place to present this question in a book which has as its primary subject-matter the variety of forms that the Christian celebration possesses. For the discussion should serve not only to establish or prove this variety but also to understand it in its development and growth from its roots, from the very core of its nature. So it is necessary, first of all, to have this essential core before our eyes to see what it is. Naturally it is not our task to excerpt and to rewrite the pertinent treatise in dogmatic theology as an isolated and self-contained chapter or even one related to the full-rounded theological structure or more particularly to the doctrine of the Sacraments. We must rather realize the liturgical connotations of the problem, and try to pose the questions and construct the answers with an eye to religious life and ecclesiastical service.

Let us first orient ourselves with regard to the liturgical facts hitherto established, making them the starting point for a broader excursion into the field of theology. These facts show that we cannot make the notion of sacrifice a basis absolutely and exclusively, otherwise we would leave no room for many other important and essential features. We must start off from one of the broader and more general ideas which find an application in an examination of the essence of the Mass solemnity. Such a notion is the one by which our Lord himself indicated the meaning of what He instituted: "Do this for a commemoration of me." The Mass is a solemnity dedicated to the memory of Christ; it is *dominicum*. And further, it is not merely a remembrance of His person, but a recollection of His work—according to the word of the Apostle: "For as often as you shall eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord, until he comes" (1 Cor. 11:25).

The consideration of the Mass must therefore commence with the mystery of our Lord's Passion and death. This is what is continually being made present and actual—in the institution of the Last Supper. However, neither can this mystery be exhausted with one simple idea. In this mystery our Lord sealed with His blood His testimony to truth (John 18:37), to the Kingdom of God which had come in His own person, and thus had "borne witness to the great claim" (1 Tim. 6:13). With a heroic obedience that was steadfast even to the death of the Cross (Philippians 2:8), He had in this mystery fulfilled the will of His Father against whom the first Adam had set himself with defiant disobedience. With free resolve our Lord had put himself into the hands of His enemies, silently, making no use of His wondrous might, and had offered up His life as "a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45). He had taken up the warfare against the invisible enemy who held mankind imprisoned in sin, and as one who is stronger still, He had been victorious (Luke 11:22): He had cast out the prince of this world (John 12:31). He took His place at the head of mankind, strid-

ing forward through suffering and death, thus entering into His glory (Luke 24:26). As high priest He has offered up in the Holy Spirit the perfect sacrifice; with His own blood He has entered the sanctuary and set a seal upon the new and eternal covenant (Heb. 9:11 ff.). He himself became the Paschal Lamb, whose blood procured our ransom out of the land of bondage, whose slaughter inaugurated our joyous Easter feast (1 Cor. 5:7 ff.), the Lamb that was slain and yet lives, the Lamb for whose wedding feast the bride has clothed herself (Apoc. 5:6 ff.; 19:7 ff.).

By all these notions, by all these pictures the attempt is made in the writings of the New Testament to circumscribe and to illustrate the great occurrence by means of which Jesus Christ effected the re-establishment of mankind.

All that is characteristic of the redeeming death of Jesus is clearly contained in some way in the institution of the Last Supper. There, in a manner that is full of mystery, this suffering is made present, this suffering that is at once testimony and obedience and atonement and struggle and victory and stainless sacrifice. It is made present under the signs of bread and wine, the elements of a simple meal, which are transformed by the hallowing words into Jesus' Body and Blood, and thus changed, are enjoyed by all who partake of them. But what is the more precise meaning of the Presence that is consummated day after day in a hundred thousand places? Does that meaning rest in the very Presence as such?

When Christ on the Cross cried out His *Consummatum est*, few were the men who noticed it, fewer still the men who perceived that this phrase announced a turning-point for mankind, that this death opened into everlasting life gates through which, from that moment on, all the peoples of earth would pass. Now, to meet the expectant longing of mankind, this great event is arrested and, through Christ's institution, held fast for these coming generations so that they might be conscious witnesses of that event even in the latest centuries and amongst the remotest nations, and might look up to it in holy rapture.

The Middle Ages actually did turn to this side of the eucharistic mystery with special predilection. What takes place on the altar is above all the *memoria passionis*. The suffering of Christ was seen represented in the breaking of the bread, in its distribution to the faithful, in the partaking of the Chalice whereby the Blood of the Lord is poured into the mouth of the faithful.¹ From this obvious symbolism the step to an allegorical interpretation of the whole rite was easily made; particularly after the ninth century the whole Mass was explained as a comprehensive representation of the Passion of Jesus. In the action of the assisting clerics, who step back at the start of the preface, is seen the flight of the disciples. In the celebrant's extended hands our Lord is seen agonizing on the Cross

¹ M. Lepin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la Messe jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1926), 87-90, d'après les théologiens depuis l'origine 112-129.

with arms outstretched. In the commingling of the species is seen His glorious Resurrection. In fact, the whole life of Christ, the whole history of Redemption is seen represented in the Mass. The sacred action at the altar becomes a play, in which drama and reality are intermixed most mysteriously. How strong an impression this viewpoint made can perhaps be gauged by the fact that even today we use the expression "to hear Mass,"² as if we were an audience.

We must perceive that even in these explanations of the medieval interpreters, a primary essential trait of Christ's institution is given expression; this institution is a memorial ceremony, a sacred action which recalls into the midst of the congregation a redemptive work which occurred long ago, a "mystery-action."³

Another aspect of Christ's institution which was prominent from the very outset and which in earlier times was made visible through its liturgical form, was the fact that a holy meal was being held—a meal and a memorial. The Eucharist is a memorial instituted by our Lord for a remembrance of Himself. A table is set; it is the Lord's table. For a long time Christian speech avoided—or at least refrained from using—the term for altar derived from pre-Christian religion and even today still employs the simple name *mensa*, ἄγλα τράπεζα.⁴

At this table the faithful community is gathered in holy society. Here the Lord himself is given them as nourishment, His Body and His Blood handed to them under the species of bread and wine, as a spiritual food, a spiritual drink (cf. 1 Cor. 10:3 ff.).

² The expression "to hear Mass" is already found in the 13th century *Lay Folks Mass Book* (ed. Simmons), 6; cf. 4. The Germans speak of "hearing Mass": *die Messe hören*.

Decretum Gratiani, III, 1, 64 (Friedberg, I, 1312): *missas totas audire*; cf. *ibid.*, 62 (1311), but here the MSS. disagree. Even in Regino, *De synod. causis*, II, 5, 64 (PL, CXXXII, 285) one of the questions is whether the shepherds come to church on Sunday and hear Mass (*missas audiant*). The Carolingian explanation of the Mass, "*Dominus Vobiscum*" (PL, CXXXVIII, 1167) considers the *circumstantes* of the priest's prayer to refer to those who have come *ad audiendam missam*, and that he then prays also for those *qui oblationes suas offerunt*.

An Albanian confrere informs me that the Albanians speak about "seeing Mass."

On the other hand the indeterminate expression "to attend Mass," or at least the concept corresponding to it, is much older; cf. Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 19 (CSEL, XX,

192): *de stationum diebus non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus intervenire*. Tertullian commends this *intervenire* in which one can, even without communicating, bring the body of the Lord home; cf. Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 293.

³ Nothing is here said about the details of the nature of the *mysterium*; cf. the use of the word "*mysterium*" in W. Goossens, *Les origines de l'Eucharistie*, 246 f. It is this locution, however, that is borrowed by O. Casel, *JL*, XI (1931), 271.

⁴ In older English usage the altar is often called God's board, and this expression is especially (though not exclusively) used when reference is made to Holy Communion; cf. Bridgett, *A History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, 191. In the Greek-speaking East at the present day the usual expression for altar is *hagía* or *hiéra trápēza* (the holy or sacred table); cf. Salaville, *An Introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies* (London, 1938), 133.

Thus the eucharistic institution does more than commemorate our Saviour. In it the communion and society of the faithful with their Lord is continually renewed. The meal is a sufficiently striking proof of that. And we can therefore safely say that, aside from the external activity, the meal is still in our own time the basic form of the eucharistic celebration.⁶ However, even in the biblical sources, this meal is distinguished as a sacrificial meal. The table of the Lord which is prepared in the church in Corinth is contrasted to the tables of the demons, the tables at which the meat offered up to the heathen gods is eaten.⁷ Already in the primitive Church it was recognized that in the celebration of the Eucharist a sacrifice was offered up, and that therein was fulfilled the prophecy of Malachias who foretold a clean oblation which would be offered up in all places.⁸ The thought of a sacrifice, of an oblation to God, taking place in the Eucharist, occurs time after time in the works of the Fathers. That thought has definitely figured in every text of the eucharistic celebration which is known to us.

The Middle Ages, too, whose devotion to the celebration of the Mass had drawn the remembrance of the Passion so much into the foreground, did not on that account lose sight of the idea of oblation and sacrifice. In fact the later medieval period did so much to emphasize the sacrificial aspect and stressed in so many forms and fashions the value of the Mass for gaining God's grace and favor for the living and the dead, that not only did the Reformation find herein a subject for its immoderate indictment but even Church authorities, both before and after the storm, found reasons for making certain corrections.

The Council of Trent, therefore, was careful to clarify this very phase of the eucharistic mystery. The Council stressed the doctrine that the Mass is not a mere meal nor only a memorial service recalling a sacrifice that had taken place of yore, but is itself a sacrifice possessing its own power of atonement and petition.⁹ Christ had offered this sacrifice at the Last Supper and had given His Apostles and their successors the commission to offer it. Indeed He himself makes the offering through their ministry. Thus He left to His beloved spouse, the Church, a visible sacrifice.¹⁰ The Mass is therefore a sacrifice which is made by Christ and at the same time by the recipients of His commission; it is the *sacrifice of Christ* and the *sacrifice of the Church*. In our liturgical study we may not treat the sacrifice of the Church as a matter of secondary moment.

⁶ R. Guardini, *Besinnung vor der Feier der heiligen Messe* (Mainz, 1939), II, 73 ff. Cf. *supra*, p. 21, note 63.

⁷ 1 Cor. 10:14-22. Cf. the discussion of the passage in Goossens, 202-208.

⁸ *Didache*, 14, 2 f.

⁹ Sess. XXII, can. 1 (Denziger-Umberg, n. 948): *S. q. d. in missa non offerri Deo*

verum et proprium sacrificium aut quod offerri non sit aliud quam nobis Christum ad manducandum dari, a.s.; can. 3 (*ibid.*, 950): *S. q. d. missæ sacrificium tantum esse laudis et gratiarum actionis aut nudam commemorationem sacrificii in cruce peracti, non autem propitiatorium . . . , a.s.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, c. 1, 2 (Denziger-Umberg, n. 938, 940).

In the theological controversies of the Reformation period and in subsequent theology, the sacrificial notion did indeed stand out as central, but the Church's sacrifice played only a minor role. For the main concern was over a much deeper presupposition, whether the Mass was a sacrifice at all, and—opposing Calvin especially—whether believing that it was contradicted the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews regarding the *one* sacrifice of Christ. Thus, above all else, the Mass had to be safeguarded as the sacrifice of Christ.

But when apologetic interests receded and the question once more arose as to what is the meaning and the purpose of the Mass in the organization of ecclesiastical life, it was precisely this point, the sacrifice of the Church, which came to the fore. The liturgies themselves are quite emphatic in the matter. One has only to scan the text of the Roman Mass, or of any other Mass-liturgy for that matter, to see that there is nothing plainer than the thought that in the Mass the Church, the people of Christ, the congregation here assembled, offers up the sacrifice to Almighty God. What is happening at the altar is called, in one of the most venerable texts of our liturgy, an *oblatio servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ*. And, corresponding exactly to this, there are the phrases to be read right after the words of consecration, at the very climax of the whole action: *nos famuli tui, sed et plebs tua sancta . . . offerimus præclaræ maiestati tuæ*—and the gift mentioned is the *hostia pura*, the sacred Bread and the Chalice of salvation. The same notion finds expression in a phrase incorporated into the Mass some thousand years later, when the priest speaks of *meum ac vestrum sacrificium* which should be acceptable to God. That the Mass is also the sacrifice of Christ is, in the Roman Mass *ordo*, only assumed, but never directly expressed.

There is actually a definite contrast between this language of the liturgy and the language we are used to nowadays in sermons, catechisms, and other religious writings. We prefer to insist on the fact that on our altars Christ renews His Passion and death in an unbloody manner. We talk about the renewal of the sacrifice of the Cross, about an oblation in which Christ gives himself to His heavenly Father. But it is only in very general terms that we mention the sacrifice of the Church,¹⁰ and for this reason even our theological textbooks in discussing the ensuing problem as to precisely where Christ consummates His sacrifice, refer without much reflection to His presence in the sacred Host.

If, by way of contrast, we skim through the pertinent writings of the

¹⁰ This is true not only of German-language catechisms, which are satisfied with a statement that "Jesus Christ offers himself in holy Mass"; the New Baltimore is equally vague ("Christ gives us His own body and blood . . . to be offered. . . ." q. 356) and equally one-sided ("The Mass is the sacri-

fice of the New Law in which Christ, through the ministry of the priest, offers Himself to God in an unbloody manner under the appearances of bread and wine." Q. 357); cf. G. Ellard, "'Mediator Dei' and Catechism Revision," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, CXX (1949), 289-309.

Fathers even casually, we are surprised to note that they use similar terms in reference to Christ's oblation in the Eucharist and in reference to our own. They emphasize with equal stress the fact that we (or the Church or the priest) offer up the Passion of the Lord, indeed that we offer up Christ himself.¹¹ This is likewise true of the pre-Scholastic Middle Ages. Seldom, it is true, do they use words of their own to express the traditional teaching, but when they do they are especially clear in pointing out that it is the priest at the altar, who, in place of Christ, offers up our Lord's Body,¹² that in so doing he is the *coadiutor Redemptionis*¹³ and *vicarius eius*.¹⁴ And at the same time they declare that the Church offers up the sacrifice through the ministry of the priest.¹⁵ Even the theologians of earlier

¹¹ Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, IV, 17 f.; esp. IV, 18, 4 (al. IV, 31, 3; Harvey, II, 203): *hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram offert fabricatori.*

Cyprian, *Ep.*, 63, 17 (CSEL, III, 714): *passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus.*

Athanasius, *Ep. heort.*, 2, 9 (PG, XXVI, 1365): We offer up not a material lamb but the true Lamb that was already offered, our Lord Jesus Christ.

Chrysostom, *In Hebr. hom.*, 17, 3 (PG, LXIII, 131): our priest is he who offered up the cleansing sacrifice; it is this same sacrifice that we now offer up . . . , not another.

Passio Andreae (5th century; *Acta ap. apocr.*, ed. Lipsius-Bonnet, II, 1, p. 13 f.): *Omnipotenti Deo . . . immaculatam agnum cotidie in altare crucis sacrifico.*

Augustine, *Ep.*, 98, 9 (CSEL, XXXIV, 531): *Nonne semel oblatus est Christus in seipso et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes paschæ sollempnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur?*

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 10 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 103): When we are offering up our prayers to God for the dead, we do not plait a wreath but we offer up the Christ slain for our sins.

According to Theodoret, *In ps.*, 109 (PG, LXXX, 1773) "the Church offers the mystery of the body and blood," even if Christ were not active at all.

¹² Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908), *In ep. ad Hebr.*, 8 (PL, CXVII, 874 C; Lepin, 139): *Dum enim nos offerimus sacramenta corporis eius, ipse offert.*

Pseudo-Alcuin (9th/10th century, *Con-fessio fidei*, IV, 1 (PL, CI, 1087; Lepin,

139). *quamvis corporeis oculis ibi ad altare Domini videam sacerdotem panem et vinum offerentem, tamen intuitu fidei et puro lumine cordis inspicio illum summum sacerdotem verumque pontificem Dominum Iesum Christum offerentem seipsum.*

Hugo of Amiens (d. 1164), *Contra hær.*, II, 2 (PL, 192, 1276; Lepin, 140): *Quapropter manus illæ, manus ad hoc sacratæ, quibus Christi corpus et sanguis in altari sacro habet confici, manus utique sunt Christi. . . . Consecratus itaque sacerdos stat vice Christi coram patre summo.*

The idea that behind the activity of the visible priest stands everywhere the activity of the High Priest Christ is also strongly emphasized by Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, 12, 2 (PL, XII, 1312).

¹³ Peter Comestor (d. 1178), *Sermo 47* (PL, CXCVIII, 1837 C; Lepin, 140).

¹⁴ Stephen of Baugé (d. 1136), *De sacramento alt.*, c. 9 (PL, CLXXII, 1280; Lepin, 140).

¹⁵ Lepin, 141.

Early Scholastic theologians incline towards the view that an excommunicated priest or one publicly heretical can no longer validly consecrate because he can no longer speak the *offerimus* of the prayer in the Canon in the name of the Church (Lepin, 141, note 3). Even Peter Lombard still subscribes to this opinion (Lepin, 157).

Similarly, Cyprian had denied to priests outside the pale of the Church the power to consecrate; C. Ruch, "La messe d'après les Pères," DThC, X, 939 f.

St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, III, q. 83, answers with a distinction: only the prayers which are to be said in the name of the

Scholasticism¹⁶ and the great teachers of the flourishing schools of the thirteenth century use the same language,¹⁷ without, however, going into any deeper discussion of the topic. Only Duns Scotus lays any great emphasis on the sacrifice of the Church. The Eucharist, he says, is accepted by God, not because Christ is contained in it, but because He is offered up in it, offered up by the Church.¹⁸ The theologians of the declining Middle Ages stress the activity of the Church with such one-sidedness and partiality that the sacerdotal function of Christ himself is to some extent obscured.¹⁹

Even the Council of Trent itself pointed out, as we already remarked, that it was our Lord's intention at the Last Supper to leave "to His beloved Spouse, the Church, as human nature requires, a visible sacrifice."²⁰ The Church, therefore, was to have this sacrifice, and through it was to be able to satisfy the desire of human nature to honor God by means of sacrifice. For any theological view which would also do justice to liturgical reality, this statement of fact is fundamental.

Our next question therefore follows along this direction. We want to know *how* Christ's institution is to be understood as a sacrifice of the Church, in what relation it stands to the life of the Church in all its fullness, and especially what principles of liturgical formation are taken for granted in it.²¹

To be more precise, how is this sacrifice which the Church is supposed

Church lose their efficacy, not the consecration, which is performed in Christ's name and by virtue of the inamissible power of ordination. Adrian VI (d. 1523), *In IV Sent.*, f. 28 (Lepin, 230) adheres to the conviction that even the power to offer up the sacrifice (which is not taken away by the sinful state of the priest) is always exercised in the name of the Church and for this reason retains its efficacy *ex parte Ecclesiae committentis*.

¹⁶ Lepin, 148 ff.

¹⁷ Lepin, 180, 210 f.

Albert the Great, *De s. Euch.*, V, 3, forms an exception: *solus Filius est sacerdos huius hostiae*, says he.

¹⁸ Duns Scotus, *Quaest. quodlibet*, 20, 22 (Lepin, 231).

Scotus even contests the notion that Christ here himself, *immediate*, offers up the sacrifice, because of the wording of the Epistle to the Hebrews and because otherwise the Mass would be equal in value to the Passion. Because it is the Church that essentially makes the offering, it is also needful that someone answer the priest in *persona totius Ecclesiae*; Duns Scotus, *In IV. sent.*, 13, 2 (Lepin, 238).

¹⁹ A. Gaudel, "La messe: III," DThC, X, 1082 f.

²⁰ Sess. XXII, c. 1 (Denziger-Umberg, n. 938). See *ibid.*: *novum instituit pascha se ipsum ab Ecclesiae . . . immolandum* (see Schroeder, 144-5). This makes it plain that the words of the Council about *idem offerens* (c. 2) are not to be pressed to the point of excluding the cooperation of the Church, which really represents a subject not at all independent of Christ. Besides, in the same passage the words *offerendi ratio diversa* also leave room for this extension of the subject: Christ here offers along with His Church.

²¹ In recent times the sacrifice of the Church has been given theological emphasis by M. de la Taille, S.J., *Mysterium Fidei* (Paris, 1921). Of the three sections of this work the first deals with the Lord's sacrifice, *De sacrificio Dominico*, the second with the Church's, *De sacrificio ecclesiastico*. Insofar as the Mass, contrasted with the Cross, is a new sacrifice, it is so (according to de la Taille) exclusively as the sacrifice of the Church. The offering which Christ made on the Cross she makes her very own by performing it on His commission and through His power (299). A detailed dis-

to offer up—how is it brought about? By the fact that the Church joins in the sacrifice of her Lord and Master, so that His oblation becomes her oblation. Therefore, in the Mass the one sacrifice of Christ, the one oblation of Golgotha by which He redeemed the world, is in mysterious fashion made present. Because of St. Paul's letter to the Hebrews, the oneness of the sacrifice of Christ is a matter which cannot be assailed.²²

But how is this presence of the sacrifice of Christ to be understood? There must be something more here than just a representation of the oblation that took place once upon a time, something more than the *memoria passionis* as we see it commonly exhibited by the separate presentation of the Body and the Blood of Christ. On the altar a sacrifice truly takes place, but it is a sacrifice which in many respects coincides with the sacrifice of the Cross. For the Council of Trent says of it: "There is the same oblation, and the same Person who now makes the oblation through the ministry of the priests and who once had made an oblation of himself on the Cross. Only the manner of offering is different."²³ It is here that the speculations of theologians take their start; the result has been a variety of explanations which, since the sixteenth century, have continued to multiply.

The simplest solution seems to be one that was not proposed till our own day. According to this explanation the *memoria passionis* is intensified into an objective remembrance in the sense of a *Mysteriengegenwart*—a mystical presence. In the celebration of the Eucharist not only Christ himself but His one-time act of redemption are made present under cloak of the rite, "in the mystery."²⁴ The past happening, Christ's Passion and Resurrection, is re-enacted in time, not indeed in its historical course but "in the Sacrament." So, from the very nature of the case, there is present an oblation—the same oblation which once took place. This, however, is a supposition which is not found in tradition in the precise form it here takes, but is rather the result of reasoning from tradition,²⁵ a deduction which must enlist the aid of certain hypotheses which are themselves quite questionable.²⁶ According to this theory the one oblation of Christ achieves

cussion of de la Taille's theory of the Mass in Lepin, 659-720, and in most theological manuals.

²² Hebr. 9:24; 10:18.

²³ c. 2 (Denziger-Umbert, n. 940).

²⁴ The concept is presented by O. Casel in countless publications. Prominent are "Das Mysteriengedächtnis der Messliturgie," JL, VI (1926), 113-204, and his later article, which sets out his position fully, "Glaube, Gnosis und Mysterium," JL, XV (1941), 155-305.

²⁵ G. Söhngen, *Symbol und Wirklichkeit im Kultmysterium* (2nd ed., Bonn, 1940), 132-135. A brief introduction to the study of the mystery is provided by P. Botz,

O.S.B., "The Mysterium," *Orate Fratres*, XV (1940-41), 145-151. Of this theory, aside from its detailed application, Th. Klauser, "A Brief History of the Liturgy in the West: I," *Orate Fratres*, XXIII (1948-9), 15, has this to say: "The conception of various liturgical acts as 'mystery-deeds' is clearly demonstrable in certain ecclesiastical regions, particularly eastern ones, and in the writings of some Fathers, but it has never become a general and common teaching of the Church."

²⁶ Cf. J. Pohle-M. Gierens, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, III, 9 (Paderborn, 1937), 361-363.

simply a new presence by means of the consecration. The disparity of the actual oblation would thus be reduced to the barest possible minimum, so small that it is hard to see how there could be any new *ratio offerendi* or how the Eucharist could still be called *our* sacrifice, or how we would be linked to Christ's oblation in any relationship except a very external one.²⁷

The older explanations, on the contrary, generally sought to find the new and "different" manner of offering, of which the Council speaks, in the act of consecration itself. By means of the consecration, the Body immolated on the Cross and the Blood shed thereon are presented to the Father once again at this point of time and space. In this re-presentation which Christ fulfills through the priest—*ministerium sacerdotum*, says Trent—we have the oblation in which, according to the testimony of Christian tradition, the great high-priest offers himself at every Mass. This new offering is necessarily also a sacrifice in its own right, but not one that has independent redemptive value, since it is nothing else than a sacramental extension of the one and only redemptive sacrifice on Calvary which the Epistle to the Hebrews had in view.²⁸

There appeared to be only one difficulty. This re-presentation is indeed some sort of offering (*offerre*), but is not properly a sacrificial offering (*sacrificari*), an *immolation*. Pre-Tridentine theology was not at all agitated over this distinction, the sacrificial character of the Mass being supplied by the *oblatio* which took place in it.²⁹ But the pressure of controversy seemed to demand a search for the precise sacrificial act within the Mass. And especially in view of the sacrifices of the Old Testament, it seemed necessary to acknowledge that a destruction of the gift was essentially required, so that, in the case of a living thing it had to be killed (destruction theory), just as Christ himself consummated His redemptive sacrifice by His death. The post-Tridentine Mass theories are concerned for the most part with demonstrating this "destructive" sacrificial activity in the Mass.³⁰ However, no agreement over the solution has ever been reached.³¹

Some theologians wanted to substitute for this destruction a mere altera-

²⁷ Cf. A. Stolz, O.S.B., *Manuale theologiae dogmaticae* (Freiburg, 1943), VI, 173-175.

²⁸ The above formulation is the result of numerous discussions I have had with a confrere of mine, P. Karl Rahner.

²⁹ See the succinct presentation of statements for the chief periods in the history of the theology of the Mass-sacrifice in the comprehensive article "Messe" in DThC, X (1928), 795-1403, the first three centuries; from the 4th to the 15th by A. Gaudel, 1036 f.; 1081-1083.

St. Thomas distinguishes the two concepts *oblatio* and *sacrificium* when he says (*Sum. theol.*, II. II^{ae}, 85, 3 ad 3) : *sacrificia proprie*

dicuntur, quando circa res Deo oblatas aliquid fit, but he places no special importance on it; see Gaudel, *loc. cit.*, 1061 f., 1081.

³⁰ See the survey in Lepin, 337-770; A. Michel, "La Messe, V," DThC, X, 1143-1289; F. Renz, *Die Geschichte des Messopfer-Begriffes*, II (Freiburg, 1902).

³¹ The first generation of post-Tridentine theologians tried to be content to find in the Mass some kind of image of a sacrificial destruction. They were satisfied to refer to the commemoration of the Passion as represented in Communion and, in a limited way, even in the fraction (M. Cano), or finally also in the consecration under sepa-

tion of the gifts, which, added to the offering, would suffice for a sacrificial act.²³ Others finally thought they could ignore any special act of immolation that would require the destruction or alteration of the gift, and following the lead of pre-Tridentine tradition they explained that the simple presentation of the gifts was sufficient. Christ, they declared, is made present under the species which by their separation are a sign of His bloody sacrifice of old; thus He presents himself anew to the Father.²⁴ There could not, of course, be any thought of an oblation of Christ that takes place here and now if this presentation were to consist simply in the interior resignation, in Christ's sacrificial sentiment which is present in this moment of time and space (because enclosed in the sacramental pres-

rate species (Salmeron). But under the pressure of controversy, an actual destruction occurring here and now was looked for: Bellarmine (d. 1621) sought it ultimately in Communion, which he likened to the consumption of the sacrificial victim by fire; Gregory of Valencia (d. 1603) in the consecration, fraction and Communion together.

Soon it was acknowledged more and more that the destroying sacrificial act could only be looked for in the double consecration, which was the only thing requisite for the completion of the eucharistic sacrifice. Lessius (d. 1623) saw—as several others had already seen before him (Lepin, 413)—that the double consecration which produces, *vi verborum*, the separation of body and blood, was an act in itself suited to achieve the actual death of the sacrificial Lamb if the latter were still liable to death; it was therefore equivalent to a real sacrificial act (later designated *mactatio virtualis*). Vasquez (d. 1604), whose theory was supported in the last century by Perrone, found that this double consecration would not in itself acquire the status of an independent sacrificial act, but in view of the relative character of the Mass, reverting as it does to the sacrifice of the Cross—for it is really a commemorative sacrifice—the image of death, the representation of the former slaying inherent in the double consecration, the *mactatio mystica*, would suffice; later adherents to this thesis added that, even abstracting from the relativity, the *mactatio mystica* would do, because Christ appeared each time under the image of death (Bossuet, Billot).

Cardinal de Lugo (d. 1660) maintained that an actually destructive change was in-

admissible as an homage to God, the master of life and death; according to his theory, the words of consecration placed Christ before men's eyes in a *status declivior*, in the condition of food, and this even by the single consecration; the double consecration was required not for the sacrifice but for the representation of Christ's Passion. This theory of de Lugo was revived by Cardinal Franzelin (d. 1886), and J. Brinktrine, *Das Opfer der Eucharistie* (Paderborn, 1938), has endeavored to extend it by the notion that the humanity of Christ, through this reduction to the state of food, experiences a dedication or hallowing; see in this connection F. Mitzka, *ZkTh*, LXIII (1939), 242-244.

²³ St. Thomas is here cited as the authority (see *supra*, note 29). Thus R. Tapper (d. 1559) refers to the fact that in the Mass the glorified Christ assumes a sacramental form of existence (DThC, X, 1107, 1109 f., 1116). This theory has been taken up again more recently by N. Bartmann, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik* (4th ed., Freiburg, 1921), II, 369 f.

Akin to this is the theory of Suarez (adopted to some extent by Scheeben), according to which the sacrificial transformation is referred not to Christ directly but to the eucharistic elements, the bread and wine; see *infra*, note 38.

²⁴ Thus especially, several German theologians since the 19th century, above all Moehler and Thalhofer. Lepin, who himself adheres to this theory, cites in its favor the representatives of the French Oratory since Cardinal Bérulle (d. 1629); Lepin, 462 ff., 543 ff. But see in opposition A. Michel, "La messe," DThC, X, 1196-1208.

ence) and enduring (because also retained permanently in heaven). For an interior sacrificial sentiment, the will to sacrifice is not itself a sacrifice. Sacrifice demands some sort of action which moreover must be expressed in an external sign. Those who hold this opinion are therefore forced to assume that Christ in heaven makes a sacrifice which fulfills these conditions, and which is made present in the consecration³⁴—an assumption which cannot easily be confirmed.³⁵

Christ does, however, make the presentation of His one-time sacrifice before the face of God in an externally perceptible action, namely in the consecration which He performs through His priests. The consecration not only stems from Christ, in so far as the commission and powers are derived from Him, but it is in its very performance His work in the first degree, a work of His priestly office.³⁶ And it is a work which—unlike the other sacraments, aimed in the first place at the sanctification of souls—is directed immediately to the glorification of the Father. It is a presentation or offering to the heavenly Father in the very here and now, in an act which enshrines in itself the core of every sacrificial activity: *dedication*.³⁷

³⁴ This profound notion was developed especially by Valentin Thalhofer; see Lepin, 575 f. In his own statement of his standpoint Lepin believes it possible to admit a heavenly sacrifice without any external act (737-758; see 747).

³⁵ F. A. Stentrup, *Prælectiones dogmaticæ de Verbo incarnato*, II, 2 (Innsbruck, 1889), 278-347.

This notion of sacrifice, constructed as it is exclusively on the concept of oblation, is plainly distinguished from the pre-Tridentine notion in this one essential point, that the latter thought in this connection almost entirely of an offering by the Church while the former speaks of the oblatory activity of Christ and ascribes it to the Christ present in the Eucharist. From this conception a new mode of eucharistic piety derived, directed towards the life of Christ's soul in the Eucharist. It is to be found exemplified amongst the members of the French Oratory; some citations in Lepin, 482 ff., 491 f., 546.

³⁶ Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, III, 83, 1 ad 3: *Sacerdos gerit imaginem Christi, in cuius persona et virtute verba pronuntiat ad consecrandum. . . . Et ita quodammodo idem est sacerdos et hostia*. Thomas (and with him apparently the Tridentinum, which alludes to his formulation) sees the sacerdotal activity of Christ at work especially

in the effective consecrating act of the priest.

According to one trend of theological thought, we would have to postulate a physical activity of Christ in each and every consecration—not only knowing of each one but willing it and, as *instrumentum coniunctum divinitatis*, producing it. However, no new act is demanded for each consecration; it is sufficient that there be a continuation of the affirmation and determination of all future oblations, made by Christ during his life on earth in virtue of His foreknowledge. Cf. R. Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P., "An Christus non solum virtualiter sed actualiter offerat missas quæ quotidie celebrantur," *Angelicum*, XIX (1942), 105-118. Differently in W. Lampen, O.F.M., "De Christo non actualiter, sed virtualiter offerente in Missa," *Antonianum*, XVII (1942), 253-268.

New light on the question in G. Söhnngen, *Das sacramentale Wesen des Messopfers* (Essen, 1946), especially, pp. 25 ff.

³⁷ Basically what is requisite for a sacrifice over and above the oblation is nothing more than an expression of dedication. While with regard to a gift by which we wish to honor a man, we do nothing more than hand it to him: in regard to a gift to the invisible God it is possible to make such an offering only by removing it from our own posses-

This dedication is consummated upon a thing which is still profane, still the world, is in fact the world and human life in the intensest sense, since men prolong their life through it; but it is altered and transformed into the holiest thing between heaven and earth, into the sacrificial gift offered up on Golgotha, an image of which is set forth in the species after the transubstantiation.²⁸ In the "holy and venerable" hands of the Lord the earthly gift has become a heavenly gift in the very act of giving.²⁹ Thus the oblation of Christ is again on our altars, and as an oblation which He himself performs anew before our very eyes. But He does not perform it in order to present us a drama, but in order to include us and His Church

sion and designating it as belonging to God and "dedicated" to Him. The form this designation will take is dependent on the nature of the gift. The history of religions brings to light oblation-gifts that are merely set down in some holy place and are thus hallowed by reason of the place, the "altar." Thus the Old Testament had a sacrifice of this sort in the bread of proposition. The dedication and appropriation to God is best secured, however, when the gift is entirely removed from human use—the incense burnt on the charcoal, the wine-offering poured out, the animal slaughtered, the flesh consumed by fire. On the sacrifices as found in the history of religions see W. Koch, "Opfer," LThK, VII, 725-27.

²⁸ That the bread and wine were also to be included in the sacrificial act was long maintained by renowned theologians: Suarez, *De missæ sacrificio disp.*, 75, I, 11 (Works ed. Berton, XXI, 653); Bellarmine, *Disp. de contro.*, III, 3, 5 (*De sacrific. missæ*, I), c. 27 (ed. Rome, 1838: III, 734); lastly M. J. Scheeben, *The Mysteries of Christianity* (trans. C. Vollert, S.J.; St. Louis, 1947), 507-511.

The corresponding ideas are found expressed in many passages in the Fathers since Irenæus: The layman who presents the bread and wine for the Eucharist is considered a (co-) offerer; see *supra*, p. 27.

²⁹ That there should be a distinction between the gift as it is alienated by men and the gift as it is determined for God's service, that the point of expropriation and appropriation should not exactly coincide, is seen even in pre-Christian sacrifices, for instance, the presentation of the smoke of sacrifice which is common in ancient hea-

thendom as well as in the Old Testament (Gen. 8:21, et al.). The eucharistic sacrifice, too, was so instituted by Christ that it should start as bread and wine and not till afterwards become the gift properly so-called.

The favorite argument, that the reference of the sacrificial action exclusively to Christ fits the wording of the Tridentinum (*eadem hostia*) better, really proves nothing; for the conception explained above in no way contradicts it, any more than the inclusion of the sacrifice of the Church contradicts the words of the Council about *idem sacerdos*. Since no problem regarding these ideas had been proposed to the Council, there was no call for a more precise statement.

Please notice, however, that in the above demonstration we are not saying—as does Jos. Kramp, S.J., *Die Opferanschauungen der römischen Liturgie* (2nd ed.; Regensburg, 1924), 109 ff.; *idem*, *The Liturgical Sacrifice of the New Law*, trans. L. F. Miller (2nd ed.; St. Louis, 1927), 34-35—that the core of the sacrificial action is the fact that bread and wine are consecrated; what we claim is that the core of the sacrifice is to be found in the fact that, by the consecration, Christ once more presents to His Father the gift of the body and blood He had already sacrificed to Him. But this in no way hinders our perceiving in the sacrifice actually instituted by Christ a further symbolism in the consecration of earthly gifts; for Christ did not institute just any kind of sacrifice, but a determined sacrifice rich in many relationships, the sacrifice of His Passion as the sacrifice of the Church. Cf. in a similar vein G. Söhnngen, *Das sakramentale Wesen des Messopfers* (Essen, 1946).

everywhere on earth and in every century in His *pascha*, His passage out of this world to His Father. His sacrifice becomes each time *the sacrifice of the Church*.⁶⁰

Our Lord offered up the sacrifice on the Cross not for its own sake but that He might therein give His life as “a ransom for many” (Matt. 20:28). In this way He concluded for us that everlasting covenant with God which was promised in the prophets (Is. 61:8; Jer. 33:20 f.; Bar. 2:35) that covenant by which God receives mankind into His favor so that He no longer remembers their misdeeds (Jer. 31:31-34; cf. 33:8), but rather wishes them every good (Jer. 32:40), in the hope that the destined heirs obtain, forever, their promised inheritance (Heb. 9:15). But because it is a covenant, a compact, obedience and fidelity are expected also on our part. It was at the very time of its institution, at the Last Supper, that Christ spoke of the covenant. He speaks of His body “which is to be given up for you” (1 Cor. 11:24; Lk. 22:19). He designates His blood as “my blood of the new Testament, which is to be shed for many” (Mark 14:24; Matt. 26:28), and points to the chalice as “the new testament in my blood” (1 Cor. 11:25; Lk. 22:20). As if to say, this institution has a special meaning within that testament, and in the commission to do this perpetually as a memorial, something more is intended than merely a theoretical commemoration in connection with the repetition of this transubstantiation. Much more is accomplished than that. In it is created an opportunity for all the faithful of all times to ratify⁶¹ in conscious manner this covenant which He had concluded in their name. At Baptism we are already taken up into this covenant and its goods are portioned out to us, without our having to do anything except receive them. In the Eucharist, Christ sets before us the Passion by means of which He inaugurated this covenant; now it is up to us to step forward with a willing “yes” to protest our adherence to the law of Christendom. His sacrifice should become our sacrifice, the Church’s sacrifice, so that it might be offered up in her hands “from the rising of the sun to its going down” and the name of the Lord of hosts “be made great amongst all the peoples” (Mal. 1:10 ff.).

The Church received a sacrifice from Christ because it is in man’s very nature to honor God by sacrifice. More especially is this true where all religion is not to be limited to the inwardness of the individual, that is to say in a social union like the Church, in the divine service of the community. Here the need to glorify God by outward gift, by the visible emblem of an interior subjection or an internal giving of oneself to God—this need naturally arises of its own accord. The inner thought has to be

⁶⁰ Anscar Vonier, O.S.B., *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist* (Westminster, 1948), “Man’s Share in the Eucharistic Sacrifice,” 223-240.

⁶¹ There can be no question of a ratification in the fullest sense, since this “covenant” is

essentially a one-sided favor on God’s part; cf. J. Behm, *Theol. Wörterbuch z. N. T.* (1935), II, 106-137; especially διαθήκη, 132 ff. But for its effectiveness an acceptance by each adult and a corresponding performance are constantly demanded.

the starting-point and the driving force of every sacrificial service if this service is not to be turned to mere pharisaism, for sacrifice is and must always remain only the symbol and sign of something else, an indication of what the soul intends.⁴²

But why could not a simpler gift suffice to express this intention?⁴³ Because this intention, this inner sentiment towards God, is in Christianity a species all its own, at least as an ideal to which our striving is constantly pointed. The Sermon on the Mount, the Gospels, all the books of the New Testament speak of it. It is plainly put in St. Paul's *Hoc sentite in vobis quod et in Christo Jesu* (Philippians 2:5) It means entering into the thoughts of Jesus, rising to His mind and sentiment. In the life of our Lord himself the peak and triumph of that sentiment was reached on the Cross—a Cross which was erected as the wood of shame, and which our Lord willingly embraced in order to give himself wholly to His Father and at the same time to stretch out His arms over all the world and mercifully bring it back to the grace of God. The great commandment on which the Law depends and the Prophets, to love God with one's whole heart and soul and strength, and one's neighbor as one's self, this commandment of which He gave the living model, He also exemplified in death. That is the height to which He beckons His disciples. That is the fulness, the maturity of Christ to which they must grow.

So it is understandable—and yet remains a mystery!—that our Lord should choose as the token of His followers' glorification of God the very last and greatest thing that He himself had to give God the Father—His body that was offered and His blood that was shed. But this sacrificial gift is presented in such a way that each time it actually grows out of His followers' own gift, out of the produce of their own clay and sweat, out of a tiny piece of bread and a sip of wine by which they live. And it actually grows out thus by their own doing, by the words of consecration which someone from their midst is empowered to utter. So the Church is able not only to join in some extrinsic fashion in Christ's oblation which is made present in her midst, but she actually offers it as her own gift, as a gift which, in its natural state, is expressive of her own life and leads that life back to God, along with all that God's creative hand apportions to it along the way. This gift in its supernatural state manifests and confesses what the Church has become by God's grace and what she knows she is

⁴² St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 10, 5 (CSEL, XL, I, p. 452, l. 18): *Sacrificium ergo invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est sacrum signum est*. Modern theologians are unanimous in stressing the fact that sacrifice is *in genere signi*; cf. E. Masure, *The Christian Sacrifice*, trans. Dom. I. Trethowan (New York, 1943), 66-77 and *passim*. Unfortunately few authors pay any

attention to the content of what is signified.

⁴³ The idea that it is incumbent upon the Church to offer not just any gift but precisely the sacrifice of Christ still forms for Protestant theology even today the greatest obstacle in Catholic teaching concerning the Mass-sacrifice; see, e.g., the report by E. Stakemeier in *Theologie u. Seelsorge* (1944), 91-99.

called to be. Thus the Church is enabled truly to offer up her very self⁴⁴; as St. Augustine says, she learns to sacrifice herself in His sacrifice.⁴⁵ This self-oblation of the Church is the precise object which the eucharistic mystery serves. Never is the Church so closely bound to her Master, never is she so completely Christ's spouse as when, together with Him, she offers God this sacrifice.

By the term "Church" is here meant—as everything we have said goes to show—not only the Church Universal and the priest representing her at the altar, but likewise the assembly of the faithful gathered around the priest at each celebration of the Mass. That the faithful offer the sacrifice was taken for granted in the more ancient theological tradition. *Plebs tua* explicitly stands in juxtaposition to *servi tui* in the Roman canon. Now, as an understanding of the priesthood of the faithful⁴⁶ reawakens, the thought once more comes consciously to the fore. It is announced with complete clarity in the great encyclicals of Pope Pius XII.⁴⁷

And now, looking at it more closely, how is this self-oblation of the Church accomplished? The action which brings this about precisely is—again—the consecration. The same act which realizes the sacrifice of Christ also realizes the sacrifice of the Church, but with this difference, that the Church's sacrifice begins to take shape from the very start of the Mass and then receives the divine seal and acceptance when at the consecration Christ takes it in hand and, after richly ennobling it, offers it to His heavenly Father as His own. For the priest who performs the consecration in Christ's name and with Christ's power is always at the same time acting on commission from the Church. This commission he received at his ordi-

⁴⁴ Cf. Scheeben, *The Mysteries of Christianity*, 509-510.

⁴⁵ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 10, 20 (CSEL, XL, I, p. 481): "... ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio. Cuius rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit Ecclesiae sacrificium, quæ cum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per ipsum discit offerre.

Cf. *ibid.*, 10, 16 (CSEL, XL, I, p. 475, l. 23).

⁴⁶ E. Niebecker, *Das allgemeine Priestertum der Gläubigen* (Paderborn, 1936); R. Grosche, "Das allgemeine Priestertum," *Liturgisches Leben*, IV (1937), 1-33; Paul F. Palmer, S.J., "The Lay Priesthood: Real or Metaphorical," *Theological Studies*, VIII (1947), 574-613, esp. 610 ff.

Niebecker equates "priest" with "a man who offers sacrifice"; 74 ff. Here we could insert many passages from Christian tradition where the offering of the Mass is predicated of the faithful. For the early Scholastic period see F. Holböck, *Der*

eucharistische und der mystische Leib Christi in ihren Beziehungen zueinander nach der Lehre der Frühscholastik (Rome, 1941), 225-229. As late as 1453 Nicholas of Cusa founded his demand that people attend Mass while still fasting on this concept, *quia . . . simul cum ipso sacerdote hostiam offerunt*; Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 63. But by the time Luther came into prominence such ideas were no longer current and had then to be revived.

See also Sebastian Tromp, S.J., "Quo sensu in sacrificio missæ offerat Ecclesia, offerant fideles," *Periodica*, XXX (1941), 266; Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., "With Christ in the Mass," *Christ's Sacrifice and Ours* (National Liturgical Week, 1947; Boston, 1948), 42-48, esp. 44 ff. "Mystici Corporis," AAS, XXXV (1943), 232 f., and with even greater emphasis in "Mediator Dei," AAS, XXXIX (1947), 554-556.

nation, for it was the Church that appointed him and ordained him as a priest of Christ. And he receives this commission for this precise situation by his office or at least by the fact that, in his celebration of the Eucharist, he fits himself into the Church's pattern and thus places himself at the head of the faithful who, as a portion of the Church Universal, have here and now gathered round him.⁴⁸ As their representative he stands at the altar. He consecrates the bread and the chalice to present Golgotha's sacrifice to almighty God as their own. And since all through the course of the Mass he acts and speaks not simply in his own name but on commission from the Church, this authorization does not cease at the moment of transubstantiation merely because Christ's commission is superimposed, for it is the Church that calls on him to accept this second commission so that she, as the Bride of Christ, might once more enter into His sacrifice.⁴⁹

This sacrifice is present on the altar under the form of gifts which are emblems of our life-support and are at the same time manifestations of unity, of the combining of many into one. The ancient Church was vitally conscious of this symbolism of the eucharist species to which even St. Paul had already alluded⁵⁰: "As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountain tops and then, being harvested, became one," as the wine has flowed out of many grapes into this chalice, so the faithful should, through this sacrament, become one in Christ.⁵¹

Another thing. This oblation was instituted with the express determination that the participants be fed with it: "Take and eat." The sacrificial meal is not something plainly included in the notion of sacrifice. There were sacrifices in the Old Testament which were entirely consumed in the fire, with nothing remaining for the offerers to eat—the sin-offerings, for instance; the offerers were not worthy to enter into so close a community with God. But the sacrifice of the New Covenant is essentially constituted as a meal, so that the offerers might gather around the sacrificial table, the table of the Lord, to eat. They are in communion with Christ who had undergone His sufferings and is now exalted; they become anew one body with Him.

This element of the symbolism of the species, which is emphasized in

⁴⁸ Or who have asked him for this celebration, e.g., by a stipend. In the extreme case of a private Mass the priest himself, with or without the server, represents the collective Church. The relationship of the priest to the Church Universal is further elucidated by G. de Broglie, "Du rôle de l'Eglise dans le sacrifice eucharistique," *Nouvelle Revue théologique*, LXX (1948), 449-460.

⁴⁹ The priest's representing Christ and his representing the Church are not parallel; they are disposed one behind the other. This destroys the contention of J. B. Um-

berg, *ZkTh*, XLVII (1923), 287, that the admission of the Church as *offerens* contradicts the words of consecration, *Hoc est corpus meum*.

⁵⁰ I Cor. 10:17.

⁵¹ *Did.* 9, 4; *Const. Apost.*, VII, 25, 3 (Funk, I, 410 f.); Cyprian, *Ep.*, 69, 5 (CSEL, III, 754); cf. *Ep.*, 63, 13 (*ibid.*, 712); Augustine, *Sermo* 227 (PL, XXXVIII, 1100); 229 (1103), et al. Regarding the continuance of this knowledge during the early Middle Ages, see F. Holböck, *Der eucharistische und der mystische Leib Christi*, 192 f.

the words of consecration—this element above all must be taken in earnest. Every sacrament serves to develop in us the image of Christ according to a specified pattern which the sacramental sign indicates.⁵² Here the pattern is plainly shown in the double formation of the Eucharist; we are to be drawn into the sacrifice of our Lord on the Cross. We are to take part in His dying, and through His dying are to merit a share in His life.⁵³ What we here find anchored fast in the deepest center of the Mass-sacrifice is nothing else than that ideal of moral conduct to which the teaching of Christ in the Gospel soars; the challenge to an imitation of Him that does not shrink at sight of the Cross: a following after Him that is ready to lose its life in order to win it⁵⁴: the challenge to follow Him even, if need be, in His agony of suffering and His path of death, which are here in this mystery so manifestly set before us.

If the Church's gift of homage to God is thus changed by the priest's words into the immolated Body and the spilled Blood of our Lord, and if the Church, firm and unafraid, then offers it to God, she thereby stamps her "yes" upon the chalice which her Master has drunk and upon the baptism which He experienced. And by that same oblation which she bears in her hands, she is dedicated and sealed for the same road that He traveled on His entrance into glory (Luke 24:26). The sacrifice of Christ is renewed sacramentally not only *in* His Church but *upon* the Church,⁵⁵ and is renewed daily because it is daily demanded of her (Luke 9:23). The Mass-sacrifice is not only a presentation of the redemptive Passion and, with it, of the whole collection of Christian doctrine on salvation. It is also an epitome of Christian life and conduct. The height on which Christ lived and died comes before our gaze each time as an ideal, admonishing and alluring, as a towering peak which we can only reach by tremendous try-

⁵² In comparison with the treatment accorded the causality in the sacraments, Scholasticism was chary in its dealing with the symbolism of the sacramental salutary effects and even (to take in a detail) of the Christ-formative efficacy of sacramental grace. This failure has been rectified in the work of G. Söhngen, *Symbol und Wirklichkeit im Kultmysterium* (first publ. 1937; 2nd ed. Bonn, 1940), esp. 43-109; see also the same author's *Der Wesensaufbau des Mysteriums* (Bonn, 1938).

⁵³ Cf. Karl Rahner, "Eucharistie und Leiden," *Zeitschrift f. Ascese und Mystik*, XI (1936), 224-234.

⁵⁴ Matt. 10:38 f.; 16:24 f., and parallels.

⁵⁵ It is, however, quite another question whether (with Söhngen, *Symbol und Wirklichkeit*, 152-157) we are to see exclusively in this the sacrificial character of the Mass;

see the criticism by F. Lakner, *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 60.

It was in the course of explaining how his notions differ from Casel's that Söhngen arrived at his thesis. He altered Casel's idea to this extent, claiming that the spiritual reality of the sacramental action is present not *in se* but only in the recipient of the sacrament. Transferring this to the sacrifice of the Mass, Söhngen opposes Casel's concept that the sacrifice of Christ was to be considered as pre-existent to the sacrifice of the Church in the *mysterium*. Söhngen's theory is this: The sacrifice of Christ on the Cross is "sacramentally present when Christ consummates His sacrifice as the sacrifice of the Church" (139).

In any and every case Söhngen has given a fecund turn to the theology of the mystery.

ing, along the ascent of Christian asceticism.⁶⁶ All this puts Communion in a new light. Communion, too, is stamped with the Cross and the death of the Lord.

At the consecration, the Church as a society affirms the oblation of Christ and makes it her very own, but the individual Christian might feel satisfied to follow from afar, more of an onlooker than an actor in the sacred drama. In Communion, however, it is the individual participant who really wants to co-celebrate the Mass—it is his word that counts. Everyone must be seized with the impulse to be swallowed up in the mystery of Christ's Passion. Thus and only thus can the partakers hope to meet Him who had already entered into His glory; thus and only thus can they be embraced by Him and hallowed by the fire of His godhead.

Just as the participation of the Church in Christ's oblation at the consecration is a sacramental proceeding, so too the completed incorporation of the individual in Communion is a sacramental proceeding. The recipients of the Eucharist become participants in the oblation *ex opere operato*.⁶⁷ But it is somewhat different with sacrifice as such. Since this is a moral activity, a free and humble homage before God, a genuine and essential consummation of the sacrifice cannot be produced in the mere reception of a divine operation, as is the case with the sacraments in which God sanctifies man. Therefore the sacrifice, in so far as it is the oblation of the Church, is not completely concluded with an *opus operatum*; the *opus operantis* must join in, and not merely as an addition to the completed work, but as a requisite belonging to the very structure at least as an integrating part.⁶⁸ True, Mass is not simply man's good work—as Luther pretended to explain Catholic teaching on the subject—but neither is it simply the result of God's activity, as, for instance, Baptism is. The Church is not drawn into Christ's Passion under compulsion, but enters into it freely, consciously, deliberately. That is the Mass.

In a higher measure and in another way than in the sacraments, therefore, there is required beside the passive moment also an active one. Were Mass only the *mysterium* of Christ's Passion or only a memorial meal, then—with the addition perhaps of a consentient anamnesis to cast a glance at the redeeming sufferings—the account of the Last Supper, with the consecrating words over bread and wine, and the reception of the Sacra-

⁶⁶ To this thought ample expression was given by Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, IV, 59 (PL, LXXVII, 428): *Sed necesse est, cum hæc [the sacrifice which represents the Passion of Christ] agimus, nosmetipsos Deo in cordis contritione mactemus, quia qui passionis dominicæ mysteria celebramus, debemus imitari quod colimus. Tunc ergo vere pro nobis hostia erit Deo, cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerimus.*

⁶⁷ Cf. J. Bütler, "Die Mysterienthese der

Laacher Schule im Zusammenhang scholastischer Theologie," *ZkTh*, LIX (1935), 555.

⁶⁸ We are not answering here the question, what minimum is demanded to bring about the sacrifice. For this question cf. J. B. Umberg, "Die wesentlichen Messopferworte," *ZkTh*, L (1926), 73-88. As we know, neither sense organs nor members (*partes integrantes*) are required in order to have a "man."

ment would suffice. Mass, however, is also and primarily an immolation to God, an expression of the self-offering of the Church. The Church does not wait for the redemptive grace that pours down on her anew; having long ago obtained the favor of her Lord, she takes the initiative, she sets out on her own to offer God her gift, a gift which, at the height of her ascent, is changed for her into the oblation of Christ.

We therefore find that it is a common phenomenon in the history of the Mass-liturgies that some action of the Church precedes the consecration, a movement toward God which gains its essential utterance in the great prayer of thanksgiving but which is also expressed in many customs that, even during the preparation of the elements, suggest the *προς-φέρειν*, the presentation, the *oblatio*, the gift, just as they continue to express the same thoughts after the transubstantiation. According to its essence, therefore, Mass-liturgy is accomplished in three steps—not very sharply defined: the submissive and laudatory approach to God, the sacramental performance of Christ's sacrifice, and the reception of the sanctified gift.

The institution of Christ thus once more implies that the Church realizes this active moment of the sacrificial proceeding not only in her official representative who stands at the altar but also in the participating congregation. The "we" in the priest's prayers and the spatial assemblage of the participants around the officiating priest already tend in this direction. It follows that an interior immolation is required of the participants, at least to the extent of readiness to obey the law of God in its seriously obligatory commandments, unless this participation is to be nothing more than an outward appearance.⁶⁸ A participation that is right and justified in its essentials should, of course, involve the desire to tread again the pathway of the Master and to make progress on it. To such an interior attitude, however, corresponds an exterior expression which exhibits a connection with the essentially significant sacrificial proceedings by means of tokens or words that have the presence of the participants as their starting point. All the liturgies have developed for this a wealth of expressive elements, but of these only a portion have stayed in living practice. The ideal condition would be if the sacred activity conducted by the priest would evolve from the ordered activity of the congregation and all its members, just as it does evolve from their will.

Since the Mass is a sacrifice of the Church, it normally presumes a larger or smaller assembly of the people. The different types of this assembly gave rise, in the course of history, to a principle of formation; it will be our task in the next few chapters to study the development of this principle more closely. In its most complete development we have the assembly

⁶⁸ The Sunday precept is concerned immediately only with the external act in the sense of a conscious attendance, the limits of which are detailed by the moralists; see J. J. Guiniven, *The Precept of Hearing*

Mass (Washington, 1942), 79-86; 103-107; cf. 108-109. However, the purpose of the precept is, of course, to secure the inner participation, a coordination of mind and heart in the action at the altar.

of all the people in the place; in early times this occurred mostly under the leadership of the bishop, while later on the priest, especially the pastor, was appointed for this. The bishop's Mass and the priest's Mass, therefore, form two of the basic types of the Mass. But the assembly can also shrink to just a few persons, and finally—as an irreducible limit—to the single person of the celebrating priest, who, indeed, can also offer up the Mass in his own name. However, we find the Church constantly trying to avoid this extreme case, to such an extent in fact that in none of the rites, either East or West, did any form of Mass develop in which at least the external outlines of community participation were left out. The forms of private Mass are always only diluted forms of public celebration.

3. From the Episcopal Collective Service to the *Missa Solemnis*

The primitive and original form of Mass celebration is that in which the bishop surrounded by his clergy offers up the sacrifice in the presence of the congregation. Nearly all the accounts of the Mass which we have from the end of the first century until well into the fourth presuppose this arrangement. This sort of thing was to be expected from the fact that Christianity was then predominantly an urban religion. Ignatius of Antioch is quite pointed in his reference to this common service: "Take care, then, to partake of one Eucharist; for one is the Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one the cup to unite us with His Blood, and one altar, just as there is one bishop assisted by the presbytery and the deacons, my fellow servants."¹ The Roman *ordines*, too, give the same picture in regard to papal services.² In fact in Rome, as also in other localities,³ there is a further development insofar as the principle of a roving assembly-place makes it possible even in a large city to retain, at least in its fundamental outlines, the system of gathering the whole community together. Since the Roman *ordines* became for centuries the norm for regulating the episcopal services in almost the whole West, this arrangement remained in vogue elsewhere.⁴

¹ Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Philad.*, 4 (ed. Kleist; Westminster, 1946; p. 86).

Cf. *Ad Smyrn.*, 8, 1 f. (*ibid.*, 93); *Ad Ephes.*, 20, 2 (*ibid.*, 67-8).

The full assembly of the congregation, including the clergy under the leadership of the bishop, is presupposed in Justin, *Apol.*, I, 65; 67; *Didascalia*, II, 57; Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 6; 40 ff.); *Canones Hippolyti*, c. 3; *Const. Ap.*, II, 57; *ibid.*, VIII, 5 ff. (cf. esp. VIII, 11, 7 ff., 15, 11); Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarch.*, III, 2; Narsai, *Homil.*, 17 (Connolly, 4).

Some accounts in Martène, 1, 3, 8, 2 (I, 329 f.).

² *Supra*, pp. 67-69.

³ *Supra*, p. 61.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), *Capitulare*, I, c. 45 (PL, CV, 208).

The outlines are still maintained in the *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 59 (Friedberg, I, p. 1310 f.). At the second Synod of Seville (619) the dominant position of the episcopal service was secured by forbidding the presbyters *eo [episcopo] praesente sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi con-*

Thus the ideal form for uniting the whole community of the episcopal see in one service and promoting the complete self-oblation of the community remained alive for long in the consciousness of the occidental Church. In the Orient this is still the case even today.

The position taken by the clerics, particularly the priests, in this common service is expressed in the principle of *concelebration*.⁵ This principle implies, for all the participants, a proper share in the community service, but not necessarily a co-consecration on the part of the priests present.⁶ For priests as well as for the rest of the faithful—to whom even late medieval sources quite unabashedly ascribe a *celebrare missam*, a concelebration⁷—the essential thing in this participation was to answer the chief

ficere (can. 7; Mansi, X, 559). Cf. de Puniet, *Das römische Pontifikale*, I, 235 f. A similar injunction was already to be found in Martin of Braga, *Capitula*, c. 56 (PL, LXXXIV, 582): *Forasticis presbyteris praesente episcopo vel presbytero civitatis offerre non liceat*.

⁵ P. de Puniet, "Concélébration liturgique," DACL, III (1914), 2470-2488; A. Fortescue, "Concelebration," CE, IV, 190.

⁶ The proofs are marshalled in J. M. Hanssens, "De concelebratione eucharistica," *Periodica*, XVI (1927), 143*-154*; 181*-210*; XVII (1928), 93*-127*; XXI (1932), 193*-219*.

On the basis of Hanssens's distinction between *concelebratio caeremonialis* and *concelebratio sacramentalis* (that is, with the words of consecration said in common), H. v. Meurers, "Die eucharistische Konzelebration," *Pastor Bonus*, LIII (1942), 65-77; 97-105, presents a summary view of the historical development and the legal status of the rites. According to this article, sacramental concelebration was still to be found at Rome in an addition (8th century) to *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 48 (PL, LXXVIII, 958 f.): on five great feasts of the year each of the Cardinal priests who surround the altar of the pope carries three hosts on a corporal and, together with the pope, speaks over these the entire Canon including the words of consecration. Cf. the same custom in the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 460), where, however, the pope alone says the Canon aloud; and, as early as the 6th century, a remark, not very clear, in the *Liber pontificalis* (Duchesne, I, 139; see also Duchesne, 175, note 2). But even in Rome the custom no longer obtained after the

13th century. Prior to this it is cited still by Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, IV, 25 (PL, CCXVII, 875 f.).

Aside from this practice in the city of Rome, sacramental concelebration came into use between the 8th and the 12th centuries on the occasion of the ordination of priests and the consecration of bishops, the bishop and the newly ordained (*resp.* consecrated) participating; for a time, too, it was in use at the consecration of abbots. Since then concelebration at ordination and consecration has continued as a fast rule within the limits of the Roman rite. In the Orient (ceremonial) concelebration was customary and common from time immemorial, but it is only in the Uniate groups that the joint pronouncing of the words of consecration was added, apparently not till the start of the 18th century and then under the influence of Rome, which recognized no other type than the sacramental concelebration in use at the administration of Orders. In fact, as we gather from Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missae*, III, 16 (Schneider, 437-444), the co-consecration by all celebrating was considered a necessary requirement, and the concelebrants were permitted to take a stipend therefor (*ibid.*). It is only within the Byzantine rite that this sort of thing has become customary even outside the Uniate groups, the words of consecration being spoken on certain occasions by all together, in addition to the usual praying (softly) of the other prayers; cf. de Puniet, "Concélébration," 2479 f.

⁷ Gregory of Tours, *De gloria confessorum*, c. 65 (PL, LXXI, 875 C): [*mulier*] *celebrans quotidie missarum sollemnia et offerens oblationes pro memoria viri sui*.

celebrant, to join him in prayer at certain stated times, and to receive with him the Holy Sacrament. Still the dignity of the service demanded that suitable recognition be given each hierarchic rank.⁸ The presbyters took their place in the *presbyterium* along with the other clerics; they wore the liturgical garment proper to them—in early medieval Rome this was the *planeta*.⁹ At the papal station Masses they also assisted in receiving the gift-offerings, in breaking the species and distributing Holy Communion. Naturally this assistance was subject to variations in degree. In the Oriental rites the incensings are distributed among the concelebrants.¹⁰ Quite early we meet the custom of dividing the various orations—outside the canon—among the participating priests or bishops.¹¹ There is mention, too,

Of a woman whose son had been waked from the dead by St. Gertrude of Nivelles (d. 659), the biographer says, in *crastinum missam celebravit in honore virginis Christi Gertrudis*; *Acta SS. Mart.*, II, 596.

Of Alcuin, who was only a deacon, his Vita says (n. 26; PL, C, 104 C): *Celebrabat omni die missarum sollemnia*.

A Paris document of 1112 relates: The faithful of a new chapel of ease went on six feast days *missarum sollemnia ibi* (in the mother-church) *celebraturi et offerendas ex more oblaturi*; quoted in Schreiber, *Untersuchungen zum Sprachgebrauch des mittelalterlichen Oblationswesens*, 30 f. Further examples in F. de Berleandis, *De oblationibus* (Venice, 1743), 256.

Patently what is here thought of is a participation along with the making of an offering.

Cf. also Hanssens, *loc. cit.*, XVI (1927), 143*.

⁸ Similar rules on how to honor a bishop present at Mass are still in force; see *Cæremoniale episc.*, I, 30; II, 9.

Amongst the earliest regulations of this sort committed to writing are those of the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 245 f.), where place is given to the bishop even more than at present: he is invited to say the *Confiteor* and to give the final benediction; he blesses the water to be mixed, and the incense; he receives the Gospel-book to kiss, is the first to be incensed and the first to receive the *pas*.

⁹ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 4 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 639 f.). Cf. *supra*, p. 68 ff. In the pontifical service of the church of Lyons, when there is concelebration—which is not infrequent even today, although only on Maundy Thursday are the words of con-

secration spoken in common—there are, besides seven acolytes and an equal number of deacons and subdeacons, also six priests, vested in chasubles. They stand and sit next to the episcopal throne. Formerly they also received Communion from his hand. Buenger 261, 269 f., 283 f.; Archdale A. King, "The Rite of Lyons," *Orate Fratres*, XV (1940-41), 66; de Moléon, 47, 73. A description of a present-day service for Maundy Thursday at Lyons in *La Maison-Dieu*, n. 8 (1946), 171 f. De Moléon, 11, 28, relates a similar service at Vienne.

According to medieval sources, there were assistant priests, vested in chasuble, at pontifical functions in other churches, too: at Chalon there were seven, at Soissons and Sens, twelve; Martène, I, 3, 8, 2 (I, 331); cf. *ibid.*, XIX, XXI, XXX (I, 604, 609, 647). Twelve priests are required by Bonizo of Sutri (d. c. 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels; Berlin, 1930, p. 58).

¹⁰ Hanssens, "De concelebratione," *Periodica*, VII (1928), 104*.

¹¹ The *Canones Hippolyti*, c. 3 (Riedel, 202) lay down the following injunctions regarding the blessing of oil which could be conjoined to the eucharistic prayer: "If there is oil there, let him likewise pray over it; if several are present, let him distribute the various sections; it is however one power."

At the crowning of the pope, according to *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 27, 30 (PL, XLVIII, 1135 f.), three cardinals each said an oration right after the prayers at the foot of the altar; then after the *Gloria* the pope himself recited the oration of the day. Cf. *ibid.*, n. 45 (1145 C). A

of pronouncing certain texts, even the preface, together,¹² so that it was but a slight step to the joint pronouncing of the words of consecration as in the present-day rite of ordination.¹³

However, in the Western Church the genuine remnants of ancient Christian concelebration are not to be found in the ordination Mass, but rather in the Mass on Holy Thursday with its priests' Communion,¹⁴ and in the regulation for the last day of Holy Week that all private Masses are to be omitted and that the assembled clergy are to participate—informally—with the rest of the faithful in the one public celebration. Another trace of it is the *Ordo ad synodum* of the Roman Pontifical which presupposes that the bishop alone goes up to the altar and that the assembled clergy receive Communion at his hands. A similar prescript holds for the cardinals gathered for the papal election.¹⁵ For the first thousand years, such a method was taken for granted in all cases where a number of priests were assembled and where they individually had no other religious duties—an

similar program was followed at the coronation of the Emperor; *ibid.*, n. 105 (1239 f.).

In the Byzantine liturgy the various orations are today recited softly by the chief celebrant while the deacon is still announcing the corresponding ektenes, but the concluding doxological ekphoneses which are said aloud are allotted to the various concelebrants. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 536.

¹² At Orleans toward the end of the Middle Ages six canons sang the Maundy Thursday Mass along with the bishop, excepting only the words of consecration; de Moléon, 196. A similar practice obtained at Vienne; *ibid.*, 17. At Chartres as late as the 18th century, on this same day six archdeacons concelebrated with the bishop, singing the preface and *Pater noster* along with him, and with him turning to the people to say *Dominus vobiscum*; J. Grancolas, *Commentarius historicus in Romanum Breviarium* (Venice, 1734), 304.

Even today at the beginning of the ceremonies of the consecration of a bishop, while the consecrator addresses the examination questions to the candidate, the co-consecrators pronounce the same lines in a semi-audible tone; *Pontificale Rom.*, *De cons. electi in episcopum*. A similar practice already in the 12th century; Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, I, 142.

¹³ In our present-day rite of concelebration at the ordination Mass, the most striking

thing is the fact that the newly ordained disregard the architectonics of the Mass, saying all the prayers right through with the bishop, even those otherwise said quietly. Here is an indication that this joint utterance had a different basis than the concelebration otherwise attested in the history of liturgy, for the latter patently sought only a proper arrangement and disposition of all the participants according to hierarchical rank. In the case of ordination the fundamental idea obviously was to put the order just awarded to practical proof, in the same way that the foregoing ordinations were put into practice. The respective rubric, without the prescription of kneeling, is found in the Roman Pontifical since the 13th century; Andrieu, II, 349; cf. III, 370 f. The desire for a more select form has been uttered more than once; see v. Meurers, 67; L. Beauduin, "La concélébration," *La Maison-Dieu*, n. 7 (1946), 7-26, esp. 20 f.

¹⁴ The pontifical function of Maundy Thursday preserves still another example of primeval concelebration: at the blessing of the oil twelve priests—as representative of all the city clergy—appear in *paramentis* and, as an old *Ordo* of Rouen (PL, LXXVIII, 329 A) puts it, *simul cum pontifice verbis et manibus conficiunt*, a word which Amalar had used of the co-consecration at Mass, *De eccl. off.*, I, 12 (PL, CV, 1016 C).

¹⁵ Cf. v. Meurers, 100.

arrangement which is still today normal in the Orient.¹⁶ When St. Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) on his deathbed was visited by two bishops, he begged *ut una cum sanctis episcopis oblato sacrificio animam suam Domino commendaret*.¹⁷ For a long time the custom obtained in the monasteries, especially on feast days, for the whole community, including the priests, to gather together not only for the conventual Mass but for a general Communion.¹⁸ Amongst the Carthusians this is still the rule on Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.¹⁹ St. Francis of Assisi spoke in very general terms when he expressed the wish "that the brethren in their foundations celebrate only one Mass a day, as is the custom in Holy Church. And if there are several priests at home, for the love of God let one be satisfied to assist at the celebration of the other."²⁰

For the rest this arrangement was maintained longest in the case of the sacred ministers at high Mass.²¹ What had previously been taken for granted was prescribed at least for them on certain occasions, and the arrangement was thus kept up for a long time during the later Middle Ages. In the eleventh century the rule is cited more than once that one or even two of the particles into which the Host was broken should serve for the Communion of deacon and subdeacon.²² Subsequently, Communion each time for deacon and subdeacon was stipulated only at the Mass of the bishop²³ and of the abbot,²⁴ or for high Mass on Sundays and holy days,²⁵ or for the first day of the weekly duty of the respective sacred ministers,²⁶ or finally in monasteries for the days when Communion was

¹⁶ For examples from the present-day oriental colonies in Rome see v. Meurers, 66, note 5.

Illustrations from earlier times in Martène, 1, 3, 8, 2 (I, 330).

¹⁷ *Acta SS.*, Jun., V., 171.

¹⁸ The monastic *Breviarium eccl. ordinis* of the 8th century (Silva-Tarouca, 196, 1; 11), in describing the entry at the feastday Mass at which all communicated, named in the first place *presbyteri, qui missas publicas ipso die non celebrant [ur]*.

For the Benedictine monasteries of the early Middle Ages see Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine*, 156 f.

Amongst the Cistercians there were four great feasts in the year at which the whole convent was present at the services, including the priests, and Communion was obligatory for all, as is plain from the *Liber usus*, c. 66 (PL, CLXVI, 1437). Cf. for this v. Meurers, 104, note 78.

Also amongst the Dominicans the *Ordinarium* of 1256 seems to take for granted that on Communion days the

priests as a rule received along with the rest, since it notes that no one may stay away from Communion *nisi celebret missam ipsa die* (Guerrini, 248).

¹⁹ v. Meurers, 102 f.

²⁰ Cf. P. Robinson, *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi* (Phila., 1906), 115. This injunction appears to have been inspired by a high regard for community life and also lest frequent celebration might diminish the reverence due to the mystery. Cf. v. Meurers, 104 f.

²¹ Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter*, 45-51.

²² See *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 4, note 43.

²³ *Ordo eccl. Lateran* (Fischer, 85 f.).

²⁴ This is reported by Bernard Ayglerius (d. 1282), Abbot of Monte Cassino; E. Martène, *Commentarius in Regulam S. Benedicti* (PL, LXVI, 580 A).

²⁵ Thus at Cluny; *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, I, 9 (PL, CXLIX, 653). Further evidence from the 12th to the 14th centuries in Browe, 47 f.

²⁶ Thus according to the regulations in the

prescribed for all.²⁷ Only in isolated instances did the later Middle Ages continue the usage of Communion for both sacred ministers at every Mass (outside of Mass for the Dead).²⁸ The Council of Trent contented itself with making a warm recommendation to this effect.²⁹

The direct descendant of the bishops' collective service is the pontifical service, especially in its most elaborate form, the papal Mass,³⁰ although it is true that in these cases the participation of the people has become a matter of fact rather than of principle. Even the solemn high Mass of a simple priest, which one might well have expected would be explained as an elaborated growth of the presbyter Mass,³¹ proves rather to be a late simplification of the pontifical service. For that reason the difference between a pontifical Mass and the sacerdotal high Mass in the Roman liturgy is today comparatively slight.³² This fact is closely connected with the circumstances under which the Roman liturgy was taken over by the Frankish Church, for at that time the only directions in the *ordines* for the external solemnization of the service were the rubrics for a pontifical rite. In consequence, not only were these used in cathedrals, but they had to serve as the basis elsewhere, too. The first Roman *ordo* itself offered a handy pretext for this very thing, for one Roman addition³³ not only suggested that the bishops *qui civitatibus præsident* should perform everything like the pope, and that the bishop who replaced the pope at the Roman stationary service had to make just a few changes,³⁴ but it remarked that this latter direction held good also for a presbyter *quando in statione facit missam* (aside from

Augustinian monastery at Döntinghem; Browe, 49.

²⁷ Browe, 48 f.

Amongst the Augustinians at Seckau, Communion was enjoined upon the levites for Sundays and feasts even as late as 1240, but in the reformed statutes of 1267 it was prescribed only once a month; L. Leonhard, "Stand der Disziplin . . . im Stifte Seckau," *Studien u. Mitt. aus dem Ben.- und Cist.-Orden*, XIII (1892), 6, 9.

²⁸ Thus Odo Rigaldus in 1256 in the reform-statutes for St. Stephen in Caen (ed. Bonnin, 262). Amongst the Castilian Cistercians the practice still held in 1437 when it was repealed by Eugene IV as *plerumque damnosum*; Browe, 48 f.

²⁹ Sess. XXIII, De reform., c. 13: *sciantque [diaconi et subdiaconi] maxime decere, si saltem diebus dominicis et sollempnibus, quum altari ministraverint, sacram communionem perceperint*. Cf. *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Goerres, IX, 482, l. 17; 527, l. 34; 533, l. 2; 559, l. 4; 627, l. 8.

This recommendation was taken over into the *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 31, 5. A like

norm appears now and then in some of the 16th century reform statutes, those of St. Charles Borromeo, for instance; Browe, 50 f. The communion of deacon and subdeacon as a practice still alive in the Vatican basilica is attested by J. Catalani, *Cæremoniale episcoporum*, I (Paris, 1860; first publ. 1747), 195.

³⁰ On this last item see J. Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse und die Zeremonien bei Selig- und Heiligsprechungen* (Freiburg, 1925); A. Hudal, *Missa papalis* (Rome, 1925).

³¹ Thus, e.g., Brinktrine, *Die heilige Messe*, 43 f., note.

³² Even plainer is the distinction in the Byzantine liturgy, where in an episcopal rite, especially in the fore-Mass, there is an extensive allotment of the functions amongst the concelebrants and repeated blessing with Trikirion and Dikirion. Something like this is true also in the West-Syrian rite. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 535-543.

³³ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 22 (PL, LXXVIII, 948 f.).

³⁴ He was not allowed to occupy the cathedra.

the rule that he might not intone the *Gloria* except on Easter).³⁵ It did not require any bold exegesis to turn this slight suggestion into a definite direction for every case when a priest had to conduct a solemn service in larger surroundings like those to be found (in the centuries to follow) not only in monasteries but also in numerous other capitular churches.

In any case this was the principle that was presently followed. Ample proof is to be found in the arrangement for Mass as outlined in an eighth century *Breviarium ecclesiastici ordinis* adapted to the circumstances of a Frankish Scots monastery; compare this with the prescriptions in the *Capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis*, which goes back to the Roman arch-cantor John and describes a papal station Mass.³⁶ Aside from the papal court—which is not prominent in the *Capitulare* either—and the rite of *sustentatio* which is proper for the pope,³⁷ nearly everything of ritual splendor has been transferred to the monastic *sacerdos*: he is surrounded by priests (*sacerdotes*), deacons, subdeacons, and clerics; the seven candles³⁸ and the censer are carried before him; he steps up to the altar amid the same greetings as the pope; like the pope he employs the *Pax vobis*; during the whole fore-Mass he remains at his place *retro altare* and washes his hands before the offertory.³⁹

The same sort of solemn Mass is encountered in Frankish sources of the ninth and tenth centuries. Most of the time it is distinguished as a bishop's Mass, but sometimes the presbyter appears explicitly as the celebrant.⁴⁰ Then, too, the new Mass arrangement which is noticed about the year 1000 in the documents of the Séz group⁴¹ is drawn up first of all for the bishop's Mass, but is soon allotted to the priest also.⁴²

The outlines of the present-day form of the *missa solemnis* become distinct and clear after the tenth or eleventh century. Whereas before—and

dra; the oration he said at the right side of the altar; at the fraction he remained at the altar and helped along and then put the *fermentum* of the pope in his chalice.

³⁵ Cf. also the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 464).

³⁶ In parallel columns in the edition of Silva-Tarouca, 196-200.

³⁷ *Supra*, p. 68 ff.

³⁸ But there is an addition: (*aut septem*) *aut duo*. Silva-Tarouca, 196, l. 14.

³⁹ This washing of hands was at the time no peculiarity of the papal or episcopal rite. The *Gloria*, too, is intoned by the *sacerdos*, although Christmas is substituted for Easter (cf. *infra*, p. 356, note 43). Still the *Breviarium* contains certain divergencies from the papal rite, as the result of the encroachment of Gallic traditions, like the *Dominus vobiscum* before the Gospel, the carrying of the offertory-gifts from the

sacristy, the plea for prayer on the part of the celebrant (*Orate*).

⁴⁰ This is the case in the description of Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1248 ff.), but details about the ritual are missing. Amalar's explanations of the Mass regularly refer to the bishop, but the *Expositio* "*Missae pro Multis*" (ed. Hanssens: *Eph. liturg.*, 1930, 31, line 27), in its first mention of the celebrant, does say *episcopus aut presbyter*. In Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cleric.*, I, 33 (PL, CVII, 322-326) the priest as well as the bishop is included in the designation *sacerdos*; cf. *ibid.*, I, 3-5 (301 C).

⁴¹ *Supra*, pp. 74-75.

⁴² This is plain in the Mass-ordo of St. Vincent (Fiala, 187, 196 ff.), in Cod. Chigi and in Gregorienmünster: Martène, I, 4, XII; XVI (I, 568 ff., 595 f., 599): *sacerdos, presbyter*. In the Missal of Liège the

sometimes also later—there is mention of a number of deacons and subdeacons,⁴⁵ now there appear only one deacon and one subdeacon to accompany the priest as he proceeds to the altar and to perform their duties there. Amongst the first indisputable testimonies of this arrangement is the writing of John of Avranches which dates about 1065. It still includes for the priest certain details from the episcopal rite which today are no longer retained,⁴⁶ but it definitely states that the bishop's *cathedra* is to be more prominent.⁴⁷ The conventual Mass at Cluny at the same time also displays the same type of Mass with deacon and subdeacon.⁴⁸

In general the rite of high Mass has not changed much since the eleventh century, if we except the peculiar usages of certain regions and certain monasteries. In the twelfth century there appear, in addition to the other reverences, numerous kissings when handing over or receiving things—kisses which are still prescribed.⁴⁹ About this time likewise occurs the rule that the celebrant (and his assistants with him) were to read softly the texts sung by others.⁵⁰ The careful description of the priestly high Mass which is presented in the 1256 *Ordinarium* of the Dominicans⁵¹ reveals in all essentials the present-day arrangement, and also the same differences

celebrant is *episcopus aut presbyter*; *ibid.*, XV (I, 582).

The rubrics regulating the ritual are quite scanty in the common basic text.

⁴⁵ The Synod of Limoges (1031) still enjoins (Mansi, XIX, 545 B): Abbots and other priests are not to have more than three deacons on feast-days, while bishops are allowed to have five or seven.

The documents of the Séez group still mention a plurality of deacons in different ways.

The assertions in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (d. 986; PL, LXXVIII, 239-245) are discrepant. Isolated stands Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908), who in his *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1247 f., 1250, 1271) speaks only of deacon and subdeacon.

⁴⁶ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 ff.): When the priest reaches the altar after the *Confiteor*, he kisses deacon and subdeacon. The deacon thereupon kisses the altar at both the narrow sides, hands the priest the Gospel-book to be kissed; then the priest kisses the altar. Several taper-bearers are among the assisting group, on feast-days seven. When the subdeacon begins the Epistle, the priest sits down, but *iuxta altare*. The subdeacon hands bread and wine to the deacon after the Gospel; the water is brought by a *cantor*. The incensing follows. Then the

subdeacon takes the paten, but turns it over to an acolyte. At the Communion deacon and subdeacon receive a portion of the large host.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, (PL, CXLVII, 33 A): *Sessio episcopi . . . ceteris celsior debet fieri*. See the remarks on this matter by H. Ménard, (PL, LXXVIII, 331 f.

⁴⁸ *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 716 ff.).

Cf. also the Mass arrangement of Cod. Chigi, Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 569 f.), in which the description of the entry bears a striking resemblance to that of John of Avranches and at the same time plainly marks a transition to the type we are accustomed to: *Deinde cum clerici inceperint Gloria post Introitum, procedat, antecedente eum diacono et ante eum subdiacono cum libro evangelii et ante subdiaconum acolytho cum thymiamate, ante quem duo alii acolythi præcedant cum candelabris et luminaribus, et sic ordinate exeant secretario*. One variation from John of Avranches is to be noticed; instead of the two taper-bearers John has only one *ceroferarius* who follows the censer-bearer.

⁴⁹ *Supra*, p. 107 f.

⁵⁰ *Supra*, p. 106.

⁵¹ Guerrini, 233-246.

Cf. also the off-shoots of this *Ordinarium* cited on p. 100.

from the arrangement of the pontifical service as it was finally fixed in the *Ceremoniale episcoporum* of 1600. The solemn vesting program is dropped, two to four candles are found sufficient, and they stand on the altar.⁶⁰ The priest no longer employs the phrase *Pax vobis* but only *Dominus vobiscum*, he says the oration, and likewise the *Gloria* and the *Credo*, at the altar, and washes his hands only after the incensing. The most impressive distinction, which for years had marked the pontifical service in northern countries, was the solemn pontifical blessing after the canon, which endured all through the Middle Ages and which the priest never dared to assume.⁶¹ Likewise the *presbyter assistens*, substitute for the older college of priests,⁶² who was still clearly in the foreground in the twelfth century,⁶³ has now by universal law been reserved to the pontifical rite.⁶⁴

Many peculiarities of the medieval high Mass and pontifical Mass which were of a more technical sort have since disappeared,⁶⁵ or have survived

⁶⁰ At quite an early period the number of candles began to be adjusted according to the rank of the feast; cf. Eisenhofer, I, 286 f.

⁶¹ For details see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 3. The pontifical blessing is not mentioned in the *Ordinarium O.P.* but it is specially cited in the derivative *Liber ordinarius* of Liège as a main distinction. Volk, 97.

⁶² *Supra*, p. 201. But even today it is customary in the churches of the archdiocese of Vienna to signalize specially solemn occasions by having two other clerics, dressed in tunics, at the altar, although they perform no functions; such a service is humorously styled a "five-team high Mass."

⁶³ *Ordo. eccl. Lateran* (Fischer, 80-87).

A transitional form is seen in the arrangement of the 10th century *Ordo Rom. I'*, n. 1 ff. (PL, LXXVIII, 989 ff.); here there are two priests who take over, in part, the *sustentatio*, as the assisting deacons do otherwise, but later one of them serves at the book (n. 4).

Even later some French cathedrals had, besides the seven deacons and seven subdeacons, not one but six or more priests; cf. *supra*, note 9.

⁶⁴ *Cod. Iur. Can.*, c. 812. The presence of an assistant priest is an honor reserved to bishops and other prelates who have the use of pontificals. Some religious orders claim the privilege for their higher superiors on the ground of long-standing usage. For the simple priest the presence of an assistant priest is now permitted only by indult. True, there are two nebulous references to an assistant priest in the Missal

rubrics (*Rit. serv.*, VII, 11; VIII, 8), but by universal law the only exception is the case of a newly-ordained priest; at his first Mass such an assistant in cope is "tolerated" (*Decr. auth.* SRC, n. 3564), not so much as an honor, but as an aid.

⁶⁵ Thus it was the deacon's duty, stressed more than once, to fold back the celebrant's ample chasuble, especially when he turned around to the people: *deorsum eam in anteriori parte trahendo*; *Ordo eccl. Lateran* (Fischer, 83; cf. 81 f.). Cf. *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 236, 239 f., 244); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 93, 1.17); *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 47 (PL, LXXVIII, 1151), et al. There is evidence for the practice among the Premonstratensians since the 12th century (Waefelghem, 47, 67, 96); a vestige of it is still to be found in the repeated kissing of the chasuble (*ibid.*, in the notes; also other examples). Cf. also *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (Chartreuse, 1932), c. 29, 13; 32, 13.

During the Canon the deacon was to have a fan (*flabellum*) handy, *tempore muscarum*, to safeguard priest and offerings; *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 240); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 93 f.). In *Udalrici Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 719) this task is entrusted to two acolytes. In the Orient, where the liturgical fan (*rhypidion* or *hexapterigon*) is still much in use, but now primarily with symbolic meaning, the same original purpose is attested in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 12, 3 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 212, with note). Further details in Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 642-660.

only in monastic rites.⁶⁶

The greatest change in solemn high Mass since the Middle Ages is in regard to its frequency. For centuries the high Mass was the prevailing form of public worship in those churches which held the leadership in liturgical life—and these were, besides the cathedrals, the monastic churches and the capitular churches, that is, the churches of collegiate chapters which were organized on a monastic pattern.⁶⁷ In all these churches the daily conventual Mass sung after Terce, with deacon and subdeacon, was part of the fixed order of the day.⁶⁸ From this time on,⁶⁹ it formed the climax of the liturgical office.⁷⁰ Indeed, at Cluny and in its orbit already since the eleventh century, a second conventual Mass had been said each day, a *missa matutinalis* in addition to the *missa maior*. And at this second Mass there were a deacon and subdeacon. But it was distinguished from the other by a slight diminishing of solemnity⁷¹; the altar was incensed at the offertory but not at the beginning of Mass, the interposed chants were shortened, and the *Credo* was regularly dropped. On days that had no spe-

The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège places upon the sacristan the job of providing the *flabellum* for the private Masses of the brethren during the insect season, and during the intense cold providing for a pan of coals (*carbones in patello*; Volk, 49, 1.23). The latter provision is also included in the *Ordinarium Cartusiense*, c. 29, 7.

⁶⁶ Such is the practice of having the two acolytes stand on either side of the deacon and subdeacon whenever these are standing behind the celebrant, so that the group is arranged in *modum crucis*; *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 235). The custom is still in force in the present Dominican rite; it is frequently attested in the Middle Ages; cf. Arens, 19.

The custom of deacon and subdeacon turning with the celebrant to greet the people is witnessed among others by *Cod. Chigi: Martène*, I, 4, XII (I, 570 D), and in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 83, 1. 30); it is still practiced in Benedictine monasteries.

⁶⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 103 f.

⁶⁸ P. Sawicki, *De Missa conventuali in Capitulis et apud Religiosos* (Cracow, 1938). The expression *missa in conventu* or *missa conventualis* since the 12th century. Besides these, other designations were used, like *missa canonica*, *missa capitularis*; Sawicki, 7, note 6.

Carolingian authors called it also *missa*

legitima, *missa generalis*; Bona, *Rerum liturg.*, I, 13, 1 (175 f.)

⁶⁹ In the earlier monasteries, wherein the canonical hours developed to the form they latterly possess, daily Mass was still, as we know, strange. The mention of Mass in St. Benedict, *Regula*, c. 35 and 38, presupposes that the monks assembled for it only on Sundays and feasts. The same is seen in the *Regula Magistri*, c. 45 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1007 f.) and in Fructuosus of Braga (d. c. 665), *Regula*, II, c. 13 (PL, LXXXVII, 1120 f.). Reg. St. Columban (d. 615) his *Vita* tells us that he read Mass only on Sundays; I, 26; III, 16 (PL, LXXXVIII, 740 and 765).

⁷⁰ Only the Carthusians present an exception. In their first stage (they were founded in 1084) the conventual Mass took place only on Sundays and feasts; Bona, I, 18, 3 (256); P. Goussanville in the notes to Peter of Blois, *Ep.*, 86 (PL, CCVII, 266). Besides, both amongst the Carthusians and in part amongst the Cistercians, there was no subdeacon; see *infra*, p. 209.

⁷¹ There was, in addition, a scaling of the solemnity in the rites of the High Mass on Sundays: at the introit the semi-verse was repeated even before the *Gloria Patri*; the *Gloria in excelsis* was inserted; there was but one collect; gradual and Alleluia were chanted by two soloists; all received the kiss of peace. *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, I, 8 (PL, CXLIX, 653).

cial feast the formulary of the Mass for the Dead was chosen,⁶² since this second Mass was for the benefit of the souls of deceased benefactors for whom Cluny had developed an extended solicitude.

A similar arrangement became customary amongst the Premonstratensians,⁶³ and was soon adopted elsewhere.⁶⁴ In France at the time of Honorius III there appeared a tendency to be satisfied with the daily service for the dead, especially since it had some advantage as regards time, and so the Mass which was due *ratione diei vel festi* was omitted. This was the occasion of a decree issued by this pope in 1217, in which the fulfillment of one obligation as well as the other was required.⁶⁵ From this decree many canonists drew the conclusion that all collegiate chapters and even monasteries were bound to the double conventual Mass, so that the frequency of solemn Mass was, where possible, still further increased.⁶⁶ In an effort to stem the swell of Masses for the Dead, and to promote as much as possible a correspondence between Office and Mass, the Missal of Pius V took this legislation as the basis for its regulations for cathedrals and collegiate churches regarding the double Mass, of which in the cases given one was to be *de feria*, the other *de festo*,⁶⁷ and also for the rules regarding the substitution of Votive Masses and Masses for the Dead.⁶⁸ In general the double conventual Mass has in modern times been restricted to days of a double liturgical character (in the sense just indicated). And more often it has

⁶² *Op. cit.*, I, 6; 9 (PL, CXLIX, 651; 653); II, 30 (718).

⁶³ Waefelghem, 29-32. Only in the more urgent harvesting time were they content with just one conventual Mass (29). Amongst the reductions of solemnity that signalized the early Mass for the Dead was the attendance of only one acolyte; *ibid.*, 98-101.

⁶⁴ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CLXVII, 32 B).

Amongst the Cistercians, too, there was a Mass *pro defunctis* (to correspond to the Office for the Dead) every day, even on Sundays and feasts, with just a few exceptions; it was said at a special altar, apparently without the whole community being present; *Liber usuum*, c. 51 (PL, CLXVI, 1420); cf. R. Trilhe, "Citeaux," DACL, III, 1795.

⁶⁵ *Decretales Gregor.*, III, 41, 11 (Friedberg, II, 642 f.).

⁶⁶ Sawicki, 34 ff.

Sawicki shows that in reality the ecclesiastical obligation to a conventual Mass for religious with choir did not exist till Pius X; this was the last stage in the development of the principle that Mass was

part of the obligation of choir (64 f.; cf. 68 ff.). But the Church has been reluctant all along to impose a new obligation regarding a conventual Mass for the Dead (45 f.) Even in the Middle Ages the praxis remained quite diversified. At Klosterneuburg there was always a Low Mass for the Dead, but it was said at a special altar only during the singing of High Mass; besides there was always an early Mass after Prime (mostly *de Beata*); Schabes, 59 f.; 64.

On the contrary, at the Benedictine monastery of St. James in Liège there was as a rule only one conventual Mass; it was only from time to time that a *missa matutinalis* was said, and this was sometimes dedicated to the dead; Volk, 53 and the index under *missa matutinalis*.

⁶⁷ This basic principle already in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 58 (PL, CLI, 1019 B), and in Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, IV, 117 (PL, CLXXII, 736).

⁶⁸ Roman Missal, *Rubr. gen.*, III ff. Later the canonists interpreted the law to mean that the second Mass was to be applied to the dead but the formula was not specified; this solution received the sanction of law under Benedict XIV. Sawicki, 52-55; 58.

been reduced in solemnity so that, outside of Sundays and Feast-days, it is no longer a *missa solemnis* but a *missa cantata*⁶⁹—this latter probably the form of the monastic Sunday Mass in the beginning.

The real high Mass has again become rarer, the result of various concurring forces. In the cities the collegiate chapters, whose first occupation was solemn divine service, have long since been dissolved. In cathedrals and to some extent also in the surviving monastic establishments, other activities have loomed larger. The independent life of clerical communities, a cloistered and Godward life as it flourished in the later Middle Ages, is rarely possible since the secularization of the past few hundred years. Its outward expression in the daily high Mass has therefore disappeared with the disappearance of that life.

There is another point to notice. This Mass was no longer the collective act of worship of a congregation like the old Roman stational Mass from which it derived. As a rule it took place at a choir altar, situated in a chapter choir or sanctuary that had gradually gotten farther away from the nave and had become almost an independent clerical church, and so even from this viewpoint the Mass was truncated and withered-looking. But more than this, in monastic churches the people had been absolutely excluded since the early Middle Ages. *Missæ publicæ* were generally not allowed, so that the monastery would not unnecessarily mix into the hurly-burly of the world, and the people, on the other hand, would not be drawn away from their parish churches.⁷⁰ The very architecture of the older monastic churches is proof of this—as a rule an immense choir and a very small nave.⁷¹

In modern times, the interests of the care of souls once more became a focal point in worship and therefore the congregation once more came to the fore. In fact the new orders in the sixteenth century showed a decided opposition to solemn services of the late medieval type, since the liturgical duties left hardly any time for other pastoral tasks which were then growing so urgent.⁷² The materialistic and prosaic intellectuality which had

⁶⁹ Sawicki, 86.

Amongst the Capuchins the conventual Mass is generally a *missa lecta*; *ibid.*, 71; see note 72 below. As far as church law is concerned, nothing more is demanded even of other orders with choral obligation; Sawicki, 86.

⁷⁰ Public Mass in monasteries was forbidden more than once under St. Gregory the Great; see *Ep.*, II, 41; VI, 46; etc.; Roman Synod of 601 (PL, LXXVII, 1312). The first Lateran Council (1123) also forbade monks *missas publicas cantare*; can. 17 (Mansi, XXI, 285); cf. Bona, I, 13, 3 (178 ff.).

On the other hand, the 8th century

Breviarium eccl. ord., in its disposition of services distinguishes monasteries *ubi populus* [read -o] *vel feminis licitum est introire* from those *ubi non ingrediuntur feminae* (Silva-Tarouca, 198, 1. 10). At the *Sanctus* it directs the clergy *cum omni populo* to bow and sing (*ibid.*, 198 f.).

⁷¹ As high as four-fifths of the space was occupied by the monastic community; G. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (3rd ed.; Berlin, 1923), I, 72 f.

⁷² The several groups of Discalced Augustinians that made an appearance in the 16th century have one regulation in their Constitutions that is peculiar but yet common to all the groups: they are never to sing

become more and more widespread since the eighteenth century, and the increasing independence of the masses had dampened that joy in princely splendor with which the high Mass encompasses the celebrant as the successor of a pope who had become something of a secular ruler and had been surrounded with the pomp of secular courts.⁷³ The high Mass has been retained only for great feast days when, enriched with musical values that spring from a cultural level very close to us, it continues to function as the expression of highest festive joy and as the self-assertion of a Church happy in its possession.⁷⁴

4. From the Presbyter Mass to the *Missa Cantata*

Besides the episcopal collective service, even Christian antiquity found another type of Mass necessary, since in the territory of each individual bishop there were many churches with their own clergy.¹ This was the Mass of the presbyter,² which we must look upon as a second original basic type

high Mass. M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen* (2nd ed.; Paderborn, 1907), II, 188.

The Society of Jesus, too, not only had no choral Office but also no high Mass, since for the latter the contemporary arrangements usually presupposed the presence of the community to take care of the singing. *Constitutiones S. J.* (finished in essentials by 1550), VI 3, 4; see *Institutum S. J.* (Florence, 1893), II, 99 f.: *non utentur Nostri choro ad horas canonicas vel missas et alia officia decantanda*. In the years that followed some exceptions were allowed in the matter of singing Mass; *ibid.*, II, 527, 533, 539.

The Capuchins retained the choral Office but at the same time refused to have a (sung) conventual Mass, substituting a Low Mass; in addition private Mass was permitted the brethren (in this early stage of the reform) but only on feast-days. *Ceremoniale Romano-Seraphicum ad usum O.F.M.Cap.* (Rome, 1944), 327 ff.

⁷³ This seems to be true not only in Germany but in other countries, too.

⁷⁴ The Communion of the whole congregation had in most instances already disappeared.

¹ According to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 43, there were at Rome even in the time of Pope Cornelius (d. 253) 46 presbyters (be-

sides 7 deacons and 7 subdeacons, as well as 42 acolytes and 52 other minor clerics), and according to Optatus, *Contra Parmen.*, II, 4 (CSEL, XXVI, 39) even during the period of the Diocletian persecution there were more than 40 basilicas. Among these there were in the 5th/6th centuries the 25 titular churches where regular congregational services were conducted; see Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 164 f. Since the 5th century there appear on synodal records the signatures of Roman presbyters with mention of their titular churches. Cf. Mabillon, *In ordinem Rom.*, c. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 858 f.); Batiffol, *Leçons*, 34. Even the figures furnished by Eusebius, *loc. cit.*, regarding the number of poor in the Roman Christian community who received support—1500—shows that a division of services (for worship) was already a self-evident necessity.

Cf. for details V. Monachino, *La cura pastorale a Milano Cartagine e Roma nel secolo IV* (Rome, 1947), 279-406.

² There is, however, but little express evidence that in the early era the presbyters actually conducted the eucharistic services: Cyprian, *Ep.*, 5, 2; cf. 15, 1 (CSEL, III, 479; 514); Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arianos*, c. 85 (PG, XXV, 400 C).

Cf. however, Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.*, 8, 1 (ed. Kleist, 93): "Let that celebration of

for the celebration of Mass, a type which survives in the *missa cantata*, the simple sung Mass. Although this second basic type must even then have been much more frequent than the grand stational service, there are practically no accounts of it extant. Perhaps precisely because of its frequent recurrence and because of its greater simplicity, there was no special call to put its description in writing. We can, however, reconstruct it in general outline. We grasp its essential form when we realize that at such a service, besides the congregation, only the presbyter and a second cleric were present as a rule.

The second cleric was generally a deacon. Chrysostom speaks on one occasion of wealthy Christians who possess entire villages but who do not build any churches; he demands that they erect churches and provide for a *priest* and a *deacon* so that divine service might be conducted and Sunday Mass might be celebrated.³ In the Orient the deacon as a general rule stands next to the priest even today. This was also the case to some extent in the West well into the Middle Ages. Cyprian presupposes that the presbyters who sought out and visited the imprisoned Christians in order to celebrate the Eucharist with them, were each time accompanied by a deacon.⁴ In the correspondence of St. Gregory the Great mention is often made of the need to ordain presbyters and deacons for orphaned churches which had no bishop.⁵

However, in the Roman liturgy a cleric of a lesser rank took the place of the deacon at a very early period.⁶ This was all the easier since the deacon's proper functions were but little in demand even at a bishop's Mass, for his duty as prayer-leader for the people was never much developed and the various invitations to prayer and to the kiss of peace were proclaimed by the celebrant himself. In the city of Rome there was an additional reason, for the number of deacons was limited, as it was in other towns too, to the biblical number of seven (Acts 6:3). Thus it appears

the Eucharist be considered valid which is held under the bishop or anyone to whom he has committed it."

³ Chrysostom, *In Acta ap. hom.*, 18, 4 f. (PG, LX, 147 f.).

Amongst the Syrians the indispensability of the deacon is declared by Isochojabh I (d. 596), *Canones ad Jacobum*, c. 3 (Hanssens, II, 465).

⁴ Cyprian, *Ep.*, 5, 2 (CSEL, III, 479); cf. *Ep.*, 34, 1 (*ibid.*, 568). See also the question which Ambrose, *De off.*, I, 41 (PL, XVI, 84) puts in the mouth of St. Lawrence speaking to Pope St. Sixtus II; irrespective of its intrinsic historicity, it is indicative of the relationship of deacon to priest or bishop: *Quo, sacerdos sancte, sine dia-*

cono properas? The bishop, too, might celebrate with a smaller group; cf. *infra*, p. 214.

⁵ Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, I, 15; 78; II, 43; IV, 41, etc.

Even Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1247 D) makes the axiom of St. Isidore (*De eccl. off.* II, 8, 3: PL, LXXXIII, 789) his own: *presbyter sine diacono nomen habet, officium non habet.*

⁶ Such a cleric could indeed be present along with a deacon. Thus the inscriptions found at Grottaferrata witness to the presence in that country congregation of a presbyter, a deacon, a lector (who was also an exorcist) and an exorcist; see J. P. Kirsch, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXX (1922), 99; Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 43, note 1.

that at the titular churches in olden times a lector⁷ usually served at the altar, and later usually an acolyte.⁸ He went with the priest to the altar. He took over at least one of the readings. The priest probably, even in earlier times, retained the Gospel for himself, no doubt in order to indicate its higher dignity.⁹ The assistant helped at the offertory procession of the faithful and at the arranging of the gift-offerings, at the breaking of the bread and at the distribution of Communion. The larger outlines of the liturgical function remained the same. The text of the sacramentary was used in its entirety. But, because a special choir was demanded only for pontifical services, the chants of the *schola* dropped out, that is, besides the introit (which, from the situation itself, was unnecessary), also the offertory and communion.¹⁰ Thus the more ancient arrangement survived, somewhat in general like the arrangement nowadays on Holy Saturday. If it was necessary because of a lack of other assistance, the cleric sang the psalmody between the lessons, to which the congregation responded; that is to say, he took over the duties of the *psalmista*.¹¹ The responses to the altar chants of the priest were, of course, the right of the congregation, and likewise the chants of the Ordinary—of which, till the sixth century, only the *Sanctus* existed.

Some such Mass celebration must have fitted most naturally into the circumstances of the early medieval monasteries. As long as the individual monks were not as a rule ordained, it was the type that was taken for granted. But even the conservative branches of the Benedictine order in

⁷ Grave inscriptions of lectors in the 4th and 5th centuries with mention of the titular church to which they were attached (among them the churches of Eusebius, Fasciola, Pudentiana, Velabrum) in E. Diehl, *Lateinische altchristliche Inschriften*, II (Kleine Texte, 26-28; Bonn, 1913), 8 f. In the country the services of the lector continued longer; see Synod of Vaison (529), can. 1 (Mansi, VIII, 726). Cf. W. Croce, "Die niederen Weihen und ihre hierarchische Wertung," *ZkTh* (1948), 269 f., 282.

⁸ In contradistinction to the deacons, subdeacons, notaries and defensors, and (on the other hand) like the lectors, the acolytes were assigned to a certain titular church; in fact in the time of St. Gregory they became real "assistant clergy"; B. Fischer, "Der niedere Klerus bei Gregor dem Grossen," *ZkTh* (1938), 64. Cf. Diehl, p. 10 f.: Acolytes of Vestina, Clemens, Capua.

⁹ In the Ordo of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 477) it is said that at

the first Mass which the newly-ordained priest celebrates in his titular church (with the privilege of having his seat next to the altar and of intoning the *Gloria*) the Gospel is read by the *paranimfus presbyter*.

¹⁰ Thus also Mabillon, *In ordinem Rom.*, c. 4 (PL, LXXVIII, 866); Eisenhofer, II, 9.

For Masses for the Dead no chants were provided even in the 9th century; see *infra*, p. 219, note 48.

That they could be missing in other instances too is indicated by the 11th century order for the sick in the Pontifical of Narbonne: Martène, I, 7, XIII (I, 892); it does contain the fore-Mass and the Communion section, but without the chants.

¹¹ There is at least a recollection of this in John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 C): of the two acolytes who are presumed for the High Mass it says: *unus qui cantet Graduale et deferat candelabrum, alter qui Alleluia et ferat thuribulum*. Similarly in Rouen as late as 1651 (PL, CXLVII, 73 D).

the eleventh century had a conventual Mass in which the basic type of the presbyter Mass can be recognized. The liturgy of the Carthusians, for example, does not even today have a subdeacon as a special functionary; only the deacon assists the priest. For the singing of the Epistle a monk especially appointed steps out of the choir.¹² A similar usage occurred, and occurs even nowadays, amongst the Cistercians, at least for the ferial rite of the conventual Mass¹³ and perhaps elsewhere too.¹⁴

This same manner of celebrating Mass was the only one possible in country churches and in churches on large estates. But that Mass was actually performed in this way, and especially that a cleric served at it—of these things the traces in the older sources are not very clear; there are traces, however. The ninth century *Admonitio synodalis*¹⁵ orders: *Omnis presbyter clericum habeat vel scolarem, qui epistolam vel lectionem legat et ei ad missam respondeat, et cum quo psalmos cantet.*¹⁶ Plainly what is meant here in the first place is the parochial service, a Mass celebrated with chant. The word *respondeat* seems to suppose that even in parish churches the people no longer themselves gave the answers in a loud voice. Besides, of course, no such responses were needed as yet at the prayers at the foot of the altar, although they were probably at the *Orate fratres*.¹⁷ There is express mention of divine service in *parochiis ruralibus* in a Mainz synod of 1310 which censures the abuse of priests celebrating *sine ministri suffragio* because of lack of assistants, *propter defectum clericorum*. Against this custom, the synod legislates that even in rural places the priest should not celebrate without the cooperation of some responsible persons who

¹² A. Degand, "Chartreux (Liturgie des)", DACL, III, 1047.

¹³ See the chapter "Die Konventmesse cum unico ministro" in Schneider (*Cist. Chr.* [1927]), 298-303; cf. *Liber usuum*, c. 53 (PL, CLXVI, 1423 C): the subdeacon after the Epistle *eat in chorum cantare cum aliis, si necesse fuerit*. Cf. Schneider (*Cist. Chr.* [1926]), 316. Something similar is also found in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256, where both *ministri* are expected to help the choir *maxime in parvis conventibus* (Guerrini, 237). This was also the rule amongst the Benedictines of the Bursfeld Union; Schneider, *loc. cit.*

In the Cistercian rite on feast-days a special *subminister* (in addition to deacon and subdeacon) served at the altar for certain duties, coming up to the altar as occasion demanded; R. Trilhe, "Citeaux," DACL, III, 1792.

¹⁴ Cf. John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 33 f.), where there is a similar direction: *subdiaconus vero, excepto tempore ministrationis suæ, in choro maneat.*

In this instance, however, the ministrations of the subdeacon are more in demand.

¹⁵ Also called *Homilia Leonis*, with reference to Leo IV (d. 855). On its diffusion see P. Browe, *ZkTh*, LVI (1932), 389, note 60; cf. H. Leclercq, DACL, VI, 576-579.

¹⁶ PL, CXXXII, 456 B; cf. 96, 1376 C.

A similarly worded injunction is ascribed to the Council of Nantes (9th century): Mansi, XVIII, 173 f.

¹⁷ The requirement of the *Admonitio* indicates at the same time how during the Middle Ages recruits were trained for the clerical state. Express mention is made of this at the Council of Vaison (529), can. 1 (Mansi, VIII, 726 f.) which requires the parish priest to keep and instruct *iniiores lectores*. See also Anton De Waal, "Liturgical Chant in Early Christian Rome," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, LXVI (1922), 465 ff., esp. 468-471. For a later period cf. R. Stachnik, *Die Bildung des Klerus im Frankenreiche* (Paderborn, 1926), esp. 56 f.

could read and sing.¹⁸ Here, in case of necessity, the assistance of a capable layman is declared sufficient, but even the present-day missal considers it quite normal that, at a Mass celebration without sacred ministers, *aliquis lector superpelliceo indutus* should read the Epistle.¹⁹

So the *missa cantata*, which in most dioceses today is the predominant form of parish service, is seen to be the unbroken continuation of the presbyter Mass of Christian antiquity.

It, too, has been subjected to the trend of borrowing as much as possible from the episcopal service. For one thing, since the sacramentaries intended for the episcopal service were generally also standard for the titular churches, the opening rite of *Kyrie* and oration before the readings must have become customary in the presbyter Mass even in Christian antiquity. Soon, too, at a very early period the antiphonal chants were included,²⁰ but this can only mean that the texts were spoken by the priest, since any musical performance—if the priest himself did not undertake it²¹—was in most instances impossible²² and even today is still in most instances impossible.²³ And also during these centuries of the Middle Ages the presbyter Mass must have shared in the whole development of the Mass-liturgy: the inclusion of the *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Agnus Dei*, the silent prayers, the incensing, and finally the *pax*-usages. It could really not be otherwise, because Church law demanded that all churches conform, in the

¹⁸ Mansi, XXV, 312.

A similar decree at the Synod of Cologne held that same year, can. 17 (Mansi, XXV, 23): use may be made only of *litterati qui in defectu respondentis ad altare cum camiis lineis assistant*.

¹⁹ *Rit. serv.*, VI, 8.

Several synods at the end of the 16th century that still made more or less stringent demands for the use of a cleric as server even at private Mass are cited by R. Saponaro, "Estne munus in missa privata ministrandi, clericorum proprium?" *Periodica*, XXVIII (1939), esp. 380 f.

²⁰ *Supra*, p. 105.

²¹ In many places the practice must have developed of the priest himself singing these pieces at the altar. P. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 194, note 1, speaks of "numerous manuscripts" which contained, beside the sacramentary text with the priestly orations, also these chants with their melodies noted. As a matter of fact, examples of this sort from the 11th to the 13th century have been catalogued, e.g., by Ebner, 134, 268, 270, 278; Köck, 3. References to extra-Italian sources in Ebner, 361 f. An example where only the Wedding Mass has the neums, *ibid.*, 48.

²² Toward the end of the Middle Ages a method of simplifying matters had gained ground, namely the introduction of votive Masses even on Sundays, their melodies growing familiar by constant recurrence. The Synod of Mainz, 1549 (c. 61; Hartzheim, VI, 579) did not want to cross those *qui peculiariter singularum dominicarum officia propter cantorum, paucitatem observare non valentes, officia, de Trinitate et de Spiritu Sancto, aut, quod decentissimum erat, de Domini resurrectione diebus dominicis servaverint*. Cf. Franz, 151.

For the same reason, many churches today, both in the country and in the city, resort to week-day Requiem Masses, day in and day out, since the tunes are simple and there is further no worry about *Gloria* or *Credo*.

²³ Since recent decrees of the Congregation of Rites expressly demand that all the prescribed texts be sung at a *missa cantata*, recourse has been had of late to substitutes in place of the lengthy planesong melodies, either a Psalmic formula or some sort of recitation. Cf. F.A. Brunner, *Cæcilia*, LXXV (1947-8), 106 and LXXVI (1948-9), 72.

institutiones missarum, to the pattern of the cathedral or the metropolitan church.²⁴

Even the more solemn ceremonies of these latter were copied by the smaller churches; especially in the later Middle Ages the services in the larger parishes were very similar to those in the chapter churches. The common choir prayer of the clergy was combined with the repeated celebration of public Mass.²⁵ Of these a daily *summum officium* was distinguished, a Mass like the *missa maior* of the chapters, marking the climax of the morning service and capable of many varying degrees, reaching a high-point in a solemn Mass with deacon and subdeacon and an introductory procession of the clergy carrying relics of the saints.²⁶ Taking over polyphonic music in city and country churches was the last step in this development.

5. From Domestic Eucharist to Private Mass

Even though in the early days of the Church it was a fundamental principle that the Eucharist was to be celebrated only for the sake of the faithful and not as a personal devotion of one endowed with the powers

²⁴ *Supra*, p. 98.

²⁵ The parochial clergy were also expected to conduct the canonical hours publicly; this was insisted upon, e.g., by the Synod of Trier (1238), can. 30 (Hartzheim, III, 560): *In parochialibus ecclesiis pulsantur [et cantentur] horæ canonicæ*. (The bracketed words are uncertain.)

A prescript issued at Rouen in 1245 enacted *quod quilibet sacerdos in parochia sua seu capellanus in capella sua dicat matutinas de nocte et omnes horas horis competentibus*, *vid. Primam mane, post Tertiam missam, et post Sextam et Nonam, et pulset horis debitæ ad quamlibet horam*. A. Roskovány, *Coelibatus et Brevarium* (Budapest, 1861), V, 62.

The parish priest who was alone could not sing the hours himself at the proper time, but he had to see to it that his "scholars" did; *Decretales Gregor. III*, 41, 1 (Friedberg, II, 635).

A gesture in the same direction was already to be found in an early capitulary (801): The parish priests are to train their *scholarii* to be able to perform in their stead the hours of Terce, Sext, None and Vespers when necessary (MGH, Ch. I, 238). Likewise in a letter of Alcuin to

Arno in 799 (MGH, Ep. Carol. 9 Aevi, II, 278) and in Regino, *De synod. causis*, I, 208 (PL, CXXXII, 229). Further traces, some of them older, in H. Leclercq, "Gallicane (Liturgie): XIV. Paroisses rurales," *DACL*, VI, 561 f.; cf. among others the Synod of Tarragona (516), can. 7 (Mansi, VIII, 542 D). Even in the 18th century Matins, Lauds and Vespers were often considered part of the Sunday parochial services; see E. Hegel, "Liturgie und Seelsorge in der Zeit der Aufklärung," *Theologie u. Glaube* (1943), 105.

²⁶ Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 78 ff.; Goetz, *Das Pfarrbuch des Stephan May*, 27 (where other references are given).

By *summum officium* (Greving, 79; Goetz, 27) is meant only the main service of the day. Cf. also *summa missa* in *Liber ordinarius* of Essen (Arens, 1 ff., 136). Even today, as I am given to understand, the chief Sunday service is still called *summa* in Lithuania. If the word "High Mass" (German: *Hochamt*) is taken as more or less the equivalent, this would explain why in ordinary parlance the word is used to refer not to a *solemn* Mass but to an ordinary *sung* Mass, a *missa cantata* without deacon or subdeacon.

of priesthood, still it was not seldom the case in this era when "they broke bread in this house or that" (Acts 2:20), that only a small domestic group gathered around the holy table. This domestic celebration of the Eucharist in the primitive Church was the forerunner of its later celebration in more or less private circles, and finally also of the private Mass. Aside from the texts of the *Didache* which have always been taken in this sense,¹ other unmistakable evidences of this usage are to be traced, all of them also of the second century. In the various apocryphal histories of the Apostles we find, along with many vulgar and heretical additions, indubitable testimonies regarding the ecclesiastical customs in this matter, an array of examples where the legends picture the Apostles as "breaking bread" before a small group, of "giving thanks" over bread and wine in the presence of only a few participants.² Tertullian includes in his account of the era of persecution the celebration of the *dominica sollemnia* at which only three persons were present.³ In Cyprian, too, there is mention not only of a morning Mass in the presence of the congregation, but also of an evening Eucharist for a small circle.⁴ Basil speaks of priests who, because of a fault, are permitted to perform their priestly office only in private homes.⁵ Gregory of Nazianzen cites the eucharistic celebration in his sister's home.⁶ However, in the Orient in the fourth century, the Synod of Laodicea issued a general prohibition against such celebrations of the Eucharist.⁷ In other

¹ *Supra*, p. 13, Note 28.

² The passages in question in Quasten, *Mon.*, 339-345.

³ Tertullian, *De fuga*, c. 14 (PL, II, 142A). Further reports about Mass in the era of persecution, when the Christians celebrated the mysteries *qualiter poterant et ubi poterant*, as Victor of Vita put it, *Historia persec. Afric.*, I, 18 (CSEL, VII, 9), are gathered in Martène, I, 3, 5 (I, 299 ff.).

⁴ Cyprian, *Ep.*, 63, 16 (CSEL, III, 714): *cum cœnamus ad convivium nostrum plebem convocare non possumus, ut sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebremus*. For an interpretation of the passage see Zimmermann, *Die Abendmesse*, 58-62; E. Dekkers, "L'Eglise ancienne a-t-elle connu la Messe de soir?" (Miscellanea Mohlberg, I, 231-257), 246-249. To this celebration of Mass with a small group must be referred the remark of St. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 57, 3 (CSEL, III, 652), about the daily Mass: *sacerdotes, qui sacrificia Dei cotidie celebramus*.

Of his testimony regarding the celebration of Mass in the prisoners' cells mention was already made, *supra*, 208. Cf. Augustine, *Breviculus coll.*, III, 17, 23

(PL, XLIII, 644). Here also we must insert the Mass of Lucian of Antioch (d. 312) who, while lying in prison, spoke the wonted prayers with the *σύμβολα τῆς λειτουργίας* on his breast; see Philostorgius, *Vita*, ed. Bidez, c. 14 (GCS, Philostorgius, 196; cf. *ibid.*, 25).

⁵ Basil, *Ep.*, 199 (PG, XXXII, 716 f.).

⁶ Gregory of Nazianzen, *Or.*, 8 (al. 11), 18 (PG, XXXV, 809). On the other hand what Gregory relates regarding his ailing father was hardly a real eucharistic celebration; *Or.*, 18, 29 (PG, XXXV, 1020 f.; cf. *ibid.*, 983-986).

⁷ Can. 58 (Mansi, II, 574): "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις προσφορὰς γίνεσθαι πρὶ ἀπίστοις ἢ πρὸς βυτίον. A similar proscription was issued by the synod of Seleucia-Ktesiphon (410), can. 13 (O. Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados* [Stuttgart, 1900], 21): The sacrifice is not to be performed in houses.

Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 8, connects this prohibition with the cessation of the persecutions first in Rome and then in Persian territory.

Nestorius, too, while patriarch of Constantinople (428-431) had reprimanded one of his priests for celebrating Mass in

places it is simply required that for this the bishop's permission be asked; this was the case in the Byzantine area,⁹ where in the ninth/tenth centuries every family in easy circumstances had its house chapel, which was used especially for memorial Masses for the Dead.⁹

At an earlier date in North Africa the second Synod of Carthage (about 390) was content to demand an episcopal permission.¹⁰ This fits in with what Augustine has to tell about one of his priests who was once called to the country estate of a former Roman officer, Hesperius. Here the slaves and cattle were suffering from demoniacal molestations, but the priest offered up the sacrifice of Christ's Body, and the molestations ceased.¹¹

In Rome, too, the house Mass was not unusual. Here in many places since the beginning of the third century there were domestic oratories dedicated to the memory of certain martyrs.¹² It might have been in one such oratory that St. Ambrose, at the invitation of a prominent Roman lady, once offered up the sacrifice.¹³ It is told of Melania the Younger that she had Mass said daily by her chaplain Gerontius, at her cloister-like home on the precipice of the Mount of Olives, "as was the custom of the Church of Rome."¹⁴ Paulinus of Nola, as we saw above, offered up the holy sacrifice with the visiting bishops in his own sick-room.¹⁵ Gregory the Great admonishes the Bishop of Syracuse to allow Mass to be celebrated in the house of a certain Venantius.¹⁶

In Frankish territory and later on generally throughout the northern lands, where the manorial estates of the nobles were scattered wide over the country, the house chapels, with their Masses celebrated by the house chaplain or manor priest (*Burgpfaffe*), became permanent institutions. But it was not easy to legislate against the abuses, which could hardly be

a home, but received the reply from his clergy that it was here a common practice (Hardouin, I, 1322).

⁹ Trullanum (692), can. 31 (Mansi, XI, 956).

¹⁰ This is testified in an enactment of Emperor Leo the Philosopher (886-911) who simply declares domestic Masses are allowed (PG, CVII, 432).

Cf. Hardouin, II, 16-19.

¹¹ Can. 9 (Mansi, III, 695).

¹² Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8 (CSEL, 40, II, p. 602). As the context makes plain, there was as yet no church in the place.

¹³ J. P. Kirsch, "I sanctuari domestici di martiri," *Rendiconti della Accademia Romana di Archeologia* (1924), II, 27-43; cf. J.L., V (1925), 246.

H. Grisar, *Geschichte Roms und der Päpste* (Freiburg, 1901), 168-170.

¹⁴ Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii*, c. 10 (PL, XIV, 20): *cum trans Tiberim apud clarissimam quamdam invitatus sacrificium offerret*.

¹⁵ In R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer. Ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und Sittengeschichte des 5. Jh.* (Leipzig, 1895), 36. From this we must distinguish the Eucharistic service which Melania caused to be celebrated for her whole convent community every Friday and Sunday and on feasts; *Vita* of St. Melania, c. 48 (M. Card. Rampolla, *Santa Melania giuniore* [Rome, 1905] 27, 68).

¹⁶ *Supra*, p. 198 f.

¹⁷ Gregory the Great, *Ep.* VI, 43 f. (PL, LXXVII, 831 f.).

avoided under the circumstances.¹⁷ At first, stress was laid on the obligation of attending the bishop's church or the parish church on all higher feasts,¹⁸ but later on this was reduced to just the feast of Easter.¹⁹ The Carolingian reform sought to reaffirm the canon of Laodicea forbidding all divine service in the home, but eventually had to tolerate a practice less strict.²⁰ A capitulary of Hatto of Basel (807-827) permitted Mass to be said in the homes of the sick.²¹ But finally, after much hesitation and change of policy in medieval legislation, the Council of Trent forbade Mass in private dwellings.²²

From these Masses said in private homes, on an estate or at a graveside where at least a group of people, however small, attends the service, we must carefully distinguish the *private* Mass strictly so called. This we understand as a Mass celebrated for its own sake, with no thought of anyone participating, a Mass where only the prescribed server is in attendance, or even where no one is present, as was once the case in the so-called *Missa solitaria*. These are the Masses—contrasted to the conventual Mass and the parochial Mass—which are most generally referred to in medieval documents as *missæ privatae* or *speciales* or *peculiares*.²³

¹⁷ Archbp. Agobard of Lyons (d. 840), *De privil. et iure sacerdot.*, c. 11 (PL, CIV, 138) complained that there was hardly a moneyed man who did not have a palace chaplain whom he then employed sometimes as a table-waiter, sometimes as a stablegroom.

¹⁸ Synod of Agde (506), can. 21 (Mansi, VIII, 328).

¹⁹ IV Synod of Orleans (541), can. 3 (Mansi, IX, 113 f.).

Further indications of the gradual but continued decrease in the demand are outlined in Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion im Mittelalter*, 48.

The Missal of Bobbio (Muratori, II, 916) contains a special formulary: *missa in domo cuiuslibet*.

²⁰ Evidence supplied in Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion*, 47 f. The reform Synod of Pavia (850) desired only that the priests in question be approved by the bishop, and even lauded regular domestic worship; can. 18 (Mansi, XIV, 936 f.).

²¹ N. 14; MGH, Ch. I, 364.

In England this permission was still retained in law collections around the year 1000, e.g., in that of King Edgar (967), can. 30 (Hardouin, VI, 662 B), but otherwise it was soon restricted to bishops and

abbots. Still even as late as the 16th century there are individual instances of a general permission for Mass in the sick-room; P. Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion im Altertum und Mittelalter," *ZkTh* (1930), 26-30. Cf. *ibid.*, 27, for references to liturgical books (like the older Gelasian, III, 69) which contain a special Mass *super infirmum in domo*. There is such a formulary in the Sacramentary of Moissac, 11th century; Martène, I, 7, XI (I, 879 f.); this contains texts also for the proper chants and for the readings, as well as a special *Hanc igitur: H. i. oblationem, Domine, famuli tui ill. in hac domo consistentis*.

²² Sess. XXII, *Decretum de observ. et evit. in celebr. missæ*.

The result of further evolution in the law is to be found today in canons 1188-1196 of the official *Cod. Iur. Canon.*; service is much restricted in private chapels, but is accorded in semi-public oratories and public chapels.

²³ G. Schreiber, "Mittelalterliche Segnungen und Abgaben," *Zeitschrift d. Savigny-Stiftung, kan. Abt.* (1943), 243.

Regarding the various concepts of *missa privata* to be discovered later in the controversies with the Reformers, cf. Bene-

Without doubt there is no intrinsic contradiction in such a performance of the Christian sacrifice. Apart from any consideration of parallels outside revealed religion, the very first sacrifice cited in Holy Writ is one which two individuals, Abel and Cain, offered up, each by himself. Further, in the levitical cult the possibility was not excluded that at a sacrifice requested by someone absent, the priestly officiant alone should be present.²⁴ Both cases are conceivable also in the New Covenant, all the more when the consciousness grew that in the Eucharist all the sacrifices of former times find their fulfillment and consummation,²⁵ even those which the individual was wont to offer up or to have offered up. In other words, the sacrifice of the New Testament was not only a Eucharist of the redeemed community, but an oblation which one could present as a prayer or as an expiation in certain difficulties.²⁶ In this sense the Council of Trent defined the propitiatory character of the Mass sacrifice.²⁷ Since a public celebration at which the congregation assembled was at first provided only on Sundays and the infrequent feast-days, it was quite easy to assume that a bishop or priest might, on one of the other days, offer up the sacrifice in his own name, urged on by personal gratitude and petition. He could then say Mass at his own home in much the same way as he would say it elsewhere when asked to do so.

Evidences of such Masses survive from at least the sixth century. Gregory the Great says that Cassius, Bishop of Narni, was accustomed to offer God the holy sacrifice every day.²⁸ John the Almoner (d. 620) reprimands the people who were less zealous, saying that he could just as well have offered Mass at home for himself as in the public Church.²⁹

Personal devotion must likewise have induced the individual priest-monks to say private Masses in their monasteries. Although St. Benedict himself showed no inclination to countenance having a number of priests in his convents,³⁰ St. Gregory the Great already appears to favor the ordi-

dict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, III, 22, 7 (Schneider, 257 f.).

But Eisenhofer's notion, II, 10, that the essence of private Mass consists in the absence of levites and singers and in the fact that the prayers are not spoken in a singing tone, is to be discounted, for these are merely secondary features which result from its private character. Cf. W. H. Freestone, *The Sacrament Reserved* (London, 1917), 24-31.

²⁴ Here we must cite the sacrifice which Judas Maccabæus had offered in Jerusalem for the slain, 2 Macc., 12:43.

²⁵ Cf. the appeal to Mal. 1:11 in the *Didache*, 14, 3.

²⁶ Cf. the growing prominence of the designations *oblatio*, *sacrificium*, etc.; *supra*, p.

170. The link between certain Votive Masses and various sacrifices of the Old Law was already exploited by Amalar, *De eccl. off.* III, 19 (PL, CV, 1127). Cf. Franz, *Die Messe*, 117 f.

²⁷ Sess. XXII, c. 2; can. 3 (Schröder, 146, 149).

²⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, IV, 56 (PL, LXXVII, 421).

In Ev. II, hom. 37, 9 (PL, LXXVI, 1281 A) Gregory remarks that shortly before his death Cassius had celebrated Mass in his house-chapel (*in episcopii oratorio*); the previous references must therefore have likewise concerned this oratory.

²⁹ Leontius, *Vita*, c. 41 (PL, LXXIII, 375 f.).

³⁰ St. Benedict, *Regula*, c. 60.

nation of monks, and the Roman Synod of 610 under Boniface IV, which approved the ordaining of monks, seems to have marked the turning-point.³¹ From that time on, the number of priests in monasteries begins to grow.³² Even if this did not itself give the first impetus to the desire for personal celebration, the latter did soon follow more or less frequently.³³ An indication of this is the increase in the number of altars in the monasteries; at first they are erected, one apiece in all the oratories of the monastery,³⁴ later on they are all brought together in the main church as side-altars.³⁵ In eighth-century accounts of the lives of various holy monks mention is made time after time of their celebrating Mass almost daily,³⁶ and in the ninth century this is already accepted as a permanent rule.³⁷

The personal devotion of the celebrant was not, however, whether in the monasteries or elsewhere, the only source of this increase in private Mass, nor was it even the strongest source. Stronger by far was the desire of the faithful for Votive Masses; that is to say, for Masses which took care of their earnest concerns (*vota*), not the least important of which was regard for the dead.³⁸ The domestic celebration of the Eucharist had also in great measure served such interests. And as these Masses which were devoted to special interests were detached from the domestic congregation and were transferred to the oratories connected with the church or monastery, the occasions when the priest stood at the altar alone were multiplied. Thus from this angle too, impetus was given the private Mass.

A great importance attached even in ancient times to the Mass for the Dead. As early as 170 there is evidence from the apocryphal Acts of St. John that in Asia Minor a eucharistic memorial for the dead was conducted on the third day after burial³⁹; this took place at the grave. The anniversary

³¹ Mansi, X, 504 f. Also in *Decretum Gratiani*, II, 16, q. 1, c. 25 (Friedberg, I, 767).

³² A larger number of priest-monks must be presupposed for the missions in England and Germany; statistical data in Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine*, 40.

³³ In the legendary life of the Irish St. Brendan (d. circa 576) it is recounted that he and his companions had often read Mass on week-days; C. Plummer, *Vita Sanctorum Hiberniae*, (Oxford, 1901), I, 133.

³⁴ Bede, *Hist. gent. Angl.*, IV, 14 (PL, XCV, 195), relates that after an epidemic had subsided, Mass was said in thanksgiving in all the oratories of the monastery. Further references in Bona, I, 14, 1 (191).

³⁵ Benedict of Aniane gave four altars to the church of the Saviour which he had built in 782. The monastery church of Centula, which was finished in 798, has

eleven altars. In the plans drawn up in 820 for the reconstruction of the monastery church at St. Gall seventeen altars were projected. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, 372, 389.

³⁶ Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine*, 40, with references to Boniface, Ceolfrid and Winnebald.

³⁷ Abbot Angilbert of Centula (d. 814) laid down the injunction that, besides the two conventual Masses, there should be said daily at the various altars at least 30 other Masses; Hariulfus, *Chron. Cent.*, II, 7 (PL, CLXXIV, 1250).

³⁸ The expression *missa votiva* is already found in the Bobbio Missal (Muratori, II, 911-914) but it seems to be taken in a much narrower sense than here.

³⁹ Acta Johannis, c. 85 f. (*Acta ap. apocr.*, ed. Lipsius-Bonnet, II, 1, p. 193). Cf. Dölger, *Ichthys*, II, 555-569.

commemoration is no more recent.⁴⁰ In the fourth century the commemoration on the seventh day and on the thirtieth day became known; elsewhere it is the ninth day and the fortieth day that are observed. All of these fixed days for the memorial of the dead, along with the ritual solemnization of the day of burial,⁴¹ derive from pre-Christian tradition,⁴² with the celebration of the Eucharist taking the place of ancient sacrifice for the dead and sometimes perhaps of the *refrigerium* too.⁴³

It was precisely this *refrigerium* or memorial meal, eaten at the graveside of a deceased person, probably without reference to any particular day, and attested in the third/fourth century even for the burial sites of the Apostles Peter and Paul, that could be replaced by Mass when the Church began to take an adverse stand because of abuses that crept in—Mass in the sense of Votive Masses at the graves of Apostles and martyrs,⁴⁴ and intercessory Masses for the Dead at the graves of relations.

About the turn of the sixth century it was not unusual for a priest to read Mass for a dead person on a series of days one after the other, with no one participating. This can be deduced from a story of St. Gregory the Great about the priest John, who wanted to give his attendant at the public baths two offering breads, whereupon the latter made himself known as a soul doing penance and asked the priest rather to offer up the sacrifice for him, which the priest John therefore did daily for a whole week.⁴⁵ Towards the end of the seventh century there developed various prayer confraternities pledged to offer suffrages from church to church and monastery to monastery, and especially a number of Masses for the Dead. At the Synod of Attigny (762) the attending bishops and abbots bound themselves to say, among other things, a hundred Masses for each of the group who would die.⁴⁶ A cooperative agreement entered into in 800 between St. Gall and Reichenau stipulated, *inter alia*, that for each deceased monk every

⁴⁰ The congregation at Smyrna makes mention in 155-156 of its purpose to hold an annual memorial service for Polycarp; *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 18, 3.

⁴¹ Tertullian, *De corona mil.*, c. 3 (CSEL, LXX, 158): *oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalicii annua die facimus*. Cf. *De monogamia*, c. 10.

⁴² Without any time arrangement also *Didascalia*, VI, 22, 2 (Funk, I, 376).

⁴³ Cyprian, *Ep.*, 1, 2 (CSEL, III, 466 f.).

⁴⁴ E. Freistedt, *Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike* (LQF, XXIV; Münster, [1928]).

⁴⁵ A series of studies regarding *refrigerium* (memorial meal for the dead) and related concepts is enumerated and expounded in JL, VIII (1928), 347-353. Cf. also Botte, *Le canon* 68 f. and J. Quasten,

"Vetus superstitio," *Harvard Theol. Review*, XXXIII (1940), 253-266. Other data regarding funerary banquets in C. Zammit, "I triclini funebri nelle catacombe di Malta," *Rivista di Archeologia Christiana*, XVII (1940), 293-297.

⁴⁶ In this sense J. P. Kirsch, "Die memoria apostolorum an der Appischen Strasse zu Rom und die liturgische Feier des 29. Juni," JL, III (1923), 33-50, esp. 49 f.

⁴⁷ Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, IV, 55 (PL, LXXVII, 417). Also *ibid.* (PL, LXXVII 421), the case of the Masses for the deceased monk Justus on 30 consecutive days. In this latter instance there could possibly have been some sort of distribution of the Masses amongst the brethren, but this was not to be thought of in the other case.

⁴⁸ A. Ebner, *Die klösterlichen Gebetsbrüderungen* (Regensburg, 1890), 52.

priest was to say three Masses on three successive days after the report of the death was received, and also another Mass on the thirtieth day; at the beginning of each month, after the Office for the dead of the convent, each priest was again to read a Mass; and finally every year on November 14 a general commemoration of the dead was to be held, again with three Masses by each priest.⁴⁷ From this time on, private Masses for the Dead is an established arrangement, especially in monasteries.⁴⁸

Votive Masses for other purposes and in favor of individual persons or groups were also initiated in Christian antiquity. About 370 a Roman writer tells of repeated eucharistic celebrations for *peregrini et incolæ*.⁴⁹ Augustine pities the ladies and maidens who had fallen into the hands of barbarians because they do not have the eucharistic sacrifice and, in consequence, they themselves can neither take part in the public celebration nor have Mass said for them.⁵⁰ The *Leonianum* contains a great number of formularies which obviously have in view the private petitions either of the priest himself or of other offerers: among others are those marked *post*

⁴⁷ MGH, *Libri confraternitatum*, ed. Piper, 140. Also in Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 368 f. Regarding the fraternity at Reichenau see the studies by K. Beyerle in the memorial "Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau" (Munich, 1925), 291-304; 1107-1217.

⁴⁸ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, IV, 42 (PL, CV, 1239 D) speaks of places where Mass for the Dead takes place daily. But only later did such a daily Mass for the Dead become partially public; see *supra*, p. 205.

As far as ritual was concerned, the Mass for the Dead was at that time not as differentiated from other Masses as is the case nowadays, even aside from the color of the vestments; see Amalar. *De eccl. off.*, III, 44 (PL, CV, 1161): *Missa pro mortuis in hoc differt a consueta missa, quod sine Gloria et Alleluia et pacis osculo celebratur*. In pre-Frankish times it was distinguished above all by the insertion of the Memento of the Dead—otherwise absent—and a suitable *Hanc igitur*. Still there were special orations for the dead even in the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 451-454) and in the older Gelasianum, III, 92-105 (*ibid.*, 752-763).

There is an indication of the smallness of the attendance at these more ancient Masses for the Dead—just the circle of mourners—in the fact that in the six oldest Mass-antiphonaries (8th-9th centuries)

published by Hesbert, the chants are wanting. These chants, beginning with *Requiem æternam*, appear first in the antiphony published by the St. Maur monks (PL, LXXXVIII, 722-724). Proper lessons are found, for the Epistle in the *Comes* of Alcuin (ed. Wilmart; *Eph. Liturg.*, 1937, 163 f.), for the Gospel in the index of pericopes for the palace chapel of Charlemagne (Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen*, 141), and also in the Gospel-capitulary for the city of Rome, 645 (Klauser, p. 45 f.).

An index to the increasing number of Masses for the Dead in the later Middle Ages is the burgeoning stock of special formularies created for this type of Mass; there is an enumeration of such in B. Opfermann, "Notizen zur Missa defunctorum in der zweiten Hälfte des Mittelalters," *Liturg. Zeitschrift*, IV (1931-2), 167-172.

⁴⁹ Ambrosiaster, *Comment. in Tim.*, 3, 12 f. (PL, XVII, 471): *Omni enim hebdomada offerendum est, etiam si non cotidie peregrinis, incolis tamen vel bis in hebdomada*. According to Batiffol, *Leçons*, p. XXI, who discusses this somewhat obscure text, the reference is obviously to private Mass.

⁵⁰ Augustine, *Ep.*, 111, 8 (CSEL, XXXIV, 655): *nec ista possunt vel ferre oblationem ad altare Dei vel invenire ibi sacerdotem per quem offerant Deo*.

*infirmis*⁵¹ and several against the menace of evil tongues.⁵² The Votive Masses in the older *Gelasianum* are fully developed; they form the main contents of the third of the three books of which the sacramentary is composed.⁵³ They have reference to private concerns like a journey, unjust threats, sickness, various afflictions, wedding, childlessness, birthday, anniversary of ordination, growth in charity, and we might add the Masses for the Dead; and likewise public concerns like mortality, plague, drought, good weather, war and peace, the welfare of the king, and such. The low state of medicine and hygiene and in general the small knowledge of natural remedies, as well as the widespread uncertainty of legal rights in the early medieval states, to some extent explain the large number of external petitions in these Votive Masses and the strong appeal they had for the people.

Of Gallic Mass books, the Missal of Bobbio is especially rich in Votive Masses, here fitted out with readings.⁵⁴

The high tide for Votive Masses is the Carolingian period. Alcuin himself had not only prepared from older sources an important assortment of Votive Masses for his supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary,⁵⁵ but he had compiled a special collection which has come down to us as a *liber sacramentorum*.⁵⁶ Here for the first time we find Masses expressly assigned to certain days of the week, three formularies for each day. Of these, the first is concerned with a particular theme from the Christian economy of salvation appropriated to each day of the week⁵⁷; this section more or less approaches the Proper Masses of the Church year. The second group regards, as a rule, the greater ascetical needs; the formula for Thursday, to instance one case, is headed *pro tentatione cogitationum*. The third group

⁵¹ Muratori, I, 335 f., 339.

⁵² Muratori, I, 350 f., 442; cf. *supra*, p. 62.

Also the older *Gelasianum*, III, 67 (*ibid.*, I, 734; Wilson, 279 f.) contains a Mass *contra obloquentes*. Regarding the Votive Masses in the *Leonianum*, cf. Franz, 119 ff.

⁵³ III, 24-106 (Wilson, 245-314).

Some of the MSS. of the later *Gelasianum* also contain a collection of Votive Masses that accord to a great extent with those mentioned; see the survey in de Puniet, *Le sacramentaire Romain de Gellone*, 272*-307*; 314*-333*, and his commentary, *ibid.*, 95 ff. (= *Eph. liturg.*, LI [1937], 128-135; 278-305; LII [1938], 9-27; resp. LI [1937], 270 ff.). Also G. Manz, *Ein St. Galler Sacramentarfragment* (LQF, XXXI; Münster [1939]), 10-39.

⁵⁴ See the analysis in Franz, 126 f.

⁵⁵ Muratori, II, 187 ff.; cf. Franz, 132 f.

⁵⁶ PL, CI, 445-466.

Cf. Franz, 136-139, wherein the Alcuinian origin is still questioned. But see G. Ellard, "Alcuin and some favored Votive Masses," *Theol. Studies*, I (1940), 37-61.

⁵⁷ Sunday: *De Trinitate*; (Monday: *Pro peccatis*); Tuesday: *Ad postulandum angelica suffragia*; Wednesday: *De s. Sapientia*; Thursday: *De Caritate*; Friday: *De s. Cruce*; Saturday, *De s. Maria*.

Regarding later adjustments and additions for the week-days see Franz, 139-145; Eisenhofer, II, 15-17.

A group of six Masses which are patently intended for the several days of the week were a part of the original Sacramentary of St. Gregory the Great; see Mohlberg-Baumstark, 69-71; cf. C. Mohlberg, "Il messale agagolico di Kiev," *Atti della pont. Accademia romana di archaeologia. Memorie* II (Rome, 1928), 222 f., 311-315.

called the *Missa s. Augustini*, is written in a tone of penitence and plea for pardon.⁶⁵ A considerable part of them was composed by Alcuin himself.⁶⁶ From this time on, the Mass books contain a superabundance of Votive Masses. In the Sacramentary of Fulda there are more than a hundred.⁶⁷

In many cases the very topic theme or subject of the prayers shows that the celebrant alone was busy with the sacrifice. Typical in this regard is the formula of a *missa quam sacerdos pro semetipso debet canere*⁶⁸; Masses of this sort appear already in the Missal of Bobbio⁶⁹ around 700 and after that with ever-increasing regularity in the Mass books of the Gallo-Carolingian area,⁷⁰ sometimes in several variant forms.⁷¹ These formularies concentrate exclusively on the celebrant's own salvation and therefore all prayers—orations, preface and *Hanc igitur*—are written in the singular.⁷² But Masses for the concerns of others also begin to be contrived in such a fashion that the presence of the faithful would be at most incidental. This must have been the case when, in some monasteries, a *missa quotidiana pro rege* became usual⁷³ or when synods of the tenth and eleventh centuries bound priests, on short notice, to ten or thirty Masses for king and kingdom.⁷⁴

The ninth century is the time in which the celebration of Mass takes on an increase. Many celebrate two or three times a day,⁷⁵ and the report is circulated—as an encouragement and comfort—that Pope Leo III occa-

⁶⁵ Cf. the seven *missae generales* in the Sacramentary of St. Thierry (10th century); Martène, I, 4, X (I, 552-562).

⁶⁶ On the basis of his analysis of the sources, Ellard, *op. cit.*, 53, designates the following as "Masses that show no borrowings" because for them Alcuin appears to have been indebted to no extant sources: *De gratia S. Spiritus*, *Pro tentatione cogitationum*, *De Sapientia*, *Missae cotidiana sanctorum*, *Pro inimicis*, *Pro salute S. Mariae in Sabato*. The majority of the others are taken, in whole or in part, from Mozarabic Mass books.

⁶⁷ Richter-Schönfelder, 202-329.

⁶⁸ Thus in an appendix (written before 850) to the Cod. 348 of St. Gall: Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, 249-252 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. LIV f., XCIX).

In the older Gelasianum, too, a formula of this sort was inserted about 830 after III, 37 (Wilson, 254); see A. Wilmar, *Revue Bénéd.*, L (1938), 324-328.

⁶⁹ Muratori, II, 905-907.

⁷⁰ Text of the St. Gall Mass mentioned, with further sources and variants in Manz, *Ein St. Galler Sacramentarfragment*, 32-37; cf. 58.

For further ties with the general his-

tory of liturgy, see Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 116.

⁷¹ The Sacramentary of Fulda (Richter-Schönfelder, 248-257) contains not one but eleven formularies of a Mass for the celebrating priest (*missa sacerdotis propria*).

⁷² The formulas in the present Missale Romanum, *Pro seipso sacerdote*—No. 20 among the *Orationes diversae* in the appendix—derive from a formulary of this type. It must be remarked that the singular is not altogether unheard of even in Masses of more ancient origin and public in character. Thus the formularies *In natali episcoporum* in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 425 ff.) contain several phrases in the singular, but they are carefully adapted to the temper of a community celebration; e.g., *Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi offero ego tuus famulus et sacerdos pro eo quod me . . . tribuisti sacerdotalem subire famulatum . . . Quam oblationem totius mecum gratulantis Ecclesiae tu Deus . . .*

⁷³ Alcuinian appendix: Muratori, II, 188. Cf. Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich*, 78, 150.

⁷⁴ Biehl, 78.

⁷⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 218.

sionally offered the sacrifice seven and nine times in a day.⁶⁶ Daily celebration by each individual priest seems to have become at this time if not (by far) the general rule, at least the prevailing one. On Sundays and feasts it is said for the congregation, just as even today the *applicatio pro populo* is demanded of the pastor on these days. On weekdays it seems to have been, by and large, a Votive Mass for his own intention or that of others, even though the formulary chosen is one specified for the day,⁷⁰ as later on this was actually demanded.⁷¹ This meant a momentous augment in the frequency of celebration. The appropriation of the sacrifice to the diverse concerns of the faithful had really aroused the desire of the faithful and so led to a multiplication of the celebration. This is made manifest in the fact that everywhere that a number of priests were together—not only in monasteries, that is, but also in cathedral churches and in the larger centers—altars started to increase in number. In the whole of Christian antiquity every church had possessed but one altar. In North Africa this continued so till the fall of Christianity in the seventh century,⁷² and in the Orient, at least in churches of the Byzantine rite, it is still the rule.⁷³ At Rome about the sixth century, oratories in honor of the Apostles and

⁶⁶ Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 21 (PL, CXIV, 943); Honorius Augustod., *Gemina an.*, I, 114 (PL, CLXXII, 582).

⁷⁰ At least for the circumstances of the city of Rome in the first millenary it can be said that public Mass, with the use of the corresponding formularies, was customary only on the days outlined in the *Proprium de tempore* and also, as a rule, on the days indicated in the *Proprium sanctorum* but then only at the respective shrines. All other days were therefore free for Votive Masses. That votive formularies and freely-chosen saints' formularies were preponderantly used for private Masses also in the northern lands can be gathered from the fact that at first the lessons and later even the chant texts were added to the formularies; see *supra*, p. 105. This preponderance continued all through the Middle Ages; cf. Franz, 149-154. And it was still the case in the sixteenth century. St. Ignatius, for instance, marked down what Mass he chose on 64 days in the year 1544; of these 41 were votive formularies, and only 23 were the Masses for the day; Jedin, *Liturg. Leben*, 1939, 64, quoting the saints' spiritual diary: *Constitutiones S.J.*, (Rome, 1934), I, 86-130. Even for Sundays a special Votive Mass, usually that of the Trinity, was prescribed in the weekly

series of formularies—and was often used; cf. *supra*, p. 211, note 22; Franz, 149-151. Not till the Missal of Pius V was the Sunday left open. The only controversy raged for a time around Masses for the Dead—whether it was right to say them on Sundays, as many did; ranged in opposition were, among others, the Arch-chancellor John (Silva-Tarouca, 205); Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitulare*, I, c. 45, (PL, CV, 208); the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (Albers, I, 202).

⁷¹ Synod of Würzburg (1298), can. 3 (Hartzeim, IV, 25 f.).

The Synod of Seligenstadt (1002), can. 10 (*ibid.*, III, 56) had merely warned against a superstitious preference for certain Votive Masses (Trinity, Michael), suggesting that the Mass *de eodem die* be used instead, and he added: *vel pro salute vivorum vel pro defunctis*. Cf. Franz, 150 f.

⁷² Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, 373.

⁷³ Braun, I, 383-385. This single altar is appointed for public service. For the non-public celebration of the liturgy on week days there are often extra oratories or chapels (*παρεκκλησιαί*), more or less loosely connected with the main church. See Bona, I, 14, 3 (196); Salaville, *Eastern Liturgics*, 114.

martyrs, along with the altars pertaining to them—hitherto scattered all over the city—were erected inside the churches. But we come across this increase of altars on a larger scale in Gaul, where Bishop Palladius of Saintes about 590 had thirteen altars constructed in one church.⁷⁴ Similar instances are not uncommon after that.

From the ninth century on, side altars are part of the structure of every larger church.⁷⁵ A contributing factor was the worship of saints and their relics; it was thought that this could be done best in connection with a special altar. Another factor was the desire on the part of both faithful and priest for Votive Masses for which the path was now free and which could take place inside one's own church. Finally a third element entered in, this one a limitation; it was the practice to celebrate but once each day at any one altar and more especially it was forbidden that a priest should use an altar which had been used by the bishop previously on the same day.⁷⁶

About the era of the Ottos, however, the dark side of this all too frequent celebration began to be remarked. Episcopal and synodal decrees gradually permitted only a triple celebration on any one day. Others even forbade bination outside the case of necessity,⁷⁷ as did Alexander II in 1065⁷⁸ and Innocent III even more positively in 1206⁷⁹; since then it has continued as the general norm. As a consequence the number of altars in churches newly built since then, shrinks back to more reasonable proportion.⁸⁰

But in the thirteenth century a new increase in private Masses sets in, this time not through the plural celebration of the same priest but rather as the result of the growth of the clergy in larger cities,⁸¹ an element that contributed in no small way to the ecclesiastical crisis of the sixteenth

⁷⁴ Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, VI, 49 (PL, LXXVII, 834).

⁷⁵ Braun, I, 368-373.

Cf. *supra*, note 35.

⁷⁶ Braun, I, 373-377.

In this regulation the operative factor was apparently an aversion to any multiplication that ill befitted the greatness of the mystery, and particularly the basic axiom that in any one church the Sunday celebration of the Eucharist should take place but once only. This principle was then transferred to every altar (which originally had its own special chapel).

⁷⁷ K. Holböck, *Die Bination. Rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Rome, 1941). Eisenhofer, II, 23.

⁷⁸ *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 53 (Friedberg, I, 1308).

⁷⁹ *Decretales Greg.* III, 41. 3 (Friedberg, II, 636); Cf. Holböck, 30.

⁸⁰ Braun, I, 377 f.

⁸¹ *Supra*, p. 130. Admonitions to celebrate daily also begin to make their appearance, intended to assure at the same time the worthy disposition of the priest. The writing ascribed to St. Bonaventure, *De præparatione ad missam*—which does not however appear in MSS prior to 1375 (Franz, 462)—has this to say about the priest who without reason fails to celebrate (the words are frequently quoted even today): *quantum in ipso est, privat Trinitatem laude et gloria, angelos lætitia, peccatores venia* . . . (c. 5; *Opp.*, ed. Peltier, XII [Paris, 1868], 281). In this connection we might also mention Matthew of Cracow (d. 1410), *Dialogus inter Rationem et Conscientiam*, and the work of the younger Henry of Hessen (d. 1427), *Exhortatio de celebratione missæ*. Cf. Franz, 515-517.

century. This increase was naturally accompanied by a new increase in the number of altars. Churches with thirty-five to forty-five altars were no rarity. The church of St. Mary at Danzig and the cathedral at Magdeburg each had forty-eight of them around 1500.⁸²

Meanwhile church architecture had been successfully endeavoring to fit the side-altars into the building properly, worthily. In France the Romanesque period had already created the circle of chapels surrounding the choir of the church, and in the Gothic period this was taken up also in other countries. In other cases Gothic produced a number of altar niches in the aisle of the nave by making use of the buttresses as part of the inner structure; this solution corresponds to the double row of chapels opening onto either side of the nave, which Baroque architecture employed.⁸³ But that was hardly enough to supply the demand for side-altars which in the late Middle Ages served as church symbols of the guilds and the richer patrician families. In the age of the ecclesiastical reform, when limitations were again set on private Masses and a greater part of the formularies developed for this purpose were reduced to shrunken existence amongst the *orationes diversæ*, St. Charles Borromeo ordered the removal of all altars which had been built near the organ loft or next to the pulpit, in front of the columns and pillars,⁸⁴ and many other churches in the course of time followed his example.

In this swaying back and forth one can trace the problem that the private Mass gives rise to. In its favor is the acknowledgment that the holy sacrifice is an offering of impetration and propitiation, and in this sense has a special value for the anxieties and desires of individuals; as the well-known formula puts it, it is offered for the living and the dead.⁸⁵ On the other hand, however, society also has its high worth. The ideal of a single Eucharistia embracing all, once uttered by Ignatius the Martyr, should not be needlessly disowned or enfeebled. We saw how in the monasteries of the early Middle Ages and, in part, even much later the stipulation of worship in common and, on Communion day, of common Communion even for

⁸² Braun, I, 378-382.

⁸³ Braun, I, 378, 380.

⁸⁴ Braun, I, 383.

⁸⁵ The formula occurs in Isidore, *De eccl. off.*, I, 15 (PL, LXXXIII, 752): the third one of the Mass prayers he distinguishes (in the antique Spanish sacramentaries, *Post nomina*) is said *pro offerentibus sive pro defunctis fidelibus*. The same formulation *pro offerentibus et defunctis*, reappears—this time in reference to the Mass—in the introductory words, “Missa pro multis” which is the title usually given to an *expositio* dependent upon Amalar, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.* [1930]), 31.

In the 9th century *Ioca* [that is, a game

of cross-questions] *episcopi ad sacerdotes* (printed in Franz, 343) the first question, *Pro quid es presbyter ordinatus?* is answered . . . *hostiam offerre Deo omnipotenti pro salute vivorum ac requie defunctorum*. Cf. also the second question and answer.

In the Romano-German Pontifical written c. 950 the bishop hands the newly-ordained priest a chalice and paten with the words, *Accipite potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis in nomine Domini* (Hittorp, 95). These words, which occur here for the first time, are still part of the ordination rite, as we all know.

the priests—we saw how this stipulation was safeguarded. For a long time private Mass was not generally required, but only tolerated within certain limits.⁸⁶

Thus a distinct form for the private Mass was evolved only slowly and gradually. In the first period, comprising the eighth and ninth centuries, there was a tendency to force the private character of the celebration even to extremes. At this time the so-called *missa solitaria*, without any server, was formed. The exclusive singular in the prayers of several Mass formulas bears this out.⁸⁷ If the ground-plan of the Roman Mass and particularly of the canon had not been regarded by tradition as beyond the reach of change, we would, in the ninth century, surely have experienced in the Roman liturgy what actually almost happened to the Gallic liturgy (which has no fixed canon)⁸⁸; that is, the entire wording would have been rewritten in the “I” manner.

Luckily this result did not really occur. On the contrary, in the ninth century there is some new legislation aimed directly at stopping priests from celebrating alone.⁸⁹ For how can a priest say *Dominus vobiscum* or *Sursum corda* when no one else is there?⁹⁰ Others refer to *Oremus* or *Orate*

⁸⁶ The restrictions were quite various. At Cluny in the 11th century the priests were allowed to celebrate daily, even without special permission, either before Prime or in the interval before and after Terce and also after None. By way of exception it was also permitted after the Gospel of the conventual Mass. *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724 f.). Similarly also *Bernardi Ordo Clun.* I, 71 (Herrgott, 263).

Among the Cistercians private Masses were allowed during the time devoted to reading and also after the offertory of the conventual Mass. Trilhe, “Citeaux,” DACL, III, 1795; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.* [1927]), 338-342.

Amongst the Sylvestrines the priests were permitted to leave the conventual Mass *incepta Epistola*, unless they were needed for the singing. P. Weissenberger, “Die ältesten Statuta monastica der Sylvestriner” (*Röm. Quartalschrift* [1939]), 73.

Elsewhere they were more conservative. Amongst the Carthusians it was still an extraordinary privilege even in the 12th century for anyone to say Mass daily; Peter de Blois (d. c. 1204), *Ep.* 86 (PL, CCVII, 264). On the basis of medieval sources it is related of Klosterneuburg that “whoever wanted to celebrate private Mass

could do so in summer before Terce, in winter after Sext or after the Gospel of the conventual Mass. But to do so the priest had to get permission from the dean.” Schabes, 65.

The Synod of Ravenna (1317), rubr. 12 (Mansi, XXV, 611 f.) disapproved of private Masses during a High Mass (*cum missa celebratur in nota*), and desired the presence of all clerics in choir. Similarly the Synod of Trier (1549), can. 9 (Hartzeheim, VI, 600) and the Synod of Reims (1583), c. XI, 14 (Hardouin, X, 1284).

⁸⁷ *Supra*, p. 221 f.

⁸⁸ See, e.g., the Missal of Bobbio (Muratori, II, 905 f.); *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 987 ff.). Still in the latter instance the responses of an assistant are stipulated for the prayers of the Ordinary, and in the other instance they are presupposed.

⁸⁹ Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), *Capitulaire*, I, c. 7 (PL, CV, 194): *Sacerdos missam solus nequaquam celebret . . . Esse enim debent qui ei circumstant, quos ille salutet, a quibus et respondeatur.*

Similarly in the canonical collection of Archbishop Rötger of Trier (927), ed. by M. Blasen, c. 10 (*Pastor bonus*, 1941), 67 f.

⁹⁰ Synod of Mainz (813), can. 43 (Mansi, XIV, 74).

pro me or to the mention of *circumadstantes*—all of which would be meaningless if no one but the priest were present.⁹¹ More than once the demand is made that, besides the priest, at least *two* persons must be present since he does say: *Dominus vobiscum*.⁹² More precisely, mention is made of *ministri*,⁹³ of *cooperatores*⁹⁴ who should be on hand. But the emphasis is not on the function of serving. Walafrid Strabo calls it a *legitima missa* if, besides the priest, there are present *respondens, offerens atque communicans*.⁹⁵ The minimum required in the case is therefore not so much that someone cooperates at the altar in the capacity of a serving deacon, but rather that someone is present as a co-celebrant,⁹⁶ so that the social, plural character which is so distinctly revealed in the liturgy we actually have, and which in some way or other issues from the very essence of the New Testament sacrifice, might be safeguarded. This is the direction taken in all the attempts to vindicate the position assumed; that the *Dominus vobiscum* might be able to be understood as a greeting of all Christendom, with whom the priest knows himself to be conjoined, and so on.⁹⁷

⁹¹ The passages are assembled by J. M. Hanssens, "Fungitur minister missæ privæ diaconi et subdiaconi vicibus?" *Eph. liturg.*, XLVIII (1934), 406-412, esp. 410f.

⁹² Thus a decree accredited to Pope Soter in the *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 61 (Friedberg, I, 1311): *nullus presbyterorum missarum sollemnia celebrare præsumat, nisi duobus præsentibus respondentibus ipse tertius habeatur*. The prescription is first found in Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, III, 74 (PL, CXL, 689) and from then on is repeated by the canonists; see the passages in Hanssens, 411, note 2. The gist of the injunction is reproduced by Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 2 (PL, CLI, 979), by the Synod of Regensburg, 1512 (Hartzeim, VI, 94) and again by the Tridentine commission for the *abusus missæ* (*supra*, p. 133 f.).

A penitential written under Bishop Thorlak of Iceland (d. 1193) mentions amongst the prerequisites for the celebration of Mass the presence of two *viri ieiuni*; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Buss verfahren* (Düsseldorf, 1898), 712 f.

⁹³ Synod of Paris (829), c. 48 (Mansi, XIV, 567): the practice of many priests of celebrating Mass *sine ministris* had slipped in *partim incuria, partim avaritia*.

⁹⁴ Thus an otherwise unknown Council of Nantes cited by Regino, *De synod. causis*, I, 191 (PL, CXXXII, 225). After a sharp

condemnation of an abuse found especially in monastic establishments, it demands: *Prævideant autem prælati ut presbyteri in carnobis cooperatores habeant in celebratione missarum*.

⁹⁵ Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, CXIV, 951).

This ideal is still clung to tenaciously in William of Hirsau (d. 1091), *Const. I*, 86 (PL, CL, 1017): if the brother serving at Mass does not want to communicate, someone else can then *ibi offerre* (and afterwards communicate).

Even in later times there is mention amongst the Cistercians of the Communion of the participants at a private Mass, for the General Chapter of 1134 grants permission for the Mass servers and others besides to receive on Communion days; J. M. Canivez, *Statuta cap. gen. O. Cist.* (Louvain, 1933-4), I, 23; 33 (cited by Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 47). Outside of the general Communion days it was customary to receive at private Masses; see Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.* [1928]), 8-10.

⁹⁶ Cf. Hanssens, *Eph. liturg.*, XLVIII (1934), 407 ff.

⁹⁷ Odo of Cambrai (d. 1113), *Expositio*, x. 2 (PL, CLX, 1057); Stephen of Baugé (d. 1136), *De sacramento alt.*, c. 13 (PL, CLXXII, 1289).

In the Summa of St. Thomas, III, 83, 5, ad 12, the decree of Pseudo-Soter is also explained in this way; cf. Hanssens, 412.

Since the thirteenth century, however, there are extant other statutes in which *one cleric*⁹⁸ is demanded also for private Mass: *nullus sacerdos celebrare missam præsumat sine clerico respondente*,⁹⁹ a demand which was no longer made in the Missal of Pius V¹⁰⁰ but which was repeated in many diocesan decrees in the sixteenth century.¹⁰¹ The Liège statutes of 1286 regulate this cleric's clothing: *qui clericus habeat tunicam lineam vel superpelliceum vel cappam rotundam et calceatus incedat*.¹⁰²

The requirement of having a cleric present could only be considered an ideal, especially after the sacerdotal recruits were derived chiefly from the Tridentine seminaries, and it was an ideal that even earlier could not be everywhere realized even for public Mass.¹⁰³ The monasteries could most easily make some corresponding provision. At Cluny in the eleventh century a lay-brother (*conversus*) was summoned to serve any priest-monk who wanted to celebrate.¹⁰⁴ But there is mention also of the *puer*, which probably refers to the young oblates.¹⁰⁵ If a cleric was at hand, he was allowed to exercise the duties of his order, that is, read the Epistle¹⁰⁶ if he

⁹⁸ Almost the same thing was already sought by the Synod of York (1195), can. 1 (Hardouin, VI, 1930) when it demanded a *minister litteratus*.

⁹⁹ Synod of Trier (1227), can. 8 (Mansi, XXIV, 200).

Further evidences cited in R. Saponaro, "Estne munus in missa privata ministrandi clericorum proprium?" *Periodica*, XXVIII (1939), 369-384.

¹⁰⁰ *Ritus serv.*, II, 1; *De defectibus*, X, 1.

¹⁰¹ Saponaro, 379-381. The synod of Aix (1585) even demanded written permission for any necessary exception; *ibid.*, 381.

¹⁰² V, 13 (Mansi, XXIV, 896).

The Missal of Pius V originally had no such prescription in the pertinent rubrics (*Ritus serv.*, II, 1); but in the revision under Clement VIII (1604) to the words *ministro cum missali . . . præcedente* were added *superpelliceum induto*.

¹⁰³ Cf. *supra*, p. 210 f.

¹⁰⁴ *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724).

Also in the *Consuetudines* of Farfa, which represent Cluniac usage in 1040, the *conversus* appears as Mass server (Albers, I, 161 f.).

In a monastic missal from Norcia two 14th century references to ministrants have been inserted: *Isti serviunt ad missam quilibet in septimana sua*; a C precedes the name each time; Ebner, 201, note 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Consuetudines* of Farfa (Albers, I, 163; see the following footnote).

In the late medieval Mass-*ordo* of the monastery of Bec, the priest turns after the Communion and with the greeting from Apoc. 7:12 he addresses himself *ad ministrum puerum*; Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 675 A).

¹⁰⁶ In some isolated instances there was a certain vacillation. But even here the prototype of the public presbyter Mass remained the standard (*supra*, p. 208).

In the canonical collection of Bishop Rütger of Trier (927), ed Blasen, c. 10 (*Pastor bonus* [1941], 67 f.) with reference to the prohibition to celebrate alone, the point is stressed that no layman may read the Epistle, but only the subdeacon; is this restriction to the subdeacon a later addition? In the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (Albers, I, 163) it is taken for granted that the reading is done by a "boy" who certainly was no deacon: *Puer qui legit Epistolam, ipse portat et calicem si valet et bene scit facere*. Cf. *Liber usum O. Cist.*, c. 54 (PL, CLXVI, 1429 A).

In the *Ordinarium O. P.* of 1256 (Guerini, 249), with reference to the *servitor* at private Mass, who could not have received any major orders, we read simply: *meliusque est ut Epistolam relinquat sacerdoti dicendam*. The practice of the server's saying it must therefore have existed still in the 13th century.

was in orders, and prepare the chalice and purify it after Communion.¹⁰⁷ Amongst the Cistercians the priest was supposed to have two Mass-servers, a cleric to serve him and answer the prayers, and a laic to present the water and light the candles.¹⁰⁸

Whereas in most monastic constitutions there is only passing reference to serving, in the Dominican *Ordinarium* of 1256 the *servitor* at a private Mass is given greater attention.¹⁰⁹ The pertinent rubrics are still found—naturally somewhat developed—compiled in a special chapter of the Dominican Missal.¹¹⁰

In the *Ordinarium* of 1256 these rules for the server belonged to a special chapter which also contains more detailed directions for the priest at private Mass.¹¹¹ Of these a noteworthy one is the rule that the sequence, otherwise so frequent, should be dropped at private Mass. Other regulations for the priest, insofar as they did not regard the special Dominican usages, were already extant, scattered in older statutes. Thus it was almost a general custom that the priest vested at his respective side-altar.¹¹² Nor was the warning that he was to speak only in a medium loud voice anything new. To it corresponds, in the prescriptions of Cluny, the obviously necessary direction that the priest should read the song portions *in dire-*

¹⁰⁷ Thus still in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 100), in agreement with the *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 249).

Cf. also *Liber usuum O. Cist.*, c. 54 (PL, CLXVI, 1428 f.).

¹⁰⁸ *Liber usuum*, c. 59 (PL, CLXVI, 1433 C). Thus also the very late *Rituale Cisterciense* (Paris, 1689), 91. Cf. Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.* [1927]), 374 f.

¹⁰⁹ Guerrini, 249 f. Among other things the Mass server had to spread the altar cloths and refold them at the end of Mass, had to transfer the book and the candle at the proper time, and help with the preparation of the chalice. For the rest he was to keep his eyes open and always be ready to wait on the priest or answer his prayers; therefore *parum autem vel nihil stet prostratus in tota missa*. This last was a reference to the bowed posture then customary at the orations and during the Canon. In this regard the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (Albers, I, 162) had enjoined: *Conversus ad primam collectas* [probably to read: *ad primam Collectam*] *et secreta[s] sit adclinis, ad canonem genua flectat vel stans oret*.

The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 100 ff.) expands the suggestions of the *Ordinarium O.P.* in several points: at the start it prescribes a hand-washing for the

server; it has him receive the *pax* from the priest and pass it on (even though the heading is: *De privatis missis*). At the conventual Mass a signal of the bell is mentioned: *Alter acolythus ante tempus elevationis paucis ictibus campanulam pulset* (ibid., 94, 1. 29). The rubric about passing on the *pax* is also found in the Mass-Ordinary of John Burchard (1502); Legg, *Tracts*, 162. On the other hand there is no mention of a bell signal to be given by the ministrant either in Burchard or, apparently, in any other medieval ceremonial for private Mass.

Franz, 710 f, refers to two 15th century manuscript guides to serving.

¹¹⁰ *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 24: *De servitoribus missarum privatarum*.

¹¹¹ Guerrini, 249-251: *De missis privatis*. To be exact, this chapter does not derive from the Ordinary itself but rather from the *Missale minorum altarium* which is linked with it, just as the directions for the High Mass belong to the *Missale conventuale*; Guerrini, p. VII. The same chapter, from a MS of the 14-15th centuries in Köck, 93 f.

¹¹² *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724): On the way to the altar

ctum but that he certainly should not sing them.¹¹³ Thus out of the private Mass grew the read Mass—the *low* Mass.

That the Mass is only read and not sung has at last become in the Roman liturgy the most prominent particular, in fact, the only actual difference to distinguish the rite of the private Mass from that of the public Mass, if we except the vernacular prayers which have recently been added to the conclusion. Wherever in the oriental rites, as a consequence of union, the private Mass has become usual, the differences are essentially greater.¹¹⁴

With us the private Mass has, in the last analysis, almost completely doffed its private character, gaining public recognition and in fact becoming simply *the* Mass. Not only do rubricists nowadays consider it the basis of any presentment of the external actions of the Mass, but even the Roman Missal itself, departing from a custom in vogue till late in the Middle Ages,¹¹⁵ presents the rite of the *missa lecta* as the basic form, describing the special ceremonies of the solemn high Mass as a sort of appendix and devoting only a short notice to the peculiarities of the simple sung Mass.¹¹⁶

This strange phenomenon is on a par with the fact that at the beginning of the modern period the older solemn forms suddenly begin to lose some of the stateliness and the simplified forms partly replace them.¹¹⁷ Besides a low interest in liturgy which this seems to show, another factor behind this is the unfamiliarity of the faithful in regard to the Latin, the strangeness of which was felt with growing keenness and the loud use of which, in prayers and readings, except insofar as it added to the splendor of the proceedings, was less and less appreciated. Thus it became increasingly easy to discontinue the singing at the altar. The read Mass became the ground form. And if it was found undesirable to follow the Mass in quiet devotion or if, at a larger gathering, it was thought agreeable to

the priest holds in his right hand the chalice, on which are the paten and the host (which had been placed thereon with a little ladle), in his left the cruets filled with wine and water, the server carries the chasuble and Mass book. Similarly *Bernardi Ordo Clun.* I, 72 (Herrgott, 263).

Amongst the Cistercians the custom of putting on the vestments in the sacristy even for private Masses was first introduced in 1609 "for greater reverence." Trilhe, "Cîteaux," DACL, III, 1793 f.

¹¹³ *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.* II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724 C); also William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016 D).

Something similar is recounted at the present time with regard to some Russian priests who, after their return to the unity of the Catholic Church, took up the practice of private Mass, but felt constrained to

sing the portions chanted in their rite at least softly.

¹¹⁴ They consist chiefly in certain short-cuts, different according to the different rites. The Ukrainians leave out the incensations; the Little and the Great Entry are merely indicated, the latter by the priest's turning around at the altar with chalice in hand; etc. The Italo-Greeks shorten the introductory section and the litanies. The Melchites again have other abbreviations. Pl. de Meester, "Grecques (Liturgies)," DACL, VI, 1641-1643.

Donald Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East* (Milwaukee, 1948), 30-31, points out that in few of the rites is the "low" Mass systematized.

¹¹⁵ *Supra*, p. 103 f.

¹¹⁶ *Ritus serv.*, VI, 8.

¹¹⁷ *Supra*, p. 206.

emphasize the social side of the celebration, the solution was more frequently in common prayer or song in the vernacular, accompanying the low Mass. And finally, in our own century, a form of community Mass, the dialogue Mass, was devised, built up on the *missa lecta* but recapturing in great part some of the simple beauty of the *missa cantata* and combining therewith the advantage of the vernacular.¹¹⁸

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

The rubrical convergence of the two forms of celebration to the point where the only distinction lay in the singing or speaking of the text was therefore only the consequence of a legal assimilation. However, this rubrical convergence was not the result only of the fact that the private Mass retained as much as possible of the high Mass, but also that the latter gave up many of its privileges. Already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the priest at a high Mass began to read from the Mass book the texts which were handled by others, just as he did at a private Mass.¹¹⁹ Other privileges, while continuing as rubrics,¹²⁰ are practically abandoned. Scarcely ever does one see a cleric in attendance to read the Epistle, or the special server who tends the book and, if a cleric, brings the chalice to the altar, and after Communion covers it and carries it back. At most there is a second server who shares the duties of the first.

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

¹¹⁸ *Supra*, p. 162 f.

¹¹⁹ *Supra*, p. 106 f.

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

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

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

¹²² *Supra*, 210; 226.

demanding for both and finally in either case a layman was permitted.¹²³ The practical solution, in fact, follows what was doubtless the tradition of former clerical schools in monasteries and chapters, and chooses young boys whose innocence can, in a measure, substitute for the clerical character.¹²⁴ Still that spiritual character cannot be entirely lacking if, in addition to the technical training, there is a spiritual commitment and, under favorable circumstances, even formal enrollment, as is actually being done in many places nowadays under orders of the bishop.¹²⁵

The fact that the boundaries between private Mass and public Mass have gradually disappeared is connected also with the fact that in the last few centuries daily celebration by every priest has been taken more and more for granted.¹²⁶ On the one hand, this daily celebration by the priest

¹²³ *Supra*, p. 210 f.; 226 f.

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

¹²⁴ However, objections continued to pile up against this solution of the problem. In his edition of the works of St. Gregory the Great, P. de Goussanville (d. 1683) called it an abuse which might possibly be excused on the ground of custom (PL, LXXVII, 1336 D). Martène, 1, 3, 9, 10 (I, 344) is equally severe in his declaration. Bremond, *Histoire littéraire*, VI, 220, relates that Claude Martin, who was prior of Marmoutier from 1690 on, wanted to banish children as well as married men

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

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

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

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

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

himself has become, along with the breviary, part and parcel of his spiritual life. The ground for this is the consideration that personal celebration, even from the viewpoint of one's own religious life, has greater value than participation in another's Mass.¹²¹ On the other hand, this personal desire of the priest coincides with the good of the cure of souls. The people are thus offered opportunities to attend Holy Mass every day in churches and chapels, and in large churches, especially on Sundays, also at various hours. At the altar not only the *festas fori* but also the *festas chori*, the individual saints' feasts, are celebrated. Thus the personal and public factors go hand in hand, leading in many cases to a regular semi-public celebration of the Mass.

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

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

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

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

¹²¹ Theological discussions usually have had in view a different question, namely, whether it is better to celebrate daily than not to celebrate; see the pertinent chapter in Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, III, 2 (Schneider, 304-313), and the authors there mentioned.

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

course the legitimacy of celebration on this title is not at all questionable.¹²⁸ In fact, although the votive formularies do not—and rightly—play the same role as of yore, still the Votive Mass, or the sacrifice which is appropriated to a person or a family for their special intention, exhibits that title of private Mass which gives it most obviously the right and power to be, especially since it is anchored in the tradition of the Church since earliest times. But the personal factor which binds the offerer with such a celebration ought to be restrengthened as much as possible. The faithful who request a Mass must be conscious of the fact that they ought to participate as co-celebrants at such a Mass if at any. And besides care must be taken that such a votive celebration does nothing to hinder the development of public worship which must always be our first concern.

6. Forms of Popular Participation

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

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

Christian antiquity therefore made a choice of the second solution, and even today it is preferred on those occasions—like large assemblies of the clergy—where individual celebration could not take place in worthy fashion. Cf. *supra*, p. 196 f. It has always been considered fitting and proper that the individual priest should exercise his power of Orders at the altar from time to time, even abstracting from the requirements of others. This viewpoint certainly played a part in producing an increase in private Masses in the early medieval monastic establishments. It must likewise have had a part in the legislation mentioned in the

last footnote, legislation preserved in can. 805 of the Code. The rotation of the celebration of the conventual Mass in monasteries and other conventicles is also probably due to this notion. The same viewpoint was without doubt at work in the regulation of Byzantine monasteries where it is ordered that if more than five fathers are living in an establishment, the liturgy is held twice a week, where more than ten, three times, and where more than twenty, daily. K. Lübeck, *Die christlichen Kirchen des Orients* (Kempten, 1911), 189.

¹²⁸ *Cor. Iur. Can.* c. 824-844.

One fundamental condition for the formation of important types of general participation in the Mass celebration was that the assembled faithful should form a community tied together by the same faith and the same love. In the centuries of Christian antiquity that was to a great extent the case. Only at the fore-Mass was an outer circle of guests or candidates to the society admitted, but in the consciousness of the congregation these people were clearly distinguished from the narrower circle of fully authorized members. We thus encounter forms which were composed for their dismissal at the end of the Mass of the Catechumens. Far into the Middle Ages these rites for dismissing the catechumens were used for the children during Lent in the weeks of preparation for Baptism.¹ Even to the very threshold of modern times those who, as public sinners, were no longer worthy to take part in the worship of the community were expelled on Ash Wednesday.² The excommunicated, too, were very strictly excluded all through the Middle Ages. But aside from these very unusual cases the Middle Ages had no recognized outsiders. Just as in church building the old-time atrium and the parts in between became simply the open portion of the church, and the doorway was like an invitation to the whole town to come into the holy place, so all forms of banishment and dismissal fell into disuse. All the townspeople were Christians and all Christians were children of the house.

It was precisely the obviousness of the open doors to the Church, standing unlocked to all, that hindered a return to a more ancient severity when, at the start of modern times, circumstances grew so fundamentally different. For decades larger portions of the people wavered between the old Church and New Learning. In the hope of winning them back it was necessary not to turn them away at the door. And the suggestion that was brought up at the Council of Trent, to ban public sinners (prostitutes, concubinaries, usurers *et al.*) from the Church or at least to order them out after the Gospel,³ was recognized as impracticable. Thus for our own time a situation has arisen which would have been incomprehensible to Christian antiquity, even aside from the laws of the *disciplina arcani*—a situation where at our divine service every sharp boundary between Church and world is broken down, so that Jew and heathen can press right up to the steps of the altar and can stand in the very midst of the faithful at the most sacred moment. Such a situation is possible and tolerable so long as the faithful are only onlookers and listeners at a sacred drama, and it will be substantially and actually overcome whenever and insofar as they take up a more active role.

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

² Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 67 f.

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

One of the first forms of expression by which a closed society reveals itself is a fixed order of coming and going; everyone gets there on time and no one leaves until the meeting is adjourned. A noteworthy severity with regard to late-comers was displayed in the fifth century Syrian *Testamentum Domini*. The deacons were directed to keep the doors locked when the sacrifice was being offered. If some of the faithful came late and knocked at the door they were not to be admitted; but for these tardy brethren a special prayer was included, that God might give them greater zeal and love.⁴ At the end of the meeting we find in all the liturgies a formal dismissal. It happened of course that some individuals, even communicants, did not wait for this.⁵ Little by little a special order became necessary for those who did not communicate, who already, towards the end of the ancient period, formed the greater proportion by far.

As we will see more in detail later, it was the practice in the city of Rome as well as in Gaul to let them depart before the distribution of Communion and this departure of many was not only countenanced but was even taken into account in the setting up of the liturgy; at Rome the announcements for the following week were made at this point,⁶ and in Gaul those who were going to leave were given a solemn blessing right after the *Pater noster*.⁷ The faithful were thus implicitly admonished to stay at least until then. For already in the sixth century many were under the impression that they had fulfilled their obligation if they heard the readings.⁸ Therefore Cæsarius of Arles makes clear to his audience that the minimum required to fulfill one's Christian duty is to be present at the *consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis*, the *oratio dominica* and the *benedictio*.⁹

In the Carolingian reform, too, following the lead of tradition, the blessing is considered the conclusion prior to which no one was allowed to leave; but now it is the blessing of the newly introduced Roman liturgy that is meant, which is given in some form or other at the end of Mass.¹⁰ The prev-

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

⁵ *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 17.

⁶ *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 8.

⁷ *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 3.

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ *Infra*, III, 6, 4.

alent rareness of the reception of Holy Communion had perhaps forced such a change of attitude. Therefore, Amalar, taking up a question often asked by the *vulgus indoctum*, at what parts of the Mass must one be definitely present, answers: from the offertory to the *Ite missa est*,¹¹ for here the sacrifice is being offered. Later moral theology also included the fore-Mass, whose independence was perceived less and less.¹² But Church legislation, whether during the Middle Ages or later, did not make any special declaration regarding these precise limits.¹³

In the liturgical action the participation of the people was manifested especially by the fact that they did not merely listen to the prayers of the priest in silence but ratified them by their acclamations. The custom of using such acclamations was inherited by the Church from the Synagogue; the very style and language in part betrays this: *Et cum spiritu tuo, Amen*. That the people in Christian antiquity actually spoke these answers is obvious from the occasional remarks of the Fathers. Even Justin testified to it.¹⁴ Jerome mentioned one time that the Amen in the Roman basilicas reverberated like a heavenly thunder.¹⁵ Augustine in his sermons and writings often made reference to the responses of the people.¹⁶

The only question is, how long during the Middle Ages did the practice continue. Cæsarius of Arles still takes it for granted.¹⁷ It is also otherwise ascertained for the Gallican liturgy of the sixth and seventh centuries.¹⁸ Even in the early medieval liturgy of the city of Rome, which had become quite pretentious as the result of the added *schola* and the presence of a numerous clergy, there was still a constant mention of the responses by the people.¹⁹

¹¹ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 36 (PL, CV, 1156). The same answer is given by Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cleric.*, c. 33, *additio* (PL, CVII, 326).

¹² It is worth noting that moralists nowadays do not consider the Last Gospel as pertaining *ad integritatem missæ*; all else, from the prayers at the foot of the altar to the priest's blessing, does. H. Noldin-A. Schmitt, *Summa theol. mor.*, II (20th ed.; Innsbruck, 1930), 245; Aertnys-Damen, *Theol. Moral.*, I (14th ed.; Turin, 1944), 422: *Ita constat ex communi sensu et consuetudine totius Ecclesiæ*. This attitude reflects the circumstances of the 16th century when the Last Gospel was not yet linked fast to the Mass; see *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 4, 5. Moralists of the 17th century sometimes even included this in the Mass obligation; see J. de Lugo, *De eucharistia*, 22, 1 (*Disput. schol. et mor.*, ed. Fournais, IV, 349).

¹³ *Cod. Iur. Can.*, c. 1248.

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

¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 22 f.

¹⁵ Jerome, *In Gal. Comment.*, 1, 2 (PL, XXV): *ad similitudinem coelestis tonitruui Amen reboat*.

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

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

¹⁷ *Supra*, p. 235, note 8.

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

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

The Carolingian reform appears to have insisted on this with a certain doggedness. In Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* of 789 there is a decree regarding the people's part.²⁰ Amalar advises those who do not understand the Latin Gospel lesson, at least to pronounce the *Gloria tibi Domine* with the rest.²¹ Other Carolingian authors talk about these responses as something taken for granted.²²

In his penitential lists, Burchard of Worms (d. 1025) mentions the neglect to respond as an example of unbecoming behavior in church.²³ And even later the responses are referred to as at least the ideal requirement.²⁴ After that, however, the practice falls into such oblivion that in our own century the right of the people to make these responses has had actually to be proved.²⁵

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

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

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

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

Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Besides these short acclamations, the people's share in the Mass since earliest times also included a certain ever-increasing number of hymnic texts. The most venerable of them is the *Sanctus* along with the *Benedictus*, which also remained the people's song the longest. Of a similarly venerable age was the refrain in the responsorial chants, namely, in the Roman liturgy, the chants between the readings²⁶; but these, with their ever-varying texts, were at an early period turned over to the *schola* in their entirety. Similar in character to the refrain was the *Kyrie eleison* in the introductory litany which came substantially later. After that the *Agnus Dei* was added. The two larger chants, the *Gloria* and the *Credo* (which appeared quite early in the northern countries), were perhaps intended principally for the clergy assembled around the altar. The individual fortunes of all these songs will occupy our attention in connection with the detailed explanation to come. Taken together—aside from the refrains of the interposed chants—they form the chants of the so-called Ordinary of the Mass which, along with the ancient acclamation, were taken over from the people by the choir of clerics and finally by the church choirs.²⁷

Besides the words by which the participation of the people in the celebration was made manifest, we have to add also some activity, *doing* something. The "Partaking," simply, the *κοινωνία*, which consists in receiving the Sacrament, we see gradually disappearing, its early bloom shrivelled, shrunk into well-defined and all too few occasions. This receptive participation stands in contrast to the contributive, the upsurging motion of the offertory procession which grew increasingly strong near the end of the ancient period and remained a living practice for over a thousand years. As an introduction either to the Mass proper or to the reception of Communion, we have the kiss of peace, already known to the primitive Church and still remaining at the present in a residue of stylized forms. We will also come across traces of a transient handwashing by the people.²⁸

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

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

²⁷ Whereas in the transfer of the chants from the people to the choir of clergy scarcely a trace of the chant has remained with the people, in the subsequent transfer from the clerical choir to the church

choir the direction was retained that the clerics should recite the chants of the Ordinary in a half-audible voice while they were being sung. This prescription was recalled as late as July 22, 1892, by a decree of the Congregation of Rites, *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3786. Cf. *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 36; 39; 52. Essentially the same thing is already to be found in *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 61 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1175 f.), in the regulations for the cardinal who is assisting at the Mass of his chaplain: he is supposed to recite the chants and the introit (while they are being sung) with his assistants, *sine cantu, sine nota*.

²⁸ *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 13.

Most especially, however, the inner participation of the faithful at the holy action has to be exhibited in a suitable bodily posture. The principal posture (aside from the early period with its meal celebration) has always been a posture of standing. Before the higher Being whom he wishes to honor, a person stands erect, particularly when he realizes his obligation of service. Just as the priest at the altar stands before God in reverential readiness, so also the faithful; they are the *circumstantes*. In line with this, it was an understood norm in olden times that the people followed the motions of the bishop or the priest when he said the prayers and, in general, in all the rest of his deportment, so that like him they stood with hands uplifted and facing east.²⁹ Standing was the ordinary posture of prayer even among ancient peoples,³⁰ in fact, standing with uplifted hands³¹ and with eyes fixed in the direction of the rising sun. This posture of prayer was continued by the Christians, both people and *liturgi* together, with only this variant: they saw in the orient sun which they faced, an image of the Risen Christ.³² Only when the celebrant pronounced a blessing over the congregation, to whom he turned standing erect, was there any change

²⁹ That the faithful also raised their arms while praying is manifest from the frequent depiction of the *orantes* in the catacombs. Literary evidences from the 3rd to the 5th century are assembled in Quasten, *Mon.*, 174, note 4, in the commentary on Ambrose, *De sacr.*, VI, 4, 17. It is precisely this passage from Ambrose that shows that the lifting of the hands (following 1 Tim. 2:8) was observed by the faithful especially at worship. Cf. also Chrysostom, *In Phil. hom.*, 3, 4 (PG, LXII, 204). In Switzerland it was still customary in 1500 for the faithful at High Mass to pray with arms outstretched from the Consecration to the Communion.

In the Orient, in the Egyptian liturgies, the bodily posture of the worshipers, especially at service, was carefully regulated by continuous directions from the deacon. Right after the *Dignum et iustum est* the deacon ordered them to stretch out their arms Περῆσατε, Brightman, 125; *contra* Brightman, 601, this seems to be addressed, like the following, to all the faithful, at a later spot to stand up (Οἱ καθήμενοι ἀνάστητε, *ibid.*, 131, 174, 231), and finally, just before the *Sanctus*, to turn to the east (Εἰς ἀνατολὰς βλέψατε, *ibid.*, 131, 174, 231).

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

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

Apparently the turning to the East was expected, no matter what the position of the church building. But we may suppose that this orientation at prayer had something to do with the subsequent change in the method of construction, having the apse to the East instead of the front of the building (which was the more ancient fashion), so that when the *liturgus* prayed the faithful did not have to turn their back to him and the altar.

³⁰ F. Heiler, *Das Gebet* (4th ed.; Munich, 1921), 100. In ancient Jewish usage the word "to stand" also meant "to pray." With this we might link the conjecture that *statio* (in the sense of the primitive Christian stationary fast) originally meant prayer, place of prayer. Schümmer, *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis*, 136 ff.

³¹ Heiler, 101 f.

³² Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 1-258. Already in the 2nd century it was customary to indicate the orientation by a cross on the wall in the proper place (cf. Matt. 24:30); the proofs in E. Peterson, "La croce e la preghiera verso oriente," *Eph. liturg.*, XLIX (1945), 52-68; cf. *idem.*, "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der jüdischen Gebetsrichtung," *Theol. Zeitschrift*, III (1947), 1-15.

in the bearing of the congregation; now it differed from his in accordance with the shouted command, *Humiliate capita vestra Deo*³⁵—they stood with heads bowed.

But later in the Middle Ages the bodily posture of the faithful grew more and more unlike that of the priest. The bow of the head, as at the blessing, gradually became a sign of the congregation's humility in the sight of God, and was used during the orations and especially during the canon.³⁶ On the other hand, kneeling was still generally limited during the first millenary to days without festive character and even here it was limited to the fore-Mass. First, kneeling was proclaimed by the deacon's *Flectamus genua* for the people's meditative prayer which introduced the orations. Then, for the people, kneeling was transferred to the respective orations themselves,³⁷ and on non-festive days the bowed but standing posture, hitherto in vogue during the canon and other orations, was also soon changed to kneeling.³⁸ Already by 813 the Synod of Tours represents this attitude as the fundamental characteristic posture of the faithful (always, of course, excepting the days when, in honor of Christ's Resurrection, one prayed standing).³⁹ On Sundays and feast-days (taking this latter word in its widest sense) the standing position was retained. It was not till the eucharistic movement of the thirteenth century that any inroad was made here, namely, by kneeling at the consecration. The *Ordo missæ* of John Burchard which appeared in 1502 still directed the participants at a Mass celebrated with singing to use the standing posture as a general rule; the only variations were kneeling at the *Confiteor* in the prayers at the foot of the altar, and at the consecration⁴⁰; there was no longer any mention of bowing.

³⁵ This bow at the blessing also in other liturgies; cf. *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 3 and 4, 1.

³⁶ For this and what follows see *infra*, p. 370 f. and Vol. II, Ch. 2, 5.

³⁷ *Ordo Rom. antiquus* (Hittorp, 66).

³⁸ Kneeling during the Canon is prescribed for the priests around the altar in the *Ordo* of St. Amand, at the start of the 9th century (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 461); and later for the choir in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 29). As the idea of how long the Canon lasted changed, the duration of the kneeling also changed. Kneeling (or the *prostratio*) was prescribed during the *Pater noster* as early as the 9th century; see *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 2. By the 13th century we begin to see a growing tendency to stretch out the kneeling (resp. *prostratio*) as long as the Blessed Sacrament was on the altar; see the *Ordo Rom.* XIII which comes from the time of

Gregory X (d. 1276), n. 19 (PL, LXXVIII, 1116).

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

³⁹ Can. 37 (Mansi, XIV, 89).

⁴⁰ Legg, Tracts, 134. A genuflection is here prescribed also at the *Et incarnatus est*; *ibid.*, 135.

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

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

³⁹ There is a record here and there of sitting on the floor, but it appears not to have been customary; cf. Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 77. It was different, however, in those countries where it is still customary to sit on the floor. In the place-plan outlined in the Syrian *Didascalia*, II, 57 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 35 f.), there is constant reference to sitting for each of the groups of the faithful till the time for prayer.

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

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

⁴¹ *Supra*, p. 68 f.

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

In the *Liber ordinarius* standing remains the primary posture; bowing is prescribed only for the collects, the *Sanctus*, the *Pater noster*, the first *Agnus Dei* and the

post-communion, and also, with capuche thrown back, at the blessing. Kneeling is done only at the Consecration (and at *homo factus est* in the *Credo*). But *tempore prostrationum* everyone knelt from the *Sanctus* to the *Agnus Dei*, that is, during the time when previously bowing was prescribed.

Similarly detailed choir regulations are contained in the essentially older *Liber usum O. Cist.*, II, 56 (PL, CLXVI 1430-1432). From this work the *Liber ordinarius* has taken, for instance, the direction that at certain times the brethren are to stand facing the altar, whereas otherwise they stand *chorus contra chorum*; also the mention of certain places at which they are to bow, like at the *adoramus te* in the *Gloria*.

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

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

The *Ordo missæ* of John Burchard (Legg, *Tracts*, 134 f.) also has in mind the provision of seats for the faithful; in this case they are to sit at the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* (after the celebrant has finished reciting them and the choir is still singing), at the Epistle and the interposed chants, at the *Credo* (as before), after the offertory chant till the Preface, and after the Communion till the post-communion.

tion of churches, especially when, as a consequence of the Reformers' agitation, the sermon began to take on greater importance."

The benches or pews used in church also make provision for kneeling. This ties in with the ever-increasing importance of low Mass and the rules set down for it. It would seem that in the later Middle Ages the rules for posture at low Mass and at Masses conducted with less solemnity were basically the rules which held outside of feast-days and festal seasons.⁴⁶ That means, as a rule, kneeling at the orations and during the canon, to which must be added kneeling during the *Confiteor* at the beginning.⁴⁷ Standing was expressly required only during the Gospel.⁴⁸ To retain these regulations regarding kneeling and standing and at the same time to avoid a frequent and, in last analysis, disturbing change of posture during the short space of a low Mass, some simpler rule had to be devised for low Mass, namely, that aside from the Gospel one would kneel all the way through.⁴⁹ This rule, however, was never very strictly insisted on.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 459 f.

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

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

⁴⁷ Even at the less solemn *missa matutinalis* different choir rules obtained than at the conventual Mass; thus in the 12th century among the canons of St. Victor in Paris: E. Martène, *De ant. Eccl. ritibus*, App. (III, 791 f.).

⁴⁸ The *Lay Folks Mass Book* (ed. Simmons, 6 ff.), which was compiled with the 13th century Anglo-Norman conditions in view, orders the participants to kneel (and then in each case to stand, since sitting is not provided for) at the *Confiteor*, at the collects and Epistle, at the *secreta*, during the Canon, at the *pax* and the priest's Communion, and at the post-communion; see the editor's commentary, 191, 307. Analogous but less detailed directions are found in the Vernon MS. (c. 1375); *ibid.*, 128 ff., especially 143 ff.

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

⁴⁹ Cf. the details *infra*, p. 447 f.

⁵⁰ Thus already in the Mass-*Ordo* of John Burchard (Legg, *Tracts*, 134). This regulation has gone into our present Missal, *Rubr. gen.* XVII, 2.

⁵¹ German preachers in the 15th century usually stress only the kneeling at the Consecration; Franz, 21 f. At the Council of Trent a Portuguese complained that in Italy the faithful stood up right after the elevation of the chalice; they ought to stay kneeling as long as Christ's body was on the altar, as is customary elsewhere; Jedin (*Liturg. Leben*, 1939), 35; cf. *supra*, note 36. Still in Brazil the men (not the women, who occupy the pews) usually remain standing all during the Mass except at the Consecration.

Kneeling met with certain difficulties: especially the aristocrats found it hard, because they would get their clothes dirty and because their long turned-up shoes got in the way; Franz, 31.

In the U. S. kneeling is the characteristic posture not only at Low Mass but also at High (except for standing at the Gospel and sitting at certain other times). But

The forms of external participation, however, fulfill their meaning and purpose only when they are props and stays for an interior concurrence on the part of the faithful. The different forms of bodily demeanor are indeed an index to the distinction between prayer and reading, and even in prayer they bring the important thing to the fore. The acclamations help to accentuate this fact.⁶⁰ If the faithful of the earlier Middle Ages took part in the offertory procession, sang the *Sanctus* and the *Agnus Dei*, received the Sacrament or at least the *pax*, it is obvious that the grand lineaments of the sacred ceremony must have to some degree continually entered their consciousness. They could not, it is true, follow the wording of prayers and lessons when the language was different from their own, and this was a disadvantage, but it was by no means an absolute hindrance to devout participation. That the faithful were to pray silently by themselves during the sacrifice was also insisted on from early times.⁶¹

The natural pattern was, of course, for this inward devotion to adjust itself to the actual course of the liturgical function insofar as this was attainable, and to accompany the priest at least at a distance. This ideal had evidently inspired those who, in the Carolingian reform and even later in the Middle Ages, strove for the observance of the olden forms of outward participation. The prayer book of Charles the Bald presents prayer-texts of offering at the offertory, of intercession when the priest asks for prayer for himself, and of preparation for Communion⁶²; they are texts which square thoroughly with those of the priest. An English prayer book from the thirteenth century⁶³ also sets great store on the liturgical collaboration of whoever used it.⁶⁴ Joining with the prayers of the priest occurs in many places, often, it may be, quite extrinsically.⁶⁵ Just on the threshold

it is worthy of note that Father J. O'Connell, at the request of many American bishops, included in his ceremonial rules for the laity that differ in little from the ordinary choir rules, and hence insist on a standing posture as basic; J. O'Connell, *The Celebration of Mass*, I, appendix.

⁶⁰ At the same time it cannot be denied that the juncture of the closing *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum* with the start of the new act is hardly conducive to a clear understanding of the structure of holy Mass. The problem will be met later on again.

⁶¹ Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 4 (CSEL, 3, 269); Const. Ap., II, 57, 21 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 186).

⁶² See the pertinent sections in Vol. II, ch. 1, 4; and Ch. 3; 9.

⁶³ Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 1-60.

⁶⁴ Regarding the bodily posture, see *supra*,

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

⁶⁵ Prayers akin to the priest's prayers and similar considerations are suggested at the *Confiteor*, *Gloria*, Gospel, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, both mementos, the elevation, *Pater noster* (answer: *Sed libera nos a malo*—the only response mentioned), *Agnus Dei*. In several places, however, like the collects and the Epistle, the *secreta*, the first memento, the Consecration, the only suggestion made is that the participant say the *Pater noster*, to which in some instances the Creed is added and in one case the *Ave*.

of modern times Burchard of Strassburg, in a similar vein, makes a rather comprehensive remark regarding the faithful's participation: Even if people do not understand the priest's words or the Latin tongue, they should not say any other prayers but should pay attention to what the priest is saying and doing and should in spirit offer up, supplicate and plead along with him except during the time when the Sacrament is adored, and at that place in the canon where he (at the *Memento*) prays softly by himself; then one could likewise freely pray for oneself and for all those whom one wishes to commend to God.⁶⁶ It is this same Burchard who wanted to inaugurate once more the responses by the *interessentes*.⁶⁷

In the period of humanism such extravagant proposals might possibly have been suggested for educated groups. But for the broad masses of the faithful the simplest premises for such plans were entirely lacking, particularly the ability to learn the priest's prayers or even the Ordinary of the Mass.⁶⁸ Following the prayers of the priest was, and continued to be, beyond the reach of the average Catholic,⁶⁹ and so the external forms of participation were also long ago lost. The great stress of popular liturgical leadership has therefore gone in other directions since the ninth century, as we saw. It was enough to point out to the faithful what they could follow with their eyes and to explain the details of these sensible images as representations of Christ's redemptive Passion, extracting as far as possible every last meaning out of our Lord's institution. Allegory dominates the scene till well into modern times.⁷⁰ A long intellectual preparation was

⁶⁶ Legg, *Tracts*, 135.

⁶⁷ *Supra*, p. 237, note 24.

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

⁶⁹ The aporia inherent in this problem is aptly illustrated by an example which Simmons presents in his commentary in *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 158. In these notes Simmons reprints an anecdote illustrative of manners in the 16th century—a supposed conversation, written down in 1527, between the Lady Mary (afterwards Queen of England) and her almoner or chaplain. The lady remarks on the chaplain's advice that "we ought nat to pray at masse, but rather onely to here and harken"; but then, she asks, why does the priest say: "Pray for me"? What I told you, the chaplain replies, is applicable espe-

cially up to this admonition of the priest's. But the lady retorts: "I can nat se what we shall do at masse, if we pray nat." Chaplain: "Ye shall thynke to the mystery of the masse and shall herken the words that the preest say [and those who do not understand] shall behold, and shall here, and thynke, and by that they shall understande."

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

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

7. The Time of the Celebration of Mass

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

The day for the community celebration of the Eucharist was Sunday, even in the primitive Church. On a Sunday, Paul was with his congregation at Troas where he at night "broke bread."¹ Sunday is unequivocally designated in the *Didache*² and in Justin.³

What was till then more or less a matter of course, was at the beginning of the fourth century formulated as a sanctioned command at the Council of Elvira: *Si quis in civitate positus tres dominicas ad ecclesiam non accesserit, pauco tempore abstineat[ur], ut correptus esse videatur.*⁴ After that, the precept of Sunday Mass was often repeated, both in the East⁵

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

Cf. 1 Cor. 16:2.

² *Supra*, p. 18, note 54.

³ *Supra*, p. 23.

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

In the Syrian *Didascalia*, II, 59-61) Funk, 170-176) the faithful are emphatically admonished to appear for Sunday service, for the word of salvation and for the divine nourishment, and not to curtail the body of Christ in its members (II, 59, 2 ff.). Explicit, too, is the so-called *Doctrina Apostolorum*, which derives from the 3rd-4th century. According to Monachino, "La cura pastorale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma," 54-57, the people of Milan in St. Ambrose's time were content with the one episcopal service on Sunday, but by that time spatial limitations restricted attend-

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

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

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

and in the West.⁶ From the decrees of the Synod of Agde (506)⁷ it was copied into the general law of the Church.⁸ Still in the carrying out of the obligation, especially in country places, there were many difficulties that had to be contended with all through the Middle Ages.⁹

Besides Sundays, other days began to be reckoned as days of public worship on which one counted on the attendance of the congregation or even demanded it; these were the feast days, including the martyr feasts of the respective church, and also the days after a great festival, especially Easter week, and the days of preparation for such festivals, especially Lent. During Lent daily attendance at divine service was considered of obligation for many centuries from Carolingian times on, and was so enjoined in the penitential books.¹⁰ Besides it was the custom since the fourth century in nearly all Christendom on the stationary days, Wednesday and Friday, to conclude the fast in the afternoon with a prayer-meeting. Except in Egypt and probably also in Rome, this was nearly everywhere joined to the celebration of Mass.¹¹ In Rome the same rule was followed, at any rate during the ember weeks, the Mass formulas for which have been preserved till our own day. And even in Rome it became customary after the outset of the Middle Ages, to celebrate Mass publicly at least on Wednesdays each week, as we are bound to conclude from the Scripture lessons appointed for this purpose.¹² Each Ember week ended in the night between Saturday and Sunday with a long vigil, and the Mass of this vigil counted for the Sunday. However, about the seventh century a special Mass was formulated for this Sunday and the vigil Mass was moved back to Saturday morning so that Saturday too, at least in Ember week, received a distinction like that of Wednesday and Friday.

In the Orient, ever since the fourth century, Saturday had gradually been invested with the privilege of public Mass week after week, but for entirely different reasons. As a defensive parry against Manichean doctrine, Saturday, the day when creation had ended, was in time looked upon as "Sunday's brother"¹³ and was therefore fitted out in like manner with divine service.¹⁴

⁶ Franz, 11.

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

⁸ *Decretum Gratiani* III, 1, 64 (Friedberg, I, 1312).

⁹ Franz, 11-15.

¹⁰ Theodulf, *Capitulare*, I, c. 39 (PL, CV, 204); Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* XIX, c. 5 (PL, CXL, 962 C). Likewise in the somewhat later *Summa de indicibus omnium peccatorum*; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* (Düsseldorf, 1898), 492 f. *Decretum Gratiani* III, 1, 50 (Friedberg, I, 1307).

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

¹² *Infra*, pp. 400-402.

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

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

A daily celebration of Mass with the character of a public service must, however, have remained unknown to the ancient Church until well in the fourth century. More comprehensive expressions are to be understood either of a private celebration¹⁵ or even merely of Communion at home. But in the time of St. Augustine a daily Mass to which all the faithful could come must have been very widespread, at least in Africa.¹⁶ When it became the prevailing rule to transfer Votive Masses to the public church, the sharp distinction between public and private celebration began to disappear in the churches of the West and there arose some transitional forms. The faithful were now able to attend Mass in church daily.¹⁷

Still, public Mass on Sundays and feast days continued to retain its special prerogatives. All through the Middle Ages it had its appointed hour. And since the Church was free and (after renouncing the evening meal) no longer bound to choose an early morning hour, a time was set for common worship that appeared to be fitting for such a momentous task. On Sundays and feast days it was the third hour,¹⁸ which was designated at Rome¹⁹ about 530,²⁰ as well as in Gaul,²¹ and this hour it is which consistently recurs in the writings of both the liturgists²² and the canonists.²³ Since the Middle Ages it was regularly preceded by Terce, not only

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

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

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

¹⁷ This altered situation also necessitated a change in the arrangement of the church building and the altar, particularly the setting up of a special week-day altar to accommodate the smaller week-day congregation; see *Gottesdienst* (ed. R. Schwarz; Würzburg, 1937), 72.

¹⁸ The "third hour" did not, of course, coincide precisely with our "nine o'clock," for the older reckoning was based on an apportionment of daylight into twelve parts from sunup to sundown; in winter these portions started later, were necessarily shorter; in summer they began earlier and were lengthened out. For that reason the Synod of Cambria (1586), III, 10 (Hardouin, IX, 2157) stipulated: in summer at 8 o'clock, in winter at 9. See H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters*, (Hanover, 1891), I, 183 ff.; cf. also G. Bilfinger, *Die mittelalterlichen*

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

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

²⁰ The choice of the third hour was already anticipated in Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 63), where this hour is commended to the faithful as the hour the bread of proposition (shewbread) was offered up (to which some of the sources add: "as a type of the body and blood of Christ").

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

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

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

in monastery and chapter churches but also as far as possible even in parish churches,²⁴ and Sext usually followed.²⁵ Therefore, in the still extant directions for ringing the church bells²⁶ a special peal—rung two or even three times—was provided.²⁷ The arrangement developed for Sundays and feasts was shifted also to week days when daily conventual Mass became common in monastery and chapter churches.²⁸ But it must also have been adopted at quite an early period as the order of worship in parish churches.²⁹ “Mass time” was an unambiguous time-designation all through the Middle Ages and even after, and it meant the third hour of the day.³⁰

Already in Ambrose there is evidence of an evening celebration of Mass, but only on fast days.³¹ In the Carolingian era a Mass at the ninth hour on fast days was as much a matter-of-course as the Mass at the third hour on other days.³² This remained the custom in the centuries to follow, especially for Lent.³³ On other days that were midway between strict fasting days and feasts properly so called, the *dies profesti*, a middle course was taken from the eleventh century on, with Mass at the sixth hour.³⁴ It was not till near the end of the Middle Ages that any tendency was shown to push

²⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 211-212.

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

²⁶ Eisenhofer, I, 395 f.

Durandus, I, 4, 9-15.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The source material from the Gallic synods of the 6th century in J. Mabillon, *De liturgia gallicana*, I, 6 (PL, LXXII, 142 f.); repeated in Zimmermann, 114 f.

³³ Zimmermann, 117-132.

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

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

these later hours ahead by saying Mass as usual right after Sext or None, but anticipating these hours before noon.³⁵ Taking a cue from this, John Burchard, in his *Ordo missæ* (1502), expanded the existing tradition and thus developed the more exact regulations that were then taken over into the *Rubricæ generales* of our Mass book. Its most important stipulation is that the *missa Conventualis et solemn* on Sundays and feasts (semi-duplex and upward) ought to take place *dicta in choro hora tertia*, on simple feasts and ferial days *dicta Sexta*, and on days of penance *post Nonam*³⁶; that is, the Mass on feast days could, like the meals, continue to be attached to its usual hour of the day: it always takes place at the "third hour."³⁷

However, this holding to an appointed time for public worship has quite generally lost its importance since the later Middle Ages. That fact is connected with what we have already seen regarding the gradual breakdown of the distinction between public and private Mass.³⁸ For a long time no particular hour was stipulated for private Mass,³⁹ and therefore no connection with a canonical hour.⁴⁰ True, the faithful, in accordance with ancient law, were not so free to attend the *missæ peculiares* on Sundays and holy days as to be drawn away from public Mass⁴¹; in fact, the faithful were obliged to fulfill their Sunday obligations not just in any public church but precisely in their own parish church.⁴² But with the

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

³⁶ *Rubr. gen.* XV, 2.

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

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

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

³⁸ *Supra*, p. 229.

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

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

⁴⁰ Not till the 13th century (first in the Statutes of the church of Rouen) is there any general regulation that Matins, Lauds and Prime are to be said before Mass; Zimmermann, 171. The same injunction is also found in German synods of the 13th century (Hartzheim, III, 646; 662; cf. IV, 25). Also in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 100 f.).

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

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

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

coming of the Mendicants this law was slowly relaxed even though synod after synod took a firm stand in opposition.⁴³ In the fifteenth century it had become in many places a right sanctioned by usage that the Sunday duty could be fulfilled in any church of one's choosing⁴⁴ and, in consequence, at any Mass of one's choosing⁴⁵ and this right soon obtained papal approbation, beginning in 1517 with a decree of Leo X.⁴⁶

Thus on Sundays we continue to have, at the customary hour, a service which we usually style the main service, but besides this, service has long since been conducted also at other hours, particularly in cities. Of these the early hours with their Communion Mass, at which there is a homily, are from the pastoral viewpoint as important as the main service, though this latter is perhaps richer at least musically.⁴⁷ Even if the social aspect—the idea of community—is thus somewhat obscured, there is some compensation in the fact that so many of the faithful are offered the opportunity to take part in Sunday Mass, a viewpoint which was not entirely absent even in Christian antiquity.⁴⁸ And likewise service on weekdays has not for a long time been conducted along the pattern of a monastic community that is independent and self-contained and can therefore follow the old rhythm of the Office hours, but the determining factor has been rather the people's work day.

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

⁴³ Franz, 15-17. Among the synods cited here the first is that of Prague, 1349, the last that of Hildesheim, 1539. The Council of Arles (1260) had already strictly prohibited religious to receive lay people into their churches and chapels on Sundays; can. 15; Mansi, XXIII, 1010. And the Council of Budapest, 1279, was even more severe, inflicting various penalties; can. 33; Mansi, XXIV, 285-6. See Guiniven, *The Precept of Hearing Mass*, 30-34.

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

⁴⁵ Nicholas of Cusa, when Bishop of Brixen, had admonished parish priests to instruct the people *quod non sufficit audire peculiales missas*. Franz, 16, note 4.

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

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

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

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

⁴⁸ Leo the Great, *Ep.*, 9, 2 (PL, LIV, 627): *Necesse est autem, ut quædam pars populi sua devotione privetur, si unius tantum missæ more servato sacrificium offerre non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte convenerint*. This decision, which was sent to Alexandria, seems to presuppose a second, later Mass; however, it is not concerned primarily with the ordinary Sunday Mass, but rather with the unusual case of a gathering at a certain church where, because of a memorial service for a martyr, people from all over town have assembled; cf. Monachino, "La cura pastorale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma," 354 f.

Considerations of a similar sort under the conditions of World War II prompted the extensive approbation of evening Masses, and this exclusively as public Masses, celebrated in the interests of the faithful but without being confined to Sundays and holydays.⁴⁹ This is no unqualified innovation, even apart from the primitive Church,⁵⁰ and even when we have only divine service of a festal nature in view. For far into the medieval period the services for Easter and Pentecost and for the Ember Sundays were conducted on the eve or vigil at a late evening hour; even in modern times an analogous custom regarding the Christmas midnight Mass, which had its origin in Venice, became quite widespread.⁵¹

Besides the public Masses on Sundays and holydays with the corresponding assemblage—at least successively—of all the members of the congregation, attendance at weekday Mass also has been on the increase. In the early Church the only ones who attended weekday Mass were as a rule those for whose benefit the sacrifice was being offered. The celebration of Mass on the stationary days must, no doubt, have gathered a larger crowd of the faithful. In North Africa where daily celebration was customary earliest of all, Augustine gives us to understand that this was very necessary for the faithful in days of peril, that they might be able to continue steadfast.⁶² However, this is no evidence of a daily Mass attendance by a wider circle.⁶³

⁴⁹ These indulgences were granted to the military ordinariates of Germany as well as the United States, etc. Since then various other indulgences for public evening Mass have been vouchsafed. See the discussion of the recent Roman grants in G. Ellard, "How Near is Evening Mass?" *American Ecclesiastical Review*, CXXII (1950), 331-340.

⁵⁰ Cf. in this connection E. Dekkers, "L'Eglise ancienne a-t-elle connu la Messe du Soir?" *Miscellanea Mohlberg* (1948), I, 231-257; according to this article the evening Mass of the Corinthians was more or less an exception. The author multiplies proofs that in the very earliest Christian age Mass was normally celebrated *ante lucem*, while in the patristic period even week-day Mass was said *sub vesperam diei*.

⁵¹ Zimmermann, 146-157; 190-198.

It was this book, published in 1914, that gave the first impetus to this whole question of a post-noon Mass. In it he describes, 201-244, "the modern movement for evening Mass," but his own historical discussion of the question was the first great impulse this movement received. The more extended concession of evening Mass in

our times began with indulgences granted to certain countries pressed by persecution (Mexico, 1927; Russia, 1929) and with the permission to celebrate Mass continually for three days and nights at Lourdes in 1935; see Ellard, *The Mass of the Future*, 331 ff.

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

⁶² Augustine, *Ep.*, 228, 6 (CSEL, LVII, 489): those of the faithful especially had become recreant *quibus cotidianum ministerium domini corporis defuit*. Cf. *supra*, p. 213, note 4.

⁶³ Augustine, in his *Confessions*, V, 9 (CSEL, XXXIII, 104, 1. 6) remarks of his mother, St. Monica, that on no day had

It was not till the late Carolingian era, in the writings of Regino of Prüm, that there are any traces of the faithful attending daily Mass.⁶⁴ Daily attendance at Mass in the castle chapel was part of the order of the day amongst the Norman nobility of twelfth-century England⁶⁵; elsewhere too, the knights appear to have followed a similar practice.⁶⁶ The people were encouraged in sermons to attend Mass daily, even in the days before the widespread desire to see our Lord which went to such excesses during the late Middle Ages.⁶⁷ As a matter of fact daily attendance at Mass was a prevalent practice amongst all ranks of the people in the later Middle Ages.⁶⁸

8. Accommodations of Space

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

she missed the *oblatio ad altare*.

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

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

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

⁶⁶ In the Grail poem of Chrestien de Troyes (v. 6450 ff.). Parcival receives from a hermit the advice to go to church every morning. If Mass is said, he should remain till the priest has said everything and sung everything. Cf. the Grail legend, *Perceval le Gallois*, ed. Potvin (Mons. 1866), p. 261. Time and again Mass appears as part of the daily order for the knights in Wolf-

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

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

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

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

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

If, therefore, in the first centuries of Christianity there is but little mention of the place for divine worship and even that little is only incidental, the reason is to be sought in something more than just the circumstances of the persecutions. People assembled for their Sunday celebration wherever some member of the congregation could manage to set up the room for its performance. But the Eucharist was also celebrated in the burial places of the dead and even in the prisons of those held captive.¹ This basic freedom and mobility of divine service has been retained all through the succeeding centuries right down to the present. Today, too, whenever it is necessary, that sacrifice can be offered under the open sky or in any suitable place, and no other barricade against the profane world is exacted excepting the altarstone on which the sacred species can rest; and even this requirement is in our days set aside with the permission to use instead an *antimensium* like that traditional in the Eastern Church.² But two things continue to be indispensable for service: a resting place for the sacred species and a place for the assembling of the people. And thus, as soon as circumstances allowed Christianity to unfold and develop with less restraint, the history of church architecture and church art, already in embryo before Constantine's time, began its marvellous course.

It is significant that in the Romance languages the prevalent word used to designate the church building is the one which signifies an assembly, *ecclesia*, while in other languages, on the contrary, the word which is primarily intended for the church building, *κυριακόν*, "church," has been transferred to the assembly. As a matter of fact the building is nothing else than the material surrounding of the living temple of God, a substantial shell which has formed and will continue to form even though human foolishness or the forces of nature may have destroyed it.³ For that reason it seems in its design to mirror the idea and structure of the living temple.

¹ *Supra*, pp. 208, 217.

Cf. also Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 22, 4.

² Permission was granted to chaplains during World War II.

³ Cf. H. Sedlmayr, *Architektur als abbildende Kunst* (Österr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsbericht, 225, 3; Vienna [1948], 4-13.

Just as the Church of God is built up of people and clergy, so too the presbytery or choir, in whose vertex stands the *cathedra* of the bishop, is separated from the nave of the church. Just as the ecclesiastical assembly, following ancient custom, was wont to pray facing East, toward the Orient from on high,⁴ so too the ecclesiastical building is turned into a “ship” (nave=*navis*) voyaging towards the East,⁵ and the orientation of the church is in fact carried out in such a way (first in the East and later also in the West) that the apse is to the East, and so the direction which the praying congregation faces coincides with the lie of the building.

Finally, the consecration of the living temple is, in a way, carried over to the material structure⁶; church and altar are consecrated and themselves become holy. There is something to be learnt from the fact that in this consecration ceremony—the old Gallican rite, revitalized with Roman traditions and still retained in today’s *Pontificale Romanum*—church and altar are “baptized” and “confirmed” almost like human beings; they are sprinkled on all sides with holy water and are anointed with holy oil⁷; only after that is the first Eucharist celebrated.

The heart of the church, the focal point at which all lines converge, is the place of the sacrifice, the altar.⁸ We nowadays take such a thing for granted, but actually a certain development lies back of this. In the church of Christian antiquity the personal element in the assembled congregation was so much to the fore that it was the seat of the bishop or rather the bishop himself who was the central figure; he is the *liturgus* who offers up the Eucharist to God. The material side of the gifts is, if anything, hidden rather than emphasized.⁹ The table on which they lie is looked upon merely as a technical aid. It is, you might say, not an altar at all, in the sense of pre-Christian religions where the gift is hallowed and dedicated to God only when it touches the altar; our Gift is intrinsically holy, dedicated to God by its very nature and in the last analysis does not really require an altar. All the references we possess from the third and fourth centuries agree in their account of the altar; they regard the altar not as a part of the permanent structure of the church but only as a simple wooden table which is carried into position by the deacons as occasion dictates.¹⁰ But the new appreciation for the material gift by which the sacrifice of the New Testament burgeons out of and beyond this earthly space and hallows it, and the deeper rooting of the Church in this world of time, were the

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 301.

⁵ For this cf. H. Rahner, “Antenna crucis, III,” *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 196-227, especially 201.

⁶ R. Grosche, “Versuch einer Theologie des Kirchbaus,” *Betendes Werk*, ed. R. Schwarz (Würzburg, 1938), 113-121.

⁷ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 406 ff.; 410-412.

⁸ J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (2 vols.; Munich, 1924); Geoffrey Webb, *The Liturgical Altar* (2nd ed.; Westminster, 1949).

⁹ *Supra*, p. 24 ff.

¹⁰ Eisenhofer, I, 344 f.

cause, or at least the occasion, for the altar's assuming a more fixed form. Often in the fourth century—and regularly thereafter—it is made of stone. But it remained a plain simple table. Even today its name in the Orient is still ἡ ἄγλα τράπεζα.¹¹

To this table the *liturgus* came at the beginning of the Mass proper, the sacrificial offering. On which side should he take his place—facing the people or facing away? History indicates that both practices were in use from the very start, at least in the vicinity of Rome. Even today they are both countenanced in the *Missale Romanum*.¹² One way, the priest stands turned towards the altar facing in the same direction as the people; this is at present the general rule both East and West, and appears to have always been the rule in the East. The other way, he stands on the side opposite, facing the people, and this is the position presupposed in some of the older Roman churches. However, this latter position appears to have been chosen only where there was some special reason for it.¹³ The rule which grew ever more important, that at prayer all should look to the East—and naturally this included the celebrant first of all—led even in the early Middle Ages to the priest's assuming a place almost without exception¹⁴ like the one he assumes today, on the side of the altar nearest the people, for he is the leader of the people in their prayer and at their head offers up to God their prayer and sacrifice.¹⁵

¹¹ Salaville, *Eastern Liturgies*, 133. This term is used even beyond the Greek-speaking areas; Brightman, 569.

¹² *Ritus serv.*, V, 3.

¹³ Braun, I, 412 f., suggests three reasons: (1) If the altar was linked to a martyr's grave (*confessio*), the side facing the people had to be open to give them access to the grave. (2) If in episcopal churches the *cathedra* stood in the apse (as it does in all the Roman statinal churches), it was most convenient (although not imperative) that the side nearest the apse be chosen for celebrating. (3) Especially if the apse was built on the western side of the church, this method of celebrating had to be adopted, for the law that prayer be said facing East demanded such a solution.

Cf. for Augustine's time, Roetzer, 89.

¹⁴ An exception which literally confirms the rule is to be found in the altar in the west choir of Rhenish churches and others; so that even here the priest might stand properly oriented he had to take the side towards the nave. Braun, I, 415; cf. 387 ff.; G. Malherbe, "L'orientation des autels dans les églises à double chœur," *Les Questions*

liturgiques et paroissiales, XXI (1936), 278-280.

¹⁵ See the plans by R. Schwarz, *Vom Bau der Kirche* (Würzburg, 1937), esp. 56 f. Orientation at prayer and the symbolism it entails has lost much of its meaning for us. But the basic principle that at prayer all—including even the celebrant—should take a God-ward stance, could easily be at work here too, in establishing the celebrant's position at the altar. If Mass were only a service of instruction or a Communion celebration, the other position, facing the people, would be more natural. But it is different if the Mass is an immolation and homage to God. If today the altar *versus populum* is frequently chosen, this is the result of other considerations that come into play—considerations which are rated as of paramount importance particularly as a reaction to earlier conditions. It serves to narrow down the distance between priest and congregation and to highlight the instructive items contained in the prayer and the rite. In certain circumstances—like the services for young people—these reasons appear to be well-founded.

The same basic relationship is the reason for the position which the altar occupies in the space of the church. It is a striking fact that in the history of Christian church architecture the axial type appears in various localities, but that even here the altar is hardly ever placed in the center; both in oriental churches (with cupola and shaped like a Greek cross) and in the circular churches of the West (a style frequently used during the Baroque period), the altar stands in a niche or apse which was added to the circular structure, as a rule toward the East.¹⁶ But during ancient times an effort was always made to set up the altar in such a way that it seemed to belong both to the nave and to the choir, being placed at the intersection of the two or even brought out a little into the nave itself.¹⁷

Then in the early Middle Ages a new movement set in, which gradually moved the altar into the background in the rear of the choir.¹⁸ This is but the architectonic expression of an intellectual movement which stressed more and more the sacredness and aloofness of the mystery and restricted immediate access to it to the clergy.¹⁹ In the Orient the altar stands free and open in the sanctuary but, by means of the ikonostasis, it is withdrawn from the people's gaze.²⁰ In the West, the altar itself was moved closer to the rear wall of the sanctuary and at the same time the sanctuary or choir in Romanesque architecture was vastly increased in size; in monastic and caputular churches it became a formal clerical chapel, specially designed for the clerical services which continually became more richly developed.²¹ Here too, the railing which marked the limits of the choir often turned into a dividing wall, although intended to separate the clergy, rather than the altar, from the people.²² Therefore, a second main altar (often called the "rood altar") was sometimes built in the church in front of this (choir) screen, to serve the people.²³ But when the chapters began to disappear the screen likewise disappeared, first from the leading churches and then soon everywhere. Baroque architecture restored the unity of place without, however, making any changes regarding the placement of the altar.

¹⁶ Braun, I, 390-393.

¹⁷ There are authenticated instances in many places in the ancient Church where the plan of building involved an altar in the center of the nave. For the old churches of Tyre, Zebed and Menas, *Vide* K. Liesenberg, *Der Einfluss der Liturgie auf die frühchristliche Basilika* (Diss.; Freiburg i. Br., 1928), 39 f.

This plan of construction was used quite generally in North Africa; J. Sauer, "Der Kirchenbau Nordafrikas in den Tagen des hl. Augustinus" (*Aurelius Augustinus*, ed. Grabmann and Mausbach; Cologne [1930]; 243-300), 286 f.

The same holds true of ancient Christian

architecture in Greece; see the review of a pertinent discussion by G. A. Sotiriu in *JL*, XI (1931), 290.

¹⁸ In Syria, for example, this development had already been completed by the time of the Islamic invasion; Liesenberg, 64.

¹⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 82 f.

²⁰ *Supra*, p. 40. Cf. also Salaville, *Eastern Liturgies*, 105-111.

²¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 103 f., 205 f.

²² Braun, II, 665 f.

²³ Braun, I, 401-406.

Regarding the history of side altars we have already given a brief resumé, *supra*, p. 222 ff.

The altar, too, saw a great development from the simple table of olden times to the elaborate forms of recent centuries; but a clear idea of the purpose of the altar was not always kept in view. As the place where the sacred mystery was celebrated, it was fitting that the altar should receive every mark of respect possible. Even in the pre-Constantine era people were conscious of this.²⁴ The altar was decked and decorated like a table; precious cloths were spread over it. Chrysostom had to give a warning about an excess of zeal in this matter that left other tasks undone.²⁵ The frontals (*antependia*) of our day which now cover usually the front of the altar only, are the last vestiges of this sort of reverence. The next move was to add railings and steps. The altar of the church in Tyre which was dedicated in 314 was surrounded by an artistically wrought railing.²⁶ The elevated position of the altar, standing as it did in a sanctuary which was raised somewhat above the level of the church, already lent special significance to the altar, but—in the Western Church—special steps were constructed in front of the altar itself, though this did not become a general rule till the eleventh century and after.²⁷ But the most prominent of the marks of distinction given the altar was the special shelter or canopy which surmounted it either by way of a *baldachin* or *testa* or by way of a fixed *civory* (*ciborium*).²⁸ This covering over the altar served to emphasize the special character of the table.

The closer the altar was put to the rear wall, the more necessary it became that this wall itself should be connected with it in significance and importance. The wall of the apse had long been specially ornamented. Preferably they were decorations that expressed those matters which formed the core and kernel of Christian consciousness, very much as the thanksgiving prayer of the Mass did by means of words—the glorified Cross, the Lamb triumphant, the Good Shepherd, or finally Christ enthroned and surrounded by the saints or by the Apostles or by the ancients of the Apocalypse.²⁹ Later the representation of the Crucified was more often substituted for these others. Even in places where—as was not seldom the case in the Gothic period—a decorative wall-painting was introduced over the altar, the choice dictated by old tradition fell by preference on a crucifixion group either as the only representation or at least as the principal one.³⁰

But about the eleventh century quite other rules were formed as the result of the introduction of a decorative structure ornamented with paintings, built either on the altar-table itself or immediately behind it, the

²⁴ Origen, *In Jesu Nave hom.*, 10, 3 (PG, XII, 881).

²⁵ Chrysostom, *In Matth. hom.*, 50, 4 (PG, LVIII, 509).

²⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, X, 4 (PG, XX, 865 f.).

²⁷ Braun, II, 178 ff.

²⁸ Peter Anson, *Churches: Their Plan and Furnishings* (Milwaukee, 1948), 100-103.

²⁹ C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* (3rd ed.; Paderborn, 1922), 422-430.

³⁰ Braun, II, 533. Examples (several of them from churches in Cologne and southern Tyrol), *ibid.*, 532 f. More often this concerns side altars.

so-called retable. In the choice of subjects for these pictures the widest variety prevailed; all of Christian iconography was brought into play.³¹ Strikingly enough, it is seldom the mystery of Redemption depicted in any shape or form. Where the crucifix did appear it was generally a quite realistic representation, with a host of strange figures around it.³² Completely forgotten was the essential notion that a picture over the altar is not a pictorial record of the past but primarily an instrument for professing our Catholic faith and acknowledging our Christian hope. Most often the picture was one of the saint in whose honor the church was dedicated and whose relics—according to ancient principle—were buried there. Next to this, figures of other saints were frequently placed. Here is the key to the understanding of the iconographic phenomenon alluded to. It is explained, in the last analysis, by the connection which the altar had during the early Middle Ages with the grave of the martyr to which the devotion of Christian people had turned quite early with great zeal. The tension and strain which was naturally bound to develop between the shrines of the martyrs and the churches destined for congregational worship³³ was thus finally eased when the relics of martyrs (in a broad sense) were brought into the congregational churches and the latter then became martyr-shrines in their own right.³⁴ By the sixth/seventh century these relics were dismembered and inclosed in the altar itself, just as is prescribed for every altar today.³⁵

The high honor paid to the relics led to another step in the ninth century, namely, that something was permitted on the altar which was not required for the performance of the Eucharist—a thing unthinkable previously, and still avoided in the East. For at this time an exception was made in favor of reliquaries or relic-shrines.³⁶ Again, as a result, the altar was built up, just as had happened in the case of the saints' pictures. The way was opened to the development of the massive structures we have come to know, the Gothic polyptych altars and the Baroque architectural masses, in which the *mensa* or table often seems to sink into the insignificance of a mere appendage.³⁷ But there was some compensation to be found

³¹ Braun, II, 445 ff.

³² Braun, II, 456.

³³ This is made plain in a document of the Egyptian Church stemming from the end of Christian antiquity, the *Canones Basilii*, c. 33 (Riedel, 250): "When uncultured people venture to deny the Catholic Church and its law at the very graves of the martyrs, and no longer desire to remain under its power, the Catholic Church cuts them off as heretics. Just as the sun does not need the lamplight, so the Catholic Church [= the Church as a congregation] does not need the corpses of martyrs . . . The

name of Christ is enough for the honor of the Church, because the Church is the Bride of Christ which he bought at the price of his sacred blood." The sermon written down after 431 by the Egyptian monk Schenute appears to regard the same kind of conditions; this is referred to in Braun, I, 652, 654 f.

³⁴ Braun, I, 525-661, esp. 656 ff.

³⁵ *Cod. Iur. Can.*, c. 1198 § 4.

³⁶ Eisenhofer, I, 370.

³⁷ It was only in width that the measurements of the altar increased, since a distinction was made between Epistle and Gospel side. Cf. *supra*, p. 109.

for the splitting of the idea of the altar which was thus introduced, when in the eleventh century the crucifix was brought to the altar,³⁸ a prescription of law still maintained in our own day.³⁹

³⁸ Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 469 ff.

³⁹ *Missale Romanum*, Rubr. gen., XX.

The present-day legislation does not distinguish whether or not there is on the wall behind the altar or on the altar-structure itself some adequate representation of Christ, so that, for example, on the Sacred Heart altar we will see a rather unpretty duplication.

Regarding other altar furnishings we will hear more in connection with the pertinent practices. For the rest, cf. the books by Braun already referred to and the more cursory presentation in Eisenhofer, I, 342-376. For present-day legislation regarding church, altar and furnishings, see Msgr. H. E. Collins, *The Church Edifice and Its Appointments* (2nd ed., reprinted, Westminster, 1946).

Part III

THE MASS CEREMONIES IN DETAIL

I. The Opening or Entrance Rite

1. Fore-Mass and Opening as a Unit

THE EUCHARISTIC CELEBRATION COULD HAVE STARTED WITH THE preparation of the sacrificial offerings and the prayer of thanksgiving. But at the very outset it had become an inviolable rule to have an introductory section composed of readings. First of all an atmosphere of faith had to be created before the great mystery of faith was performed. This introductory section is called the fore-Mass in contradistinction to the Mass proper or the sacrifice-Mass.¹

As we shall see more in detail later, the fore-Mass—or, more precisely, the older portion thereof which began with the lessons—was originally an independent liturgical entity. The consciousness of a certain independence of this older fore-Mass remained alive for a long time. For it other regulations held than for the eucharistic service in the narrow sense. Sometimes the fore-Mass was conducted in one church, the Mass proper in another ;

¹ The terms “Mass of the catechumens” and “Mass of the faithful” are also used to designate these parts respectively, but these expressions did not come into use till the 11th century. Florus, *De actione missarum*, n. 92 (PL, CXIX, 72), in the 9th century, still uses both expressions, *missa catechumenorum* and *missa fidelium*, in their original sense of dismissal of catechumens and faithful. After the Gospel, we read, *clamante diacono iudem catechumeni mittebantur*, i.e. *dimittebantur foras*. *Missa ergo catechumenorum fiebat ante actionem sacramentorum, missa fidelium fit post confectionem et participationem*.

It must be noted in passing that the implications of the phrase “Mass of the catechumens” do not coincide exactly with those of “fore-Mass,” for the catechumens were not allowed to stay till the very start of the Mass-sacrifice. The

readings were followed by common prayers for the various wants of the Church and its several classes of members. The last part of this was the prayer of the faithful, but before its start the catechumens were told to withdraw if they had not already done so. Compare the vacillation in the limits between pre-anaphora and anaphora in Oriental liturgies, due to the same causes; Hanssens, *Institutiones*, II (1930), 2 f. Indeed at Rome, from about the sixth century it became the custom to send the catechumens away even before the Gospel, because the Gospel was considered as much a matter of the *disciplina arcani* as the Our Father and the symbol; *Ordo Rom. VII*, n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 996 B). Cf. P. Borella, “La missa o dimissio catechumenorum”, *Eph. liturg.* (1939), 67-72.

this was the custom in Jerusalem at the turn of the fourth century,² and also in North Africa.³ There is, for example, an account of the monastery of St. Sabbas (Mar Saba) in the vale of Cedron, where monks of different nationality, Georgians, Syrians and Latins, lived together; they first performed the introductory service of readings and prayers in separate oratories and in their own vernacular, and then assembled for the sacrifice at which Greek was used.⁴ Even today the independence of the fore-Mass is intimated in our pontifical service, for here during the fore-Mass the service hinges not around the altar, but around the *cathedra* of the bishop.

In olden times the fore-Mass began abruptly with the lessons or readings. This was certainly the case in the Orient,⁵ and must also have been true in the West until far into the fifth century. St. Augustine gives us an account of the beginning of the Mass on a certain Easter day which was signalized by an unusual event. Before service began, a sick man who had been praying in the *cancelli* of St. Stephen was suddenly cured. There was a great deal of excitement amongst the people already assembled, loud cries of thanks and joy filled the house of God. Augustine, who was in the sacristy, ready to make his entrance into the church, was informed. But what is of real interest to us is that when the tumult had gradually died down, the bishop greeted the people (*salutavi populum*) and then without further ado began the reading of the lessons.⁶ At that time, therefore—the story comes from the year 426—the fore-Mass began with the readings without any preliminaries. Even in the present-day Roman liturgy there is still one instance of an abbreviated fore-Mass starting with the readings, namely on Good Friday, although it is true no sacrifice-Mass follows, but only the reverencing of the cross and a Communion service; worship on this day begins with a lesson from Osee, after which there are two other readings, followed by the great intercessory prayers.

² *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 25 (CSEL, XXXIX, 74 f.), et al.; cf. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, II, 4 f.

³ Augustine, *Serm.*, 325 (PL. XXXVIII, 1449).

⁴ *Typikon* of St. Sabbas (Hanssens, II, 6 f.); text compiled in the 12th century (Latins = Φεγγροι), so that even then similar conditions must have prevailed. Two older narratives regarding a similar separation and re-union between Greeks and Armenians; v. Hanssens, II, 5 f.

About 600 we hear about other monasteries where the Scripture reading, the very heart of the fore-mass, was generally skipped because the monks were already otherwise occupied with Holy Writ; Hanssens, II, 7 f. There is another reminiscence of the older plan to

be found, namely, the fact that Isidore of Seville, *De eccl. off.*, I, 15 (PL, LXXXIII, 752) begins his enumeration of the Mass prayers only after the Gospel. And in the Roman liturgy one instance of a Mass without a fore-mass still existed in the 7th-8th century, the exceptional case of Mass on Maundy Thursday: see *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 209); cf. *Gelasianum*, I, 38; 40 (Wilson, 63; 72); Dix, *The shape of the liturgy*, 439-442.

⁵ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 5, 11 (Funk, I, 477). Likewise in the somewhat more recent *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 273), but here with the notation, "while they [the faithful] are coming in they should read over the Psalms."

⁶ Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8 (CSEL, XL, 2, p. 610 f.).

Further details regarding the course of this more ancient fore-Mass in all liturgies included, as a rule, the following items. The individual readings were generally followed by a song of some sort, usually derived from one of the lyrical passages of Scripture. The last reading was a portion of the Gospels. And finally the series of readings concluded with a prayer. This fore-Mass was therefore nothing else than a Bible lesson, in which the words of Holy Writ were followed by some sort of scriptural echo and in which the last section was always a prayer.

The part preceding the lessons is the result of a less ancient development which ran more or less parallel in the various ecclesiastical provinces, but without following any common ground-plan. However, some sort of common basic idea was everywhere at work. This was the notion that the lessons should have a preliminary, an introduction. But the introduction did not come into full being at a stroke; rather it is here precisely that many different stages can be distinguished in the growing structure. There is one archway after the other, one ante-room after the other, each tacked on as the zeal and reverence of successive centuries dictated. The oriental liturgies have generally evolved a preliminary whose proportions far exceed those of our Roman liturgy. For not only do they interpose at the start, before the readings, some type of entrance ceremonial, but they preface this with a formal hour of canonical office, and in fact the Byzantine Mass even ushers this latter in with the *proskomide* during which the sacrificial gifts are prepared and pre-hallowed at a special offertory table—the *prothesis*—with a whirl of ceremonies and prayers that are in turn wonderfully rich and extensive.

The one peculiarity that the oriental fore-Masses have in common is the preparatory prayer hour which is always incorporated in it; in the East Syrian it is a variant of Vespers, in the other liturgies a creation corresponding to our Lauds.¹ This is the prayer ceremony which Aetheria, in Jerusalem about 390, came to recognize as the first morning service on Sundays. After the bishop had entered the Church of the Resurrection, a priest, a deacon, and another cleric, each in turn, intoned a psalm, to each verse of which the people responded with a refrain; the psalm was followed in each case by an oration.² This plan of prayer is most plainly evident today in the Byzantine Mass.

This forms the heart of the so-called ἔναρξις, or Opening. Here we find, one right after the other, three antiphonal songs composed mostly from the psalms (the three “antiphons”), to each of which is attached an oration by the priest along with the deacon’s *ektene*. It is not till after this prayer-act that (in the Byzantine Mass) the so-called Little Entrance follows. The clergy participating in the liturgy form a procession, marching from the sanctuary through a side door of the ikonostasis or picture-wall into

¹ Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 78-86.

² *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 9. (CSEL, XXXIX, 73).

the nave of the church, and back again through the center door into the sanctuary. This is the entrance with the Gospel-book, to be distinguished from a later procession, the Great Entrance, with the sacrificial offerings. The introit of the Roman Mass corresponds to this first entrance, for in an earlier stage of development the clergy used to make their entry into the house of God in procession.* Even in the liturgical formation of this entrance the analogy to the Roman type cannot be mistaken. For this Little Entrance is accompanied by a special chant (*εἰσοδικόν* = *introitus*), which is usually followed, depending on the festival, by some other hymns (*troparia*) and finally by the *trisagion*, the same that the Roman liturgy also has on Good Friday. Both at the entrance and at the *trisagion* the priest softly recites a lengthy prayer; the lessons begin after that.

Turning now to the Roman entrance rite, the thing that strikes us about the whole ceremonial, from the prayers at the foot of the altar to the collect, is its lack of coherence; we do not get the impression of something unified. For that reason interpreters of the Mass scarcely ever treat it under one title. Each individual portion, prayers at the foot of the altar, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, collects—each has its own individual explanation without much connection with the others. And precisely for that reason we must try to consider the whole section as a unit, in order to gain the right background for the various component parts.

Usually the collect is the part selected as a hub for the several connecting lines. But hardly anything could show more clearly than this how much in the dark we are regarding the whole subject. Some have suggested that the oration belongs by right to the reading service; originally its place was after the first reading and not till later was it shifted, owing perhaps to the influence of the introit psalm.⁹ Others explain that the oration was originally a part of a special assembling ceremony which preceded the Mass. The reference here is to the old Roman custom of gathering at a different church; after all had convened, ready to start the procession to the church where Mass was to be celebrated, an oration was said over the assembled congregation. After this practice was abandoned, the oration was transferred to the church of the Mass, and placed after the processional litany which still survives in the *Kyrie*.¹¹

Such opinions rest on the assumption that otherwise there is no reason for the oration being where it is. Is that really so?

With good cause other commentators maintain that the *Kyrie*, at least in its original form as a litany, required a priestly oration as its conclusion, just as the oriental *ektene* shows today¹²; putting it another way, the

* Hanssens, III, 104 f.

⁹ P. Alfonso, *L'Eucologia romana antica* (Subiaco, 1931), 132-137; similarly Eisenhofer, II, 97.

¹¹ Cf. P. Parsch, *The Liturgy of the*

Mass, trans. F. C. Eckhoff (St. Louis, 1936), 112.

¹² Fortescue, *The Mass*, 252.

Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 79, raises some objections against the originality of

oration in the Roman Mass has the character of a conclusion, and must therefore represent in this connection a stopping point after the litany already mentioned.¹³

As a matter of fact there can hardly be any doubt that the oration and the *Kyrie* belong together. This becomes all the clearer when we take cognizance of liturgical prayer outside of Mass. For the prayers of the congregation, the litany type, with its petitions intoned by a deacon and with its *Kyrie eleison* as the response of the people, has been the characteristic form since the fourth century. But the ancient Church was conscious of the fact that the litany demanded a concluding prayer by the priest.¹⁴ This manner of concluding with prayer Ætheria, the pilgrim lady, remarked in the congregation of Jerusalem, especially amongst the monks, and for this reason a priest or deacon was always present at their common prayer to recite the oration at the end.¹⁵ In particular, the litany at Vespers was concluded by the bishop with an oration.¹⁶ In our own Office, too, each hour even now closes with the oration.

To be sure the *Gloria*, which is so often interposed between *Kyrie* and oration, and seemingly to no purpose, seems to put this whole matter of a connection between the two once more in serious doubt. For a grasp of the basic plan, however, this can really have very little significance, because originally the *Gloria* was inserted only by way of exception, and even later only on those feasts on which the *Kyrie* appeared to invite a more joyous supplement. Besides, it is not unheard of that some further popular prayers or even hymns were added to the litany and, in general, to all the alternating prayers of the congregation. In the *preces* of the breviary the *Kyrie* is followed by a long series of prayers and psalm verses and on some days even by a formal hymn (namely, the *Sanctus Deus*), and only after that

this arrangement, but they do not seem overwhelming. The question regarding the structural laws governing the enarxis is wholly independent of that other question, just when did the pertinent complexity of prayers become tightly joined to the fore-Mass.

¹³ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 120.

So, too, Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, I, 88; but the author compromises with the other theories, p. 89.

¹⁴ Cf. the decree of the emperor Justinian, *Novellæ*, 123, c. 32 (*Corp. Jur. civ.*, ed. Schoell, III, 617): *qualiter enim est litania* [an impetrative procession, but probably involving a litany-prayer] *in qua sacerdotes non inveniuntur et sollemnes faciunt orationes?*

Cf. also Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cleric.*, I, 33 (PL, CVII, 323 A): *Post*

introitum autem sacerdotis ad altare litanie aguntur a clero, ut generalis oratio præveniat specialem sacerdotis.

¹⁵ *Aetherie Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 1 (CSEL, XXXIX, 71).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24, 5 f. (CSEL, XXXIX, 72).

The same tie-in is found in *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 6-11 (Funk, I, 478-494). Cf. also the Synod of Agde (506), can. 30 (Mansi, VIII, 329 f.).

This close connection between the prayer of the congregation and the oration seems to quash the suggestion put forth by Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 452-458, who would trace the introduction of the oration at Rome to an Egyptian model, and the introduction of *Kyrie* and *Gloria* to a later Syro-Byzantine one. The connection itself is vainly contested by Dix, p. 479.

is there a conclusion with the oration. Something of the kind can have happened in the case of the *Gloria*. Moreover, the *Gloria* does not interfere with the *Kyrie's* concluding in an oration, for it too seems to demand such a conclusion. The story is told that when Leo III and Charlemagne met in the year 799, the pope intoned the *Gloria* which was taken up by the entire clergy, whereupon the pope recited a prayer.¹⁷ We are forced, therefore, to conclude that *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and oration are part of a unified plan which is patterned on an ascending scale, the oration forming the high point. But how does it happen that the Mass is opened with such a schema of prayer? This question leads to still another: What about the prayers that precede, that is, the prayers at the foot of the altar, and the introit?

First the introit. Our introit, as everyone knows, is an entrance song, a processional, and to appreciate its meaning and form we must transport ourselves to one of the larger basilicas of Rome for the splendid and solemn ceremonial of a papal Mass, with its numerous clergy and its specially trained choral group.¹⁸ Here we are confronted for the first time by a picture that we shall meet again in two other places in the Roman Mass: an external event which is sufficiently important to warrant some external expression. The people participating do not say a prayer, but the choral group, who are ready precisely for this occasion, sing a psalm, an entrance psalm, exactly as they afterwards sing the offertory psalm and the communion psalm. This external event is concluded with a prayer, as is proper in an assembly gathered for worship. As the *secreta* is said after the offertory, and the *post communio* after the communion, so here the collect (but in this instance with the people's *Kyrie* and *Gloria* intervening). In other words, the act or prayer is introduced by a procession into the basilica. This procession ought not only to be enhanced by the chanting, but it ought also to be distinguished as a movement to prayer, as an approach to God's majesty, as is done when the assembled congregation shouts out the petitions and the priest takes these up, and brings the proceeding to a conclusion with an oration. As a matter of fact, Amalar in the ninth century actually connected the introit and the oration in this manner.¹⁹ Rupert of Deutz, too, includes all the proceedings up to the collects under one heading as *initium quod dicitur Introitus*,²⁰ and we have found the same thing even in Albertus Magnus and other commentators of the period.²¹

What is left to explain now is the group of prayers at the foot of the altar, a thing of much later date. But this is a very secondary structure

¹⁷ Hardouin, IV, 935 D.

¹⁸ *Supra*, pp. 68-70

Cf. Parsch-Eckhoff, *The Liturgy of the Mass*, 83.

¹⁹ Amalar, *De off. eccl.*, III, 5 (PL, CV, 1108): *Officium quod vocatur Introitus habet initium a prima antiphona, quae*

dicitur Introitus, et finitur in oratione quae dicitur a sacerdote ante lectionem. Cf. also the declaration of Rabanus Maurus quoted in Note 14 above.

²⁰ Rupert of Deutz, *De div. off.*, I, 31 (PL, CLXX, 28 B).

²¹ *Supra*, p. 114.

added to the already completed fabric as a further embellishment. It thus happens that the entire complex of prayers and rites antecedent to the readings, in particular the prayers following the introit, are all governed by the entrance procession. We can therefore rightly speak of an entrance or opening rite.

A confirmation of this reconstruction is to be found in parallel phenomena of the Roman liturgy. Take the *Ordo* of St. Amand, which reproduces the customs of the Roman church after 800. In it are presented the practices usual at a *collecta*, that is, at a penitential procession of the Roman community under the leadership of the pope, with which it was customary to introduce the station services on certain days. These *collecta* took place in the following manner. The people gathered at a conveniently located church, generally St. Adrian's at the Forum, and from there marched to the church at which Mass was to be celebrated. The procedure was this: The pope and his attendant deacons, vested in dark *planetæ*, waited in the sacristy (which was usually near what we call the rear of the church). When it was time to start, the *schola* intoned the *antiphona ad introitum*. While the psalm was being sung, the pope and his deacons proceeded through the church up to the altar. As the pope passed the *schola* he gave a signal to skip to the end of the psalm and sing the *Gloria Patri*. Arriving at the altar, he bowed low in silent prayer. Then he kissed the altar, the deacons following his example. After the antiphon had been repeated in the usual fashion, the pope spoke the greeting, *Dominus vobiscum* and, after the *Flectamus genua* of the deacon, recited an oration. Then everyone left the church and set out in the penitential procession.²² Here we have the Roman rite of opening a service clearly separate and carried out for its own sake. The only thing missing from the comparable portion of the fore-Mass is the *Kyrie* before the oration.

But it is significant that the scribe felt called upon to make a special note regarding the missing part: "When the antiphon at the close of the introit has been sung to the end, the *schola* does not sing the *Kyrie*."²³ The *Kyrie* therefore normally belongs to this rite. The reason it is left out here is obvious; it is intoned at the very beginning of the penitential procession. This procession is likewise the reason for the insertion of *Flectamus genua*. Almost the same procedure is repeated at every church visited on the way, and lastly at the station church itself.²⁴

²² Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 473-4; cf. 480. This same plan, somewhat abbreviated, also in the appendix to *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 23 f. (PL LXXVIII, 949).

Cf. Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," *ZkTh* (1936), 528 f., 533 f.

²³ Duchesne, 474, 480.

²⁴ Duchesne, 474; cf. *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 23 f. The only difference is that at the

churches visited on the way the *schola* does not sing an introit-psalm but instead finishes the litany which was begun shortly before. In the church of the station service the litany is again brought to a finish, but thereupon the introit is sung, to be followed, as at the first church, by an oration without any intervening *Kyrie*.

One could therefore, in a way, talk about a *rite of visiting churches*. The present-day *Pontificale Romanum* presumes this arrangement in all essentials when a visiting prelate is to be received ceremoniously in a church. Accompanied by singing he marches into the church and kneels down to pray before the main altar. While the versicle in honor of the patron of the church is chanted, he kisses the altar at the middle and then recites the pertinent oration at the Epistle side.²⁶ Here, too, the entry into the church, the visiting of a church, has been given a liturgical form. In the case of the Mass-liturgy, the visiting of the church has been transformed into an entrance or opening ceremonial.²⁸

Although we have used the procedures of the *collecta* to explain the fore-Mass, we must yet take issue with a certain common misconception of the relationship between the two. Some interpreters have been too prone to draw a connection between the litany chant accompanying the procession on its way and into the stational church, and the *Kyrie* of the Mass, as if the latter was derived from the former. In like manner—something we have already touched on—the oration of the Mass, often called the *collecta*, is often derived from the oration recited at the church where the *collecta* took place. Both notions are untenable. The *collecta* as a gathering of the Roman community was not a stable and constituent part of the stational service, but only the prelude of a penitential procession which took place before the stational service on certain days—in olden times not very frequent—especially in Lent and the ember-tides, but never on Sundays or feasts.²⁷ The *Kyrie* could not therefore have intruded into the Sunday or feast-day service in this wise. As for calling the first oration *collecta*, we shall see further on that the term had a very different origin, and really means a gathering together, by the priest, of the preceding petitions of the people.

In this sense the term *collecta* is quite appropriate for this first oration of the Mass, for it seems to blend together all that has gone before. The congregational praying and singing and even the entry with its accompanying chant serves only to draw us nearer to God to honor Him in the holy sacrifice. Since the lessons are meant to be introduced before the beginning of the sacrifice, it would appear only proper to indicate the meaning of this common approach by means of a preliminary solemn prayer in much the same way as the Roman congregation did when it assembled at some

²⁶ *Pontificale Rom.*, p. III, *Ordo ad recipiendum processionaliter praelatum*. Similarly the other plans for reception contained in the Pontifical.

²⁷ At the basis of all this lies what I have elsewhere called the liturgical ground-plan, namely the series: reading, singing,

prayer of the congregation and prayer of the priest; there is only this difference, the external activity of the reception is substituted for the reading; cf. J. A. Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship* (New York, 1941), 65-81.

²⁸ R. Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," ZkTh, LX (1936), 511-554.

church for the start of a penitential procession, or when it stopped in at a church on the way. "We come to pray," is the basic motto of this first part of the Mass.²⁸

Nowadays, however, this notion is no longer so apparent. The rite of entry has to a great extent lost its meaning, owing in the main to the fate which the entry has suffered in the course of centuries. Up till about 1000 it continued to be a fully-developed ceremonial, and so it was easy to survey the liturgical transformation which it was undergoing. Not only in the Roman stationary service²⁹ but even in the Frankish Church, the entrance of the clergy had been a ceremony of capital importance, and in the descriptions and the allegorical explanations of Carolingian interpreters of the liturgy it assumed a formidable amount of space.³⁰ But in the years that followed a change set in. John Beleth (d. about 1165), in explaining the introit, had to make the remark that the bishop on feast days sometimes vested outside the choir.³¹ In harmony with this, Durandus too felt compelled to note that the bishop—in whose regard, to be sure, every effort must have been made to retain the more solemn formalities—might take up the *paramenta* either *longe ab altari* or *juxta altare*.³² All the more quickly, then, would the vesting of the priest be transferred to the sanctuary or its environs.³³

This change is easily explained by the medieval evolution of choir prayer and the development of the fixed regulation that the conventual service, which for centuries simply meant the Mass, should each day immediately follow Terce or the other corresponding hour, for which the clergy were already assembled.³⁴ An entrance procession was therefore superfluous. Often the celebrant and his assistants were already clothed in the Mass vestments, as, for instance, when in monastic churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries all priest members of the choir wore alb, maniple, and stole.³⁵

²⁸ A similar schema was in recent years worked out for pedagogical purposes, to facilitate understanding the beginning of the Mass. The pertinent five-step plan was first devised by Dr. Pius Parsch in 1924 (as he was good enough to tell me), and was then circulated by means of wall charts and leaflets; see P. Parsch, *Kurze Messerklärung* (Klosterneuburg, 1930), 33; (2nd ed., 1935), 52. The schema then recurs in its essentials in Schott's *Messbuch der hl. Kirche* (37th ed., 1934), 26*, with the first step divided: We come—We beg. Cf. Parsch-Eckhoff, *The Liturgy of the Mass*, 43; Parsch, *Study the Mass*, trans. Wm. Busch (Collegeville, 1941), 19 ("We offer our prayer"); R. Bandas, *The Mass and the Liturgical*

Year (St. Paul, 1936), 19 ("We speak to God").

²⁹ For the entry in extra-Roman churches of Christian antiquity see several references in Bona, II, 2, 1 (553 f.).

³⁰ Thus, e.g., in Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 5 (PL, CV, 1108-1113): *De introitu episcopi ad missam*. Cf. *supra*, p. 89.

³¹ John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 35 (PL, CCII, 44 B).

³² Pontificale of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 635).

³³ But the case is not often attested; *vide*, however, the Missal of Evreux-Jumièges: Martène, I, 4, XXVIII (I, 642 D); here we have a Mass in which a deacon assists (644 E).

³⁴ *Supra*, pp. 204, 247.

³⁵ *Infra*, pp. 280, 284.

Usually, it is true, the vesting in the Mass vestments or—when choir dress and Mass dress were once more distinguished—the putting on of the *paramenta* was transferred to the sacristy.

But in Romanesque structures the sacristy was not built near the entrance of the church but somewhere close to the choir. In these cases the entry called for in the ancient Mass regulations could be reinaugurated. Sometimes, in fact, it was consciously revived and given a greater development by marching the long way through the nave of the church³⁶ (as was done in the late Middle Ages on great feast days),³⁷ or at least a procession down the aisle on Sundays in the course of blessing with holy water, as was customary all through the Middle Ages and still is in some residual form.³⁸ The liturgical reform of the sixteenth century permitted only the bishop to vest at the altar and this both as a privilege and as a prescription, perhaps because the various formalities which had developed meanwhile gave it the character of a dramatic introduction to the pontifical service.³⁹ The natural consequence of all this evolution was a change in the role of the introit; the introit would have to be sung, but not as an accompaniment to the few steps which as a rule were all that had to be taken to reach the altar. Instead of a processional, the introit became an introductory chant which in Rome already in the fourteenth century was not begun till the priest reached the altar steps.⁴⁰

³⁶ According to the ancient rite of the Cistercians, the procession of the clergy first went to the south transept, where all remained bowed while the choir intoned the *Gloria Patri* of the introit. Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.* [1926], 252 f.

A similar entrance procession is still to be seen on festive occasions, sometimes starting from outside the church, sometimes starting from the sacristy but proceeding down the aisles and up the center. Such occasions as a First Mass, for instance.

³⁷ In the parochial services of the 16th century a procession was always included as part of a special solemnity; at the start of the celebration all the assembled clergy marched solemnly through the church and on occasion carried the relics which were displayed on the altar. See Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 85.

³⁸ Eisenhofer, I, 478 f.

This procession is still to be seen (or was a few years ago) in Lithuania; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern," (*StZ* [1927], II), 359.

³⁹ But Durandus, in his *Pontifical* (Andrieu, III, 635, l. 11), pays no attention to the place of vesting, and in either case has the bishop stride to the altar *processionaliter et sollemniter*. Cf. *Cærimoniale episc.*, II, 8, 23 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 14; 27 (PL, LXXVIII, 1129 B; 1135 B).

The rubric of the present-day Vatican Gradual apparently takes the stand that the introit should again assume its rightful place as the entrance song of the Mass, for it expressly orders that the introit be intoned as the celebrant approaches the altar: "When the priest starts towards the altar, the cantors begin the introit." There are liturgists who insist that the Vatican Gradual introduced no change, that the introit is to be intoned only after the priest arrives at the foot of the altar. But actually the wording adopted is different from that in the older rubrics, substituting *accedente sacerdote ad altare* for the other reading, *cum . . . pervenerit ante infimum gradum altaris* (the rubric based on the Ceremonial of Bishops). The plain and ob-

The decline of the entrance ceremony entailed some other transformations at which we ought to look briefly. The lights which had previously been carried in procession and then placed next to the altar⁴¹ were now more frequently set on the altar from the very start.⁴² Since Carolingian times there was no longer any hesitancy about putting on the altar things other than those required for the sacramental celebration⁴³; so in the new circumstances it was taken for granted that when no procession was held the candles should stand on the altar even before Mass and should stay there. Their previous significance as an honor to the celebrant—in the first instance a bishop⁴⁴—was lost (so long as the other attendants at the more solemn feasts were not, in their turn, accompanied by candles). In place of honoring the celebrant was thus substituted a very becoming honor to the mystery that was consummated on the altar. A similar change took place with regard to the censer. It is not used so much as formerly, on the way to the altar or in the procession to read the Gospel,⁴⁵ but at the altar itself which is incensed.

Finally the psalm *Iudica*, which about the year 1000 was introduced into pontifical services as a part of the entrance procession, was definitely transferred to the foot of the altar, after a very diversified career; sometimes its few short verses had been said on the way to the altar, sometimes during the vesting, sometimes at the altar—and often not at all.

2. *Præparatio ad Missam*

That the soul must be prepared for the celebration of the Eucharist is one of those self-explaining requirements which were already insisted upon in the primitive Church.¹ This requirement applies not only to the priest

vious direction of the rubric is: **Start** the introit as soon as the celebrant appears in the sanctuary.

⁴¹ *Supra*, pp. 68 and 201. Regarding this and also regarding the changing position of the candles (torches) in the sanctuary the Carolingian interpreters have presented very thorough discussions; e.g. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 7 (PL, CV, 1114 f.); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1248; 1250).

⁴² The first literary notice of this arrangement is not to be found till Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 21 (PL, CCXVII, 811). But various pictorial illustrations since the second half of the 11th century display candles on the altar. On the other hand the older system of placing them next to the altar did not disappear entirely until the 17th century

Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 492-498. See also Edm. Bishop, "Of Six Candles on the Altar: an enquiry," *The Downside Review*, VI [XXV] (1906), 189 ff.

Peter Anson, *Churches, Their Plan and Furnishing* (Milwaukee, 1948), mentions the Cathedral of Chartres as still having its six candles on the steps of the high altar, not upon it; 113, note 21.

⁴³ *Supra*, p. 258.

⁴⁴ *Supra*, p. 68.

⁴⁵ Acc. to the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 635) the censer is also carried when the bishop has vested next to the altar, but in this case no incense need be placed in it. No immediate significance is therefore attached to it any more.

¹ *Supra*, p. 18.

but to whole Christian people. Nevertheless, within the liturgy itself special forms for this preparation were in general fashioned only for the priest, just as special service garments were prescribed for him alone. Only in the Sunday services of the congregation was any special rite of preparation created for the people, a rite involving the cleansing of the soul. This is the sprinkling with holy water at the *Asperges* or *Vidi Aquam*, two chants, one—with the beginning of Psalm 50—implying contrition and penance, the other—with the beginning of Psalm 117—suggesting the springs of grace gushing forth from the Easter mystery.²

Special prayer for the priest, to prepare himself for the holy action even before he puts on the liturgical garments, is outlined also in the oriental churches at quite an early period.³ But most of the time this prayer is inserted into the rite of the Mass itself as a prayer upon entering the sanctuary. In the West there is no evidence of any preparatory prayer before going to the altar, other than the canonical hours, until in the ninth century different types of so-called “accession” prayers make their appearance. These first appeared in the form of apologies,⁴ then in the form of psalmody—the kind that has continued in use till now. The latter is the case in the Sacramentary of Amiens, which also offers us the first vesting prayers and the first instance of texts for the priest to say quietly during Mass.⁵ The preparation has a core of psalmody, namely Psalm 50, with versicles and three orations. This plan of preparatory prayer was not followed very extensively.⁶ In its place there appeared about the year 1000, in the Mass *ordo* of the Séz group, a well-planned office of preparation which, with numerous changes, continues to reappear all through the Middle Ages and still stands in our own missal, though in a slightly developed form.

In its original shape this preparation consisted of three psalms: Ps. 83 (*Quam dilecta*) in which the pilgrim expresses his longing for the distant sanctuary; Ps. 84 (*Benedixisti*), the Advent psalm, which praises God's grace and begs His continued protection; and, to round out the number

² Eisenhofer, I, 478-480.

Cf. Cuthbert Goeb, O.S.B., “The Asperges”, *Orate Fratres*, II (1927-8), 338-342.

Attempts to introduce a more profound, sacramental purification from sin will engage us in connection with the *Confiteor* and especially in connection with the prayers which once were attached to the sermon.

³ Records since the 10th century in Hanssens, III, 1-7.

⁴ Sacramentary of St. Thierry (2nd half of the 9th century; see Leroquais, I, 21): Martène, I, 4, IX (I, 541-545): 14 penitential prayers, some of them very extended, designated as *orationes ante missam*; to them are added intercessory

prayers. Cf. also the Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century), *ibid.*, V (I, 518).

Two intercessory prayers intended as preparation, in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th century): PL, LXXVIII, 239.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 77.

⁶ It recurs again in the Missal of Troyes: Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 528), and greatly expanded (the seven penitential psalms replacing Ps. 50) in the *Missal Illyrica*: *ibid.*, IV (I, 490-492). In both cases it is followed by the preparatory prayers of the Séz group which we are about to mention. Cf. also the Sacramentary of Lyons (11th century): Leroquais, I, 126.

three, another psalm in the psalter, Ps. 85 (*Inclina*), which merely invokes God's help in a general way.⁷ Of the versicles that immediately follow, two (which emphasize the *motif* once more) are taken from Psalm 84 (*Deus tu conversus; Ostende nobis*), while others beg the forgiveness of sin (Ps. 142:2: *Ne intres*; Ps. 78:9b: *Propitius esto*) or beg God's mercy (Ps. 43:26: *Exsurge*; Ps. 32:22: *Fiat misericordia*; Ps. 101:2: *Domine exaudi*). The conclusion consists of the oration *Aures tuæ pietatis*, with its petition for the help of the Holy Spirit to render one's service worthy. It is still used as the first oration after the versicles, but the original singular (*precibus meis—merear*) has been altered to the plural.

This office of preparation quickly underwent various augmentations. One addition that gained general acceptance was Psalm 115 (*Credidi*), which mentions taking up the chalice of sacrifice.⁸ Other psalms which were subjoined appear only sporadically,⁹ as also did the penitential Psalm 129 (*De profundis*) which, together with Psalm 115, was chosen in Italy about the turn of the twelfth century.¹⁰ It found its way into the Mass *ordo* of the papal chapel by 1290¹¹ and from there was taken over, in conjunction with Psalm 115, into our Roman Missal. Penitential psalms are not seldom found in the frame of this preparation.¹² In the same document of the papal chapel¹³ we find the rest of the details of the prayer-complex belonging to it, just as they are in the missal today: the antiphon again reminding us of penance, *Ne reminiscaris*, then after the *Kyrie* and *Pater noster*¹⁴ the still missing versicles of similar penitential spirit. There is also the increase

⁷ Sacramentary of Séz: PL, LXXVIII, 245, and related sources (see *supra*, pp. 92 ff.

⁸ *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 492 D; here with many other accretions); cf. *ibid.*, XVI (I, 594 D). Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 1; 23 (PL CLI, 979; 992); Sacramentary of Modena (Muratori, I, 86) and most of the later sources.

⁹ Among them Ps. 116 (*Laudate*) often appears, either alone (thus, after the 12-13th century, in Styrian Mass books [Köck, 95; 100], and regularly in Hungarian ones [Radó, 23; 40, etc.]) or together with the last octonary of Ps. 118 (*Appropinquet*; thus more than once outside Italy: Köck, 97; Beck, 260; Yelverton, 5). The octonary mentioned is also found in other relationships in Spanish books of the 15-16th century: Ferreres, 54; 67; and already in the Missal of Liège (11th century): Martène, I, 4, XV (I, 582 E).

¹⁰ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, I, 47 (PL, CCXVII, 791); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, II, 8 (PL, CCXIII, 86).

In the 13th century the psalms in use today, with appropriate orations, are mentioned in Pseudo-Bonaventure, *De preparatione ad missam*, c. 12 (Bonaventure, opp., ed. Peltier, XII: Paris, 1868), 286; Durandus, IV, 2, 1.

¹¹ Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.* [1937]), 199. See also Hoeynck, 367f.; Beck, 260; Yelverton, 5.

¹² The seven penitential psalms are found in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 490 E); cf. Sacramentary of Lyons: Leroquis, I, 126. Likewise even at the close of the Middle Ages in: Missal of Seville (1535): Martène, I, 4, 1, 8 (I, 348 C); Mass-Ordo of Regensburg: Beck, 258.

¹³ Brinktrine, *op. cit.*, 199f.

Apparently also in a Minorite Missal of the 13th century; Ebner, 313.

¹⁴ The transition to the versicles with *Kyrie* and *Pater noster* is remarked in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 1; 23 (PL, CLI, 979:992); in the Missal of St. Vincent at Voltorno, about 1100 (Fiala, 197; cf. Codex Chigi: Martène, I, 568 E); in a Seckau Missal of 1170 (Köck, 95), in

of the orations to seven, which all take a very positive turn; the first six, like the original one, begging the grace of the Holy Spirit,¹⁵ and the seventh, the old Advent oration *Conscientias nostras*,¹⁶ in a similar vein asking for a cleansing of the conscience so that it be ready for the coming of the Lord.

This series of prayers shows in outline the general plan followed for a liturgical act according to liturgical laws for common prayer. In fact the later Middle Ages sometimes actually transformed it into a formal canonical hour.¹⁷ From the very beginning these prayers were thought of as suited for common recitation,¹⁸ and even according to present-day rules, at a pontifical Mass the two assisting canons must answer the bishop when he says the "accession" prayer while his sandals are being put on.¹⁹

the Sacramentary of Modena written before 1174, which also contains an antiphon which, however, reads: *Sanctificanos, Domine* (Muratori, I, 86).

In certain Hungarian Mass books since the 12th century the *Kyrie* has been built up into a peculiar kind of litany (no names of saints but only groups: *omnes s. patriarchæ*, etc.): Radó, 23; 40; 76; 96; 18; 123; 155. But for the rest, abstracting from the versicles, these Mass books are most closely akin to the Séz group; e.g. both groups have simply the two prayers—often even combined—as the conclusion: *Fac me, quæso* (see *infra*, p. 286) and *Aures tuas*.

¹⁵ The prevalent attention to the Holy Ghost is shown also in the Seckau Missal where the antiphon *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* follows the psalms; likewise in the late medieval *Ordo* of Gregorienmünster: Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 653 D), where besides the *Veni, Creator* heads the psalms. The isolated antiphon is also found *ibid.*, XXVIII (I, 642 D); Ferreres, LXXXIV.

The *Veni, Creator*, with versicle and the oration *Deus, cui omne cor patet* (without a psalm) as a rule formed the preparation in the usage of Sarum: Legg, *Tracts*, 210; 255; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 216; Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 664); it was recited while vesting.

Cf. also *infra*, p. 297, note 29.

¹⁶ Sources in Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1359; cf. also Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 46.

¹⁷ Beginning with *Deus in adiutorium* and the hymn *Veni, Creator*, then the psalms, little chapter (Rom. 5:5), responsory,

preces and several orations; Augsburg Mass-*Ordo* of 1493: Hoeyneck, 367 f. Similarly in a Hungarian missal of the 14th century; Radó, 71. Expanded (e.g., with *Appropinquet*; see note 4 above), in the Missal of Seckau about 1330; Köck, 97f. and in the Regensburg Mass-*Ordo*, Beck, 259-261. In curtailed form also in Sweden: Yelverton, 5-7. Hoeyneck rightly remarks: "These prayers read like an *Officium de Spiritu Sancto*" (41).

¹⁸ Mass-*Ordo* of Séz: Martène, I, 4, XIII (I, 574 E): *cum circumstantibus*. Similarly the parallels: XII, XIV f. (I, 568 D, 580 B, 582 E); the *Missa Illyrica* has the clerics praying alone while the bishop vests: *ibid.*, IV (I, 492 C). The Sacramentary of Modena (Muratori, I, 86) also gives a special direction: *cantet per se (episcopus vel presbyter) et per circumstantes psalm. istos cum litanis et antiphona*. Cf. Ebner, 321.

Further references in Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 32; according to him the litany here included was still sung before High Mass in many places even in 1700.

¹⁹ *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 7. The same prescription in the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 632f.): the bishop prays the psalms *cum clericis suis*. Likewise in a Neapolitan missal of the 15th century (Ebner, 115): the bishop *cum capellanis suis*. The Roman Pontifical of the 13th century still mentions the prayers, beginning with Ps. 83, recited by the bishop while vesting (Andrieu, II, 371, 471, 478 et al.).

Whereas originally this much re-written accession office took the place of the earlier apologies, eventually a very lengthy formula of this latter type was added to the accession, the prayer designated as *oratio s. Ambrosii, Summe sacerdos*, sections of which are now distributed through the seven days of the week. It is an apologia in a wide sense, for the grim tones of dismal self-accusation have faded into a confident voice of humble petition. It did not, in fact, originate during the years when the apologies were rampant, but only in the eleventh century.²⁰ Like the other prayers and considerations which later Mass books, particularly our present Roman Missal, assigned to the priest,²¹ it was not considered obligatory.²² But the foregoing accession prayers, on the other hand, are always presented in the source books since the eleventh century as part of the liturgy in much the same way as the vesting prayers which are attached to them, and the prayers that follow at the foot of the altar, from which, in point of fact, they are often not very clearly separated. The degree of obligation was more definitely fixed by the law of custom.²³ The Missal of Pius V sets them down as obligatory *pro temporis opportunitate*. On the other hand, it insists on the general admonition, that the priest before going to the altar devote himself to prayer for some time, *orationi aliquantulum vacet*.²⁴

²⁰ F. Cabrol, "Apologies", *DACL*, I, 2599; Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 101-125, where a critical text is offered and John of Fécamp (d. 1079) is suggested as author. However it must be noted that the prayer is already found by the middle of the 11th century in the Sacramentary of St. Denis, where it stands at the beginning of Mass: Martène, I, 4, V (I, 522 E); see the dating in Leroquais, I, 142. The prayer was soon widely diffused. It is to be found in the Freising Sacramentary of the 11th century: Ebner, 272; in a mid-Italian sacramentary of the out-going 11th century; *ibid.*, 300; cf. 51; since the 12th century also in Spain: Ferreres, p. LIX, LXXII, CX, 78f.; see also the references in Bona, I, 12, 4 (148f.).

Pseudo-Bonaventure (*op. cit.* note 10 above) advises the priest to append this prayer to the five psalms, etc. It appears to have reached the Roman Missal via the Mass-Ordo of Burchard of Strassburg (Legg. *Tracts*, 126ff.), who makes the prayer optional.

²¹ The *Ordo missæ* of Regensburg (c. 1500) was a veritable anthology of the preparatory prayers and devotions of the later Middle Ages: Beck, 257-261. The *Ordo qualiter sacerdos se præparet* here

contains, after the 15 *gradus beatae virginis* (that is, three times five psalms, with certain supplements) and the 7 penitential psalms, an introduction to interior recollection, a prayer *de passione Domini*, several other prayers, and besides this the accession office described above in note 17.

The Missal of Vich (1496) starts the preparatory prayers of the priest with an excerpt from the writings of St. Gregory the Great (*Dial.* IV, 58) beginning *Hæc singulariter victima* (Ferreres, p. CIV).

The prayer presented in the Roman Missal with the heading *Oratio s. Thomæ Aquinatis* is found with variants in the preparatory prayers of Linköping (Yelverton. 9 f.); *Omnipotens et misericors Deus, ecce accedo*. The other prayers that follow did not enter the missal until the new revised edition of Clement VIII (1604) and other succeeding editions.

²² Cf. *supra*, note 20.

²³ *The Tractatus Mismensis de horis canonicis* (c. 1450) ed. Schönfelder (Breslau, 1902), 102, acknowledges an obligation only *ubi hoc est consuetudo vel statutum provinciale vel synodale*.

²⁴ *Rit. serv.*, I, 1; cf. *Cod. Iur. Can.*, c. 810.

The Tridentine missal is not thinking here of vocal prayer, that seems clear. This is explained by the fact that the movement for meditative prayer, which had developed in the circles of the *devotio moderna*, had been gaining ground year by year since the end of the fifteenth century.²⁶ In this instance it was a matter of going to the altar with mind alert and with a consciousness of the grandeur of the mystery. It was a matter of drawing near to the sacrifice of the New Covenant, to worship in spirit and in truth. Here, then, the fact had to be acknowledged that a contemplative tarrying in the world of the supernatural was more important by far than any further multiplication of vocal prayer. It was understood, of course, that the day's Matins and Lauds had been said; this rule continued in force.²⁷ Rightly did morning meditation before Mass become a set part in the order of the day of every priest.²⁷

3. Putting on the Liturgical Vestments

Besides the inner preparation there is also an outer one. Before going to the altar the priest must vest himself in the liturgical garments. The natural feeling that we ought to put on better clothing for the celebration of divine worship¹ was something the faithful had learnt long ago. A similar sentiment of reverence had led, even before the end of Christian antiquity, to a special liturgical vesture for the celebrating priest.² At first it was merely more costly, more precious than the ordinary holiday clothing of the townspeople.³ It was not till city fashion ordained a new shorter costume that liturgical dress began to be distinguished from ordinary dress, for our liturgical vesture is nothing else than a stylized form of the holiday attire of the old imperial days of Rome.

In the alb, held together by a cincture, we have a survival of the ancient tunic. To this is joined the amice (*humeral*e, shawl or shoulder covering), the neckcloth or scarf of old, which went by various names. As an outer garment there is the chasuble, the Mass garment proper, which by its very name (*casula*, "little house") is reminiscent of an older shape that com-

²⁶ P. Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, III, (trans. W. H. Mitchell; New York, 1927), 4-22.

²⁷ *Rit. Serv.*, I, 1, Cf. *supra*, p. 248 f.

²⁷ Regarding some special forms of ascetical preparation which were customary in former centuries for the *hebdomadarius* in certain collegiate churches (complete retirement in the house, fasting, reading of the story of the Passion) see Lebrun, I, 30f. Cf. de Moléon, 173 F.; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 273 f.

¹ Thus Christians acted even in the days

of Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.*, III, 11 (PG, VIII, 657).

² For a more detailed study of what follows *vide* J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung* (Freiburg, 1907). Cf. also a series of articles by Dom Raymund James, O.S.B., "The Dress of the Liturgy," *Orate Fratres*, X (1935-6), 28 to 12, and XI (1937-8), 545.

³ Even in 530 the *Liber pontificalis* (Duchesne, I, 154) ascribes to Pope Stephen a prohibition to wear *vestes sacratæ* outside church; the author is plainly thinking in terms of his own generation.

pletely shielded the body. This shape suggests clearly its origin in the old Roman *pænula*, which almost entirely replaced the Roman toga in the late imperial period.⁴ It was not till the thirteenth century that the ample folds of the ancient bell-shaped *casula* were reduced so that less material—now in various colors—had to be used, and the vestment finally attained its present shape by cutting down the sides. What might first have been induced by the Gothic temper, since the oval outlines suited the style of the period, was eventually pushed to an extreme in the interests of Baroque, which seemed to prefer using heavy, stiff brocades.

The original character of the garment was thus lost, but in the last few years efforts have been made to return to the older shape. As signs of honor and distinction the priest wears two other vestments, both the color of the chasuble, namely, the maniple and the stole. The origin of the stole is not clearly known, but in the maniple we can recognize the fashionable handkerchief of Roman times, called *mappa* or *mappula*, which was carried in the hand—hence the later name *manipulus*—or fastened to the arm.

Since Carolingian times the act of vesting in the liturgical garments gradually became a liturgical act fitted out with prayer. It is usually, but not always, preceded by a washing of the hands.⁵ This too is accompanied by a short prayer, either by the verse *Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas* (Ps. 25:6),⁶ to which in the earlier sources the verse *Asperges me* (Ps. 50:9) is sometimes joined,⁷ or by the oration *Largire*, which often recurs after the eleventh century,⁸ or, as often happened later, by both verse and prayer.⁹ The formula which we at present connect with the handwashing, *Da Domine virtutem manibus meis ad abstergendam omnem maculam* does not appear in this connection until later. Where it does appear earlier, it usually concludes with *Per* and as an addition to the oration *Largire*, it accompanies the drying of the fingers.¹⁰ The preparation of the outer man

⁴ The same garment, styled here a *planeta*, is already mentioned in the first Roman *Ordo*; see *supra*, p. 68.

⁵ In some instances the washing of the hands is placed ahead of the accession psalms; so in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 492); in Styrian missals: Köck, 95; 100; and also in Italy: Ebner, 321.

⁶ The Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 439.

⁷ E.g. Martène, 1, 4, VI ff. (I, 528 E; 534 E; 537 E).

⁸ First in the Mass-Ordo of the Séz group: *Largire sensibus nostris, omnipotens Pater, ut sicut exterius abluuntur inquinamenta manuum, sic a te mudentur interius pollutiones mentium et crescat in*

nobis sanctarum augmentum virtutum. Per . . . (PL, LXXXVIII, 245).

⁹ Styrian missals, for example; in some of these Ps. 25 is said from its very start; Köck, 95, 96, 98. Also in Hungary: Radó, 23, 41, *et al.*

Seckau missals of the 15th century have interpolated a *Kyrie, Pater noster* and versicle between psalm and oration; Köck, 99, 105; further additions in the Regensburg *Ordo* of circa 1500: Beck, 261.

¹⁰ Missal of St. Vincent (circa 1100): Fiala, 196; cf. Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 568 B). Also the *Ordo* of Gregorienmünster (14-15th century), *ibid.*, XXIII (I, 654 A); Augsburg missal of 1555: Hoeynck, 369; Hungarian missals: Radó, 23, 41 *et al.*

was apparently a very serious concern. In the tenth century and after, there is frequent mention of the comb which the priest uses to arrange his hair,¹¹ a reference no doubt to the medieval mode of longish hair-cuts.¹²

In medieval sources we find the washing of the hands is preceded, as in present-day pontifical rites, by the ritual putting off of the outer clothing (accompanied by proper prayers)¹³ and in the older period also by the putting on of special footwear.¹⁴ At private Mass it was the custom in many medieval churches to prepare the paten and chalice with the offerings right after washing the hands, and to mix the water and wine to the accompaniment of the usual words.¹⁵ After this, followed the vesting.

Vesting did not always occur in the precise order now followed. The amice, for instance, was not put on till after the alb, as would be natural

The formula is used since the 11th century also for putting on the maniple; see *infra*.

¹¹ Sacramentary of Ratoldus (d. 986; PL, LXXXVIII, 241 a): *ministretur ei aqua ad manus et pecten ad caput*.

Later on, the comb is always mentioned before the washing: Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 199 (PL, CLXXII, 604): *deinde pectit crines capitis*. Similarly the rhymed German interpretation of the Mass (12th century), ed. Leitzmann (Kleine Texte, 54), 16, 1. 26 f. Two Seckau missals of the 12th and 14th centuries even contain a special prayer *ad pectinem*: May God remove all that is superfluous and send down the sevenfold gift of the Holy Spirit; Köck, 95, 98. Witnesses of the 15th century, *ibid.*, 103, 104; also in the Hungarian Sacramentary of Boldau (c. 1195): Radó, 41. See also the illustrations in Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, VIII (Paris, 1889), 167-173.

The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, in agreement with its Dominican model, says about the sacristy: *Solent etiam ibi haberi pectines et forcipes*; Volk, 49, 1. 31.

Cf. Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 3, 1-3. According to the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 633; cf. 631) the deacon or the court chaplain handles the comb while the bishop is vesting, and a towel is placed around the latter's neck in the process.

¹² According to Simon of Venlo it was also customary to wash one's hands,

mouth and face in the sacristy; see the extracts from his interpretation of the Mass in Smits van Waesberghe (*Ons geestelijk Erf*, 1941), 292.

¹³ Examples from the 12th to 15th centuries in Köck, 95-104; Radó, 23, 41; Martène, 1, 4, XXXI f. (I, 649, 654); Augsburg Missal of 1555: Hoeynck, 369, et al. Just what was taken off is not usually specified further (*vestes*). In all the cases referred to the prayer is almost always the same: *Exue me Domine veterem hominem cum actibus suis, et indue me novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate veritatis*. (The prayer is still used at religious investiture ceremonies.)

At an earlier time the phrase from the Psalm was used: *Conscinde Domine saccum meum et circumda me lætitia salutari* (Ps. 29:12); Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 492 C).

¹⁴ Thus in Carolingian sources, e.g. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, II, 25 (PL, CV, 110), where the *sandalia* of bishop, priest, deacon and subdeacon are all distinct; cf. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 390 f.

A prayer *ad calceandum* for priests is seldom mentioned, but it does appear already since the turn of the 11th century: Fiala, 196; Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 568); here it is the same as that now commanded for the bishop (*Calcea me*). A different formula in Ebner, 332.

¹⁵ Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 351, 352); *ibid.*, 1, 4, XXVI, XXXVI (I, 635, 671); Ordinary of Coutances: Legg, *Tracts*, 55.

with a scarf or neck-cloth¹⁶; this usage is still retained in the liturgies of Milan and Lyons.¹⁷ Nor was the manner of putting it on always the same as today's. One practice, which makes its appearance in northern countries about the turn of the ninth century,¹⁸ was to place the amice over the head like a hood and to leave it thus till the other *paramenta* had been donned. For an explanation of the origin of this mode of wearing the amice¹⁹ it might be good to note that the first liturgists who speak of it are the same ones who mention the comb,²⁰ the work of which would be nullified when putting on the alb and chasuble unless some means were employed to prevent disarranging the hair. This manner of wearing the amice was universally followed in the thirteenth century and so the orders that stem from this time, Franciscans, Dominicans, Trinitarians and Servites, have continued it to the present, while for the rest it disappeared about the same time that the style of hair-cut changed.²¹ There were some differences about when the amice thus worn should be pushed back off the head; some removed it right after putting on the chasuble; in the French churches it was customary to keep it on the head till the *secreta* or even till the start of the canon.²² It is to be noticed, moreover, that the prayer we say at present while putting on the amice, still designates it as a helmet: *Impone, Domine, capiti meo galeam salutis*.

The maniple, too, was not in olden times put on as we do it now, right after girdling the alb. It was not taken up till all the other vestments had been donned. And it had to be thus as long as it was customary to carry it in the hand—that is, up till the eleventh/twelfth century. As soon as the fashion set in of fastening it to the arm, the practice changed and finally

¹⁶ The original purpose of the amice is still recalled in the rite of ordination to subdeaconship, in the bishop's phrase about *castigatio vocis*, i.e., discipline in speech. The phrase stems from Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, II, 17 (PL, CV, 1094). It is really unnecessary to follow O. Casel, "Castigatio vocis," JL, VII (1927), 139-141, who seeks the explanation in pre-Christian sacral usage where at the sacrifice every disturbing noise had to be restrained.

¹⁷ Proofs in Braun, 28. Cf. also the succession according to the *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 6; *ibid.* 86.

¹⁸ Braun, 29-32.

¹⁹ Braun, 31 f., lists a series of explanations, but acknowledges himself that they are all unsatisfactory.

²⁰ Honorius and the rhymed German interpretation (*supra*, note 11). According to the latter the humeral is for the priest "the shelter of the Holy Ghost," and he

lays it upon his head that his eyes and ears might not see or hear anything improper (Leitzmann, 16 f.).

²¹ It is striking that this mode of putting on the garment first disappears about the 15th century, and in Italy at that; Braun, 30. Italy was the cradle of the Renaissance and consequently of the return to the ancient Roman style of short hair.

This does not exclude the possibility that the primary position of the amice (it was put on first according to the most ancient Frankish sources, in contrast to the older Roman *Ordines*) had its source also in the old Germanic hair style.

²² In some churches, like Paris, Auxerre, Rochelle, this was done only in the colder season of the year; the practice continued even down to the 18th century; Braun, 31. Thus the amice served not only as a neckcloth and a protection for the hair but also as a winter hood.

shifted to our present use.²⁵ Only the bishop continues the older manner but with this variation, which became quite general since the thirteenth century, that he takes the maniple only after the *Confiteor*.²⁶

There was a great simplification in the ritual of vesting, at least in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when—as was the practice in various Benedictine monasteries—all the monks on feast days wore albs and maniples during the choir prayer that preceded the Mass.²⁷ Doubtless the priests in this case regularly wore also a stole since it had been made obligatory by ninth and tenth century legislation to wear the stole at all times, both at home and while traveling.²⁸

The prayers which, since Carolingian times, have been said while vesting are extremely diverse. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, as someone actually did, *Quot missalia tot sensus*.²⁹ There is even a trend to forego any special texts.³⁰ The diversity of these vesting prayers is in part connected with their half-private nature, but perhaps the most important reason for it is the symbolic interpretation of the vestments, which was based upon various details and continued to produce numerous new formulas in accordance with the changes of thought.

Actually, of course, there is a certain symbolism inherent in the liturgical vestments. The fact that the priest wears garments that are not only better but really quite special, distinct from the garments of ordinary civil life, enhanced where possible by the preciousness of the material and by decoration—all this can have but one meaning: that the priest in a sense leaves this earth and enters another world, the shimmer of which is mirrored in his vesture. But medieval interpreters were not content with such a general explanation; they had to find in each piece of clothing a particular relation to that other world. In one period they directed their attention

²⁵ Braun, 543-548.

²⁶ Braun, 546 f. The practice will be explained *infra*, p. 289.

²⁷ Braun, 522 f.

In German cathedrals of the 10th century, the capitulars appeared before Terce *humeralibus et albis, apud quosdam autem casulis induti*. *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 1 (PL, LXXVIII, 989).

²⁸ Braun, 581 f.; 583.

As a matter of fact, in the preparation for both private and conventual Mass the Customs of Cluny make mention only of putting on the chasuble; *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 30 (PL, CXLVII, 715 D, 724 B); it is different, however, in William of Hirsau (d. 1091), *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1015 f.).

Cf. also the monastic Mass-*Ordo* of Rouen (perhaps 13th century): Martène,

I, 4, XXXVII (I, 676): the priest readies himself for Mass simply by putting on maniple, stole (and chasuble) at the altar.

²⁹ Braun, 706.

In the Missal of St. Lawrence at Liège (1st half of 11th century): Martène, I, 4, XV (I, 583), there are four formulas *ad zonam*.

³⁰ Late medieval Mass-books from Normandy and England have the priest saying the entrance prayers (*Veni Creator* and Ps. 42) even while he is vesting; thus in Bayeux and Sarum: Martène, I, 4, XXIV, XXXV (I, 626, 664). Cf. also the *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, Tracts, 35 f.

At an earlier period, however, Sarum had vesting prayers just as other places did; Legg, Tracts, 3.

principally to the moral and ethical order to which the priest must conform; in a second period they kept in view the person of Christ whose place the priest takes; and in the third, Christ's Passion which is commemorated in the celebration.²⁹

The concepts in the prayers for vesting are created for the most part out of the explanations of the first period, since they nearly all arose in that period. In our summary view of all these vesting prayers, we will confine our attention mainly to the typical formulas which attained a certain wide distribution or which led eventually to the texts we use today. We cannot consider the many peculiar and idiosyncratic coinages of individual manuscripts.³⁰ And wherever possible we will try to present the original text and the original ascriptions.³¹ For the rest, a summary list of available sources will have to suffice.

In its function as a shoulder cloth which is fastened around the waist with bands,³² the amice is simply adjusted to the spiritual world and inspires the eleventh century prayer: *Humeros meos Sancti Spiritus gratia tege, Domine, renesque meos vitiis omnibus expulsis præcinge ad sacrificandum tibi viventi et regnanti in sæcula sæculorum.*³³

Taking the later way of wearing it, the amice suggests a shadow that falls across the head and so it becomes a pertinent image of faith: *Obumbra, Domine, caput meum umbraculo sanctæ fidei et expelle a me nubila ignorantiae.*³⁴

²⁹ *Supra*, 88, 110 ff.

³⁰ Such are to be found in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th c.; PL, LXXVIII, 240 f.): Over each vestment the bishop says *Jube domine benedicere* and then a blessing composed in hexameters. The vesting formulas of the more ancient Missal of Fécamp (13th-14th century) are quite distinctive, especially in their brevity: Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 635 f.).

³¹ For example, formulas that were once allotted to the chasuble were later transferred to the stole or even to the alb.

Conscinde, the formula mentioned above as being recited while taking off the outer garments, was often used since the 11th century as an accompaniment to the donning of the amice; see Martène, 1, 4, VI, XV (I, 529 D, 583 A); likewise in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101). Cf. Braun, 712. It was also shifted to the alb: Sacramentary of St. Denis: Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 528).

Cf. also the remarks made about the fate of the formula *Da Domine virtutem*, noted on p. 277.

³² Kissing certain individual vestments before putting them on is noticed for the first time in an Admont missal of the 15th century, here in reference to amice, alb, stole and chasuble; Köck, 102.

³³ *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 492 D). *Ibid.*, XV (I, 583). Köck, 102; cf. 99, 103, 105.

In Hungarian missals it is combined with the following formula *Obumbra*; in fact the Boldau Sacramentary (circa 1195) states: *Dum humerale imponit dicat: Obumbra . . . Dum involvit humerale dicat: Humeros . . .*; Radó, 41; cf. 24, 60 f., et al.; Jávör, 112.

In Sweden it is amplified: *Caput meum et humeros meos . . .* Yelverton, 10.

Further sources in Braun, 711, Note 4. The basic ideas recur in the older Mass-Ordo of Gregorienmünster, put up in biblical style: *Sub velamento alarum tuarum, Domine, tua me cooperi pietate . . .* (cf. Ps. 16: 8); Martène, 1, 4, XVI (1, 595).

³⁴ Sacramentary of Séz: Martène, 1, 4, XIII (I, 575); *ibid.*, XII, XXXI (I,

The martial significance is found expressed already in the ninth century, where the amice wrapped around the head is conceived of as a helmet. *Pone, Domine, galeam salutis in capite meo ad expugnandas diabolicas fraudes.*³⁶ The formula as we have it today seems to have been touched up by some humanists before it was inserted in the present Roman Missal.

Looking at the material of which it was usually made, white linen, which suggests righteousness and nobility, a document of the ninth century combines the amice with the alb and dedicates to both a prayer which later on was appropriated to the alb alone: *Indue me, Domine vestimento salutis et indumento iustitiæ circumda me semper.*³⁷

The contrast between the white garment and the soiled condition of our sinfulness is emphasized in a prayer that appears quite frequently: *Omni-potens sempiternus Deus, te suppliciter exoro, ut fraude omnium fuscatorum exutus, alba veste indutus te sequi merear ad regna, ubi vera sunt gaudia.*³⁸ The motif here touched upon, the cleansing blood of the Lamb (Apoc. 7:14) is brought out more clearly in the formula of the Pontifical of Cambrai: *Dealba me, Domine, et a delicto meo munda me, ut cum his, qui stolas suas dealbaverunt in sanguine Agni, gaudiis perfruar cæli. Per.*³⁹ This formula, rounded out somewhat, is our present-day prayer. But we also encounter the image of the spiritual warrior, accoutred in the armor of faith, in such prayers as: *Circumda me, Domine, fidei armis, ut ab iniquitatum sagittis erutus valeam æquitatem et iustitiam custodire,*⁴⁰ or *Indue me vestimento salutis et circumda me lorica fortitudinis.*⁴¹

568, 649); a different conclusion) in the Mass-Ordo of Regensburg: Beck, 262.

The initial words are probably reminiscent of Ps. 139: 8 b.

Cf. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, I, 35 (PL, CCXVII, 787): *sacerdos caput suum obnubit.*

³⁶ Sacramentary of Moissac (11th century): Martène, I, 4, VIII (I, 538).

Ibid., III, XXVII f., XXXIV, XXXVI (I, 480, 639, 642, 661, 671); *ibid.*, I, 4, 1 (I, 351). The expression *galea salutis* follows I Thess. 5: 8 and Eph. 6:17: hope for salvation is a protecting helmet.

In the Sacramentary of St. Gatien (9-10th century) the formula has the addition: *et omnium inimicorum meorum persequentium me sevritiam superandam*; Martène, I, 4, VII (I, 535). So also in later texts: *ibid.*, II (I, 477); *ibid.*, I, 4, 1 (I, 350).

Other alterations: *ibid.*, XXVI (I, 635); *ibid.*, I, 4, 1 (I, 353); Köck, 95, 99.

Further sources in Braun, 712, Note 5; cf. 29, note 2.

³⁷ Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 439.

For the alb alone, Martène, I, 4, II, VI ff., XXVI ff. (I, 477, 529 A, 535, 538, 635, 639, 642); Köck, 95.

Often also with several amplifications (*tunica lætitiæ*, etc.), e.g. the Sacramentary of Modena: Muratori, I, 87.

³⁸ *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 492).

Ibid., XV (I, 583).

Even in the later Middle Ages: Köck, 99, 102, 103, 105; Radó, 24 et al.; Jávör, 112.

³⁹ Martène, I, 4, 1 (I, 353). Further sources: Braun, 713, note 1.

⁴⁰ Missal of Liège (1st half of 11th century): Martène, I, 4, XV (I, 583).

Ibid., IV (I, 492); I, 4, 1 (I, 350); Volk, 101.

Used for the amice: Martène, I, 4, V (I, 518).

⁴¹ Sacramentary of Séz and related sources: Martène, I, 4, XIII, XII, XV f., XXXI (I, 575 A, 568, 595, 649 f.); *ibid.*, I, 4, 1 (I, 352); Fiala, 196.

For the cincture, the Bible had already furnished a ready symbolism.⁴¹ But this symbolism was brought out more plainly and illustrated from various angles in the prayers that accompany the act of vesting. *Domine, accinge in me custodiam mentis meæ, ne ipsa mens infletur spiritu elationis*,⁴² in which the cincture's holding the garment together calls to mind the image of swollen pride. From another viewpoint the alb which enfolds everything represents the virtue of love which is to be held fast by the cincture: *Præcinge me, Domine, zona iustitiæ et constringe in me dilectionem Dei et proximi*.⁴³ Or there is the thought of the loins girt about by the cincture and the prayer comes to one's lips that temptation might be conquered: *Præcinge, Domine, lumbos mentis meæ et circumcide vitia cordis et corporis mei*,⁴⁴ or in another formula which sounds Carolingian and whose original wording is probably retained in the Sacramentary of Moissac (eleventh century): *Præcinge, Domine, cingulo fidei lumbos mei corporis et comprime et extingue in eis humorem libidinis, ut iugiter maneat in eis tenor totius castitatis*.⁴⁵ While another setting of this formula—for which there are early sources—has been kept in our missal for the bishop, the one used by the priest has been somewhat simplified.

Remembering that the maniple once served a very practical purpose as a handkerchief or napkin, a formula was composed at latest in the eleventh century which was also spoken while drying the hands, but which we now use while washing them: *Da, Domine, virtutem manibus meis ad abstergendam omnem maculam immundam, ut sine pollutione mentis et corporis*

Used for the amice: Martène, 1, 4, XXXII (I, 654). Likewise, with the variant *galca* instead of *lorica*: Köck, 101, 102; cf. 97.

⁴¹ In some instances just Bible phrases are employed; thus Ps. 17: 33 and (with additions) Ps. 44: 4, in two formulas of the Liège Missal: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 583); the first also *ibid.*, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350), and also 1, 4, V (I, 519), but in this latter case used for the maniple; the second psalm phrase is used in a Seckau missal of the 15th century; Köck, 99.

⁴² Sacramentary of Séz and related sources: Martène, 1, 4, XIII, XII, XV, XXXI (I, 575, 568, 583, 650); Fiala, 196. Further passages in Braun, 714, note 6.

⁴³ In a Seckau missal about 1170: Köck, 95; and frequently in more recent Styrian Mass books: *ibid.*, 97, 100 ff. (also with the start *Circumcinge*: *ibid.*, 102 f., 105); Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 262.

With the isolated reading: *constringe in me virtutem caritatis et pudicitiae* it is already in the older Mass-Ordo of Gregorienmünster: Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 595).

⁴⁴ Sacramentary of Tours (9th-10th century): Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350 B). With tiny variations (among others the beginning *Circumcinge*), *ibid.*, IV f., XV, XXXVI (I, 492, 518, 583, 672); Sacramentary of Modena: Muratori, I, 87.

Hungarian Mass-books since the 12th century: Radó, 24, 41, 71 et al.; Jávör, 112.

Further sources: Braun, 714, note 1.

⁴⁵ Martène, 1, 4, VIII (I, 538).

In the remaining texts the words *et virtute castitatis* are regularly inserted after *cingulo fidei*; thus in the Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 440.

Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350 f., 352, 353); also II f., VI ff. (I, 477, 480, 529, 535), et al.; see also Braun, 714, note 5.

*valeam tibi servire.*⁴⁸ Its actual significance as an ornamental kerchief which was required for one to be fully dressed up, survived in the consciousness of later ages to this extent, that monastic groups followed the custom already mentioned, of wearing albs and maniples on feast days while the choir sang psalms.⁴⁹ To such a use for choir prayer and psalmody⁵⁰ corresponded the text which the priest also used while vesting in maniple: *Da mihi, Domine, sensum rectum et vocem puram, ut implere possim laudem tuam.*⁵¹ As a badge of honor with which one was "invested" and which one wore even at work, this is the concept in the prayer: *Investitione⁵² istius mappulæ subnixè deprecòr, Domine, ut sic operer in temporali conversatione, quatenus exemplo priorum patrum in futuro merear perenniter gaudere.*⁵³ Finally, the formula we use today (somewhat altered) refers to the modern name of the vestment and makes a cross-reference to Psalm 125:6: *Merear, precòr, Domine, manipulum portare mente flebili cum patientia, ut cum exultatione illud deferendo cum iustis portionem acci-*

⁴⁸ *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 493).

Without exception in all eight of the Styrian vesting programs of the 12th-15th century in Köck, 96-105. See further in Braun, 715, note 3.

In several places we have a more recent and more precise wording: *Da, Domine, manipulum in manibus meis ad extergendas cordis et corporis mei sordes, ut sine pollutione tibi Domino ministrare merear*: Martène, 1, 4, III, XXVIII (I, 480 f., 639). Further sources in Braun, 715, Note 2.

Variants in Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 643); Muratori, I, 87.

⁴⁹ Rupert of Deutz, *De off. div.*, II, 23 (PL CLXX, 54). Cf. Braun, 522 f.

⁵⁰ The connection here is made plainer when we read that at Cluny even in 1700 they had six choir boys who wore albs and maniples at the high Mass on Sundays and feasts; de Moléon, 150. At that time, too, the choir boys at Lyons wore the maniple on their left arm when on Holy Saturday they sang the prophecies; *ibid.*, 63.

⁵¹ Sacramentary of Séz: Martène, 1, 4, XIII (I, 575).

Ibid., XII, XV, XXXII (I, 568, 583, 654); 1, 4, 1 (I, 352); Fiala, 196; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 216, note 1; a missal from Fonte Avellana (13-14th century): PL, CLI, 932 B.

Braun, 715, note 6, names some other MSS.; he did not, however, notice the connection with singing.

Somewhat altered: Martène, 1, 4, XVI, XXXVI (I, 595, 672).

Attention should be paid to the musical connotation of the word *sensus*; cf. *infra*, p. 409, note 36.

⁵² The word is handed down in corrupt form: *Investione* (Illyr.), *In vestitione* (Hittorp), and *Invectione* (the remainder).

⁵³ *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 493).

Ibid., 1, 4, 1 (I, 353); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101).

See also Braun, 716, note 1.

The same prayer is spoken by the bishop at the ordination to subdiaconate in *Ordo Rom. antiquus* (circa 950): Hittorp, 91.

In the same sense of duties assumed we have the scriptural phrase *opus manuum* (Ps. 89: 17) in the Missal of Beauvais: Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 350).

The maniple is also looked upon as a token of the higher orders which impose the obligation of special virtue; thus in the formula *Manipulum innocentiae* which puts in a late appearance in Styria (Köck, 103) and in Hungary (Jávor, 112; Radó, 24, 71, 76 *et al.*; at first, in the 13th century, *Stolam innocentiae*: Radó, 41).

Cf. also Braun, 715 and note 8.

piam.⁵³ The tearful bundle of earthly care should become the sheaf of a jubilant heritage.

Although the stole had already become, even in the Carolingian period, only a narrow band which was hung around the neck,⁵⁴ the name it bore awakened the memory of a garment of the same name which plays so significant a role in the picturesque language of Scripture.⁵⁵ The prayer which the bishop says today, and also, slightly changed, the priest, appears as early as the ninth century: *Redde mihi, Domine, obsecro, stolam immortalitatis, quam perdidisti in praevaricatione primi parentis, et quia cum hoc ornamento accessi, quamvis indignus, ad tuum sanctum ministerium, praesta ut cum eo laetari merear in perpetuum*.⁵⁶ The same garment which alone has value in God's sight is the thought behind another prayer which is of the same age but was not used so frequently: *Stola iustitiae circumda, Domine, cervicem meam et ab omni corruptione peccati purifica mentem meam*.⁵⁷ But there is also another concept that comes to the fore, the stole as a yoke around the neck. In the declining Middle Ages the words of our Lord in Matthew 11:30 are added to the formula mentioned.⁵⁸ The yoke of the Lord, and its opposite, is thought of exclusively in a third formula: *Dirumpe, Domine, vincula peccatorum meorum, ut iugo tuae servitutis innexus valeam tibi cum timore et reverentia famulari*.⁵⁹ Here, too, the texts of our Lord from St. Matthew have been added, and that at a very early time.⁶⁰

This scriptural text is today spoken while putting on the chasuble, since this garment with its bell-shape hardly suggested comfort.

⁵³ Sacramentary of Moissac (11th century): Martène, 1, 4, VIII (I, 538); shortened in the Missal of Narbonne: *ibid.*, 1, 4, 1 (I, 351).

Somewhat altered: *ibid.*, 1, 4, II, VI (I, 477, 529).

Further passages in Braun, 715, Note 5.

In some few late medieval Mass books the scriptural phrase, Ps. 125: 6 (which is at the bottom of the prayer) is used by itself: Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 351 D); also 1, 4, XXVI, XXXIV (I, 635, 661).

⁵⁴ Braun, 586 f.

⁵⁵ Ecclus. 6: 32; 15: 5; Luke 15: 22; Apoc. 6: 11, etc.

⁵⁶ Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 440. Later sources in Martène, 1, 4, 1 (I, 351, 353); also 1, 4, II, VI, VIII, XXVII f. (I, 477, 529, 538, 639, 643).

⁵⁷ Sacramentary of St. Gatien: Martène, 1, 4, VII (I, 535). (In mutilated form also in the Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais, 440).

Numerous sources: among others, Martène, 1, 4, III, IV, VI, XII etc. (I, 481, 492, 529, 568, etc.); Radó, 24, 41, etc.

⁵⁸ Styrian Mass books of the 15th century: Köck, 100, 102, 103 f.; Pressburg Missal D (15th century): Jávör, 112; Mass-Ordo of Regensburg: Beck, 262; Missal of Upsala (1484): Yelverton, 11. ⁵⁹ *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 493).

Ibid., XV (I, 583); Köck, 99; Radó, 41.

⁶⁰ Cf. also the formula of a Hungarian missal of 1384: *Stolam innocentiae pone* . . . Radó, 118.

The formula dependent upon this, *Dirumpe, Domine, omnes laqueos satanae et confirmato in me hereditatis tu[ae] funicul[um]*, appears in one St. Gall MS. for the maniple (Braun, 715) and in an Admont MS. (14-15th century) for the cincture (Köck, 102, note 1).

⁶¹ Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 519).

The formulary to which we are making reference is amongst the oldest: *Domine, qui dixisti: iugum mecum . . . præsta ut sic illud deportare in perpetuum valeam, qualiter tuam gratiam consequi merear.*⁶⁰ The chasuble, like Christian love, covers everything, and encloses everything fast like a fortress, so it leads to the following words: *Indue me, Domine, ornamento caritatis et pacis, ut undique munitus virtutibus possim resistere vitiis et hostibus mentis et corporis.*⁶¹ A number of other texts begin with the words *Indue me*, but they are not at all alike, differing in their concept of the garment, some presenting an explanation similar to that already considered,⁶² others conceiving it as a *lorica (fidei or iustitiæ)*⁶³ or as a *vestis nuptialis*,⁶⁴ still others insert *sacerdotalis iustitia*,⁶⁵ and the corresponding petition follows.⁶⁶

The *sacerdotalis iustitia* forms the basic motif of another vesting formula we have to mention, *Fac me, quæso*. In later times this was connected with the chasuble but it comes from an earlier era in which the prayers were not said in connection with individual vestments but the whole vesting ceremony was accompanied with a prayer⁶⁷ and that of the apologia-

⁶⁰ Sacramentary of St. Gatien (9-10th century): Martène, I, 4, VII (I, 535); Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais, 440.

Cf. Martène, I, 4, II f., VI, VIII (I, 477, 481, 529, 538); also, I, 4, I (I, 351); Braun, 718, note 6.

The phrase from Matt. 11: 30 which we saw used for the stole was in some instances also employed for a formula for the amice, as in the Sacramentary of Tours (9-10th century): Martène, I, 4, I (I, 350).

⁶¹ Sacramentary of Séz, Martène, I, 4, XIII (I, 575). Often the word *humilitatis* or *humilitatis et castitatis* is set before or after the word *caritatis*, thus stressing, instead of the symbolism of love, the notion of *undique munitus*: *ibid.*, XII, XV, XXXI f. (I, 568, 583, 650, 654); Fiala, 196; Braun, 718, note 2. Also, in a more drastically revised form, Martène, I, 4, XXVII f. (I, 639, 643).

⁶² The phrase *indumenta iustitiæ et lætitiæ* finds a place also in a formula (beginning *Creator totius creaturæ*) which appears in the Missal of Liège: Martène, I, 4, XV (I, 583) and in Seckau: Köck, 99.

⁶³ Martène, I, 4, I (I, 350, 351); Mura-tori, I, 87. The expression *lorica fidei* founded on I Thess. 5: 8.

⁶⁴ Martène, I, 4, XXVI, XXXIV (I, 636, 662).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 4, IV f. (I, 493, 519); also I, 4, I (I, 350).

⁶⁶ The formula of the older Mass-Ordo of Gregorienmünster: Martène, I, 4, XVI (I, 595): was rather widespread, taking on, however, a number of variant forms: *Indue me, Domine, ornamento caritatis et concede mihi protectionem contra hostem insidiatorem, ut valeam puro corde laudare nomen tuum gloriosum in sæcula sæculorum*. Cf. the Mass-Ordo of Bec: *ibid.*, XXXVI (I, 672 C); Hungarian Mass books: Radó, 24, 41; Jávör, 113. Used for the alb in some German Mass books: Beck, 262; Köck, 97, 100.

A Sacramentary of Fonte Avellana (before 1325) offers: . . . *sacerdotali iustitia, ut induci merear in tabernacula sempiterna*; PL, CLI, 884 D.

Hungarian missals of the 13-14th century also have a formula which ties in with the cross or crucifix on the chasuble: *fac me . . . concupiscentiis crucifigi*; Radó, 118, 123, 155.

⁶⁷ Cf. even in the late Middle Ages the rite of Sarum, *supra*, note 28.

type. This formula itself must be reckoned as belonging to this type.⁶⁶ The formula, which is part of the supplement of Alcuin,⁶⁷ is designated for the Mass *ordo* of the Séz group of the eleventh century⁷⁰ together with its derivatives. Here it usually forms the conclusion of the accession psalmody.⁷¹ Even if this whole psalmody did not in some way accompany the vesting, still at least the formula we are talking about was so connected from time past.⁷² Sometimes it even carries a corresponding title.⁷³ In the later Middle Ages it sometimes became the prevalent text when assuming the chasuble.⁷⁴

For putting on the biretta, which was not worn till after the twelfth century, and was not used for going to the altar till much later,⁷⁵ no text was specially composed.

As we survey this series of vesting prayers as they are now and as they lie before us in the sources of the Middle Ages, it is plain that there was generally no intention of making these prayers tie in with the opening of the Mass nor, in the main, any effort to conceive a well-ordered plan of thought. The earliest unification of thought was achieved by follow-

⁶⁶ E.g., in the Pontifical of Halinardus: Martène, I, 4, XIV (I, 580 B): *Fac me, quæso, omnipotens Deus, ita iustitia indui, ut in sanctorum tuorum merear exaltatione lætari, quatenus emundatus ab omnibus sordibus peccatorum, consortium adipiscar tibi placentium sacerdotum, meque tua misericordia a vitis omnibus exuat, quem reatus propriæ conscientie gravat. Per.* In the Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century), Martène, V (I, 519 A) it is found with a variant which might well be the original: *ita iustitiæ indui armis* (the chasuble as armor).

The Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Lero-quais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 440, contains a formula of this kind which has some of the elements of the *apologia*: *Rogo te*, with the direction: *ad tunicam*; it usually appears among the *apologia*; see *infra*, p. 298, note 3.

⁶⁷ Muratori, II, 191. Here the formula serves as the collect of a *missa specialis sacerdotis*. This could have been its original function.

⁷⁰ *Supra*, p. 94, note 11.

⁷¹ *Supra*, p. 273, note 14.

⁷² Thus, e.g., in the Pontifical of Halinardus, where the formula which the bishop recited *cum se ad missam parat* represents the only prayer expressly intended as a vesting prayer.

In later years this vesting, with its accompanying vesting prayers, sometimes precedes the psalmody and the oration *Fac me quæso*; so Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 568). At other times it is interposed between the psalmody and the oration *Fac me quæso*; so *ibid.*, IV, XV (I, 492 ff., 583); Köck, 95 f., 96 f., 100 f. Sometimes, too, it follows the prayer: thus Martène, I, 4, XVI (I, 594 f.); Köck, 97 ff.; Hoeynck, 369.

⁷³ Missal of Troyes (c. 1050): Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 530): after the psalms the celebrant says this formula, *induens casulam*. The Sacramentary of St. Denis (*supra*, note 20): *Ad casulam*.

Later the direction reads: *Cum ornatus fuerit*; Ebner, 306; cf. Muratori, I, 87; Franz, 751.

⁷⁴ Thus in seven of the eight vesting forms from Styrian missals in Köck, 96-106; the Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 262. As an *alia* for the chasuble also in the Missal of Upsala: Yelverton, 11.

In one case marked *Ad albam*: Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 654).

⁷⁵ Braun, 510-514. Cf. Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 84. As we have seen, *supra*, p. 278 f., the amice served as a head covering during the walk to the altar.

ing St. Paul's description,⁷⁶ and conceiving the priest putting on the *paramenta* as one donning the armor of God and readying himself for the spiritual combat.⁷⁷ In these prayers, therefore—unlike the prayers at the accession or those at the foot of the altar, with which they share both their derivation and their original obligation⁷⁸—there is not to be found any planned progression in the priest's preparation.⁷⁹ The individual garments are not explained on the basis of any conscious essential function which is theirs when worn, but it is rather only some ascetical thought, some handy reference to a scriptural text around which the prayer is composed. Thus the external act is raised, easily and without trouble, to the spiritual sphere. For that reason the individual forms are not spread abroad as a rule in a single unit but they are chosen on their own particular merit as taste dictates.⁸⁰ Some Mass books since the eleventh century seek to give the prayers a certain rounding off by concluding not only some but all the prayers where possible with *Per Christum Dominum Nostrum*.⁸¹

Putting on the vestments, even after the prayers were enjoined, was not always connected with the other preparations of the priest. Although in some instances it precedes the accession prayers which are then included in the liturgy proper as parts of equal worth,⁸² at other times it is trans-

⁷⁶ I Thess. 5: 8; Eph. 6: 14-17.

In the Oriental liturgies, especially the Byzantine, the vesting prayers are restricted almost entirely to scriptural phrases which are used to wonderful advantage; e.g., the Byzantine uses for the idea of girdling, Ps. 17: 33 and Ps. 44: 4 f.; in addition Is. 61: 10; Ex. 15: 6 f.; Ps. 118: 73; Ps. 132: 2. Brightman, 355.

⁷⁷ Among the several interpreters, Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 199 (PL, CLXXII, 604 B), mentions this symbolism but did not expand on it; it was carried out more thoroughly by John Bel-eth, *Explicatio*, c. 32 (PL, CCII, 43). Cf. Braun, 705 f.

⁷⁸ Burchard of Strassburg is the first to leave these prayers optional; one could replace them by the *Miserere* or some other psalm; Legg, *Tracts*, 132.

Our Roman Missal, *Ritus serv.*, I, 2, does not make any such reservation. Still most rubricists who discuss the priest's conduct going to the altar and returning, ascribe only a directive character to this direction; thus M. Gatterer, *Annus liturgicus cum introductione in disciplinam liturgicam* (5th ed.; Innsbruck, 1935), 78. But see J. O'Connell, *The Celebration of Mass* (Milwaukee, 1941), I, 22.

⁷⁹ The division and gradual mounting which Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 50 f., attempts to show in our vesting prayers—the first prayer rather negative, the chasuble prayer even stylistically the climax—is something that has been superimposed. But it is true that, by properly choosing from various traditional formulas, such a design has been achieved.

⁸⁰ Exceptions see *supra*, p. 281, note 30. Even in the group of the Séz Mass-Ordo (*supra*, p. 92) the vesting prayers of the Sacramentary of Séz, which prove to be the original, are found only in the Missal of St. Vincent, in the *Cod. Chigi* and (mixed with others) also in great part in the Missal of Liège.

⁸¹ Martène, I, 4, 1 (I, 352); also I, 4, VI, XXXIV (I, 528 f., 661); Köck, 99 99f., 105 f. Likewise the Spanish *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 523 f.), where a selection of the formulas we are considering recurs.

The Missal of Evreux-Jumièges (14-15th century) has each formula excepting the last end with *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*: Martène, I, 4, XXVIII (I, 642 f.).

⁸² *Cod. Chigi* (11th century): Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 568).

ferred to the altar, and sometimes even the donning of the last vestments is joined to the very beginning of Mass.⁵³ A survival of this practice is possibly to be found in the custom which is to be noticed since the thirteenth century and is still followed today,⁵⁴ the custom of handing the bishop his maniple only after the *Confiteor*.⁵⁵

According to the Missal of Westminster⁵⁶ the priest had first to vest with the stole, then prepare the chalice and say the prayer for the mingling of the water; only after that did he don the chasuble. In French churches it was customary towards the end of the Middle Ages and thereafter, to recite the psalm *Iudica* and the other prayers that went with it during the vesting, *se revestiendo*.⁵⁷ This arrangement is given more in detail in the Missal of the monastery of Bec (probably thirteenth century); after girding himself with the cincture, the priest says Psalm 42 and the conjoined prayer *Aufer*, then he puts on the maniple, stole, and chasuble.⁵⁸ In other places the maniple and stole were put on before saying the psalm,⁵⁹ which was recited while holding the chasuble lying on the altar.⁶⁰ Sometimes, too, the *Confiteor* was said without the chasuble.⁶¹ In this way the preparatory and semi-private character of these prayers was more plainly emphasized. In fact, the psalm *Iudica*, as we shall see, was at that time said as a rule on

⁵³ This happened especially in private Masses; cf. *supra*, p. 228. In the 11th and 12th centuries this means, for monastic churches, only the stole and the chasuble, which had still to be donned; *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724); cf. *supra*, p. 279. Later this refers to the vestments taken collectively: *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101). Examples from the end of the Middle Ages in Legg, *Tracts*, 34 f., 55 f. Burchard of Strassburg (*ibid.*, 130 f.) also takes the vesting at the altar into account.

⁵⁴ *Cæremoniale episc.*, I, 10, 2.

⁵⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 280; Braun, 546-548. The origin and provenience of the custom has not been explained hitherto. Even the attempt at an explanation in Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 59, is untenable; he would take into account the *prostratio* mentioned in John the Arch-chanter (7th century), where the maniple would certainly prove a hindrance, but the time element must throw this proof aside, since neither the *prostratio*, nor even kneeling at the *Confiteor* was in use after the early Middle Ages.

⁵⁶ 14th century; ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 487 ff.

⁵⁷ Missal of Tours (1533): Martène, I, 4, 2, 4 (I, 361 C); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 35.

⁵⁸ Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 672); similarly in the Mass-Ordo of Rouen: *ibid.*, XXXVII (I, 676).

⁵⁹ Missal of Châlons (1543): *ibid.*, I, 4, 1 (I, 352); Missal of Orleans (1504): de Moléon, 200.

⁶⁰ *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557): Legg, *Tracts*, 56. The same rubric (without naming the psalm) is presupposed in the 13th and 14th centuries: Martène, I, 4, XXVI, XXXIV (I, 636 A, 662 A).

Even as late as 1620 St. Vincent de Paul was witness to this manner of starting the Mass; Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux*, III, 248.

⁶¹ This was presupposed in every case for private Mass in William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016): after the *Confiteor* the priest takes the stole in order to pronounce the *Indulgentiam*; only then does he put on the chasuble.

the way to the altar.⁸² True, in almost all these arrangements the reference is to private Masses. But amongst the Carthusians in the thirteenth century it was the custom for the priest to put on the chasuble at the altar also in conventual Masses except on the very highest feast days.⁸³ Even at a later time it was the practice in Orleans to say the psalm *Iudica* in the sacristy, vested in alb and stole, and this before high Mass.⁸⁴ So it is not improbable that the same line of thought suggested that at the pontifical Mass the last of the vestments, the maniple—at that time it was really the last of the decorative garments to be donned—should not be handed to the bishop until after the psalm *Iudica*—as the bishop of Minde strikingly testifies with regard to France, the homeland of this special order of vesting⁸⁵—or after the *Confiteor*, as it became customary in Rome later on.⁸⁶

4. The Prayers at the Foot of the Altar as a Unit

When we investigate the beginnings of the prayers at the foot of the altar, we find the seed in the pre-Frankish era not in any definite prayer but rather in the actions which correspond to the two parts of our present-day prayers, the progress towards the altar, all planned in definite forms, and the silent reverence of the celebrant as he bows in front of the altar.¹ In the solemn services of the Roman basilicas the approach to the altar was turned into a procession of the clergy, during which the singers chanted the introit. In the churches of the Frankish Kingdom, according to a law

⁸² De Moléon, 167, 427, relates about Sens and Reims that at that time (1718) even the *Confiteor* was said in the sacristy at a high Mass.

⁸³ *Statuta antiqua*: Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 B). The psalm *Iudica* was not said by the Carthusians.

See also the case of Evreux-Jumièges: *supra*, p. 269, note 33.

⁸⁴ De Moléon, 186; the completion of the statement, *en aube et en étole*, in the Index, p. 535.

⁸⁵ Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 7, 4: *pontifici facturo confessionem* the maniple is put on. In agreement is Durandus's Pontifical (Andrieu, III, 634): *cum confessio coram altari fit*.

⁸⁶ Not unequivocal even in the *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1159 B).

¹ *Supra*, p. 70. Even though in the stationary service of the 7th-8th century—

just as in the present-day pontifical Mass—the fore-Mass centers not on the altar but on the throne where the pope remains during almost its whole length, still in *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 the altar is definitely indicated as the terminus of his march; as soon as he enters the sanctuary he *inclinat caput ad altare*, the silent prayer that follows is performed *ante altare*, and finally the salutatory kiss is given: *osculatur evangelia et altare*.

The German expression “Stufengebet” (like the English “prayers at the foot of the altar”) is postulated on conditions which obtained only after the year 1000, because before the 11th century there were, as a rule, no steps up to the altar, no platform even; only the sanctuary as a unit was raised above the level of the nave. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 176-179.

of procedure which was then in force, the clergy themselves, or at least the celebrant, would have to say some prayers even in such circumstances. And from the first, *apologiæ* were considered above all as suited to this spot.² Already in the ninth century such prayers had been inserted here,³ and until the eleventh century the space they thus occupied at the beginning of Mass grew and grew immensely.⁴

But even before the end of the tenth century a new arrangement made its appearance, an arrangement which was retained in the Mass books of the Séez group and which in the time to come was adhered to more or less. The pertinent rubric reads as follows:

*Postquam ecclesiam intrat episcopus [. . .], osculetur diaconos et presbyteros duos. Et incipiat per se "Introibo ad altare Dei," cum psalmo "Iudica me Deus." Cum venerit ad altare dicat has orationes: "Aufer a nobis . . ." "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui me peccatorem . . ." Deinde, cum evangelium osculatus fuerit, dicat: "Pax Christi quam . . ."*⁵

On the way to the altar, therefore, Psalm 42 was spoken in common,⁶ and upon arrival at the altar two orations were added in conclusion, one

² A prayer upon entering the sanctuary, derived from the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 33), is also found in 11th century Mass programs: Martène, 1, 4, IVff. (I, 494f., 519 C, 530 B): *Domine Deus omnipotens, qui es magnus.*

In nearly all oriental liturgies *apologiæ* are found at the beginning of the Mass. The priest usually recites them quietly to himself during the external preparations or the introductory incensations.

³ Mass-Ordo of Amiens, ed. Leroquais (Eph. liturg., 1927), 440f.: *Antequam accedat ad altare dicat: Indignum me . . . Tunc accedat ad altare dicens: Ante conspectum . . . Deus qui de indignis.*

Similarly in the 10th century the Sacramentary of Ratoldus: PL, LXXVIII, 241f. This corresponds to the rubric of *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 990): *inclinans se Deum pro peccatis suis deprecetur.*

The Sacramentary of St. Thierry (10th century): Martène, I, 4, X (I, 548), has for the first prayer, *dum accedit*, the prayer which now is found at the beginning of the Breviary (with variants): *Aperi, Domine Deus, os meum.*

⁴ In some cases even at the end of the Middle Ages there are *apologiæ* (besides the *Confiteor*) at the start of Mass; thus in the Missal of Westminster (c. 1380), ed. Legg (H B S, 5), 489; in some

Mass-arrangements from Normandy: Martène, I, 4, XXVII, XXXVI (I, 640, 672, 676).

In Spain even printed missals of the 15th and 16th centuries prescribed *apologiæ* to be said *ad introitum altaris* or *ad introitum missæ*; Ferreres, 78f.; cf. 67, 72.

⁵ This is the form of the text as handed down in the 10th century Pontifical of Halinardus: Martène, I, 4, XIV (I, 581f.). From this text, in which the only secondary insertion (four *apologiæ*) is that after *episcopus* (indicated by the brackets), the text of the parallel documents (*vide supra*, p. 92) must have been derived; of these Séez and Verdun-Stablo display only small additions, but the others rather considerable ones. Another point that shows this text to be the original one is the fact that in its rubrics the basic data from *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 still peers through plainly while in the other texts it has been almost obliterated: *dat pacem uni episcopo de hebdomadariis et archipresbytero* (two priests are substituted for them) *et diaconibus omnibus . . . Et surgens pontifex* (after quiet prayer) *osculatur evangelia et altare . . .*

⁶ The opinion put forth by Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 55, and similarly by several others, that this psalm served since the 9th century as a private preparation

of which is our *Aufer a nobis*. In the witnesses to this particular arrangement of the entry there are found in addition various *apologiæ*, forerunners of our *Confiteor*, included in a variety of ways and in an assortment of forms. They are either added at the beginning or inserted somewhere in the middle or subjoined at the end. This arrangement quickly took the lead over other plans of a similar kind.⁷

By the middle of the eleventh century another step was taken in Normandy, at a time when this land was in the forefront of liturgical reform. From these *apologiæ* a formal *Confiteor*, along with the response begging forgiveness, was composed and introduced between the psalm and the oration.⁸ This new plan seems to have spread by way of the Cluniac reform into Italy⁹ and even into Germany.¹⁰ It prevailed, however, only to this extent that a formal *Confiteor* in some setting or other, along with the corresponding response and the succeeding oration *Aufer a nobis*, became a part of the established design of every Mass *ordo* since the twelfth century.¹¹ On the other hand the psalm *Iudica* did not gain an entrance into countless Mass arrangements all through the later Middle Ages and after. It will be enough to refer to the monastic liturgies of the Carthusians, the Calced Carmelites and the Dominicans; from all of these the psalm is missing even at present, since, in accordance with the fluctuations of usage, it was not inserted when their Mass arrangements were established during the thirteenth century. Even at the first general chapter of the Society of Jesus, held in 1558, when a unified rite was to be established within the

and thence was taken over into the Mass, first of all into private Mass, I do not find sustained in any of the sources.

⁷ The Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century): Martène 1, 4, V (I, 519f.), assigns the following as preparation: upon entering the church the priest recites an *apologia* and immediately *Aufer a nobis*, then several psalm verses (85:11; 53:8; 49:14) and Ps. 42: 1-4, and again several *apologiæ*.

⁸ Mass-Ordo of *Cod. Chigi*: Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 569). Since the section under consideration shows, in many other points a certain dependence upon John of Avranches, who was writing about 1065 (see *supra*, p. 102 f), and since in the present instance there is only a summary report, which is, however, in agreement with the other (a mutual confession right after coming to the altar), it seems certain that the insertion of the *Confiteor* evidenced in the *Cod. Chigi* must be traced to the cycle of the Norman bishop,

despite the Italian origin of the MS. (Bona, I, 12, 4 147f. and App. II, 955).

⁹ *Cod. Chigi*, from the *monasterium S. Vincentii O.S.B.* (see the previous note). The same rubrics, but in shortened form, recur in a later MS. from Naples (*Archivio di Stato*, Cod. IV): Ebner, 311f.

The same arrangement of the prayers also in two mid-Italian monastic Mass books at the end of the 11th century (*Bibl. Riccard.*, 299 and 300): Ebner, 297, 300.

¹⁰ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992).

¹¹ The only exception which I could ascertain is to be found in a missal of Toul dated c. 1400: Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 650), where the *apologia Ante conspectum* precedes the *Aufer a nobis*. Still this Mass-arrangement represents substantially nothing more than a late revision of that of the Séz group, with the interpolation of several more modern elements.

order, it was decided that the psalm be left out.¹² The Missal of Pius V, following the example of most of the Italian Mass books, and particularly the Missal of the Roman curia where it had long had a permanent place, made it a general prescript.

There can be no doubt about the appropriateness of Psalm 42; if any prayer was to be chosen to be said on the way to the altar, this was certainly apt. The fourth verse actually made reference to the very act which was occurring: *Introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui lætificat iuventutem meam*. For one special occasion, the entrance of the newly baptized into the church, this verse must have been incorporated in the Milan liturgy even in the time of St. Ambrose.¹³ When it came to inserting the text in the Mass, at first it was only this single verse, just as for the incensing the psalm text is confined to a single verse, *Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea . . .*, and at the washing of the hands to the words *Lavabo . . .* But to secure a certain richness, the other verses were added whenever their use here made some sense; in this case the whole psalm was included. But the dominant tone is given by this one verse which from the very start was selected as the antiphon: I shall go in to the altar of God, to the God who was the joy of my youth.¹⁴ This approach unto God, which the psalmist longed for, has become fully possible in a proper sense only in the New Covenant; for we gain entrance to God only through Christ "who gives us all confidence, bids us come forward, emboldened by our faith in Him" (Eph. 3:12; cf. Rom. 5:2). The altar of the New Covenant is the place where this meeting with God can be best accomplished this side of heaven. How strikingly pertinent it is, that the Syrians call the Mass simply *Kurobho*, that is, "approach."

But not only is the approach accomplished here, but the situation too in which the psalmist finds himself in his longing for God assumes the nature of a type. When we desire to draw near God, the way is always blocked somehow by the *homo iniquus*. We therefore cry out to Him who is our strength that He may illumine us with His light and sustain us with His faithfulness and guide us in *montem sanctum*, that height upon which the sacrifice of Golgotha will be renewed. The psalmist closes with

¹² *Decret. Congr. gen. I*, n. 93 (*Institutum S. J.*, Florence, 1893, II, 176).

¹³ Ambrose, *De Myst.*, VIII, 43 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 131); *De Sacr.*, IV, 2, 7 (*ibid.*, 156).

¹⁴ The Hebrew text is translated: I will go up to the altar of God, the God of my triumphant joy. But our problem is rather: What is the meaning of the Vulgate wording, and what is the original conception of the verse in liturgical usage? Ambrose, who cites the verse for

the procession of the neophytes into the Church, understands the *iuventutem* as referring not to biological youth (which is now made joyful) but to the youthful new life of grace which is granted in baptism: *abluta plebs . . . renovata in aquilæ iuventute* (*De myst.*, VIII, 43). *Deposisti peccatorum senectutem, sumpsisti gratiæ iuventutem* (*De sacr.*, IV, 2, 7). Cf. also J. Pinski, *Liturg. Leben*, II (1935), 185-187.

shouts of joy and jubilation that anticipate the *eucharistia*, the prayer of thanksgiving.

The rule established in the tenth-century rubric already referred to continued in force throughout the Middle Ages: Psalm 42 was said on the way to the altar in the same way as the canticle *Benedicite* was recited on the way back to the sacristy (as we still do today). In fact, until the Missal of Pius V, this was expressly stated in the rubrics in many cases.¹⁵ Very seldom was there any clear transfer of the psalm to the altar steps.¹⁶ Often this transfer occurred because the chasuble was put on at the altar.¹⁷ as was the custom especially at private Mass. In other cases the rubric was left indefinite. This diversity of practice corresponded to the variety in spatial arrangements. Often the distance from sacristy to altar was very short. In order not to prevent the psalm's being said with proper care and to lend it greater importance, it was not begun until the steps were reached. This must have been the origin of the arrangement now found in the Missal of Pius V.¹⁸

¹⁵ Thus in Italian Mass books since the 11th century (Ebner, 297, 300, 332): *Dum ingreditur ad altare*, or (*ibid.*, 345): *Dum procedunt de secretario*. Similarly in other cases: *ibid.*, 296, 313, 340, 354. Still in the *Missale Romanum* of 1474, ed. Lippe (HBS, 17), 198, but no longer in the editions of 1530 or 1540: Lippe (HBS, 22), 98.

Also in France: Leroquais, I, 131, 163, 211, etc.

The Regensburg Mass-Ordo (Beck, 262): *Transeundo ad altare*. The Augsburg Mass-Ordo of 1555 (Hoeynck, 370): in the sacristy or *dum itur*, with the added remark that the *ministrantes et qui intersunt* should alternate with the priest verse for verse. Similarly a Camaldolese missal from the 13th century (Ebner, 354) notes: *In inceptione processionis dicitur psalmus . . . quem ministri cum eo alternando veniant ante altare*. However in regard to the remark in a mid-Italian Mass-Ordo of the 11-12th century (Ebner, 336): *Quando ingreditur ad altare, sub silentio dicat sacerdos*, it must be observed (*contra* Batiffol, *Leçons*, 13) that this rubric is immediately followed by an apology to which the *sub silentio* directly refers.

¹⁶ Missal of St. Lambrecht (1336; Köck, 107): *inclinatus ante altare dicat: Introibo*. A missal of the Hungarian Her-

mits of St. Paul (15th century; Sawicki, 146): *ad gradus altaris*.

There is one isolated instance from this era of groping and trying in which the psalm is said only after the altar has been kissed: Missal of Troyes (c. 1050), Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 530 D).

¹⁷ The older Missal of Fécamp (13-14th c.): Martène, I, 4, XXVI (I, 636 A): *Stans ante altare induat se dicens . . . Postea incipiat antiphonam: Introibo. The Ordinarium of Coutances (Legg, *Tracts*, 50) which is dependent on the older Fécamp Missal. The priest recites Ps. 42 while holding with both hands the chasuble still lying on the altar.*

Missal of Evreux-Jumièges: Martène, I, 4, XXVIII (I, 643).

¹⁸ Italian Mass-arrangements of the 11-13th Century: *accedat ad altare et dicat*: Ebner, 321, 327; cf. 306.

Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992): *Paratus autem venit ad altare dicens*.

Even Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 13 (PL, CXVII, 806), who observes that Ps. 42 precedes the *Confiteor*, does not exclude the possibility that the psalm be said already on the way. The same remark in Durandus, IV, 7, 1.

The *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (after 1495) observes expressly that the priest can say the psalm in front of the altar or even while vesting: Legg, *Tracts*, 35 f.

As early as the eleventh century the characteristic or thematic antiphon was introduced before the start of the psalm. In our present-day manner of handling it, however, the verse is treated not precisely as an antiphon but as a versicle, so that the second half, *Ad Deum qui lætificat* serves as a response. This treatment will be best understood in some situation where a middle way was sought between using the psalm and leaving it out entirely and being satisfied with the one verse which set the tone. With this single verse other versicles could then be joined.¹⁹ This middle way was taken in the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, which in this matter followed the rite of Liège used at that time. The prayers at the foot of the altar began with three verses, *Introibo, Confitemini, Dignare*; in each case the response was supplied by the second half of the verse; the *Confiteor* followed.²⁰ A similar thing is done in the contemporary Roman Masses in those instances in which Psalm 42 is left out²¹; the confession of faults is preceded by two verses, *Introibo* and *Adiutorium nostrum*. When these verses were joined to the psalm their treatment as versicles was naturally transferred too²²; however this transfer was not by any

¹⁹ Such versicles were in use even independently of the psalm in question. In the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 494), the bishop, on leaving the sacristy, recites Ps. 85: 11 (*Deduc*); 58: 8 (*Voluntarie sacrificabo*); when entering the church, Ps. 5: 8 f. (*Introibo in domum; Domine deduc*); 118: 37 (*Averte*).

Cf. the French books (11th century); *ibid.*, V f. (I, 519 D, 530 B); further, the Hungarian books of the 12th century: Jávör, 113; Radó, 24, 42, 123.

²⁰ Volk, 89. Likewise in a 15th century MS. at Tongern; de Corswarem, 110; cf. 112.

The Klosterneuburg Mass-*Ordo* of the 15th century (Schwabes, 61) exhibits the three verses: *Ostende nobis, Et introibo, Confitemini*; a Seckau missal of the 15th century (Köck, 109), *Ostende* and *Introibo*; a Lyons monastic missal of 1531 (Martène, I, 4, XXXIII [I, 658]): *Et introibo, Ponere Domine, et Confitemini*. Similarly *ibid.*, XXXIV (I, 662), where the second versicle is missing.

²¹ The reason why the Missal of Pius V omits Psalm 42 during Passiontide and at Requiem Masses is to be discovered — with Lebrun, I, 99 — in the feeling that the words *Quare tristis es anima mea* are singularly incongruous on such days of sorrow. Cf. also Kössing, *Liturgische Vorlesungen*, 224-228. Perhaps the fact

that on Passion Sunday the psalm occurs as the Introit of the Mass gave occasion for setting precisely this date as the first for omitting it from the prayers at the foot of the altar.

Even in the 16th century the psalm, with the conclusion *Requiem æternam*, is presupposed by Paris de Grassis (d. 1528), *De cæremoniis*, II, 39 (see Lebrun, I, 99, note a). In the *Directorium of Ciconiolanus* which appeared in 1539 (Legg, *Tracts*, 204) the remark is made that the psalm is to conclude with *Gloria Patri* even at Masses for the Dead.

²² The versicle form of the verse *Introibo* appears as an introduction to the psalm in the Mass-*Ordo* of the papal chapel about 1290, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 200: the prayers at the foot of the altar start with *Introibo* and *Adiutorium*; Psalm 42 follows; then this rubric: *Et repetatur antiphona Introibo* (an expression similar to that used in the present-day missal); this rubric is the residue of a more ancient arrangement; the next versicle, *Confitemini*, leads into the *Confiteor*. Similarly *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1185 A).

Probably the same treatment of the verse as a versicle is intended in the Seckau Missal, about 1170: Köck, 106. In late medieval Mass schemes the appearance of *Introibo* as a versicle before Ps.

means a universal practice.²³

In our present-day Mass the very first words, even before the *Introibo*, are the words of blessing which accompany the sign of the Cross, words which form a Trinitarian gateway to the whole Mass—*In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen*. As used here the formula, taken from our Lord's command to preach and baptize, can be traced here and there in the fourteenth century but not any earlier.²⁴ It had been used as a blessing frequently in the early Middle Ages,²⁵ and even appears in the Mass itself quite a bit earlier as the characteristic blessing formula.²⁶ That it should appear at the beginning of Mass as a blessing text—just as it has more recently appeared at the beginning of our other prayers—is probably to be explained by the fact that the sign of “blessing,” the “*signum*” *crucis* is connected with it²⁷; we begin the holy action in the power that comes from the triune God through the Cross of Christ.²⁸ At the same time, in the use of this formula here, we can perceive a bridge between the two great sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist.

42 is quite frequent; see Legg, *Tracts*, 3, 134, 181, 204; Köck, 107 f.; Yelverton, 11.

²³ See e.g., the English Mass books of the declining Middle Ages in Maskell, 8 f; here the verse, undivided, is used as an antiphon.

²⁴ Cistercian Missal (apparently since the 14th century); Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 253. The priest says the words immediately after kissing the altar, before he begins the prayers at the foot of the altar.

Admont Missal of the 14-15th century: Köck, 111; here, however, Lk. 1: 28 and the *Salve Regina* with its oration precede.

Late medieval examples in Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII, XXXVII (I, 658, 676).

In other cases the trinitarian formula is found in some other spot; e.g. in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557) at the beginning of the vesting prayers and after Ps. 42 (which is followed in this instance by the donning of the chasuble); Legg, *Tracts*, 55 f. More often it stands at the start of the *Introit*, where today we have simply a sign of the Cross; see *infra*, p. 332.

²⁵ Eisenhofer, I. 278.

²⁶ At the head of a formula for the blessing of incense in the *Missa Illyrica*; Martène, 1, 4, IV I, 494 C), and in related Mass-*Ordines* of the 11th and 12th cen-

turies: Fiala, 197; Muratori, I, 88; cf. Ebner, 333.

Among the earliest witnesses to a linking of the trinitarian phrase with the formulas of Confirmation and absolution is St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, III, 72, 4; 84, 3 ad 3.

²⁷ The sign of the Cross at the start of Mass also in *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 941 C); also in the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 12, 4 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 212 f.), where the bishop at the beginning of the eucharistic prayer signs the *τρόπιον τοῦ σταυροῦ* on his brow.

²⁸ In the same sense the Regensburg Mass-*Ordo* notes an opening sign of the Cross in connection with the words *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia*; Beck, 263. The same in Spanish Mass books of the late Middle Ages together with the trinitarian formula or some other; Ferreres, 66, 67, 71, 76; also in the *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 525 B). The phrase quoted seems to be the beginning of an ancient hymn; cf. the text in Yelverton, 5.

Elsewhere there is substituted here the versicle *Adiutorium nostrum* (which also has an introductory function); Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 643); cf. Augsburg Mass-*Ordo* of the 15th century: Franz, 751.

Late medieval Mass arrangements often made of this petition for God's blessing a special act of prayer during which the priest knelt at the altar.²⁹ It was frequently the custom to kneel down first for a few moments' prayer.³⁰ The psalm *Iudica* was sometimes given a special conclusion, a prayer being said to reaffirm its meaning.³¹ In the Norman-English ambit, where such a conclusion was almost universally in use, the *Kyrie* and *Pater noster* were said.³² A further development of the custom involved going up

²⁹ *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (Legg, *Tracts*, 35): *Veni Creator* with versicle and oration (cf. *supra*, p. 278, note 15 and p. 280, note 28, the *Veni Creator* during the vesting in the rite of Sarum). A Styrian missal of the 15th century (Köck, 112): *Veni S. Spiritus*, *reple* with the versicle and oration, and the added sentence, *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia*. Similarly in Hungary: Jávör, 113; Radó, 24, 96, 123; here the elements are already found in the Sacramentary of Boldau c. 1195 (Radó, 42): at the start *Adsit nobis*, before kissing the altar *Veni S. Spiritus* and oration.

An opening *Veni S. Spiritus* also in the Mass-*Ordo* of the Cistercians; Schneider (*Cist. Chr.* 1926), 253; cf. 222.

According to the Regensburg Mass-*Ordo* (c. 1500) the priest should say Ps. 42 on the way to the altar, then kneeling before the altar he should recite *antiphonam et orationem de B. Virgine vel de S. Spiritu*; Beck, 263. Similarly missals of the Hungarian Hermits of St. Paul; Sawicki, 146 f., with note 27. Cf. the Admont Missal, *supra*, note 24. Augsburg in 1555 had both the *Salve Regina* and the *Veni S. Spiritus*, each with oration; Hoeynck, 370.

The Missal of Evreux-Jumièges (14-15th century) directs that the priest, even before vesting, kneel before the altar and pray first to the Holy Ghost, then to the Blessed Virgin, then to all the saints; Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 642).

³⁰ In the ancient Carthusian rite the priest was to say a *Pater noster* kneeling before the altar; Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 A); later an *Ave* was added: Legg, *Tracts*, 99; this is still the present-day custom: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 32, 3.

In Holland it was a common practice to pray silently for a few moments or to say the *Pater* three times: Smits van

Waesberghe (*Ons geestelijk Erf*, 1941), 292 f. Or prayers relating to the Eucharist were suggested; Legg, *Tracts*, 130, 204.

In Germany many recited the psalm *Iudica* kneeling at the altar; Franz, 574. At the Synod of Brixen (1318), c. 4, *tres genuflexiones ante altare* were appointed for this occasion, to be accompanied by prayer; likewise *missa finita*; J. Baur, "Die Brixner Synode von 1318" (in the *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundert jährigen Bestandes des Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchivs* [Vienna, 1949]).

The Spanish *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 525 B; cf. 523 A) instructs the priest to say first of all an *Ave Maria*; similarly other Spanish Mass books: Ferreres, 76.

In France the saying of a *Pater* at the start had become such an ingrained practice that St. Vincent de Paul in 1620 still witnessed the practice; Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux*, III, 248.

³¹ Sacramentary of Brescia (11th century; Ebner, 16): *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, misericordiam*.

³² Legg, *Tracts*, 36, 56, 219; Maskell, 10 ff.; Simmons, 90; Martène, 1, 4, XXIV, XXVI ff., XXXV ff. (I, 626, 636, 639, 643, 664, 672, 676). Outside the region mentioned, in which the Sarum Ordinary of the 13th century (Legg, 219) is the earliest witness, I have met the same arrangement only in late sources: in the Regensburg *Ordo* (Beck, 262) and in two printed missals of Chalons and Tours (Martène, 1, 4, 1 [I, 352]; 1, 4, 2, 4 [I, 361]). An exception to this is apparently to be found in two books of the end of the 11th century, the Pontifical of the Biblioteca Casanatense (Ebner, 327) and (but in this case without *Pater noster*) the Missal of St. Vincent-on-Vol-

to the steps of the altar at the conclusion of the *Pater noster* (*Et ne nos*), and continuing the prayer with *Confitemini* and *Confiteor*.²

5. *Confiteor*

The *Confiteor*, along with its attendant prayers, forms the second portion of the prayers at the foot of the altar. Its beginnings are to be found in the silent worship to which the pope gave himself when, in the course of the stational services of Rome, he came to the altar.¹ But for this quiet prayer words were soon inserted when the Roman Mass reached Frankish territory. The tendency is manifested, for instance in the change of the seventh-century Roman rubric, *prostrato omni corpore in terra*²; the Frankish revision of the eighth century makes the addition: *fundens orationem pro se vel pro peccata [!] populi*.³ Thus the theme of the apologies is sounded.⁴

The prayer in which lowly man humbles himself before the great God is restricted to the expression particularly of man's incapacity and man's unworthiness. Already in the late Carolingian period, prayer of this sort had accompanied the walk to the altar; here at the altar steps it found its proper setting. A formula which highlights the main motifs of the later

turno (Fiala, 198); but the Beneventan script of both documents forces us to conclude that they are of Norman provenance. This arrangement is also contained in a Sacramentary of Fonte Avelana which must be dated before 1325 (PL, CLI, 884 d).

²⁸ Maskell, 12, 14; Legg, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 64.

In the use of Bec the entrance psalm was given an even greater air of independence; here the *Pater* was followed at once by the oration *Aufer*; similarly other Norman arrangements fitted in a series of versicles and the oration: Martène, I, 4, XXVII, XXXVI f. (I, 639, 672, 676). Other orations, too, were either substituted or adjoined; see Maskell, 12. In late texts the *Pater noster* was sometimes supplemented with an *Ave*: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 664 C); Bona, II, 2, 6 (567); Beck, 262.

¹ *Supra*, p. 70.

² While *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 942) merely says that the pope prays on the *oratorium* which is laid down before him, the *Capitularium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 196) says more definite-

ly: *accedit ad altare et prostrato omni corpore in terra facit orationem*. Since the wording in the *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (*ibid.*) agrees with this, we may rightly trace this method of prayer (which survives even now in the last days of Holy Week) to the Roman Arch-chancellor John (Archicantor Johannes).

On the other hand, Frankish tradition of the 9th century recognized in this place only one type of bodily attitude—prayer while standing bowed: Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 5 (PL, CV, 1111 C): *inclinatus stat*. See *infra*, p. 303.

³ *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 196).

Even intercession for the people often finds a voice in the *apologiae*, for example in the formula: *Rogo te, altissime Deus Sabaoth, Pater sancte, ut me tunica castitatis digneris accingere . . . ut pro peccatis meis possim intercedere et adstantibus populis peccatorum veniam promereri ac pacificas singulorum hostias immolare . . .* Mass-Ordo of Agniens, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927, 440; and later frequently.

⁴ Cf. about this *supra*, p. 78 f.

Confiteor formula, is prescribed in the Sacramentary of Amiens with the rubric:

Tunc accedat ad altare dicens:

*Ante conspectum divinæ maiestatis tuæ, Domine, his sanctis tuis confiteor tibi Deo meo et creatori meo, mea culpa, quia peccavi in superbia, in odio et invidia, in cupiditate et avaritia, in fornicatione et immunditia, in ebrietate et crapula, in mendacio et periurio et in omnibus vitiis, quæ ex his prodeunt. Quid plura? Visu, auditu, olfactu, gustu, et tactu et omnino in cogitatione et locutione et actione perditus sum; quapropter qui iustificas impios, iustifica me et resuscita me de morte ad vitam, Domine Deus meus.**

However, this is still a prayer which an individual recites. In the *Confiteor* the prayer becomes a dialogue spoken by several. The celebrant acknowledges his sinfulness not only before God and heaven but also before his brethren around him and begs their mediation, which is offered him at once in the form of a response to his confession. The distinctive transition⁶ to this new form was completed within the Mass in the first third of the eleventh century,⁷ and soon it was imitated quite generally. It consisted in making one's confession of faults in the same manner as was customary since the ninth century at daily Prime and Compline⁸—a mutual confession of daily faults made two-by-two. This method was now introduced at the beginning of Mass,⁹ at first (usually) the priest and deacon alone confessing to each other,¹⁰ later (more generally) the priest and a

*Leroquais, *loc. cit.*, 440.

⁶One single instance from the 9th-10th century is represented by the *Confiteor* of the Sacramentary of St. Gatien, Martène, 1, 4, VII (I, 536); in its long list of sins, covering half of a folio column, it still reflects the stylistic form of those *Confiteor* texts which were intended for sacramental confession.

⁷The definite form which eventually prevailed is to be detected for the first time in *Cod. Chigi* (See *supra*, p. 292). But already about 1030 another attempt of a similar sort is presupposed in the *Missa Illyrica*, Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 495 A), built on the design of the much-altered entry plan of the Séz group (*supra*, p. 291). While still on the way to the altar, in front of the steps leading to the choir, the bishop recites not *apologia* of some sort or another (as in the Pontifical of Halinardus), but a confession or acknowledgment in the narrower sense (*proferens confessionem*). True, there is no mention of a response by the clergy (a thing taken for granted at that time), nor of their corresponding confession, but there follows the absolving reply of the bishop, *Indulgentiam* (see *infra*), and

then, after several intervening orations and Ps. 42, the ingress into the sanctuary.

⁸*Ordo qualiter* (Albers, III, 29). Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 282.

⁹For this reason the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 250) lays down the rule: Whoever celebrates right after Prime should not say the *Confiteor* during Prime. Amongst the Premonstratensians, according to the *Liber ordinarius* of the 12th century (Lefèvre, 15; Wacfelghem, 100), the *Confiteor* of the priest at the early Mass coincided with that of Prime.

¹⁰This was also given outward expression. At the conventual Mass in Cluny the priest recited his acknowledgment of sin before the altar, at the Gospel side, *inclinis contra diaconum similiter inclinens*; *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 30 (PL, CX-LIX, 716 A). The two therefore stood to either side of the altar, facing each other. The same rubric amongst the Carthusians (cf. the illustration in Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 236-7) and in 1380 in the Missal of Westminster, ed. Legg (HBS, V), 489; cf. the commentary (HBS, XII), 1503. In the Westminster case the priest at the same time

number of those in attendance.¹¹

The surprising thing is that not only the *Misereatur* (a companion piece to the *Confiteor* which even the layman was permitted to say as the intercessory response to the confession of faults)¹² but also the *Indulgentiam* (or, as often, beginning with the second word *Absolutionem*) was included in this shift from the very start, for the latter was at this time, and continued to be for several centuries, the regular expression of the priests' sacramental absolution.¹³ This was, however, nothing else than a feature of the period. It was right around the year 1000 that (as divers witnesses tell us) the custom came into vogue. Shortly before, it had become a general practice to have the absolution follow immediately upon the sacramental confession. The same pattern was therefore followed in the monasteries where it had long been customary to go to confession to one's spiritual father weekly or even oftener¹⁴; the sacramental absolution was appended to the *Misereatur*.¹⁵

The *Confiteor* had thus undergone some development before it was ushered into the Mass prayers at the foot of the altar. From the ninth century on, a number of versions are extant which were intended for use in sacramental confession.¹⁶

The situation we have here outlined helps to explain how it is that the prayer not only makes acknowledgment before God and his priest, but ends with a petition begging the latter to give counsel and judgment and also to act as an intercessor before God.¹⁷ Intercession of the Church, or more particularly of the priest, was, for the first millenary, the form in which the sacramental power of penance was exercised. This petition for intercessory prayer could well be retained in the confession of lay people and

makes his confession to his minister and to the people: *stans iuxta sinistrum cornu altaris ministro suo circumstantique populo istam generalem faciat confessionem*. On the contrary, in the rite of Sarum the priest has the deacon at his right, the subdeacon at his left, and both answer him; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 664 C).¹¹ But the case of the Tours Missal (1533) is an extreme; here the *Misereatur*-formula of the priest begins with the words *Fratres et sorores*, Martène 1, 4, 2, 4 (I, 361).

¹² Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 207 f., 282 f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 200, 217 ff., 251 f.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 285.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 283 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 180, 182, 207 ff.

The most ancient examples contain an often endless catalogue of sins, intended primarily as a confessional guide. Thus

the *Confiteor* in the Pontifical of Poitiers (last third of the 9th century): J. Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disc. in admin. sacr. poenitentiae* (Antwerp, 1682), app. 55 f. Similarly in a Tours Sacramentary of much the same age: Martène, 1, 6, III (I, 775-779), and somewhat shorter in the *Ordo Rom. antiquus* of the 10th century (Hittorp, 26 f.). More briefly worded forms of this type have also survived in the vernacular (Slavic and Old High German) since the 9th century. In part they still survive in the "Open Confession" or *culpa*; see *infra*, p. 492.

¹⁷ Sacramentary of Tours (779 B): *ut pro eisdem peccatis meis intercessor existas*.

The confessional order of Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 300 (PL, CXXXII, 252 A): *ut intercedas pro me et pro peccatis meis ad Dominum et creatorem nostrum*.

it was also retained in the confession which the celebrating priest made to his assistants.¹⁸ Another standard element in the early *Confiteor* formula was the mention of the saints, and, in the more ancient texts, an additional mention of the altar was also made.¹⁹ This points to the fact that the formula was used with some eagerness whenever the monastic custom then in vogue was followed, of making the rounds from altar to altar, praying at each one.²⁰

The oldest *Confiteor* formulas which were inserted into the Mass were satisfied to follow the fundamental lines just indicated.²¹ About 1080 the following version was used at Cluny: *Confiteor Deo et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis, pater, quia peccavi in cogitatione, locutione et opere, mea culpa. Precor vos, orate pro me.*²² A thing to notice here is something that holds also for later formulas of the *Confiteor*: the acknowledgment in the first part is made first of all to God and the Church in heaven, while the intercession in the second part is asked at once of the Church on earth. It is well to remark that even in the eleventh century lengthier formulas had already put in an appearance.²³

As time went on a general augmentation may be noted. At the General Chapter of the Cistercians in 1184 it was decreed that the Mother of God should be named before all the other saints: *Confiteor Deo et beatæ Mariæ et omnibus sanctis.*²⁴ The pious devotion of a St. Bernard is patently at work here.²⁵ The later Middle Ages continued to add further names to

¹⁸ An exception is found in the rite of the Carmelites where, till the 14th century the complementary section, *Ideo precor*, was missing: Zimmermann, "Carmes," DACL, II, 2172. This section is also wanting in Spanish books even in the 16th century; examples in Ferreres, 65-68.

¹⁹ Ps.-Alcuin, *De psalmorum usu* (PL, CI, 498): *Confiteor . . . coram hoc altari sancto.*

²⁰ Cf. L. Gougaud, *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1925), 57-59.

²¹ A large number of examples in Bona, II, 2, 5 f. (565-570).

²² *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 30 PL, CX-LIX, 716).

Similarly Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992): *Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, istis sanctis et omnibus sanctis, et tibi, frater, quia peccavi in cogitatione, in locutione, in opere, in pollutione mentis et corporis. Ideo precor te, ora pro me.*

A formula of this short type is used even at present by the Dominicans: *Misale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 17. Simi-

larly the Carthusians: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 25, 13.

The formulation, *mea culpa, mea maxima culpa* is evidenced for the first time in Thomas à Becket (d. 1170); A. Wilmart, *Recherches de Théol. Ancienne et médiév.* (1935) VII, 351.

²³ In *Cod. Chigi*: Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 569): *Confiteor Deo omnipotenti et istis et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis fratres, quia ego miser peccavi nimis in lege Dei mei, cogitatione, sermone et opere, pollutione mentis et corporis et in omnibus malis quibus humana fragilitas contaminari potest. Propterea precor vos ut oretis pro me misero peccatore.* The intercessory formula is correspondingly augmented.

²⁴ Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 255.

²⁵ With this compare the way Christian antiquity drew attention to the heavenly powers, e.g. 1 Tim. 5: 21: "I adjure thee in the sight of God and of Jesus Christ, and the angels he has chosen." Further reference in Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, 239, note 29.

the list²⁶ usually, however, only in the second part of the *Confiteor* so that they appear as intercessors.²⁷ This penitential prayer was in danger of becoming a very externalized devotion. The Third Council of Ravenna (1314) decreed that aside from Mary, only Michael, John the Baptist and the Apostles Peter and Paul were to be named.²⁸ These are names calculated to recall to mind the sin-free glory and holiness of the triumphant Church.

Elsewhere there was often a long listing and detailing of faults²⁹ that often turned into an acknowledgment of sins *in specie* just as was general and usual at choir Office in many localities. The interpreters of the liturgy voice a disapproval of this, alleging rightly that there is question here

The anti-Arian movement had long since caused Christ to be considered as included (according to his godhead) in the mention of God. Few are the attempts to formulate a *Confiteor* text along the earlier lines. One example is that offered by the Pontifical of Poitiers (note 16 above): *Confiteor tibi, Domine, Pater coeli et terrae, tibi que benignissime Jesu una cum Spiritu Sancto, coram sanctis angelis . . .* Cf. the trinitarian phrasing in a sacramentary of Fonte Avellana (ante 1325: *confiteor Deo omnipotenti Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto et omnibus angelis . . .* (PL, CLI, 885 A).

²⁶ The Augsburg Mass commentary entitled "*Messe singen oder lesen*" (To sing or read Mass; 15th century) instructs the priest to name at least the patrons of the church and of the altar, and then to add those he wants, towards whom he has devotion. Franz, 751, note 4.

²⁷ Thus the exposition of the Mass mentioned in the last note. Also the Mass-*Ordo* of Regensburg (Beck, 263), which in the first part names only Mary and "all the saints," but in the second names the Apostles together and then 20 other saints from Stephen to Ursula. Similar, but a little more extensive, is the Styrian Missal of Haus (Köck, 112).

On the contrary, the Missal of the Barberini MS 1861 (14th century; cf. Ebner, 140) makes mention of individual saints mainly in the first part; Bona, II, 2, 5 (567). The theological basis for this confession before the saints is presented in Matt. 19: 28; 1 Cor. 6: 3.

²⁸ Mansi, XXV, 547.

Michael, who scarcely ever appears in

texts from northern countries, is named in a Fonte Avellana missal of the 13-14th century (PL, CLI, 932 C) and in the *Ordo Rom. XIV* (14th century), n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1185); in both these instances the symmetrical arrangement of the names in both segments, which became general later on, also emerges.

The Congregation of Sacred Rites had occasion more than once to curb the arbitrary insertion of names; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 1332, 5; 2142. However, some religious have the privilege of including the name of their holy Founder, e.g., the Franciscans insert St. Francis.

²⁹ This may perhaps have been due to the influence of *Confiteor* formulas which were used as a help in sacramental confession; cf. note 16 above. From the late medieval Mass-*Ordo* of the *Breviarium* of Rouen: Martène, I, 4, XXXVII (I, 677), we get this sample: . . . *quia ego miser peccator peccavi nimis contra legem Dei mei cogitatione, delectatione, pollutione, consensu, tactu, risu, visu, verbo et opere, in transgressionem ordinis mei et omissionem servitii mei, participando cum excommunicatis et in cunctis aliis vitiis meis malis, mea culpa*. An analogous form is already found in the Hungarian Sacramentary of Boldau (c. 1195): Radó, 42. Spanish formulas, too, usually list a series of sins, even with the acknowledgment *me graviter peccasse*: Ferreres, 65 ff. Such formulas as these were probably developed from the same sort of thinking that gave rise to the early Scholastic problem, whether it was permissible, for the sake of greater self-humiliation, to confess sins that one had not committed. Cf. H.

not of secret confession but of public.³⁰ An intensification of the utterance of sorrow is manifested when the subject is described at the beginning: *Ego peccator* or *Ego miser et infelix* or *Ego reus sacerdos confiteor*, and other similar phrases.³¹

As to the external rite, we find from the very outset that the *Confiteor* was recited with body bowed profoundly.³² But kneeling too must have been rather widespread.³³ Striking the breast at the words *mea culpa* is mentioned quite early.³⁴ This gesture, copied from the Bible story (Luke 18:13) was so familiar to St. Augustine's audience and so intimately connected with the acknowledgment of sin that the saint had to caution them against beating their breasts every time the word *confiteor* was called out.³⁵

According to an old tradition the *Confiteor* of the priest was answered by the deacon or by one of the assistants³⁶ with the prayer *Misereatur* which corresponded to the final plea of the *Confiteor*.³⁷ The formulation of the *Misereatur* was just as multiform as that of the *Confiteor*. The ground text which by and large remained in the Mass is to be seen probably in a version which is found in various places in the ninth/tenth century: *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, liberet te ab omni [opere] malo, conservet te in omni [opere] bono et perducatur te [per intercessionem omnium sanctorum] ad gloriam sempiternam.*³⁸ How-

Weisweiler, "Die Busslehre Simons von Tournai" (ZkTh, 1932), 209.

³⁰ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 13 (PL, CCXVII, 806); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 95 A); Durandus, IV, 7, 2.

Even John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 33 (PL CCII, 43) observed that here it was allowed to confess sins only *generaliter* and not *mensuram excedere*.

³¹ Examples in Ferreres, 66 ff.

Ego reus et conscius multorum malorum meorum: Köck, 108; cf. 111; Beck, 263.

Ego reus et indignus: Radó, 42, 61.

Ego reus et indignus sacerdos: Radó, 76; Legg, *Tracts*, 36, 56.

³² Cf. *supra*, note 2. The express remark is found in the *Ordo. eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 80, 1, 16), in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 89, 1. 22).

³³ The rhymed German Mass-explanation of the 12th century says: He kneels before God's table and confesses his sins; Leitzmann (*Kleine Texte*, 54), 18, 1. 1.

The Mass-*Ordo* of Bec: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI (I, 672): *ante altare prostratus*.

Apparently also in the Styrian Missal

of Haus: Köck, 112 f.; in the Regensburg Mass-*Ordo*: Beck, 263 f.; in the Augsburg Missal of 1555: Hoeynck, 371.

In all the cases mentioned the rubric seems to be intended for a Mass without levites.

³⁴ Stephen of Baugé (d. 1136), *De sacr. altaris*, 1. 12 (PL, CLXXII, 1283 B); Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 13 (PL, CCXVII, 806); Durandus, IV, 7, 3.

³⁵ Augustine, *Serm.*, 67, 1 (PL, XXXVIII, 433). Cf. Roetzer, 245-247.

³⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 299. See also the example on p. 301 which imply a confession made now to one (*frater, pater*), now to several (*fratres*).

³⁷ It is worthy of note that the oldest formulas which in the first part name "all the saints," confine the petition for prayer in the second part to the brethren present (*te, vos*). See *supra*, p. 301.

³⁸ Sacramentary of Reims: PL, LXXVIII, 442 A. The bracketed expressions are frequently missing in other texts.

Cf. the interpolated rule of Chrodegang: PL, LXXXIX, 1067; Ritual of Durham, ed. Lindelöf (Surtees Society, 140), 170.

ever it is only proper to record that the older Mass books mention this *Misereatur* of the assistants or of the deacon or of the Mass server as infrequently as they do the *Confiteor* that follows. The fact that these two formulas had to follow, was taken as much for granted as the fact that the texts would be almost identical with the priest's.³⁹ Besides it was hardly necessary to write the formulas down,⁴⁰ for not only every cleric but every properly instructed Christian had to know them by heart in some form or other, almost as he did the Lord's Prayer.⁴¹ Still it appears that often the priest used for his *Misereatur* a much more solemn form in which a special phrase was prefixed like *Precibus et meritis sanctæ Dei Genitricis et Virginis Mariæ et omnium Sanctorum suorum*,⁴² frequently adding a whole list of names, as in the *Confiteor*⁴³; or a phrase like *Per gratiam Sancti Spiritus Paracliti*⁴⁴ or *Per auxilium et signum sanctæ crucis*⁴⁵ or *Per sanctam misericordiam D. N. J. C.*⁴⁶ or *Per amaram passionem D. N. J. C.*⁴⁷ or *Per sparsiones sanguinis D. N. J. C.*⁴⁸; or he might use a phrase which changed with the Church year⁴⁹; or several of these phrases together—an

Similar also the later Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992), in the conclusion with variants that are otherwise quite common: *et perducatur nos pariter Jesus Christus Filius Dei vivi in vitam æternam*.

³⁹ Yet even in the 11th century John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 D) says explicitly: *confessione invicem facta*, and William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016): *respondente sibi Converso versum Misereatur ac statim adiungente confessionem*. Cf. also *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.* II, 32 (PL, CXLIX, 725): The deacon stands opposite the priest *ut confesso confiteatur*.

The distinction customarily made today (the priest: *vobis fratres, vos fratres*; the server: *tibi pater, te pater*) is remarked in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101).

⁴⁰ Therefore in some early instances no definite wording is given even for the priest: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 495 A); cf. XV (I, 585 B); Köck, 106, 107.

⁴¹ Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 283.

St. Vincent Ferrer wanted the people to know the *Pater, Ave, Confiteor* and the Creed by heart; G. Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, (Paderborn, 1929) III, 232.

In most of the Romance countries this

would probably mean the Latin *Confiteor*; in German countries, the vernacular formula of the "Open Confession" (*culpa*) had to be substituted for the faithful.

⁴² *Cod. Chigi*: Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 569).

⁴³ *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1185).

⁴⁴ Missal of St. Pol de Léon: Martène, I, 4 XXXIV (I, 662 B); Hungarian Mass books of the 15th century: Radó, 24, 123; Jávör, 113.

⁴⁵ Missal of St. Pol de Léon: Martène, I, 4, XXXIV (I, 662 B); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*. Legg, *Tracts*, 36.

⁴⁶ *Breviarium* of Rouen: Martène, I, 4, XXXVII (I, 677); joined with it are several of the formulas already mentioned, including ten Saints' names. Similarly the *Alphabetum sacerdotum*, Legg, *Tracts*, 36.

A Hungarian missal of the 13th century has: *Per virtutem D. N. J. C. et*; Radó, 61.

⁴⁷ Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 263.

⁴⁸ Missal of Valencia (1417): Ferreres, 71; for the Mass-server a simple *Misereatur* is mentioned.

⁴⁹ *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557): *Per sanctam Incarnationem*, etc.; Legg, *Tracts*, 56 f. Here again the server is given just a simple *Misereatur*.

opportunity for giving the celebrant's devotion ample play.⁶⁰ Even though these additions to the intercessory prayer were very meaningful and suggestive of the whole economy of salvation, they were after all—excepting the first of them—embellishments proposed by the Gothic spirit and were in consequence not accepted everywhere,⁶¹ nor were they admitted into the Missal of Pius V. Sufficient that the prayer expressed the wish and hope that God would forgive the faults confessed.

In content the wish expressed in the *Misereatur* differs in nothing except emphasis from the wish expressed in the priest's *Indulgentiam*. The formula, which had gone through no little development long before being taken into the Mass,⁶² and had even been shortened in various ways,⁶³ appears in the Mass in the eleventh century in this simple version: *Indulgentiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus*.⁶⁴ It was only in a few individual instances that it received an augmentation as did its companion piece *Misereatur*.⁶⁵

As already hinted, the *Indulgentiam* had become since the year 1000 a favorite form for absolution in the sacrament of penance—a deprecativ or, more properly, optative form. In what sense was it now incorporated into the Mass, in the prayers at the foot of the altar? For the sacrament certain conditions appear to be missing. Contrition might be present, provided the *Confiteor* is said with proper intention, for if we stand before God as sinners and if we see the glance of all heaven directed towards us, we become sufficiently aware of the heinousness of sin and turn away from it. That is perhaps the motive for contrition which is closest to us and therefore also most effectual, even if it is not the highest. But the confession was not at all extensive enough since it was essentially very general. Besides the *Indulgentiam* was spoken only by the priest over the assistants, and not in reverse even when these latter were priests, a surprising thing since it was primarily the celebrant who required the purifying action

⁶⁰ Thus expressly in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances, *loc. cit.*

⁶¹ Such additions are missing, for instance, in most of the examples cited from Styrian Mass books, Köck, 107 ff.

⁶² The formula is an outgrowth of solemn absolution formulas of the 10th century, which were usually composed of three members and presented in the optative, and which comprised the previous prayers of reconciliation (which had the form of orations), so that they themselves eventually became the conveyors of the sacramental absolution. See Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 212 ff., 251 ff.

⁶³ The earliest text within the Mass, in the *Missal Illyrica*, Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 495), is still quite comprehensive.

The text in the *Cod. Chigi*: Martène,

I, 4, XII (I, 569 D), which is a bit later, reads as follows: *Indulgentiam et absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum et spatium veræ poenitentiae per intercessionem omnium sanctorum suorum tribuat nobis omnipotens, pius et misericors Dominus*.

In Spain the following wording often appears: *Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum et spatium et fructus dignos poenitentiae et emendationem vitae et cor poenitens per gratiam Spiritus Sancti tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus*. Ferreres, 65 ff.

⁶⁴ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992). Similarly a setting from Limoges: Leroquais, I, 155.

⁶⁵ St. Lambrecht Missal (1336): Köck, 107.

of the sacrament.⁵⁸ However, we must remember that the development we are considering belongs to a period which had not yet experienced the clarification of its penance theories through Scholasticism. This was the high tide of sacramental general absolutions regarding which, nevertheless, even then the fact was emphasized that the general acknowledgment which was connected with them did not suffice for grave sins.⁵⁷ But there was a constant effort to despoil the *Confiteor* formula of its general character by inserting specific references, and doubtless it was not seldom that a personal confession was—by abuse—combined with it. But if the priest does include himself (*tribuat nobis*), he was surely aware that the formula could have, in his regard, only the value of a petition, which did not however rob it in any way of a more extensive power with regard to others.⁵⁸

It is certain that efforts were made to emphasize the formula by means of ceremonial. According to the use of Cluny the priest at a private Mass, while answering the lay-brother with the *Misereatur*, put on the stole⁵⁹ which up to then he had carried in his hand, and then recited the *Indulgentiam*.⁶⁰ In other places a special versicle was inserted between *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam*,⁶¹ or the *Indulgentiam* was introduced by the word *Oremus*.⁶² The sign of the Cross which accompanied the formula here as elsewhere, and which itself developed out of the laying on of hands by means of which penance and reconciliation were once administered, has survived until the present.

⁵⁸ For the priest, especially in monasteries, a sacramental confession before each Mass was customary in the later Middle Ages. Even in the 11th century there is mention of this at Cluny, but with the restrictive clause, *si opus habet*; *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 12 (PL, CXLIX, 706 f.); similarly in a Klosterneuburg source of the 13th century: Schabes, 58; in a missal of Auxerre: Martène, I, 4, 1 (I, 351 B). In the Dominican order this confession before each Mass was enjoined by various General Chapters down to the 16th century; Sölch, *Hugo von St. Cher*, 52 f. The *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (after 1495) starts its references to the Mass with a *modus confitendi*; Legg, *Tracts*, 33. Cf. also the missal printed in Venice in 1493: *ibid.*, 114.

⁵⁷ Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 277 ff., 285 ff.

⁵⁸ This was a use of the sacramental form outside its own proper sphere analogous to the practice much in vogue in the early Middle Ages of giving absolution to the dead, a practice from which is de-

rived the name still preserved for the corresponding rite, *absolutio ad tumbam, absolutio in exsequiis*. *Op. cit.*, 288 f.

⁵⁹ According to the confessional guide of Arezzo of that same 11th century, the remission of sins was granted *per stolam*. *Op. cit.*, 193. Further passages can be found in the same work cited in the Index *sub verbo* "stola."

⁶⁰ *Bernardi Ordo Clun. I*, 72 (Herrgott, 264); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016).

⁶¹ But the witnesses to this practice are of a later period: Mass-*Ordo* of Regensburg (Beck, 264): *Christe audi nos, Salvator mundi adiuva nos*.

Hungarian Mass books of the 15th century, (Jávör, 113; Radó, 24, 123): Ps. 120: 7.

Ordinarium of the Carthusians, c. 1500 (Legg, *Tracts*, 99): *Adiutorium nostrum*.

⁶² Styrian missals of the 14th or 15th century: Köck, 111, 112.

Klosterneuburg (15th century): Schabes, 61.

The original conception of this absolution as a sacramental formula will serve to explain the fact that a penance was not infrequently imposed just as we will find was done at the "Open Confession" which took place after the sermon.⁶³ The faithful, too, were sometimes drawn into this penitential act. In many churches of Normandy the priest turned towards the people while he spoke the *Indulgentiam*.⁶⁴ The nuns at Fontevraud used to say a *Confiteor* of their own after the priest said his; the introit was not started until after the *Indulgentiam*.⁶⁵ According to South-German Mass books of the late Middle Ages, the priest kissed the altar and then turned to the people and pronounced an absolution, using a second formula⁶⁶ of the type which was then otherwise employed when administering sacramental forgiveness.⁶⁷

Of these various formations which are in essence—if not in actual time—pre-Scholastic, only the absolution formula *Indulgentiam* has survived. The Church's penitential practice had followed the lead of Scholastic the-

⁶³ Thus the Pontifical of Durandus in regulating the case when a bishop attends the Mass of a priest: At the prayers at the foot of the altar the bishop stands next to the priest. After the confession of sins and the *absolutio*, the priest recites a few intermediate verses and then says, *Iudicium pro peccatis meis*. Then the rubric continues: *Et pontifex iniungit illi Pater noster vel Ave Maria vel aliud, et sacerdos idipsum vel aliud pontifici*. Andrieu, III, 643.

Quite similar is the arrangement in the monastic Missal of Lyons printed in 1531; here in the same spot the celebrant begins the following dialogue: *Poenitentiam pro peccatis meis. Pater noster. Deo gratias. Et vobis: Ave Maria. R.: Deo gratias*. Only after this penance has been said does the priest kiss the altar. Martène, I, 4, XXXIII (I, 658 D). The same dialogue, with unessential variations, in the Missal of Vich (1496): Ferreres, 67, and in the later rite of Lyons: Bona, II, 2, 6 (570). Similarly three missals of the 14th century from Gerona, but here the imposition of the penance is provided only for the celebrant: Ferreres, p. XXXII, XXXV, 68.

No doubt the same meaning must be attached to the rubrics of the Carthusian *Ordinarium* of circa 1500, according to which the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur* are followed by a *Pater* and *Ave*, to be said bowed, and then there follows the absolution formula (marked with the heading:

absolutio post confessionem privatam). Legg, *Tracts*, 99 f.; cf. *Statuta antiqua*, I, 43: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 631 D). Later on the sacramental confession was anticipated before Mass. The present-day *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (1932), c. 25, 12, still mentions a *signum pro confessionibus* before the procession to the altar. But it also retains the *Pater* and *Ave* referred to above (c. 25, 14).

The same *Pater* and *Ave* are found in the old Cistercian rite, but here only after the *Indulgentiam* and the versicle *Adiutorium nostrum* which is combined with it; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 254 (and see the rubric, *ibid.*, 255, according to which the "confessio" can be completed later, during the *Gloria*). Cf. Franz, 587; de Corswarem, 111.

⁶⁴ Thus in Bayeux: Martène, I, 4, 2, 5 (I, 363 B). *Ordinarium* of Coutances: Legg, *Tracts*, 57.

Similarly the Bishop of Le Mans as late as 1700: de Moléon, 221.

Cf. the custom of Bec: Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 672 E).

⁶⁵ According to the *Ordinarium* of 1115: de Moléon, 109 f.

⁶⁶ Mass-*Ordo* of Gregorienmünster (14th or 15th century): Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 655 B). Augsburg Ritus of the 15th century: Franz, 752. Missal of Chur of 1589: Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 295.

⁶⁷ Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 231 ff.

ory and had begun to limit the use of sacramental powers to very definite conditions.⁶⁶ As a result, sacramental absolution was neither considered here nor given, and so the penitential act which began with the *Confiteor*, even in spite of the formula mentioned, continued to have only that meaning which the confession of faults had in the period of monastic lay confession when this formula was not in use. Of course even the confession of faults had long ago assumed a merely formal character; nevertheless it remains an humble acknowledgment of our sinfulness and a worthy expression of our contriteness, and with these the intercession of the Church will continue to be connected as it has been since the beginning.⁶⁷

Besides what we have already described, and even aside from the oration *Aufer a nobis* which from the start had formed the conclusion and before which the *Confiteor*-rite was consciously inserted—besides this, I say, the liturgical mind of the Middle Ages had added a further framework. A versicle or two was introduced before the *Confiteor*, and it made no difference whether the psalm *Iudica* preceded or not. From a time, perhaps, when it was still customary to make a concrete confession of faults, comes the use of the verse (Psalm 140:3); *Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo . . .*⁷⁰ Since the thirteenth century there was an almost general use, chiefly outside Italy, of the verse *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus* (Ps. 117:1), the original meaning (an invitation to praise God) being twisted into a summons to make a confession of faults to God because He is merciful.⁷¹ In Italy the verse (Ps. 123:8), *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini* had already been used in this same spot in the eleventh century.⁷² In the Roman liturgy this last verse was used to introduce not only all blessings⁷³ but also other liturgical acts, particularly also the *Confiteor* in the Office. The admission which it implies, that in matters of salvation we are helpless without that help from above which—as the accompanying

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 287 ff. Conclusive was the judgment of St. Thomas Aquinas, *De forma absolutionis*, c. 2: *Huiusmodi absolutiones* [at Prime, compline and holy Mass] *non sunt sacramentales, sed sunt quaedam orationes quibus dicuntur venialia peccata dimitti*. There is possibly a connection between this decision of St. Thomas and the regulation in the Dominican rite which directs the priest reciting the formula, *Absolutionem et remissionem*, not to make the sign of the Cross: *Signum crucis ne faciat; Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 17.

⁶⁷ C. Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 191 f., speaks in a similar sense of a sacramental that works *ex opere operantis Ecclesiae*.

⁷⁰ Sacramentary of Modena (before 1174): Muratori, I, 88; Rite of Lyons: Bona,

II, 2, 6 (569); Buennner, 223, note 1. Besides these it appears only in the Mass-*Ordo* of the Carthusians, which is dependent on Lyons, and there it appears even today.

⁷¹ *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235).

Mass-*Ordo* of the papal chapel (*circa* 1290), ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 200.

⁷² A monastic sacramentary of the outgoing 11th century: Ebner, 297; cf. *ibid.*, 327, 332; Fiala, 198.

Otherwise it is not frequent at this spot. Later in the *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 60 (PL, LXXVIII, 1173 C). Outside Italy apparently only since the 15th century; e.g., in Augsburg: Franz, 751.

⁷³ *Rituale Rom.*, VIII, 1, 7.

sign of the Cross indicates—is disclosed in the Cross of Christ, here fulfills the function of an epiklesis to introduce the act of penance.⁷⁴ It is therefore very understandable that in several localities it became customary—and still is today—to pronounce the same little phrase when leaving the sacristy.⁷⁵

A number of versicles was also inserted after the act of penance as a sort of transition to the old oration *Aufer a nobis*. These versicles, which appear quite early, serve a purpose similar to the *preces* before the oration in the Office; the similarity is emphasized by the bowed position the priest assumes while saying them. Even though these are prayers of a semi-private nature, alternate prayer between priest and deacon (or at most the closer assistants)—for the brethren in the choir are busy with singing the introit and the *Kyrie*—still the structural rules for liturgical prayer are carefully observed. The versicles that appear here are seldom newly composed from Holy Writ.⁷⁶ Generally they are taken from the verses used

⁷⁴ Cf. Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 38 f.

Elsewhere this verse had been put to a different use, at first sight rather surprising, in connection with this same penitential act of the Mass. According to William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016) the priest should put on the stole, “*indulgentiam cum illo versu adiutorium nostrum, etc.*” *adiungens*. As a matter of fact, monastic ordinaries of the years immediately following do actually display this single versicle before the oration *Aufer a nobis*: Seckau Missal of 1170 (Köck, 106); *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235); cf. Liège *Liber ordinarius* (Volk, 89).

The verse is here probably a reflex of the absolution, an acknowledgment of the newly-established and confirmed covenant with God, with whose help the work can be begun and the Holy of Holies entered.

Beginning with the 13th century the *Adiutorium nostrum* in this place is usually combined with *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*; thus in the Westminster Missal written between 1362 and 1386, ed. Legg (HBS, V), 490, and in the English and Norman Mass-ordinaries of the following years; it is from this area that the practice must have developed: Maskell, 20; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV ff. (I, 664, 672 E, 677 C). Since the turn of the Middle Ages also outside the area named: *ibid.*, XXXIII (I, 658 D); 1, 4, 2, 4

(I, 360 f.); Legg, *Tracts*, 36 f.; Ferreres, p. XXXII, LXXIX. Also in the Spanish Cistercian Missal of 1762: Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 254, and in the present-day *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 165 f.

In the monastery of Bec: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI (I, 672 E), the priest would stand turned to the people and add to all this: *In nomine Patris . . .*; it had thus grown into a blessing. Similarly the monastic Mass-*Ordo* of Rouen: *ibid.*, XXXVII (I, 677 CD).

In several late and post-medieval Mass books this set of versicles is placed just before the Introit, again therefore with epicletic meaning: Legg, *Tracts*, 37, 58; Maskell, 27; Martène, 1, 4, XXVII f., XXXIII f. (I, 640 B, 643 E, 658 E, 662 D); also 1, 4, 3 (I, 364 A).

⁷⁵ Thus already in the 15th century in the pontifical rite of Trier and of Strassburg; Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits*, I, 103; II, 165.

In some churches the servers offer the priest the holy water for a blessing as he pronounces these words.

In some places (e.g. in Tyrol) the servers use the formula for asking a blessing: *Benedicite!* and receive the answer: *Deus* [sc. *benedicat*].

⁷⁶ As was the case in the Sacramentary of Modena (Muratori, I, 88) where

earlier at the close of the accession prayers. Thus we find here in Italian Mass books of the end of the twelfth century a portion of the versicle which two centuries before had belonged to the oldest accession arrangements and had then disappeared.⁷⁷ Amongst these are also the versicles we still use: *Deus tu conversus* and *Ostende*, with which the basic theme of Psalm 84, and therefore of the accession prayers *in toto*, is reviewed in a brief but striking way. It is the same theme which is sounded in Psalm 42: We can gain joy and new life from the well-springs of God; He wants to manifest to us His protection and His saving power. The series of verses in the missal used in the papal chapels about 1290 is confined exclusively to the verses mentioned.⁷⁸ But in other places this same group is merely the foundation to which other verses are added.⁷⁹ Then after the general petition *Domine exaudi*, which otherwise almost always and even in an earlier period follows the series of versicles,⁸⁰ and after the greeting *Dominus vobiscum*, which is not omitted even for this small group of people, the oration *Aufer a nobis* is said. This is the oldest element in the prayers at the foot of the altar, and even after these prayers had been more fully developed, continued to serve as the closing oration.⁸¹ Its glance is turned

verses were chosen all directed towards penance: Ps. 55: 9 (*Deus vitam meam*) and Ps. 31: 5 f. (*Delictum meum*, etc.)

⁷⁷ *Supra*, p. 272 f.

In the purest state in *Cod. S. 1*, 19 of the Biblioteca Angelica (Ebner, 322), with Ps. 84: 7, 8 (*Deus tu conversus*, *Ostende*), Ps. 142: 2 (*Ne intres*), Ps. 78: 9 b (*Propitius*). Cf. Ebner, 354.

In Italian Mass books the versicles appear which today follow the *Confiteor* at Prime and Compline: *Converte nos*, *Dignare Domine*, *Miserere nostri*, *Fiat misericordia*. Ebner, 327, 332, 345.

⁷⁸ Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 200.

Likewise Ebner, 313.

⁷⁹ Thus in the Sarum Ordinary of the 13th century (Legg, *Tracts*, 219; cf. *ibid.*, 3 f.; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 217); here Ps. 84: 7 f. is followed by Ps. 131: 9 (*Sacerdotes*); 18: 13 f. (*Ab occultis*); 113 b: 1 (*Non nobis*), the invocation *Sancta Dei Genitrix*, and finally Ps. 79: 20 (*Domine Deus virtutum*). Similarly most of the later English Mass books. The versicles *Ab occultis* and *Sacerdotes* are also frequent elsewhere.

⁸⁰ Thus already in the *Ordo Rom. antiquus* (circa 950): Hittorp, 28, 53.

⁸¹ The stamp of conclusiveness is brought out especially in the Mass-*Ordo* of the papal chapel, ed. Brinktrine, 200, where

are added *Dominus vobiscum* and *Exaudiat nos omnipotens et misericors Dominus* just as at the end of the Litany of All Saints.

Just as in the 11th century the Pontifical of Halinardus and other Mass-*Ordines* of the Séz group (*supra*, p. 291 f.) had added to the *Aufer a nobis* a second oration which later disappeared, so also many later Mass books supplemented the *Aufer* with one or more orations. Often these were taken from the accession prayers (*Conscientiæ*, *Adsit*; both orations, e.g., in Ebner, 341; cf. *supra*, p. 275). Norman books of the late Middle Ages borrowed from the recession prayers (*Ure igne*, *Actiones*; see Martène, 1, 4, XXVII f.; cf. XXXVII [I, 639 E, 643 D, 676 C]).

But most frequently the penitential oration *Exaudi Domine supplicium preces* (from the *Gregorianum*: Lietzmann, n. 201, 3) was thus used. It is found in the Missal of St. Vincent, added to *Aufer*: Fiala, 198; cf. *Cod. Chigi*: Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 570 A). But it is especially constant in the German area (e.g. Köck, 108, 109, 110, 113; Hoeynck, 371); also in Hungary: Radó, 42, where later a third oration, *Præsta* is added (this same oration, *Præsta*, also in Tongern; de Corswarem, 111); Radó, 96, 123; Jávör,

backward, back toward the sins we must leave behind, and also forward, toward the sanctuary, the holy of holies⁸³ that we must enter. The oration derives from ancient Roman tradition. It was used at the beginning of the Easter celebration⁸⁴ and later was also said when entering a shrine from which the relics were taken for the consecration of a Church.⁸⁴ Now it is used while mounting the steps to the altar, and since the later Middle Ages it is said in a low tone, a practice which spread from England⁸⁵ and which seems apparently to have been stimulated by the silence of the canon and the reasons which suggested the latter.⁸⁶

6. Greetings. Kissing the Altar

In the solemn functions of the seventh century, the first thing that occurred when the pope reached the altar was a series of greetings—kisses, according to ancient custom. There was a greeting for the co-liturgists and also for the two objects most intimately connected with the liturgy, objects which represented Christ, the Gospel book and the altar.¹ Of these only the kissing of the altar has been retained in the universal Mass rite. The greeting of the co-liturgists is also to be found at present in solemn papal Masses; three cardinal priests greet the pope with the kiss of peace when he comes to the altar.² In France a similar practice is to be noted in many

113; Sawicki, 147; cf. Radó 24. In Augsburg it once even took the place of *Aufer*: Bona, II, 2, 6 (569); likewise in Klosterneuburg: Schabes, 61. In Gregorienmünster the abbot said it kneeling (14-15th century): Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 655 A).

This formula is obviously meant when Henry of Hesse (d. 1397), in his *Secreta sacerdotum* mentions with disapproval the saying of the collect *pro peccatis* after the *Confiteor*: Franz, 521.

⁸² The biblical term *sancta sanctorum* was already employed by Jerome, *In Ezech.*, c. 44 (PL XXV, 436 D) for Christian service.

⁸³ In the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 430) on Maundy Thursday; cf. the formulae that precede and follow. In the older Gelasianum I, 17 (Wilson, 15) at the beginning of Lent. In the *Gregorianum* of Padua (Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 155) on the Thursday of the first week of Lent.

⁸⁴ *Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 194): *oratio quando levantur reliquiæ*. It was used in a like function in the Pontifical of

Donauesching: Metzger, n. 101; and in the Sacramentary of Drogo, Bishop of Metz: Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 487.

⁸⁵ Sarum Ordinary (13th and 14th centuries): Legg, *Tracts*, 4, 220; likewise in later Sarum texts. On the continent it was not customary till much later; the custom was probably carried to Rome by Burchard of Strassburg; see *ibid.*, 137; cf. 37, 181.

⁸⁶ How far the parallel went can be gauged from a custom found in many French churches and in vogue at Rouen even in the 18th century; here the priest turned to his assistants and said *Orate pro me, fratres* before he ascended to the altar saying *Aufer a nobis*. Lebrun, I, 123; de Moléon, 427.

¹ *Supra*, p. 70.

² Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 7; 11. For the late Middle Ages cf. *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1185 D). Not restricted to the papal Mass in the Mass-*Ordo* of the papal chapel, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 201: *dat pacem diacono*. Cf. Ebner, 313.

churches all through the Middle Ages.⁸ Here it was done later on—very significantly—right after the *Confiteor*.⁹ In the English use of Sarum this was the spot selected for the kiss of greeting for deacon and subdeacon at every high Mass, even at the Mass of a priest.¹⁰ The priest pronounced the phrase which we will meet again elsewhere at the kiss of peace before Communion: *Habete osculum pacis* . . .

The kissing of the Gospel book was kept in general practice a longer time, and it still takes place in a pontifical service; when the bishop reaches the altar, he kisses the book which the subdeacon presents to him, opened at the beginning of the day's Gospel.¹¹ Usually the Gospel book was on the altar; so the kissing of the altar followed that of the book, seldom the other way round.¹² Sometimes, in fact, the kissing of the book counted for both.¹³ Since the tenth century a more or less regular accompanying prayer was: *Pax Christi quam nobis per evangelium suum tradidit, confirmet et conservet corda nostra et corpora in vitam æternam*.¹⁴

Since the twelfth century a new object of these greetings was added, the crucifix, now generally standing on the altar.¹⁵ It too is given a reverential kiss.¹⁶ But towards the end of the Middle Ages the kiss is gradually trans-

⁸ Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th century): PL LXXVIII, 242 A; Mass-Ordo of the Séz group: *supra*, p. 92 f.

⁹ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 D): the priest salutes deacon and subdeacon.

Similarly the *Ordinarium* of Bayeux: Martène, 1, 4, XXIV (I, 626 D); cf. XXI (I, 609 D).

Durandus, IV, 9, 3 f.

¹⁰ All the witnesses of the Sarum rite, e.g., Legg, *Tracts*, 4, 219 f. Normandy is obviously the place of provenience.

¹¹ *Cæremionale episc.*, II, 8, 33; I, 10, 2.

Also in *Cod. Chigi* (11th century): Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 570 A): the subdeacon in the same way hands the bishop the book, after having held it towards him all during the *Confiteor*. Cf. Ebner, 311.
¹² Both forms of the practice are witnessed to chiefly in the 11th and 12th centuries: *Udalrici Consuet. Chun.* II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 716 A); Ebner, 328, 345 (cf. also 322); Martène, 1, 4, IV f. (I, 496, 520, 530); Köck, 110 f.

From a later period there are: *Ordo Rom XIV*, n. 71 (PL LXXVIII, 1185 D); Missal of St. Lambrecht (1336): Köck, 107 (n. 395).

¹³ Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th century): PL, LXXVIII, 242 C; here the book lies open on the altar, yet a kiss

of the book precedes (241 D).

Missal of Liège: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 586 A): *Deinde osculans evangelium super altare dicat*. The same amalgamation is probably to be supposed in the rest of the books representing the Séz group in which no mention is made of the altar; see *supra*, p. 291. Cf. also Ebner, 332.

¹⁴ Other formulas appear only by way of exception; e.g., *Ave sanctum Evangelium, salus et reparatio animarum nostrarum*: Missal of Troyes (15th century): Leroquais, III, 46. Cf. Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 523 B).

¹⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 258. Till far into the 16th century the crucifix was but loosely connected with its stand, so that it could be easily lifted out. Thus, by placing it on a proper shaft, it was also used as a processional cross. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 478-483.

¹⁶ Among the earliest examples we have the Seckau Missal (c. 1170): Köck, 107 (n. 479) and a Sacramentary of the 12th century from Verona (kiss of the Gospel not mentioned): Ebner, 306.

Along with the kiss of the altar and of the Gospel, also Köck, 109, 109 f.; cf. 111 f., 113; Martène, 1, 4, XXXII (I, 655).

ferred from the sculptured crucifix on the altar to the miniature image found in the Missal at the beginning of the canon or elsewhere,¹² so that sometimes the veneration of this image counts also for the veneration of the Gospel book¹³ or even of the altar.¹⁴ A typical sample of the Gothic mind is displayed in two fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Mass books of Seckau which stipulate that the same honor (with words of the accompanying prayer) be shown to the images of Mary and John that are connected with the figure of the Cross.¹⁵

The prayer text selected to accompany the veneration of the Cross evolved many rich forms. Mostly it is derived from the existing treasure of prayers used in the veneration of the Cross,¹⁶ like the text from the Good Friday liturgy, *Tuam crucem adoramus, Domine*¹⁷ or the verse *Adoramus te, Christe*.¹⁸ With this a versicle is usually connected (*Per signum crucis*;

¹² Augsburg Mass-Ordo in the 15th-16th century: With the words *Pax Christi* the priest first kisses the Gospel of the day, at his left, then, with *Tuam crucem*, the picture of the Crucified in the Mass book. Hoeynck, 372; cf. Franz, 752.

Cf. the Regensburg Mass-Ordo: Beck, 264 f.; Missal of Chur (1589): Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, 296.

¹³ Martène, 1, 4, XXVI, XXXIII f. (I, 637 A, 658 E, 662 D).

¹⁴ Missal of Toul (14th or 15th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 650), where the only rubric pertaining to this matter reads: *Postea osculatur pedes imagini Crucifixi in canone*. Cf. *ibid.*, XXVIII, XXXVI (I, 643 E, 673 A); Legg, *Tracts*, 58.

Sometimes, too, a kiss of the paten (with a cross on it) substitutes in like fashion for all the other reverences; *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 37; Missal of Tours: Martène, 1, 4, 2, 5 (I, 374 A).

Elsewhere, the rite was again split in two, a kiss being appointed both for the *Crucifixus* (the illustration of the Crucified at the start of the Canon—an elaboration of the *T* of *Te igitur*) and for the *Maiestas Domini* (an illustration of Christ in glory, found at the start of the Preface—an elaboration of the initial letters of *Vere Dignum*, hence usually marked by the sign *VD*). So the Missal of Vich (1547; here along with a kiss of the altar): Ferreres, 66, with a doubled accompanying phrase: *Adoramus te* and

De sede maiestatis benedicat nos dextera Dei Patris. Cf. Mass-Ordo of Rouen: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVII (I, 677 C).

Regarding the pertinent representations in the medieval Mass books, see Ebner, 438-441; 444-446 and in the index, "Kreuzigung", "Maiestas." Not seldom are there traces still to be seen of the celebrant's kisses; see Ebner, 166, 449.

¹⁶ Köck, 109, 110, with the accompanying phrases *Ave Maria* and *Sancte Johannes optime, absolve*. . . . The reference is probably to sculptural images of Mary and John which were often since the 13th century associated with the altar cross; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 485 f.

The development moves a step further in the Missal of Haus (15th century) where the kiss of the crucifix is followed by *Salve Regina*, versicle and oration; Köck, 113.

¹⁷ Newly-composed prayers are but seldom employed; thus one distich (Ebner, 306) begins: *O crux mihi certa salus*.

¹⁸ Köck, 110, 112. Further see note 12 above.

For honoring the *Maiestas Domini* (see note 14 above) the wording is sometimes altered: *Maiestatem tuam adoramus*: *Breviarium* of Rouen: Martène, 1, 4, XXXCII (I, 677 C).

¹⁹ Very frequent; e.g. Köck, 109, 113; Martène, 1, 4, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXIII f., XXXVI (I 637 A, 643 D, 658 E, 662 D, 673 A).

At Vienne the *Adoramus te* was sung at a high Mass: *ibid.*, XXX (I, 648 C).

Qui passus es; Omnis terra), and an oration, e.g., *Respice quæsumus*. However, these ceremonies of greeting were quite secondary and entailed the danger of disturbing the principal lines of the liturgy and so they disappeared from many of the late medieval Mass arrangements for ordinary Masses¹⁹ and finally vanished altogether from the Missal of Pius V. The only thing remaining is the kissing of the altar, the only thing that was there from the start—a fine example of a return to original forms.

In the first Roman *Ordo* the reverential kiss of the altar on arrival at the beginning of Mass is the only such kiss of the altar during the Mass mentioned expressly.²⁰ The priest today, after mounting the steps, kisses the altar, just as he does often during the course of the Mass, in accordance with present-day practice; but this first kiss has a very special meaning. It is, as we have already indicated, the salutation of the place where the holy mystery will be consummated.

This ceremony is borrowed from ancient culture.²¹ In antiquity it was a natural practice to honor the temple by kissing the threshold. But it was also customary to greet the images of the gods by means of a kiss or to throw them a kiss from a distance, as the pagan Cæcilius, mentioned by Minucius Felix, did when he noticed the statue of Serapis while passing by.²² In like manner, the ancient altar was greeted with a kiss. And it seems that the family table, as a place enshrined by a religious dedication, was often similarly honored at the start of the meal.²³ It was therefore to be expected that the custom of greeting holy places with a kiss should be continued in Christendom, with only a change of object. And since the practice taken over into Christianity was at bottom a civic custom, though indeed a civic custom in a religious milieu, there was no conflict with the attitude then prevailing against admitting religious practices derived from heathen worship. As early as the end of the fourth century the saluting of the altar with a kiss makes its appearance as a popular practice.²⁴ The salutation

¹⁹ The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (c. 1285) mentions for high Mass only the "kiss of the text" (Volk, 89, 1. 25), for private Mass only the kiss of the altar (101, 1. 17), and both times without an indication of an accompanying phrase.

²⁰ However, another kiss is certainly meant when, after collecting the gift-offerings, the pontiff finally approaches the altar and, as the rubric puts it, *salutat altare* (n. 15). This second kiss of the altar is expressly noticed, e.g. in the Pontifical of Laon (13th c.): Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux*, I, 167.

²¹ See the study "Der Altarkuss" in F. J. Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 2 (1930), 190-221.

²² Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 2, 4 (CSEL, II, 4, 1. 22).

²³ Dölger, 215 f., 217 ff. Cf. *idem*, *Antike u. Christentum*, 6 (1940), 160.

Kissing the table at the start and finish of a meal is still a practice in the Capuchin order. In Lithuania the bride kisses the table (and the bread and the crucifix) when departing from her parental home (Kl. Razminas, 1948).

²⁴ Dölger, 201 ff. Medieval witnesses to the same use in L. Gougaud, *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1925), 56 f.

Traces of a corresponding popular custom can be found even at a later time. In Brittany, for instance, the newly-baptized infant was made to touch the

must have been in use in the ecclesiastical liturgy at about the same time. A confirmation of this inference is to be found in the fact that the salutation of the altar at the start of Mass is a custom also in the West Syrian,²⁵ the Armenian²⁶ and the Byzantine liturgies.²⁷

The kiss is intended first of all simply for the altar, the *mensa Domini*. But subsequently the meaning of the kiss was enlarged by the idea that the altar built of stone represented Christ Himself, the cornerstone, the spiritual rock. Thus the kiss could include Him, too. With the growth of the cult of martyrs, it gradually became a rule from the beginning of the Middle Ages on, that even public churches serving for the assembly of the faithful should have their martyr's grave, and finally that every altar must enclose a "sepulcher" or little reliquary.²⁸ Thus the kissing of the altar is transformed into the kissing of the martyr and, through him, of the whole Church triumphant. Innocent III therefore explains the bishop's kissing of the altar as representing Christ saluting his spouse.²⁹

In the prayer said nowadays while kissing the altar, the memory of the martyrs is combined with a longing for purification from sin reminiscent of the prayers at the foot of the altar: *Oramus te, Domine*. This formula appears for the first time in the eleventh century, and with the rubric, *dum osculatur altare*.³⁰ The formula is a private and personal prayer of the priest (*peccata mea*) to accompany the kiss; for that reason it is without the conclusion *Per Christum D. N.*, with which the *Aufer a nobis* ends. Other texts also occur, touching on the forgiveness of sin,³¹ and in some particular instances a formal oration is found³² or an apology is connected

altar; something similar was done with the coffin before burial. P. Donœur, *Retours en chrétienté* (Paris, 1933), 43, 179.

From the region of Strem in the Burgenland (Hungary) comes the following account of a kindred custom: After confession the penitent prays his penance at the altar steps; having finished he mounts to the altar and kisses the center altar card in three places (J. Göndöcz, 1934).

²⁵ Brightman, 69, 1. 19.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 423, 1. 21.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 354, 1. 38.

²⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 257 f.

The kissing of the grave which was customary in very ancient times (Dölger, 209 ff.) can no longer have had any influence here, because the span of time since the altar was regularly associated with a martyr's tomb was much too long.

²⁹ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 15 (PL, CCXVII, 807).

³⁰ Ebner, 297. Similarly Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 520 B).

In the *Missa Illyrica* (c. 1030): *ibid.*, IV (I, 508 B), at the kissing of the altar before the Offertory (see note 20 above), still in the singular: *Oro te, Domine*.

A. Reiffenstuel, *Jus canonicum*, III, 40, n. 40 (Venice, 1717; III, 589), mentions some older missals according to which the prayer was omitted when the altar contained no relics.

³¹ The formula *Precibus et meritis*: Köck, 107, 113, just as, in older witnesses, at the kissing of the altar at the end of Mass.

The benediction *A vinculis peccatorum* (beside *Oramus*) in the Mass-*Ordo* of the papal chapel, circa 1290, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 201.

³² Thus in Regensburg: *Descendat, q. D. Spiritus*; Beck, 264; also in the Sacramentary of Boldau (c. 1195): Radó, 42.

A formula much like an oration also at Augsburg: Hoeynck, 372.

with the kiss.⁵⁵ The kiss of salutation also survives at the beginning of other functions but without any accompanying text and, in consequence, its original significance is more easily recognizable; thus it is found before the blessing of candles on Candlemas day, before the blessing of palms on Palm Sunday, and before service on Good Friday. Even at the beginning of Mass it is found without any accompanying words in some sources of the declining Middle Ages.⁵⁶

As late as 1240 the altar kiss in the Mass was customary at Rome only on coming in for Mass and on departing, and at one place—not specified—in the canon.⁵⁷ A century later, and it had become the prevailing practice to kiss the altar in every instance mentioned in the present-day missal⁵⁸; it was done every time the priest turned around at the altar in salutation, and at the beginning of the canon and at the *Supplices*.⁵⁹

It is not surprising that modern interpreters of the Mass who went into the matter of the kissing of the altar at so many different parts of the Mass were rather uncertain how to explain it, and even found the constant repetition somewhat ample, perhaps excessive.⁶⁰ According to one interpretation, the kiss is referred above all to the saints, with whom the priest

⁵⁵ Ebner, 345. *Ibid.*, 339 the same formula, *Omnipotens s. Deus qui me peccatorem* (see p. 291 above) is used which accompanied the first kissing of the altar in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 469 B), in the *Cod. Chigi*: *ibid.*, XII (I, 570 C) and in the Sacramentary of Boldau (Radó, 42), where a whole collection of relevant accompanying formulas are found (n. 14-19; 22).

⁵⁶ So in England: among others Maskell, 22 f.; in Sweden: Yelverton, 12; the Missal of Vich (1547): Ferreres, 66.

Cf. in Italy: Ebner, 328.

The ancient Cistercian rite had the kissing of the altar, without any accompanying phrase, even before the prayers at the foot of the altar, as soon as the altar was reached: Schneider (*Cist. Chr.*, 1926), 253. Similarly also in the Missal of Troyes: Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 530 D). Cf. *ibid.*, XXVII (I, 640 A).

⁵⁷ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, III, 11 (PL, CCXVII, 850 C).

The *Liber usus O. Cist.*, c. 59 (PL, CLXVI, 1434 D) also makes express mention of only three occasions for kissing the altar.

⁵⁸ Durandus, IV, 39, 5 f. Pretty much the same in a Minorite missal of the 13th century, where the kissing of the altar each time is so emphasized that it

must have been something very novel; Ebner, 313 ff.

It is at first only the kissing of the altar before the *Orate fratres* and before the kiss of peace that is added in the Missal of St. Vincent (c. 1100): Fiala, 206, 213; and in the Sacramentary of Modena (*ante* 1174): Muratori, I, 92 f.; likewise in a sacramentary of the 12th century from Camaldoli: Ebner, 296 f. On the contrary the *Ordo Cluniacensis* of the monk Bernhard (c. 1068) mentions the kissing of the altar before the *Orate fratres*, at the start of the Canon and at the *Supplices te rogamus* (I, 72; Herrgott, 264 f.).

⁵⁹ Durandus, IV, 39, 7 mentions also the custom observed by many of tracing a cross on the altar with three fingers, thus hallowing it through cross and Trinity before kissing it. This complication of the rite was also set aside in the Missal of Pius V, in fact distinctly outlawed by an injunction that is still found in the rubrics (*Ritus serv.*, IV, 1): *non producitur signum crucis . . . super id quod osculandum est*.

⁶⁰ Thus by J. B. Lüft, *Liturgik* (Mainz, 1847), II, 542. Opposed is Gihl, 410, note 1.

In the Dominican rite even today there are only two occasions when the altar is

confirms his communion before he begins the sacrifice and also whenever he salutes the Church on earth.³⁹ According to another, the priest first receives the kiss of peace from the altar and from Christ in order to pass it on to the rest.⁴⁰ Still another interpretation envisions the kiss simply as a symbolic renewal of the bond and union with Christ.⁴¹ All these things may be true as an extension of the meaning. But primarily the kiss, especially at the beginning and the end of Mass, is a proper reverence and honor to the sacredness of the altar, and the same may be said even about the kiss that precedes the greeting of the people.

7. The Incensing of the Altar

At a solemn service the kissing of the altar is followed by the incensing. From the fact that in our present-day rite this action is restricted to the festive form of the Mass,¹ it is plain that incensation is above all a means of heightening the solemnity. Like the flowers and candles, like the beauty of the vestments and the sound of the organ, the clouds of incense rising to the ceiling and filling the whole church with their sweet smell are intended to aid the senses in grasping the greatness of the feast. In ancient times frankincense in its many forms, as the East supplies them, was highly esteemed. In civil life, in better homes, its perfume was in demand. It was used profusely at burials. But above all it played a large part in heathen cult. For Christians, this last circumstance—added to the general objection to any and every materialization of divine service—served rather to exclude incensation from divine worship.²

But after the disappearance of paganism it did find its way from profane use into the Christian liturgy. About the year 390 incense was carried

kissed, at the beginning and at the end of Mass: *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 17; 22.

³⁹ Thus Kössing, *Liturgische Vorlesungen*, 239 ff., 272. Similarly Gühr, 370, 410.

⁴⁰ Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 167.

⁴¹ Eisenhofer, I, 260, 262; II, 96. Cf. Parsch, *The Liturgy of the Mass* (trans. Eckhoff; St. Louis, 1936), 74-76.

¹ The restriction just to the *missa sollemnis* was not an absolute rule even in post-medieval times, as is shown by many decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites issued even in the 18th century, wherein this restriction is first established; see the compilation of P. Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum SRC*, p. 130 (n. 633-637). From an earlier period see,

e.g., *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 61 (PL, XXVIII, 1174 f.).

Even today there is still some leeway, since most dioceses have indulged from the Holy See permitting the use of incense on greater feasts even at a simple sung Mass; see Ph. Hartmann-J. Kley, *Repertorium Rituum* (14th ed.; Paderborn, 1940), 459.

Amongst the Capuchins the use of incense at their conventual Mass, which is a low Mass, is an old tradition which the Sacred Congregation of Rites, on Dec. 7, 1888, confirmed for solemn occasions; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3697, 2.

² E. G. Atchley, *A History of the use of Incense* (Alcuin Club Collections, 13; London, 1909), 1-96.

in at the Sunday service in Jerusalem, so that the Church of the Resurrection was completely filled with its perfume.³ And the baptistery of the Lateran possessed a *thymiamaterium* of pure gold, the gift of the Emperor Constantine.⁴ In the procession at the papal services described in the first Roman *Ordo* seven torch-bearers and a subdeacon with the *thymiamaterium* preceded the pope,⁵ a survival from the Roman court ceremonial.⁶

If incense was thus used quite early in religious assembly it was because its special quality lent itself to religious symbolism. The psalmist used the smoke of incense billowing upwards as an image of prayer rising to God (Ps. 140:2), and in the Apocalypse the golden bowls of incense represented the prayers of the saints.⁷ Thus incense could easily express the religious sentiments of the Christian community—the lifting of the heart in prayer, the elevation of the soul to God; and just as easily was it capable of itself becoming a sacred object, a bearer of divine blessing, after the benediction of the Church was pronounced over it. This definitely religious significance and a corresponding intensification of the use of incense, as it had already developed quite some time in the Orient, is met with in the Roman liturgy for the first time in the Frankish area.⁸ Amalar mentions the change from Roman practice in the use of incense at the offertory.⁹

By the ninth century, incense was definitely used at the start of Mass. After the celebrant had made his confession of faults and saluted those around him, in many churches a cleric came to the altar and offered incense (*incensum ponens*).¹⁰ The Sacramentary of Amiens presents two prayers for the pertinent *benedictio incensi*,¹¹ of which the second at least had

³ *Aetheriae Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 10 (CSEL, XXXIX, 73).

⁴ St. Ambrose (d. 397) seems to have been the first to mention the practice of incensing the Christian altar: *Exp. Evang. Luca*, i, 28 (PL XV, 1545). In Pseudo-Dionysius (circa 500) it is fully developed.

⁵ Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 174.

Hanging thuribles were common in churches all through the early Middle Ages (see Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus* [London, 1905], 17-18).

⁶ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 941).

Regarding the nature and shape of censers then and later see Braun, *Die christliche Altargerät*, 598-632. A thurible found in the ruins of a basilica at Salona which was destroyed in 624 (*ibid.*, 608; table 127) was held on three chains that came together—the same basic form as today's.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 68.

⁸ Apoc. 5: 8.

Cf. the explanation of the second gift of the Magi (Matt. 2: 11) which is already in patristic exegesis.

⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 77.

¹⁰ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, Præf. altera (PL, CV, 992). At the beginning of Mass he expressly mentions the carrying of the *thuribulum*; III, 5 (PL, CV, 1109 f.). Similarly Amalar's *Expositio* of 813-814, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 170; 173, according to which three censers could be used, one for incensing the altar, one for the men, and one for the women.

¹¹ *Ordo Rom.* VI (10th c.), n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 990 D).

Yet even down to modern times there were churches where the incense was carried in procession to the altar, but the altar was not incensed. Numerous examples for one usage or the other, along with many variations and degrees, from the 9th to the 19th century in Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 214-231. ¹² Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 441.

its origin in the East—an inkling as to the provenience of the custom.¹² A formal incensation of the altar is mentioned as early as the eleventh century.¹³

The incensation at the beginning of the fore-Mass is even now less richly developed than the incensation at the beginning of the Mass proper; in the Middle Ages, too, it was only in exceptional cases that it was further expanded. The incense was blessed, of course, just as is done elsewhere,¹⁴ and various formulas for this appear,¹⁵ including the one we use nowadays.¹⁶ But, just as at present, no special prayer was connected with the incensation.¹⁷

The external action is also mostly very simple. Besides the incensation of the altar there is mention in the later Middle Ages also of the incensation at this place of the celebrant by the deacon.¹⁸ The post-Tridentine Missal carried through the more detailed regulation in this matter by putting in an incensation of the altar cross and the relics as the first items.¹⁹

¹² *Domine Deus omnipotens, sicut suscipisti munera Abel* . . . ; cf. the Greek liturgy of St. James, likewise at the beginning of Mass: Brightman, 32. In the Syrian homeland of this liturgy an incensing at the beginning of Mass is testified to by Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 294). Cf. also Hanssens, III, 72, 80.

¹³ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 38 B). In Italy first in that Pontifical of the 11th-12th century which we have already (*supra*, p. 297, note 32) recognized as a carrier of Norman tradition: Ebner, 328.

See also *ibid.*, 312, 313, 347.

Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 14 (PL, CCXVII, 806 f.).

¹⁴ Even in the *Cod. Chigi* the incensation is mentioned without any such blessing: Martène, 1, 4, XII (I, 570 D).

¹⁵ Sacramentary of Amiens (note 11 above). The continuation of the second formula mentioned shows very pointedly the double meaning attached even then to the incense: *suscipere digneris incensum istud in odorem suavitatis—in remissionem peccatorum meorum et populi tui*. The phrasing is turned to good account in the *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 494 C).

Other formulas used here accent only the latreutic value; so a formula which

is allied to the one now in use at the Offertory: *Incensum istud dignetur Dominus benedicere et in odorem suavitatis accipere*; Missal of Toul (14th or 15th cent.); *ibid.*, XXXI (I, 650 D); cf. XV (I, 585 A).

Cf. also the formulas in the Sacramentary of Boldau (c. 1195): Radó, 42.

¹⁶ In Norman-English territories it can be ascertained since the 13th century: *Ab illo sanctificeris in cuius honore cremaris, in nomine Patris* . . . ; Martène, 1, 4, XXVI; cf. XXXV, XXXVII (I, 637 B, 665 B, 677 D).

¹⁷ So expressly Durandus, IV, 8, 2.

According to John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 38 C) the celebrant performs the incensation while reciting the *Gloria*—a solution akin to that employed nowadays at the *Magnificat* in Vespers.

Yet, by way of exception, Ps. 140:2 (*Dirigatur*) is mentioned; Sacramentary of Amiens: Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 441; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III 2 (PL, CCXIII, 96 B); *Breviarium* of Rouen: Martène 1, 4, XXVII (I, 677 D). Even the Missal of Pius V originally contained Ps. 140: 2-4 here; J. O'Connell, "A Sixteenth Century Missal" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1948) 104.

¹⁸ Missal of Sarum: Martène, 1, 4 XXXV (I, 665 B).

¹⁹ Rit. serv., IV, 4-7.

We will have occasion later²⁰ to pay greater attention to the transition to the incensing of persons, since it is really from this that the incensing of objects gets its meaning. In the incensing of the altar, the meaning that stood in the foreground was the purification and protection that the incense implied²¹; this became, in turn, a sign of honor. From here the next step was obvious; it could be carried over generally to all sacred objects—and to the most sacred of all, the Blessed Sacrament, where it does today actually find its favorite use.

Thus the incensation at the start of the Mass is manifestly a true opening rite which is repeated at the beginning of the Mass proper; the locale of the sacred action and the *liturgus* himself are removed from this tainted world in a special manner and transported into an atmosphere of sanctity. In the last analysis a biblical example could have had some influence. It was a law in Old Testament worship (Lev. 16:12) that the service of the high priest must not begin without incense. Since Carolingian times it became a favorite interest to discover parallels in the Old Testament and to put them into actual use; this might have had an effect here too.²²

8. The Introit Chant

After the priest has venerated the altar by means of a kiss and, in given cases, by incensation, he turns to read from the missal the text of the introit which the choir had intoned for the procession of the clergy. This is the practice nowadays. In our modern churches, where the sacristy is built quite close to the sanctuary it is impossible to have a real procession even on feast days unless in some way a circuitous route is deliberately introduced. There could hardly have been any thought of a formal procession in the ruder buildings of primitive Christianity, or even in the modest confines of the average basilica. But when, on the contrary, we view today the colossal ecclesiastical structures which have arisen since the fourth century at prominent points of the Eternal City, and when we notice that the *secretarium* in which the ministers made ready for divine service was at that time situated mostly near the entrance of the basilica, that is, at the end opposite the apse,¹ and when we take into consideration the numerous clergy who, according to the oldest *ordines*, took part in papal

²⁰ *Infra*, p. 451 f.

²¹ Durandus, IV, 10, 5.

Also according to the first of the blessings in the Sacramentary of Amiens mentioned on a previous page (319), the incense was to serve as a *munimentum tutelaeque defensionis* against the fiend.

²² The Old Testament concept came to the fore with special clarity in such a

setting as that mentioned by Durandus, IV, 8, 1, when in imitation of the activity of the *legalis sacerdos*, the incense was put in and blessed even before the words *Deus tu conversus* were said, therefore before the ascent to the altar.

¹ Beissel, *Bilder*, 255, 302.

worship, it becomes quite clear that the procession of the clergy from entrance to altar was an act of great importance and significance.

Such a procession could hardly have been tolerable if it had been conducted in absolute silence. And since there was no organ and instruments were generally proscribed in the ancient Church, it was left entirely to the singing to give musical color to this entrance procession. We will probably get the best notion of the temper of this chant by thinking of the one genuine introit which is still current in our present-day liturgy, namely the *Ecce sacerdos* to the sound of which the bishop makes his entrance into the gayly decorated church on important occasions.² Even in the Roman liturgy of later antiquity this entrance chant, the *introitus*—at a later period also called *officium*³—was already arranged as an art-chant performed by a special group of singers,⁴ just like the songs for the collecting of the offerings and for Communion, and like these—and like the orations and readings—the introit varied according to the festivity. The texts for these songs were taken essentially from the psalter. By the time that our processional chants were composed, the older hymn creations—from which we derived the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*—had lost the prestige they had once possessed and were reduced to very sparse remnants. The new hymnody, composed on the principles of meter and strophe, which was introduced about the time of St. Ambrose, was not admitted to the Roman Mass for over five hundred years. At Rome a strict rule was observed in the face of the wild and crafty song-propaganda of Manichean and Gnostic groups: We use only the songs dictated by the Spirit of God Himself.⁵

These chants were performed antiphonally, that is, the psalm was sung by two choruses, alternating verse by verse.⁶ Already in an early period in ecclesiastical singing, antiphony involved the introduction of a prefatory verse which announced the melody of the following verse, the psalm. This prefatory verse, which we today style an antiphon, appears to have been introduced as the result of a musical exigency; in order to assure a proper intonation it seems to have been the practice in ancient times to play a short prelude on an instrument. But since musical instruments were forbidden in Christian worship as heathenish, the function had to be taken

² *Pontificale Rom.*, p. III, *ordo ad recipiendum processionaliter praelatum*.

³ Sölch, *Hugo von St. Cher*, 55 f. The title is already found in the 10th century in Pseudo-Alcuin, *De div. off.* (PL, CI, 1244 C). At the end of the Middle Ages it was generally used in Normandy and in England; see Maskell, 28 f.

Regarding the origin of the designation, cf. H. Leclercq, "Introit," DACL, VII, 1213; suggests the influence of the Mozarabic liturgy where the Mass formularies were given the heading: *Ad missam officium*.

⁴ See *supra*, pp. 68 ff.

⁵ J. Kroll, "Hymnen," in E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, 596 f.

⁶ ἀντιφωνία = counter-melody. Ancient Greek antiphony consisted in singing in octaves, two choirs (men—women or/and children) singing the same melody either alternately or together, thus producing a primitive two-part song. In ecclesiastical antiphony the only essential was interchange, i.e. alternate singing between two choral groups. See A. Gastoué, *Les Origines du chant romain* (Paris, 1907), 50.

over by the human voice. This would lead to a creation such as we have in the antiphon.⁷ The first place in which antiphonal song was employed was Antioch where it rode on the swell of a young Catholic movement. When about 350 the leaders of the Catholic monks, Flavian and Diodoros (later bishops), began to gather the people around them and to argue openly against an overmighty Arianism then at its height, they introduced this method of singing at their prayer-meetings in the shrines of the martyrs. From this start antiphonal singing spread everywhere, being carried abroad by the monks, who possessed not only the means of cultivating chant, but also the necessary knowledge of the psalms. The city cathedrals followed, in which special singing groups were formed, the *schola cantorum*.

According to a narrative that has often been repeated, antiphony was introduced into Rome by Pope Celestine I (d. 432), and introduced precisely as a song for the introit. Of him the *Liber pontificalis* recounts: *Constituit ut psalmi David CL ante sacrificium psalli antephanatim ex omnibus, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum epistula beati Pauli recitabatur et sanctum evangelium*.⁸ Unfortunately the account cannot be relied on as an historical report.⁹ However, it does give us this much information, that at the time this section of the book was written, prior to the middle of the sixth century, the introit chant composed of psalm texts¹⁰ had long been in use.¹¹ In the first description of the papal Mass, a description going back to the seventh century, we come across the introit as a chant of the *schola*. When the pope stands in the *secretarium* ready to make his entry, he beckons to the proper cleric, the *quartus scholæ*, making a sign *ut psallant*; the latter in turn passes the signal on to the director of the *schola*, which stands ready by the passageway to the altar, in two double rows to left and right (corresponding to the two half-choruses), the boys on the inside,

⁷ H. Leclercq, "Antienne," DACL, I, 2293 f.

⁸ Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 230.

⁹ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 105, note 1, points out that the data is dependent upon the apocryphal letter of Pope Damasus to Jerome.

¹⁰ A preliminary older form of the Introit chant which, like the *Ingressa* of the Milanese and the corresponding chants of other liturgies, did not as yet include the psalm, has been presumed also for Rome by G. Morin, *Les véritables origines du chant grégorien* (Maredsous, 1890), 54. That the non-psalmodic texts which are still preserved today can be adduced for this older plan—as is done by C. Callewaert, "Introitus" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1938), 487, and by Righetti, III, 165 f.—

is neither to be excluded nor on the other hand to be considered as absolute proof. For one must remember that it has always—even in more modern times—been hard to express these festal concepts by means of psalm verses. The reference is to such older antiphons as *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino* and *Salve sancta parens* (the beginning of hymn by the 5th century poet Cælius Sedulius).

Regarding the mention of the "150 Psalms" see the various attempts at explanation in H. Leclercq, "Introit", DACL, VII, 1214 f.

¹¹ That all the people originally took part in this is only a later element even in the historical writing of this period; the words *antephanatim ex omnibus* are missing in the older recensions of the text (Duchesne, I, 89).

the men on the outside. At once the leader begins the antiphon. The psalmody is continued until the clergy have passed the rows of singers and reached the altar. After the pope has saluted his assistants with the kiss of peace, he gives a signal to start the *Gloria (Patri)*. At the *Sicut erat* the deacons rise, two by two, to kiss the altar. The pope meanwhile remains kneeling in prayer *usque ad repetitionem versus*, meaning obviously the antiphon.¹² The antiphon was therefore repeated at the end of the psalm. Whether it was also repeated after each single verse of the psalm, cannot be determined so far as the city of Rome itself is concerned.¹³ In fact the phrase cited above seems to prove the contrary, for it does not say: *usque ad ultimam repetitionem versus*. But this may well be one of the alterations which were made in the Roman chant when it reached Frankish domains, apparently as the result of Gallican traditions.

The oldest manuscripts of the Roman Mass-chant books, the antiphonaries, surviving from about the year 800, contain only the song-text without the neums; these books do not indicate any explicit shortening of the psalm.¹⁴ This reduction seems to have occurred with varying rapidity in different places. In some places as late as 1000 mention is still made of the

¹² *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 941 f.).

The same picture in the *Capitulaire ecclesiastici ordinis* (Silva-Tarouca): the pope tarries in prayer *usque dum clerici antiphonam ad introitum cum psalmo et Gloria et repetito verso dixerint*.

¹³ Still P. Wagner, among others, inclines to this view: *Einführung*, I, 66; cf. also 26 f., 144-147; *idem*, "Antiphon," LThK, I (1930), 503. Wagner considers the repetition of the antiphon after each verse as the general practice of ancient Christian antiphony. However he has in mind in the main the Frankish sources since the 9th century which also contain the notation of the melody. In the chanting of the Office, indeed, this constant repetition of the antiphon after each psalm verse was occasionally practiced. It is true, moreover, that also for the Mass chant even in the 8th century, there is evidence—in a later passage of the *Capitulaire* just referred to above (Silva-Tarouca, 205, 1. 4-9)—of a similar handling of the antiphon as a refrain. Here is the direction: In cases where the antiphon is taken from the psalm, the first verse should be sung after the antiphon, then the antiphon repeated, after that the *Gloria Patri*, then the antiphon again,

then the *Sicut erat*, then the antiphon, then another verse of the psalm (*alio verso de ipso psalmo*) and the antiphon once more. Obviously we have here, within the *Capitulaire*, the disclosure of a different source from that which expressly outlined the Roman arrangement of a papal Mass. The procedure of some monastic Mass must have been inserted here (Silva-Tarouca, 204, 1. 41; 205, 1. 41), an arrangement which need not have been of Roman origin at all, for the text of the *Capitulaire* as handed down has also included Gallic material (cf. the interpolation p. 206, 1. 21 and the observation p. 219; see also Baumstark, JL, V [1925], 158). For the rest, the text in question, after mentioning the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* for Sundays and feasts, itself continues: on other days *antephona tantum ad introitum psalmo et Gloria, subsequente Kyrie eleison* (205, 1. 14 f.). It is once more the Roman source that is being cited which here, as always, presumes the chanting of a psalm and not of a psalm verse.

¹⁴ Hesbert's edition shows that merely the beginning of the psalm was marked. And there is no limitation to certain verses, as occurs at the Offertory, for instance, on Easter Sunday. Hesbert, n. 80.

nod or gesture to signal for the closing of the psalmody with *Gloria Patri*,¹⁵ or the second (or a second) verse of the psalm is expressly indicated.¹⁶ In other places the psalm was curtailed to the first verse apparently as early as the eighth century.¹⁷ In this abbreviation of the text we have the result, no doubt, partly of a development of the musical forms which had gone on apace, musical forms which we find in the tenth century fully written out, the same melodies that have been once more restored to us in the *Editio Vaticana* of the Roman *Graduale*. Sung thus in solemn fashion, the antiphon itself and its repetition took up no little time in performance.

But a more important factor in producing this reduction of the psalm was the fact that in the more modest circumstances of extra-Roman episcopal and capitular churches there was hardly any room for a lengthy procession like that in the papal liturgy. Moreover a regular formal procession of this sort was not taken into consideration in the planning of new churches¹⁸ and the distance to the altar was shortened to only a fraction of its former length. True, the time at the altar was stretched out by the expansion of the prayers at the foot of the altar and by the introduction of the incensation, so that the shortening of the introit was somewhat counter-balanced. But in any case the introit was no longer the song accompanying a grand procession. Reduced to its essential elements, it became an independent preludial chant, opening up the celebration of Mass. There was even some doubt about the right moment to start it, whether it should be sung in good part before the celebrant and the assistants appeared,¹⁹ or begin only when the clergy have arrived at the foot of the altar, as the later *ordines* usually demanded.²⁰ The hope that the introit would once more

¹⁵ *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 4 (PL, LXXVIII, 990): *cum Gloria innuente episcopo cantabitur*.

Cf. Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1247 D): *ad nutum diaconi*.

¹⁶ Thus in a 10th century Mass book from lower Italy; see Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuchfragmente aus der Zeit der Jahrtausendwende* (Beuron, 1934), p. lxiii.

¹⁷ Cf. *supra* the direction interpolated in the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (note 13 above).

Certainly at Rome by the time of *Ordo Rom. X* (11th century?) the Introit psalm was already reduced to its present state, one verse only (PL, LXXVIII, 1010).

¹⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 269 f.

¹⁹ Since the 11th century the rubric is often met which directs the priest to go to the altar when the choir begins the *Gloria Patri*. John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 B, C); Mass-

Ordo of the Cod. Chigi: Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 569 B). From the 13th-14th century: *ibid.*, XIX (I, 605 A, 615 B). Also in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235). The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège limits the direction to *missæ maiores* (Volk, 89, 1. 9). The custom was also kept by the Cistercians: see *supra*, p. 270, note 36). At Lyons and Vienne this *Gloria Patri* was sung in a higher register; de Moléon, 29: 52.

Some few Mass schemes direct the priest to start out when the Introit verse is begun; thus a Camaldolese sacramentary of the 13th century; Ebner, 354; cf. the *Rituelle de Soissons*: Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 610). Similarly also, in the 8th century, the *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 196, 1. 9), where there is question, however, of more than one verse.

²⁰ Thus partially already in the 11th century.

assume its original character as a processional chant seems to have dictated the rubric in the 1907 *Editio Vaticana* of the songs of the Mass; here the regulation is clear, that the introit is to be intoned *accedente sacerdote ad altare*.

Of the original antiphonal character of the chant—the sort of thing which grew so important in the psalmody of the Office—only a very slight residue is still to be found in the introit. One survival is the sandwiching of the psalm verse between the antiphon and its repetition. Surviving, too, is a recollection of the double chorus²¹: soloists and choir divide the two halves of the psalm verse between them, and the two verses of the doxology.²² And the liturgical books still employ the sign “Ps.” for the beginning of the psalm verse, not the “V.” which indicates the part assigned to the soloist in the responsorial chants.

Besides this curtailment of the introit, we have to consider also the very remarkable fact that other trends led to more than one enlargement—to an enlargement and an enlivening. For one thing, the Carolingian reform had sought to have the *Gloria Patri* sung by the people,²³ in line with the original character of this doxology.²⁴ A hundred years later the prescription was still enjoined.²⁵ Soon after the Roman liturgy had found its way to the Frankish area we come upon another extension of the introit through the practice, already touched upon, of repeating the antiphon after each verse of the psalm,²⁶ as was customary also in the psalmody of the Orient under certain conditions.²⁷ Alongside this there is the puzzling creation of a *versus ad repetendum* which is actually found in some of the oldest manuscript antiphonaries. In these books not only are the antiphon and psalm noted

Already in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 496-499) the celebrant is furnished with a series of apologies that he should recite while the choir is singing the *versus ad Introitum*, as well as the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria*, in fact after he has kissed the altar (496 B), therefore after he has reached the altar.

²¹ That the introit is sung by two choirs is still mentioned by Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 6 (PL, CLXXII, 545 C) and by Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 94 A).

²² *Graduale Vaticanum* (1908), *Ritus serv. in cantu missæ*.

In another way the same rubrics recall the erstwhile intonation of the antiphon by the *prior scholæ* (cf. *supra*, pp. 68, 70), for they direct that the first words (up to the asterisk) be sung by one or several soloists, then taken up by the full choir.

²³ *Admonitio generalis* of Charlemagne (789), n. 70 (MGH, Cap., I, 59).

²⁴ Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, 173.

This tradition has been preserved in the Coptic liturgy: Brightman, 146, I. 2-126; John, Marquess of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service* (London, 1908), 52.

²⁵ Herard of Tours, *Capitula* (858), c. 16 (Hardouin, V, 451). Cf. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie*, 15 f.

A modest residue resulting from this arrangement is revealed in the direction of the *Expositio 'Missa pro Multis'*; here we read: *innuente episcopo sive diacono Gloria a cuncto clero decantatur*. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), XXXII, I. 4.

²⁶ *Supra*, p. 323.

Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th century; PL LXXXVIII, 242 A): the psalm should be intoned *cum Introitu reciprocante*. Wagner, I, 66, takes the word in the sense indicated in the text.

²⁷ Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 116 f.

down for the introit—and likewise for the communion—but there is an additional verse of the psalm under the superscription *ad repet.*²⁸ Both of these phenomena perhaps belong to the same general plan, as we shall see in more detail in a later chapter.²⁹

About the twelfth century two other ways of enriching the introit received further attention. They are both mentioned by Belet (d. 1165).³⁰ The first method of amplification, followed on feast days, consisted in repeating the antiphon in whole or in part, even before the *Gloria Patri*, so that it was sung three times altogether. This was customary in many places north of the Alps, though not general.³¹ The practice was followed from the eleventh century on,³² and is still in use amongst the Premonstra-

²⁸ E.g., in the Antiphonary of Compiègne (Hesbert, n. 5), in the Rorate Mass on the Wednesday of the Advent ember week: After the antiphon, *Psalm. Coeli cnarrant. Ad repet. In sole posuit*. Of the five oldest antiphonaries printed in Hesbert, that of Rheinau and that of Corbie do not have any verse *ad repetendum*, that of Mont-Blandin has them only on a few greater feasts (n. 73, 80, 87 etc.). The other two seldom agree on the choice of the verse. There cannot therefore be any question of a Roman tradition or traditional material. Further MSS. in Wagner, I, 66, note 4.

Regarding the nature of the *versus ad repetendum* not much is very clear right now. A. Dohmes, "Der Psalmengesang des Volkes in der eucharistischen Opferfeier der christlichen Frühzeit", (*Liturg. Leben*, 1938), 149-151, following E. T. Moneta Caglio, "'Capitulum' e 'Completorium'", *Ambrosius*, IX (1933), 191-209 (with Milan mainly in view), conjectures that this was originally a substitute granted the people when the constant repetition of the antiphon after each verse (here presumed also) was transferred from people to choir (*schola*); after the *schola* had repeated its artistic antiphon, the people would add their simpler verse. This explanation does not, however, take into account the very early (8-9th century) appearance of the *versus ad repetendum* as noticed above, nor the probability that it is this type of verse which is meant by the expression *alio verso de ipso psalmo* in the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (8th century; note 13 above). As a matter of fact, this *Capitulare* it-

self, in its corresponding and exact presentation of the Communion chant, opens the way to a different explanation. Cf. also the *Breviarium ecc. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 196), which expressly mentions a *versus ad repetendum* in the very last place—a thing hardly synonymous with the expression *repetito versus* which parallels it in the *Capitulare*. The same expression in the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 458) will have to be judged differently.

²⁹ *Infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 14.

³⁰ John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 35 (PL, CCII, 44): [*Introitus*] *diebus profestis bis cani solet, in sollempnitatibus vero ter. Quandoque intermissum tropi*.

Cf. also Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 94); Durandus, IV, 5, 3; 6.

³¹ Sölch, *Hugo von St. Cher*, 56-60.

Martène, I, 4, XX, XXIV, XXIX, XXXV (I, 607 C, 626 C, 646 B, 665 C); de Moléon, 165, 394, 428.

The practice seems to have been quite general in England at the close of the Middle Ages; Maskell, 28 f. Two examples from Spanish Mass books of the 16th century in Ferreres, p. XXVI, CVII.

In German cathedrals the custom obtained down to the 19th century; see R. Stapper, *Katholische Liturgik*, (5th ed.; Münster, 1931), 124.

³² *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.* I, 8 (PL, CXLIX, 653): *In dominicis diebus ad maiorem missam Introitus post versum dimidius solet recitari, post Gloria Patri totus*. The repetition here mentioned of only half the antiphon also occurs amongst the Premonstratensians, and is referred to

tensians³⁸ and the Carmelites.³⁴ The system was called *triumphare psalmis* or *triplicare*. The other method consisted in enlarging the text of the introit by means of tropes.³⁵ In regard to the introit the favorite device was the introduction of a preliminary phrase.³⁶

The Missal of Pius V eliminated all these tropes as parasitic. But in our time the tendency has been manifested more than once to restore the introit to a fuller form, at least on festive occasions, by substituting the original full psalm in place of its vestigial single verse. Thus at the coronation Mass of Pope Pius XI in 1922 the entire *Introitus* psalm was sung.³⁷

In an earlier stage of the introit chant the psalm must have been the more important by far. This can be traced quite plainly in the Mass formularies for feast days. A psalm was picked which, taken as a unit (in the sense of the allegorizing psalm-exegesis of the period), could best fit the occasion. The only psalm verse left in our present-day introit—as a rule the first verse, or, if the first verse served as antiphon, the one immediately following—often shows absolutely no connection with the *motif* for the day, whereas the idea is actually conveyed by the continuation of the psalm. Take the Wednesday in the Advent Ember week or the fourth Sunday of Advent; the psalm verse beginning *Cæli enarrant gloriam Dei* conveys no particular impression of Advent. But the psalm from which this verse is derived contains those phrases so often cited in this season with reference to Christ's coming like the orient sun: *Ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo* (Ps. 18:6). In the third Mass of Christmas the introit verse is one that has certainly only a very general meaning: *Cantate Domino canticum novum*; but it is the beginning of Psalm 97 which serves as a Christmas psalm because of the words: *Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum* and *Viderunt omnes fines terræ salutare Dei nostri* (vv. 2f.). In the introit for Epiphany we find the verse: *Deus, iudicium tuum regi da*, from Psalm 71, but a fuller meaning is extracted from what follows, wherein the *reges Tharsis* and the others appear. On the Feast of Holy Bishops we read the introit verse: *Memento, Domine, David* (Ps. 131); it is not till further in the psalm we find the connection with the theme of the day: *Sacerdotes*

by Hugh of St. Cher (d. 1263), who designates it as *imperfecte* chanting; Sölch, *Hugo*, 57; 59.

³⁵ Waefelghem, 361.

³⁶ Sölch, 58.

³⁷ Blume, *Tropen des Missale*, II (Analecta Hymnica, 49), 17-164. Cf. *supra*, p. 123.

³⁸ E.g., on Christmas: *Laudemus omnes Dominum, Qui virginis per uterum Partus in mundum venerat, Mundum regens quem fecerat: Puer natus. . .* Blume, p. 26. The corresponding Easter trope: *Quem quæritis in sepulchro* (Blume, p. 9)

became the starting-point for the development of the medieval drama; see Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933).

³⁷ JL, V (1925), 366. Cf. A. Winninghoff, O.S.B., *Choralmissbuch für die Sonntage und Feiertage* (Düsseldorf, 1938), wherein several extra verses are regularly included at the introit.

In the same spirit the participants at a Community Mass are expected to recite the whole introit psalm; see, e.g., P. Parsch, *Volksliturgie* (Klosterneuburg, 1940), 35 f., 352.

tui induantur iustitiam (v. 9; cf. v. 16). In other cases this characteristic verse is at least given prominence by being selected as the antiphon, but of this more later.

Besides the initial verse of the psalm, the concluding verse has also been retained, namely the *Gloria Patri*. This verse, known as the Little Doxology, has accompanied antiphonal psalm chant as the regular ending of every psalm, joining it in its cradle at Antioch and staying with it in its travels over the world, although not everywhere accepted at once. The opposition to Antiochene Arianism had aided in its introduction. The Arians used as their battle-cry and watch-word the unexceptionable but ambiguous formula, *Gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto*, seeing in it the expression of the belief they maintained, of the Son's subordination to the Father. In the Catholic camp the leaders, the very ones who introduced and propagated the new antiphonal chant, set up an opposing formula which had long been traditional amongst the Syrians, *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*,³⁸ a formula derived from the baptismal formula (Matt. 28, 19) which gave unequivocal expression to the essential equality of the three divine Persons. In this way every psalm spoken by the new people of God ended with a shout of praise in honor of the triune God. The succeeding verse is, in its present form, proper to the West, although equivalent phrases are to be found quite early also in the Orient, especially in Egypt.³⁹ At the Synod of Vaison (529), which is the first to mention it, it is directed against the heretics who denied the eternity of the Son,⁴⁰ and therefore likewise against the Arians. The *erat in principio* was the thing that was to be stressed, especially in relation to the Son (and to the Holy Ghost). According to the wording this additional phrase declares that we ascribe to the triune God that glorification which has been God's from the beginning and will ever be.⁴¹

Why is the *Gloria Patri* omitted during Passiontide? As early as Durandus the reason given was: sorrow and grief.⁴² That would be the reason why the phrase is similarly omitted at Requiem Masses. But this is not really the reason. Actually we have here the working of the old "law of retaining the ancient in seasons of high liturgical worth," in other words, we have the residue of an older system. This means, Rome accepted the antiphonal chant without the *Gloria Patri*; later the verse was added at other times

³⁸ Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 151-177, esp. 160 f., 172 ff.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 161, note 41.

⁴⁰ Can. 5 (Mansi, VIII, 727).

⁴¹ *Sicut erat* sc. *gloria*. This is especially true if we construe the *Gloria Patri* in the indicative (a construction that is thoroughly possible): Glory *is* to the Father, etc.; cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung*

Christi, 165 f. But the second clause can still be understood in this way even if the first is taken as subjunctive: Glory be to the Father. . . . as it (glory) was. . . .; cf. Eisenhofer, I, 171. A question however arises whether this should be read: *As it was . . . is now and ever shall be . . . or so may it be now and forever.*

⁴² Durandus, VI, 60, 4.

of the year, but not during this season.⁴³ The same principle is at work—only with greater efficacy—at the high point of the Easter service, the Holy Saturday Mass (which used to be sung in the night before Easter); here the introit chant, along with the other antiphonal chants, offertory and communion, is entirely absent. And on Good Friday, the entire opening rite, including *Kyrie* and oration, was not accepted.

From the viewpoint of music the antiphon is the most important part of the introit. And even as to contents the opportunity was here presented to accentuate the tone or temper with which the celebration was to begin. Thus the antiphon established the tone in a double sense, the musical note, the psychological mood. This latter was done often by selecting for the antiphon a psalm verse that seemed to fit the celebration. Thus for the Christmas midnight Mass Psalm 2 is sung at the introit, and verse 7 is chosen as the antiphon: *Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu*. Or in the introit of a *Confessor non pontifex*, Psalm 91, with the stress on verse 13 as antiphon: *Iustus ut palma florebit*. An introit of this sort was called in the Middle Ages *regularis*, while others, where the antiphon was not derived from the psalm, were styled *irregulares*.⁴⁴ It is understandable that feast days and festal seasons did much to break through this schema of the *Introitus regularis* in order to give free vent to the expression of the mystery of the day. For the most part texts from the Scripture were used. Thus the introit antiphon for the third Christmas Mass proclaims, with the Prophet Isaias, the good news of the Nativity: *Puer natus est nobis et Filius datus est nobis*. And the antiphon for Whitsunday plays upon the Pentecostal miracle with words from the Book of Wisdom: *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum*. A remarkable fact is this, that the text of the antiphon is frequently derived from the Epistle of the day: *Gaudete in Domino; Cum sanctificatus fuero; Viri Galilæi; De ventre matris meæ; Nunc scio vere*.⁴⁵ However, here and there the Bible is sidestepped entirely. On certain saints' days there is a simple invitation to partake of the joy of the feast: *Gaudemus omnes in Domino, diem festum celebrantes . . .*, a text which probably comes from St. Gregory the Great, who is said to have written it for the dedication of St. Agatha's in 592.⁴⁶ One of the Masses

⁴³ A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 32; idem., "Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit," *JL*, VII (1927), 1-23.

⁴⁴ Durandus, IV, 5, 5. This irregularity is increased whenever the "verse" is not taken from the psalms, as happens on the Feast of Our Lady of Sorrows.

⁴⁵ In some other instances the pertinent Epistle subsequently went out of use, so that the correspondence is no longer per-

ceptible; see the references in C. Callewaert, "Introitus" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1938), 487.

⁴⁶ G. Verbeke, "S. Grégoire et la messe de s. Agathe," *Eph. liturg.*, LII (1938), 67-76.

Cf. also Wagner *Einführung*, I, 68, note 2; P. Pietschmann, *JL*, XII (1934), 108.

Further comments on the choice of Introit antiphons in Card. Schuster. *The Sacramentary*, I, 80-81.

of the Blessed Virgin begins with the happy greeting of the poet Sedulius: *Salve, sancta parens*.

Thus, by means as simple as they are masterly, the antiphon of the introit set the tone that should dominate the liturgical assembly. In some examples it is hard to mistake the fact that the text selected had in view both the procession itself and the image of a higher reality from the day's celebration which the procession typified.⁴⁷ Thus on Epiphany we read: *Ecce advenit dominator dominus*, and on the Wednesday of Pentecost week: *Deus dum egredereris*. And in Easter week, the crowd of newly baptized who have entered the Church are greeted on Saturday with: *Eduxit populum suum in exultatione, alleluia, et electos suos in lætitia*, and on Monday: *Introduxit vos Dominus in terram fluentem lac et mel*, and on Wednesday: *Venite benedicti Patris mei*.

But on the other hand there are days—like the Sundays after Pentecost—for which there is no special theme to which the introit antiphon might lead. Then the chant master takes up his psalter and chooses one of the psalms that in some way expresses the relationship of the Christian community to God: trust, praise, petition. It is to be noted that the psalter is gone through straight, starting with Psalm 12 on the first Sunday after Pentecost and moving on, Sunday for Sunday, till Psalm 118 is reached on the seventeenth Sunday.⁴⁸ Let us remark here at once that the same rule for the Sundays after Pentecost holds for the other antiphonal chants, offertory and communion, and likewise for the alleluia-verse, but not for the gradual. But it is noteworthy that the choice for the various formularies does not generally fall on the same psalms for any two chants of the day.⁴⁹ The following outline shows us all this in greater detail.

The arrangement, as far as the succession of the psalms is concerned, is the same today as it was a thousand years ago.⁵⁰ This table makes one thing clear. The succession of the psalms in each row and the divergence between the rows shows that there was no concerted attempt to hold in each case to one specified theme for all four of the chants. Instead, the Book of Psalms was conned from cover to cover, a bit chosen here, a bit chosen there, whatever appeared to suit the fancy of the praying congregation.

⁴⁷ E. Flicoteaux, "L'introit de la Messe, II": *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 38 ff.

⁴⁸ The Introit antiphons that follow show an entirely different plan of arrangement, being taken from other sources and disposed in part with reference to the pre-Advent *cursus*; cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 281; Hesbert, *Antiphonale*, p. LXXV.

⁴⁹ Only on the 1st, 7th, 8th and 23rd Sundays do two chants coincide on psalms 5, 46, 47 and 129 respectively.

⁵⁰ Cf. the survey regarding MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries in Hesbert, *loc. cit.* Still here the Communion of the 3rd Sunday after Pentecost is taken from Ps. 16 (instead of Luke), thus fitting into the series.

| SUNDAY | INTROIT FROM PS. | ALLELUIA-VERSE FROM PS. | OFFERTORY FROM PS. | COMMUNION FROM PS. |
|--------|---------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 12 | 5 | 5 | 9 |
| 2 | 17 | 7 | 6 | 12 |
| 3 | 24 | 7 | 9 | (Luke) |
| 4 | 26 | 9 | 12 | 17 |
| 5 | 26 | 20 | 15 | 26 |
| 6 | 27 | 30 | 16 | 26 |
| 7 | 46 | 46 | (Dan.) | 30 |
| 8 | 47 | 47 | 17 | 33 |
| 9 | 53 | 58 | 18 | (John) |
| 10 | 54 | 64 | 24 | 50 |
| 11 | 67 | 80 | 29 | (Prov.) |
| 12 | 69 | 87 | (Exod.) | 103 |
| 13 | 73 | 89 | 30 | (Wis.) |
| 14 | 83 | 94 | 33 | (Matt.) |
| 15 | 85 | 94 | 39 | (John) |
| 16 | 85 | 97 | 39 | 70 |
| 17 | 118 | 101 | (Dan.) | 75 |
| 18 | (Ecclus.) | 101 | (Exod.) | 95 |
| 19 | (Salus) | 104 | 137 | 118 |
| 20 | (Dan.) | 107 | 136 | 118 |
| 21 | (Esth.) | 113 | (Job) | 118 |
| 22 | 129 | 113 | (Esth.) | (16) |
| 23 | (Jer.) | 129 | 129 | (Mark) |

Although in its origin at least, the introit is essentially a part of the solemn high Mass, it soon found its way also into every Mass, even the private low Mass. This last transition can be seen in full detail in a document of the seventh/eighth century. The *Capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis*, already mentioned, an eighth-century Anglo-Frankish document based on the writing of the Roman archcantor John, is in general quite jejune and sober. But in the very midst of its exposition it seems to consider it quite important that the introit should be made a general practice. Twice the author pauses to stress the rule: Every priest at every Mass, in the monastery, in the country, even on weekdays, and even when he celebrates alone, must say the introit with the psalm (-verse) and *Gloria Patri*. That is the arrangement of the *sedes sancti Petri*. Whoever knowingly omits it *non recto ordine offert, sed barbarico*.⁵¹ In the later Middle Ages the rule that the priest had to read the introit at every Mass was transferred also to the solemn Mass in which the choir had already sung it.⁵²

⁵¹ Silva-Tarouca, 204 f., 206 f. He is a little less emphatic in making the same demand regarding the Communion chant (*ibid.*, 207).

⁵² This rule was already proposed (for the priest and his staff) in the Dominican Mass schema of 1256 (Guerrini, 235); likewise in a Minorite missal of the

Holy Saturday, as we noted, has nevertheless remained without an introit, and also without an offertory or communion. The procession of the clergy from the baptistery is accompanied on this occasion by the singing of the litany. Several of the ancient manuscript antiphonaries have a rubric for this day and also for the vigil of Pentecost: *Ad introitum letania*.⁶³ There are also other instances of the *Kyrie*-litany substituting for the introit. In the Roman *Ordo* of St. Amand, when a church is visited on the way during the procession of the *litania maior*, the church is entered to the accompaniment of the singing of the litany, which had been started while approaching the church, and at the end the pope says an oration.⁶⁴

The introit is the first text amongst the variable parts of the Mass, and the first text in general touching the congregation. The first words of the introit therefore often serve as a designation of the formulary or even of the respective day. We speak of *Lætare* Sunday, or of the *Rorate* Mass and the *Requiem*. The introductory character of the introit is emphasized in our present-day rubrics by the fact that the priest, when he starts to read the introit from the missal, blesses himself with the sign of the Cross,⁶⁵ just as he does at the beginning of the prayers at the foot of the altar. But, in contrast to the latter, there is no accompanying formula. This is the present Roman practice although it was often different in the Mass ordinaries of the late Middle Ages. Sometimes *In nomine Patris . . .*⁶⁶ was used, sometimes the pair of versicles *Adiutorium nostrum* and *Sit nomen Domini*,⁶⁷ sometimes both together,⁶⁸ or finally some other words were employed.⁶⁹ Another indication of the merely private character of all that precedes the introit is given in some later medieval ordinaries where the preparation of the chalice was inserted before the introit as a final preparation for Mass.⁷⁰

13th century (Ebner, 312). But the *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians, which belong to the same period, still say: *dicat vel auscultat introitum*; Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 D).

⁶³ Hesbert, n. 79; 105.

⁶⁴ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 474; on the other hand at the station church the introit (*antiphona*) is sung after the litany (but no *Kyrie* follows the introit): *ibid.*, 475.

⁶⁵ One of the earliest to testify to this practice is the Carthusian *Statuta antiqua* (13th century): Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 D): *signat se*.

⁶⁶ Thus at Salisbury (Sarum; 14th century): Frere, *The use of Sarum*, I, 65, f.—*Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 17.

⁶⁷ Examples, *supra*, p. 309, note 74 near the end.

⁶⁸ Missal of Evreux-Jumièges: Martène, XXVIII (I, 643 E). *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 37.

⁶⁹ According to Bernard of Waging (1462) many in Germany prefixed *Domine labia mea* or *Deus in adiutorium* to the introit; Franz, 574 f. The Augsburg Missal of 1555 contains *Adiutorium nostrum* and *Domine labia mea*; Hoeyneck, 372. Only the latter formula in the Augsburg Mass-*Ordo* of the 15th century; Franz, 752. Sometimes there was combined with this the invocation: *Spiritus Sancti assit nobis gratia*; Beck, 265; Köck, 113. The *Deus in adiutorium* alone begins the introit in the ritual of the Hungarian Hermits of St. Paul; Sawicki, 148.

⁷⁰ Ancient Cistercian rite: Schneider (*Cist.-Chron.*, 1926), 282 ff.

Hungarian Mass books: Jávör, 114, Sawicki, 147 f.

The introit is read by the priest at the Epistle side of the altar. Just as the bishop during the fore-Mass takes his place at his *cathedra*, so one who does not use a *cathedra* should take his place at the right side of the altar, according to an old rule that goes back to the old Roman stational arrangements.⁶¹ Here he should stay till the choir finishes singing the introit, and even for everything which he himself sings or says right up to the Epistle.⁶² The exception, which came in only gradually, was the practice of transferring *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and *Dominus vobiscum* to the center of the altar.⁶³

9. *Kyrie Eleison*

We have already seen in the *Kyrie eleison* a prayer of the people to which the priest's oration is related. Thus considered, there is in this cry for mercy little that is fundamentally puzzling. But looked at more closely the tiny phrase gives grounds for a whole series of questions: Why this repeated cry, and why precisely a ninefold repetition? What is the derivation of this simple cry, so indeterminate in contents? Why in Greek? And who was originally the petitioner?

The Greek form takes us back to the earliest years of the Church. Not that the *Kyrie* is a vestige of that period in the Roman liturgy when the members of the Church in Rome themselves used Greek for the most part, and the language of worship was Greek, as it was till about the middle of the third century. No, the *Kyrie* was not taken into Rome from the Greek liturgy till much later. In the Orient, too, the non-Greek liturgies—the Coptic, the Ethiopian, and the West Syrian—have either borrowed or retained the *Kyrie eleison* untranslated. The *Kyrie* did not get to Rome earlier than the fifth century. And when it was taken over, it was as part of the litany which is traceable in the Orient since the fourth century and

⁶¹ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 22 (PL, LXXVIII, 948 B), regarding the bishop who replaces the pope at the station: *Secundum namque quod non sedet in sede post altare, tertio non dicit orationem post altare, sed in dextro latere altaris.*

⁶² The rule that the celebrant should step to the side, *ad dexteram altaris*, after kissing the altar is already found in Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 5 (PL, CV, 1113 A). Cf. Pseudo-Alcuin, *De div. off.* (PL, CI, 1245 B); John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 33 A).

According to Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, CLXII, 549 f.), the priest stands at the right side while the introit is being sung, and at the *Gloria* and the oration, because the priest represents Christ who, according

to Matt. 15: 24, was to look out only for Israel, typified by the right side.

The Carthusian *Statuta antiqua*: Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 631 D): Introit, *Gloria*, *Dominus vobiscum*—all on the right (the *Kyrie* was not as yet said by the priest); *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 1.

In the later Middle Ages the rule is formulated as follows: The priest is to perform on the right side of the altar everything up to the Epistle (except the intoning of the *Gloria*), and everything after the Communion; Missal of Sarum: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 666 E); *Costumarium* of Sarum (end of the 14th century): Frere, *The use of Sarum*, I, 68.

⁶³ Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 60-63.

which has continued in use even today in the liturgies of the Orient as the so-called *ektenes*.

However, the beginnings of the *Kyrie eleison* reach much farther back than that. The petition *eleison* taken by itself, with or without vocative, must surely have been very familiar to the early Christians, even from pre-Christian traditions.¹ As late as the fifth century a preacher in Alexandria felt compelled to denounce the habit many Christians had kept of bowing to the rising sun and crying out ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.² Even the formal κύριε ἐλέησον, directed to the divinity, is traced to heathen times,³ and the repetition of the cry a given number of times was also not unknown to antiquity.⁴ But no need to appeal to pagan custom; Holy Scripture offered examples in plenty of the cry of ἐλέησον directed to God, or, in the Gospels, to Jesus, especially in the book that served as the Church's first prayer book, the Book of Psalms.⁵ The Septuagint presented phrases like: ἐλέησόν με κύριε (Ps. 6:3, *et al.*), κύριε ἐλέησόν με (Ps. 40:5, 11). True, none of these have the precise form of our *Kyrie eleison*, but the divergence was not so great it could not have been bridged by someone in prayer.

The proper history of our petition within Christian worship begins for us about the fourth century.⁶ The Gallic pilgrim lady Ætheria tells us, about 390, how at Jerusalem at the end of Vespers one of the deacons read a list of petitions and "as he spoke each of the names, a crowd of boys stood there and answered him each time, *Kyrie eleison*, as we say, Lord have mercy (*miserere Domine*); their cry is without end."⁷ Corresponding to the mode of pronunciation already then in vogue, Ætheria gives us the transcription *eleison* instead of the *eleeson* we might have expected. At the other hours the bishop himself prays these petitions⁸; this appears to have been the more ancient practice.⁹

From Antioch at about the same time there comes to us the very wording of such petitions which the deacon spoke when, for instance, after the Gospel of the Mass the catechumens were dismissed. And the explicit rubric is appended: "At each of these petitions which the deacon pronounces, the people should say, κύριε ἐλέησον, especially the children."¹⁰

¹ Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 60-103.

² *Ibid.*, 61-63.

³ Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, II, 7; Dölger, 75-77; cf. 80 f.

⁴ Dölger, 70 ff., 80 f.

⁵ See the general survey in Dölger, 83-86.

Also in Adrian Fortescue, "Kyrie eleison," CE, VIII: 714-716.

⁶ Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 116-136; Eisenhofer, I, 195-201; II, 87-89; Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 77 f., 80-86.

It is therefore hardly possible to justify the specious observation of E. Fiedler,

Christliche Opferfeier (Munich, 1937), 38, that by its use of the fateful title of *Kyrios* which was claimed for the Cæsar-sun cult, the *Kyrie eleison* had been a "Christian song of defiance" before it was incorporated in the liturgy.

⁷ *Aetheria peregrinatio*, c. 24 (CSEL, XXXIX, 72).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁹ Cf. O. Heiming, JL, XIV (1938), 420.

¹⁰ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 6, 9 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 200). The same arrangement of alternating prayer is presumed for the dismiss-

The list of petitions varies from case to case. As a rule there are prayers for the whole Church, for the clergy, for the people and the ruler, for those on a journey and for the sick, for the benefactors of the Church and for the poor, and for peace. This type of prayer, which was called a *litania*, was soon transplanted to the West, perhaps by pilgrims to Jerusalem, and soon came into use everywhere, either in translation or in some free revision. The petition *κύριε ἐλέησον* is sometimes retained without alteration, sometimes translated,¹² sometimes expanded¹³ or otherwise changed to forms like those which still survive in the older part of our Litany of the Saints: *Libera nos, Domine: Te rogamus, audi nos.*¹⁴

The place where this litany was inserted was sometimes the same one it generally had in the East, namely, at the prayer that followed the lessons. But in the Milanese liturgy—although now restricted to the Sundays of Lent—it is still to be found at the beginning of Mass between the *Ingressa* (introit) and the oration, and therefore exactly where our Roman *Kyrie* is. In the Milanese version the response is made in Latin: *Domine miserere*, but at the end *Kyrie eleison* is repeated three times in succession.¹⁴ Such a litany in a similar part of the Mass must have been proper

sal of the other groups and during the Prayer of the Faithful (VIII, 6-10) and likewise at the close of Vespers (VIII, 35, 2); cf. the reconstruction from Chrysostom in Brightman, 471 f., 477 f.

¹² The translation is also found among the convert Germanic tribes. Thus there is this evidence about the Vandals of North Africa: God is praised also in the language of the barbarians and his mercy sought; even Romans prayed the "Frōja armēs": *Domine miserere*. This is found in the *Collatio Pseudo-Augustini cum Pascentio Ariano* (PL, XXXIII, 1162); cf. H. v. Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter* (Tübingen, 1921), 24.

Notice that in this as in all other transliterated Greek words (*Paraclitus*, *Agios*, *imas*), the spelling supposes the pronunciation of the time when the words were borrowed.

As an answer of the people the *Kyrie eleison* is still used in Spain; Férotin, *Le liber ordinum*, 114 f.

¹³ See the examples in Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 198-201.

¹⁴ Duchesne, 165 f., and following him P. Alfonso, *Oratio fidelium* (Finalpia, 1928), 36-38, express the opinion that a litany formed with words such as these as responses must have been indigenous

to Rome, independently of any oriental pattern. For the possibility of such a thing reference is made to litany-type prayers in pre-Christian Rome, especially to the prayer which Licinius ordered his soldiers to say on the day of his battle with Maximinus; see Lactantius, *De mort. pers.*, 46, 6 (CSEL, XXVII, 226): *Summe deus, te rogamus, sancte deus, te rogamus . . . , summe, sancte deus, preces nostras exaudi, brachia nostra ad te tendimus, exaudi, sancte, summe deus!*

Many of the acclamations that are preserved in the *Acta synodorum habitatorum Romae* are also in the same tradition. At a Roman synod of the year 499 the following ejaculations among others were put down in writing (MGH, *Auct. ant.*, XII, 403): *Ut fiat, rogamus, (dictum decies): ut scandala amputentur, rogamus (dictum novies); ut ambitus extinguatur, rogamus (dictum duodecies)*. Cf. also Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 85 f.

On the other hand, the view that at Rome the *Kyrie* was almost never used as a response to the acclamations can hardly be reconciled with what we learn from Gregory the Great, especially with the way he speaks about the Greek practices (see *infra*, note 30).

¹⁵ *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 77-81; likewise thus in the older sources of the

also to the Roman liturgy in the fifth century and after. That some form of *Kyrie*-prayer was customary in Rome by the start of the sixth century is unmistakably clear from Canon 3 of the Synod of Vaison (529), which purposed to incorporate this practice in Matins, Mass and Vespers, and appealed to the usage of the Apostolic See where the *Kyrie eleison* was often repeated.¹⁵ But from the remarks of St. Gregory the Great¹⁶ it is clear that even in his time there were two ways of performing the prayer; one a simple repetition of the cry *Kyrie*, the other, combining a further text with the *Kyrie*. This second way must be the litany, in which the *Kyrie* forms the response. However, in the sacramentaries which otherwise permit us to gather a picture of the Mass as it was in the sixth century, no text is presented. The Gregorianum does remark innocently, that the Mass begins with the introit, *deinde Kyrie eleison*.¹⁷ But we need not be amazed, for the celebrant did not intone the litany, and the sacramentary was intended only for his use. There are good reasons for suspecting that the old Roman *Kyrie*-litany survives in the so-called *Deprecatio Gelasii*.¹⁸ For there are various signs to suggest that this prayer had its origin in Rome and that the Pope Gelasius (492-496) named in the title was the redactor. Of this pope the *Liber Pontificalis* recounts that he composed *sacramentorum præfationes et orationes cauto sermone*.¹⁹ It might seem improbable that the Roman liturgy should have had the *Kyrie*-litany at a time when the General Prayer for the Church, which is so akin to the litany in content and form, was still said after the readings. But it is quite likely that the introduction of this *Kyrie*-litany coincided with the correction or revision of the General Prayer for the Church²⁰ and with the amplification of the intercessory prayers of the canon, which occurred about this time, so that it would have been only one part of a thorough-going reform of the Mass-liturgy undertaken by Pope Gelasius.²¹ Following is the text of this *Deprecatio Gelasii*:

DEPRECATIO QUAM PAPA GELASIUS PRO UNIVERSALI ECCLESIA CONSTITUIT CANENDAM ESSE.

*Dicamus omnes: Domine exaudi et miserere.*²²

Patrem Unigeniti et Dei Filium Genitoris ingeniti et Sanctum Deum Spiritum fidelibus animis invocamus — Kyrie eleison.

Milan liturgy: A. Ratti-M. Magistretti, *Missale Ambrosianum, duplex* (1913), 121 f.; Dölger, 90 f.

¹⁵ Can. 3 (Mansi, VIII, 725).

¹⁶ *Infra*, p. 338 f.

¹⁷ Lietzmann, n. 1.

¹⁸ B. Capelle, "Le Kyrie de la messe et le pape Gélase," *Revue Bénédictine*, XLVI (1934), 126-144.

The results are confirmed and exploited by C. Callewaert, "Les étapes de l'histoire

du Kyrie," *Revue d'hist. eccl.*, XXXVIII (1942), 20-45.

¹⁹ Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 255.

²⁰ Cf. *infra*, p. 483 f.

²¹ V. L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (Rome, 1938), 33-36; cf. C. Mohlberg, *Theol. Revue*, XXXVII (1938), 487-489. The same idea was expressed about this time by B. Capelle, "Le pape Gélase et la messe romaine," *Revue d'hist. eccl.*, XXXV (1939), 22-34.

²² In place of this word we ought probably

- I. *Pro immaculata Dei vivi ecclesia, per totum orbem constituta divinæ bonitatis opulentiam deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- II. *Pro sanctis Dei magni sacerdotibus et ministris sacri altaris cunctisque Deum verum colentibus populis Christum Dominum supplicamus — Kyrie eleison.*
- III. *Pro universis recte tractantibus verbum veritatis multififormem Verbi Dei sapientiam peculiariter obsecramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- IV. *Pro his qui se mente et corpore propter cælorum regna castificant, et spiritalium labore desudant, largitorem spiritalium munerum obsecramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- V. *Pro religiosis principibus omnique militia eorum, qui iustitiam et rectum iudicium diligunt, Domini potentiam obsecramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- VI. *Pro iocunditate serenitatis et opportunitate pluviæ atque aurarum vitalium blandimentis ac diversorum temporum prospero cursu rectorem mundi Dominum deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- VII. *Pro his quos prima christiani nominis initiavit agnitio, quos iam desiderium gratiæ cælestis accendit, omnipotentis Dei misericordiam obsecramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- VIII. *Pro his quos humanæ infirmitatis fragilitas, et quos nequitiae spiritalis invidia, vel varius sæculi error involvit, Redemptoris nostri misericordiam imploramus — Kyrie eleison.*
- IX. *Pro his, quos peregrinationis necessitas, aut iniquæ potestatis oppressio vel hostilitatis vexat ærumna, Salvatorem Dominum supplicamus — Kyrie eleison.*
- X. *Pro iudaica falsitate . . . aut hæretica pravitate deceptis vel gentilium superstitione perfusis veritatis Dominum deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- XI. *Pro operariis pietatis et his, qui necessitatibus laborantium fraterna caritate subveniunt, misericordiarum Dominum deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- XII. *Pro omnibus intransitibus in hæc sanctæ domus Domini atria, qui religioso corde et supplici devotione convenerunt, Dominum gloriæ deprecamur — Kyrie eleison.*
- XIII. *Pro emundatione animarum corporumque nostrorum, et omnium venia peccatorum clementissimum Dominum supplicamus — Kyrie eleison.*
- XIV. *Pro refrigerio fidelium animarum, præcipue sanctorum Domini sacerdotum, qui huic ecclesiæ præfuerunt catholicæ, Dominum spirituum et universæ carnis iudicem deprecamus — Kyrie eleison.*
- XV. *Mortificatam vitiis carnem et viventem fide animam — præsta, Domine, præsta.*
- XVI. *Castum timorem et veram dilectionem — præsta, Domine, præsta.*
- XVII. *Gratum vitæ ordinem et probabilem exitum — præsta, Domine, præsta.*
- XVIII. *Angelum pacis et solacia sanctorum — præsta, Domine, præsta.*
Nosmetipsos et omnia nostra, quæ orta quæ aucta per Dominum ipso auctore suscipimus, ipso custode retinemus, ipsiusque misericordiæ et arbitrio providentiæ commendamus — Domine, miserere.²³

This litany or one like it, with the *Kyrie* attached, must have become quite popular in Rome and its environs. Inserting it into the Mass was only one of its uses. In the Rule of St. Benedict the *litanía* or the *supplicatio litaníæ id est Kyrie eleison*²⁴ was part of the ending of every hour,

to follow one of the MSS. by inserting *Kyrie eleison*, that is, the deacon thereby gives the congregation its cue.

²³ Critical text after Capelle, "Le

Kyrie . . ." 136-138. There is also a printed text in Migne, PL, CI, 560 f.

²⁴ *S. Benedicti Regula*, c. 9; cf. c. 12 f., 17.

introducing the *Pater noster* (here used as an oration). In Lauds and Vespers, where there is a more detailed mention of *litania*, the reference is apparently to a fuller text, like that in the *Deprecatio*, while in the other hours only the repeated *Kyrie eleison* seems to have been considered.²⁵ In the older Gelasianum the litany is mentioned in the rite of the major ordinations; after the candidates have been summoned and the invitation to make objection has been issued, the rubric follows: *Et post modicum intervallum mox incipiant omnes Kyrie eleison cum litania*.²⁶ From Gregory of Tours (d. 594) we get an account of a penitential procession which Pope Gregory the Great had ordered shortly after his election in the year 590, while pestilence raged in Rome. Seven processions were to assemble at seven Roman basilicas and, with a group of priests in each, were to start for St. Mary Major's in order to beg God's mercy by a *litania septiformis*. The one who told the story to our Frankish historian was himself an eyewitness of the event, and testified how the crowds marched praying through the city: *veniebant utrique chori psallentium ad ecclesiam clamantes per plateas urbis Kyrie eleison*.²⁷ It is plain that this *Kyrie eleison* was not the entire text, that it was the answer of the throng of people to the invocations spoken by the groups of priests.²⁸ This manner of saying the litany was retained later and (within limits) even today for the Rogation procession which itself obtained the name of *litania*.²⁹

The litany at the beginning of Mass had at any rate undergone a change at the time of Gregory the Great, perhaps partly through his work. In a letter to Bishop John of Syracuse, Gregory took pains to deny that he had been introducing Greek practices into Rome. In this connection he refers also to the *Kyrie*.³⁰ Gregory stresses the differences from the Greek manner,

²⁵ In this sense Callewaert, "Les étapes," 29-32.

²⁶ I, 20 (Wilson, 22).

²⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francorum*, X, 1 (PL, LXXI, 529 B).

²⁸ *Utrique chori* = the double choir composed of priests and people. Cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 106-108.

Septiformis is the term applied to the litany because each of the invocations was repeated seven times; Batiffol, 110 f. A *litania septena* is also mentioned for Holy Saturday in later sources, like the *Gregorianum* of Ménard (PL, LXXVIII, 88 C). According to *Ordo Rom. I*, app., n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 964), it was first recited as a *septena*, then as a *quina*, lastly as a *terna*; cf. the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 475) and the Antiphony of Corbie (Hesbert, n. 79 b); similar data for the *litania maior* in the *Ordo Rom. XI*, n. 57 (PL,

LXXVIII, 1048). Even in the 15-16th century there is witness to the *litania septena* in the Franciscan Missal in Martène, 1, 1, 18, XIX (I, 216 B) and even in the beginning of the 18th in de Moléon, 223 f., 430.

According to present-day rubrics, too, there is a doubling of the invocations on Holy Saturday—each invocation and its response sung first by the chanters, then repeated in full. And for all outdoor processions this is also the accepted method of performing the litany, although it is technically almost impossible to expect the people to repeat the longer texts.

²⁹ For the history of the litany (*litania*), see R. Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," *ZkTh*, LX (1936), 511-554.

³⁰ Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, IX, 12 (PL, LXXVII, 956): *Kyrie cleison autem nos neque diximus neque dicimus sicut a Gracis dicitur, quia in Gracis omnes*

which must have been very familiar to him from his stay in Byzantium. The differences are chiefly these: Amongst the Greeks all answer *Kyrie eleison* together, both clergy and people, whereas in Rome the clergy sing and then the people respond. Moreover the Greeks have only the invocation *Kyrie eleison* whereas in Rome the *Christe eleison* is also used, being said as often as the *Kyrie*. Finally Gregory remarks that on ordinary days they leave out whatever is usually said besides the *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, in order to linger longer on these two invocations.

What was omitted on ordinary days can only have been the invocations of the litany. On solemn services, therefore, they were still in use, but the manner of rendering included a pre-intonation of the *Kyrie* or *Christe*; the chanters or the *schola* included the *Kyrie* and *Christe* in the invocation, and they were then repeated by the people.³¹ In line with this was the practice which lasted far into the Middle Ages—as late as the twelfth century—of omitting the *Kyrie* at Mass on days when the *collecta* with its protracted litany preceded the *statio*.³² The same thing happened at the major ordinations, since the litany followed.³³ Even at present the litany (with its *Kyrie*) which is said on Holy Saturday counts for the *Kyrie* of the Mass.³⁴ In all these instances there is a survival of the original form of the *Kyrie* as part of a larger, more complete form of prayer.³⁵

A short invocation of this type, using only a word or two to express our beggary, implied, by its very brevity, a tendency to independence and to iteration. This tendency would be all the more pronounced if the *Kyrie eleison* had been known already in pre-Christian antiquity as an independent formula, as a cry repeated many times over, as an acclamation. Actu-

simul dicunt, apud nos autem a clericis dicitur et a populo respondetur, et totidem vicibus etiam Christe eleison dicitur, quod apud Gracos nullo modo dicitur. In cotidianis autem missis aliqua, quæ dici solent, tacemus, tantummodo Kyrie eleison et Christe eleison dicimus, ut in his deprecationis vocibus paulo diutius occupemur.

³¹ Callewaert, "Les étapes," 36, understands *a clericis* in this wise, that the *schola* took up melodically the invocation which had been delivered by the deacon or lector, e.g. (n. I): *divinæ bonitatis opulentiam deprecamur*; the *Kyrie* cry would be merely spoken by the people as a response; this partition must have been determinative for Gelasius in designing the text; see *ibid.*, 27. But with Gregory the *Kyrie* was said by the clerics.

³² *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, 475); *Ordo* for Ash Wednesday (9th century) appended to *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 25 (PL, LXXVIII, 950 A); and even as late as

the twelfth century the rule is still outlined in full form in *Ordo Rom. XI* (c. 1140), n. 35 (PL, LXXVIII, 1039): *Quando efficitur Collecta, ad missam non cantatur Kyrie, quia regionarius dixit in litania. Cf. ibid.*, n. 34, 63 (1038 C, 1050 A).

³³ *Ordo Rom. VIII*, n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 1001).

³⁴ In the same sense we read in the oldest Antiphonary MSS.: *ad introitum letania*; then follows: *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. Hesbert, n. 79.

³⁵ From what has been said it follows that the litany under consideration, an older form of our present-day litany of All Saints, could not have represented the litany from which our *Kyrie* derived. But the close intrinsic kinship that existed between it and the *Deprecatio Gelasii* which we have had in view would have been sufficient to establish such a rule.

ally the *Kyrie eleison*, freed from any ties with other prayer-forms and repeated over and over again, is found in the liturgical prayer of the Orient as an ancient traditional usage. And time-honored numbers play a part here: a twelvefold *Kyrie eleison* at the opening of every hour in the Byzantine liturgy, a fortyfold *Kyrie* at the close of every little hour.³⁶ The fervent *ektenē* (ἐκτενής ἱκεσία) after the Gospel in a Byzantine Mass has a threefold *Kyrie eleison* after each invocation.³⁷ The threefold *Kyrie* also appears elsewhere, especially near the end of the *ektenē*,³⁸ and also independent of such a litany. Aurelian of Arles (d. 550) had his monks begin and end the psalmody at every hour of the Office with a *Kyrie* said three times.³⁹ The Lauds of the Milanese liturgy still contains a threefold *Kyrie* and, near the end, a twelvefold *Kyrie*.⁴⁰ Likewise our present-day litanies still have a threefold *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison* at the beginning and at the end.⁴¹ A parallel to this independence and iteration of a response is to be seen in the history of the alleluia, which served first of all as a refrain which the people sang as they joined in at each verse of the responsorial psalm-chants. It soon turned into a cry of jubilee which could be repeated as long and as loud as you please.⁴² The Roman Breviary also has a threefold alleluia on occasion after occasion, and before Pius X it had a ninefold alleluia on the *Dominica in albis*.

We come upon this independent *Kyrie* in the first Roman *Ordo*, even though the service described is a festive one. According to this arrangement, the petition—a song now—is repeated until the pope, after saluting the altar and going to his *cathedra*, turns to the east and gives a signal.⁴³ But not long afterwards—in fact, still in the eighth century—a specified arrangement for this signal is found, as we learn from other *ordines*, which give us further details about the *Kyrie*-chant. The *schola* sings *Kyrie eleison*, which is repeated three times—that is, most likely, till the number three has been reached. (Custom had thus consecrated the number three.) Then the pope gave a signal for the *Christe eleison*, which was repeated

³⁶ See the list in Dölger, 64, note 2.

³⁷ Brightman, 373 f.

³⁸ So in the Greek liturgy of St. James: Brightman, 38; 48.

³⁹ Aurelian of Arles, *Regula ad monachos* (PL, LXVIII, 393 B).

⁴⁰ S. Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers* (Freiburg, 1895), 619. The Milanese Mass, too, has a threefold *Kyrie* not only after the *Gloria* but after the Gospel and at the close.

⁴¹ The norm is even plainer in medieval texts of the litany; see the beginning of the litany with a triple *Kyrie eleison* in

Cod. Ottobon. 313: H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary* (HBS, XLIX), pp. XXXI-XXXIV, and even much later, e.g., the 13th century *Ordinarium* of Lyons, with a triple *Kyrie* and a triple *Christe* at the start: E. Martène, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiæ disciplina* (Lyons, 1706), 520, 524.

⁴² F. Cabrol, *DACL*, I, 1229-1246, especially 1234.

⁴³ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 9 (PL, LXXXVIII, 942): *Schola vero, finita antiphona, inponit Kyrie eleison. Prior vero scholæ custodit ad pontificem, ut ei annuat, si vult mutare numerum litanie.*

three times in like manner; then another signal for the triple repetition of the *Kyrie*, and so the end of the chant."

This arrangement based on threes corresponds to a primitive sacral usage, found even in pre-Christian worship, frequent, too, in ancient Rome.⁴⁴ As was to be expected, the number received a new significance once it reached Gallic territory where the struggle against Arianism still rumbled and boomed occasionally. Here it took a trinitarian turn. We meet it in Amalar,⁴⁵ and the same meaning is impressed on us in all our prayer books and Mass interpretations and Mass devotions, right up to the present: God the Father is invoked three times, God the Son three times, and God the Holy Ghost three times.⁴⁶ There is the appearance of truth in the fact that the second group uses the word *Christus*. But in reality the *Kyrie* groups, too, are directed to Christ. That is the Pauline and primitive Christian usage, where *κύριος* is generally applied to Christ. And it corresponds to the whole tradition in which the *Kyrie eleison* itself arose. True, in some instances in the early period the connection with the Godhead is clear. At other times the meaning of *κύριος* is undetermined, and it might well be, considering its use as a simple invocation. But in most cases, especially within the Eastern diaconal litanies, where the *κύριε ἐλέησον* is indigenous, the whole construction of the various invocations of the deacon makes it more or less clear that the *κύριε* has reference to Christ.⁴⁷ The same is true in the Western litanies; in the oldest versions all the invocations from beginning to *Agnus Dei*, are addressed exclusively to Christ; the invocations of the saints are later insertions.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 258): *annuit pontifex ut dicatur Kyrie eleison. Et dicit schola et repetunt regionarii. . . . Dum repetierunt tertio, iterum annuit pontifex ut dicatur Christe eleison. . . . Et dum compleverint novem vicibus, annuit ut finiatur*. Somewhat different in the *Capitulare eccl. ord.*, which speaks of two choirs, standing opposite the altar and bowed towards the East, each singing the *Kyrie* nine times very slowly: . . . *et sic incurvati contra altare ad orientem adorant dicentes Kyrie eleison prolixè unusquisque chorus per novem vicibus*. (Silva-Tarouca, 205; cf. 196 f.).

⁴⁵ Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 95-103.

There is hardly any need to follow Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 461 f., in tracing the plan of the ninefold *Kyrie* to Milanese practice, especially since this practice at the time is quite obscured. Rather we might recall the south-Gallic parallels remarked in note 39 above.

⁴⁶ Amalar, *De off. eccl.*, III, 6 (PL, CV, 1113 f.).

It is rather surprising that the *Expositio* of Amalar (of Trier?), which has been traced back to the sea-voyage of 813-814, distinguishes only between *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, the former directed to the *forma Dei*, the latter to the *forma servi*; Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 150. Cf. the *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 33.

⁴⁷ In some few of the *Kyrie*-tropes which developed since the 9th century (see *infra*), the entire piece is still often addressed to Christ; Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, I (*Analecta hymnica*, 47), p. 45 f., 101, 102, 103 f., etc.

⁴⁸ Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, 191 f.

⁴⁹ The invocation of the three divine Persons and of the Holy Trinity after the *Christe audi nos* at the start of the litany does not appear in the oldest texts that have survived. In an English MS. of the

This ninefold invocation of Christos, the Kyrios, serves even at present as a kind of prelude leading very suitably to the priest's oration—an oration which gathers up the prayer of the Church and brings it, through Christ, to the throne of God.⁶⁰

Although we find that in Gregory the Great the arrangement for the *Kyrie* is still: *a clericis dicitur et a populo respondetur*, in the first Roman *Ordo*, the *schola* appears as the only performer. It is the job of the *schola* to sing the *Kyrie*—or perhaps more correctly, to intone it and sing the first part. There is no express statement that no one else participates in the singing, but the directions are all given to the *schola*; it is the *prior scholæ* who has to watch out for the pope's signal to conclude the singing.⁶¹

8th century the litany begins *Christe audi nos*, then follow invocations of the saints and lastly *Agnus Dei*; A. B. Kuypers, *The Book of Cerne* (Cambridge, 1902), 211 f. In the Sacramentary of Gellone written circa 780 the litany on Holy Saturday took the following form: On the way to the baptismal font, *Kyrie eleison*; upon arrival, *Christe audi nos* several times; then the invocations of the saints, plus *Propitius esto*, etc., *Agnus Dei*, *Christe audi nos*—the same series as today; close with a triple *Kyrie*. Martène, 1. 1, 18, VI (I, 184).

In the *Ordo* of St. Amand the litany that is intoned before the station church is given as follows: *Kyrie eleison* (3 times), *Christe audi nos*, invocations of the saints, then *Propitius esto*, etc., including the invocation that plainly addresses Christ, *Per crucem tuam*, at the end 3 times *Agnus Dei*, *Christe audi nos* and again a triple *Kyrie*. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 475.

The litany of the Stowe Missal (9th century), which reverts to a Græco-Roman model at the end of the 7th century (Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 142 ff.), begins: *Christe audi nos* (3 times), *Kyrie eleison*, and the saints' invocations follow; Warner, *The Stowe Missal* (HBS, XXXII), 3.

Further examples of a similar sort from the 9th-10th century: H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary* (HBS, 49), pp. XXXI-XXXIV; Gerbert, *Monumenta vet. lit. Alam.*, II, 7 f.; H. Ménard in the notes to the *Gregorianum* (PL, LXXVIII, 386 ff., 485, 530 ff.); J. Mabillon, *Analecta* (PL, CXXXVIII, 885);

Beck, *Kirchliche Studien*, 383-387.

It was during the high tide of the Middle Ages that the textual pattern expressing the Trinity, *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison*, was formed as we now have it at the beginning of the litany as well as at the *Preces* in the office (or as a substitute for these); at this period, too, are inserted the explicit invocations of the three Persons and the Trinity: *Pater de coelis*, etc. It is curious that this insertion is still wanting in today's litany for the dying, *Rituale Rom.*, V, 7, 3.

Suarez, *De oratione*, I, 9, 12 f. (*Opp.*, ed. Berton, 14, 34), faces the objection that this separate invocation of the three divine Persons compromises the unity of the divine nature; he justifies it only in the sense that thus is acknowledged a belief in the difference of the Persons and in their true godhead. Similarly J. Maldonat, *De cæmoniis*, II, 12 (in F. A. Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca rit.*, II, 2 [Rome, 1781], 79), stresses the view that these invocations are not properly addressed to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, *sed ad Deum per enumeratas personas*.

⁶⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 264. f.

The precise meaning of this invocation of Christ who gathers us and heals us, who desires to teach us and even feed us, is handled excellently in an article by J. Gülden, "Kyrie eleison": *Parochia* (ed. by K. Borgmann, Colmar o. J., 1943), 155 f.

⁶¹ *Ordo Rom.* I, 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942): *Schola vero finita antiphona imponit Kyrie eleison. Prior vero scholæ custodit ad pontificem, ut ei annuat, si*

The Roman *Ordo* of St. Amand confirms this description and adds the detail, that the repetition of the song intoned by the *schola* is the duty of the *regionarii*, that is, of the subdeacons who were organized in Rome according to regions.⁵² The people no longer participate, at least in these grander pontifical services. Of course the possibility is not excluded that, in simpler surroundings and under other conditions, the *Kyrie* still remained the people's song. This was surely true in the lands of the North,⁵³ where *Kyrioleis* was used as a refrain in folk-songs for many centuries, and the "Leise" (Fr. *lais*) represented a special class of spiritual folk-songs.

But at the beginning of Mass, the clergy forming the choir took over the singing of the *Kyrie*, at least in the larger churches where the clergy were numerous—and it is about such churches that most of the accounts are written.⁵⁴ We need not necessarily think that the intonation and first-singing was done by a *schola cantorum*; in fact, as a part of the clergy, it was not very carefully distinguished from the rest. Instead the singers, it seems, were divided into two semi-choruses, and thus the tradition that the *Kyrie* was an antiphonal chant was retained. At first the nine invocations of one chorus were, as we have seen, repeated by the other; later the two choirs divided the nine invocations between them.⁵⁵ It was but a step to have the first of each of the three sung by one choir and then repeated twice by the other choir, a mode of rendition many propose at the present.⁵⁶ But even in the twelfth century it was customary for the choirs simply to alternate, exactly as the priest and the Mass-server alternate while saying the prayer.⁵⁷

vult mutare numerum litanæ. Cf. *Ordo Rom.* II, 5.

⁵² Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 458: *Dicit schola et repetunt regionarii.*

Cf. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 17.

There is mention of two choirs also in the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 205); cf. note 44 above.

⁵³ Cf. the decree of Bishop Herard of Tours, *Capitula* (558), circa 16 (Hardouin, V, 451): *Gloria Patri ac Sanctus atque credulitas et Kyrie eleison a cunctis reverenter canatur.* The peculiar sequence in the enumeration awakens the doubt whether it is the *Kyrie* at the beginning of Mass that is being mentioned; cf. the data in Nickl, 17-19.

In processions and the like we continue to find the *Kyrie* sung by the people even later, and also at Mass itself, namely after the sermon, in connection with the ancient Prayer of the Faithful; see on this Honorius Augustod. (12th century),

Gemma an., I, 19 (PL, CLXXII, 550 C); Durandus, IV, 25, 14.

⁵⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 124, note 120. See Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 96 C; 97 B), for the *clerus* and *chorus* as performers of the *Kyrie*-chants.

Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 19 (PL, CCXVII, 809 C), who speaks of the *chorus*; likewise Durandus, IV, 12, 1.

Even Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272) still proposes the older usage, though not very enthusiastically (Pfeiffer, I, 496): The laity ought to sing this; it would be all the more correct.

⁵⁵ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 80, 1. 31): *Deinde Kyrie eleison per distinctiones, sicut mos est, inter se dividunt.*

⁵⁶ M. Daras, "Le Kyrie eleison" (*Cours et Conférences*, VI [Louvain, 1928], 67-79), 78.

⁵⁷ *Liber usum O. Cist.*, II, 62 (PL, CLXVI, 1435 f.): only the last *Kyrie* is sung by both choruses together. (The

The plain litany-quality of the old *Kyrie* chants is still recognizable in the Gregorian melody assigned to it in the Requiem Mass where the same simple tune recurs eight times and only in the ninth is there any embellishment.⁵⁸ But the process of enhancing the musical form of the *Kyrie* made quick progress, right from the time its performance was given over to the *schola*, as we have seen indicated in the first Roman *Ordo*. When Gregorian chant flourished anew, in the tenth and succeeding centuries, many of the elaborate *Kyrie* melodies of the Roman *Kyriale* were composed.⁵⁹ The titles which they bear give us a hint of another remarkable and colorful development in the evolution of the simple *Kyrie* text, the so-called trope. Amalar already suggests a forerunner of this type of troping, for he has the singers chant a fuller text (he is, indeed, merely paraphrasing the contents of their song): *Kyrie eleison, Domine Pater, miserere; Christe eleison, miserere qui nos redemisti sanguine tuo; Kyrie eleison, Domine, Spiritus Sancte, miserere.*⁶⁰ But from this time on, from the ninth to the sixteenth century, a full literature of *Kyrie* tropes is developed. Every church possessed a dozen or so, some purely local, others spread far and wide. The collection in the *Analecta hymnica* covers 158 complete numbers.⁶¹ Every one of the nine invocations was amplified into a full verse line in such a way that the notes of the melismas were distributed over the complete text. In rendering this chant one choir would often take up the trope while the other sang the original *Kyrie* with its melismas, till both came together on the word *eleison*. It is from the first lines of these tropes that we derive the labels which many of the melodies of the *Kyriale* bear: *Lux et origo; Kyrie Deus sempiternus; Cunctipotens genitor Deus; Cum iubilo; Alme pater; Orbis factor; Pater cuncta*. As an example let us look at the trope of the first Gregorian Mass; its rhythm follows the melody simply, although several others employ definite verse forms like the hexameter.

1.

a.

*Lux et origo
lucis, summe Deus,
eleison; Kyrie eleison.*

b.

*In cuius nutu
constant cuncta, clemens
eleison; Kyrie eleison.*

c.

*Qui solus potes
misereri, nobis
eleison; Kyrie eleison.*

Roman *Graduale* prescribes something like this, too.)

⁵⁸ According to Durandus, IV, 12, 4, the ninth *Kyrie* in some churches had the form: *Kyrie eleison imas* (κύριε ἑλέησον ἱμας).

⁵⁹ Cf. Ursprung, *Die Kath. Kirchenmusik*, 57.

⁶⁰ Amalar, *De off. eccl.*, III, 6 (PL, CV, 1113 f.).

⁶¹ Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, I (*Analecta hymnica*, 47), p. 43-216.

Cf. Blume, "Poesie des Hochamtes im Mittelalter, Die *Kyrie-tropen*," *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 71 (1906, II), 18-38.

2.

a.

*O mundi redemptor
salus et humana
rex pie, Christe,
eleison; Christe eleison.*

b.

*Per crucem redemptis
a morte perenni,
spes nostra, Christe,
eleison; Christe eleison.*

c.

*Qui es verbum Patris,
verbum caro factum,
lux vera, Christe,
eleison; Christe eleison.*

3.

a.

*Adonai, Domine,
Deus, iuste iudex,
eleison; Kyrie eleison.*

b.

*Qui machinam gubernas
rerum, alme Pater,
eleison; Kyrie eleison.*

c.

*Quem solum laus et honor
debet, nunc et semper
eleison; Kyrie eleison.⁸⁸*

It is clear that such artistic productions could be performed only by a skilled choir. For some of the tropes even many-voiced melodies appear in the thirteenth century.⁸⁵ The tropes themselves were not included in the Missal of Pius V, thanks to the stricter tastes of his century. The monumental *Kyrie* was thus freed of overgrowth. But at the same time polyphonic music set to work to give this ninefold plea of mankind to the *Kyrios* a full musical expression.

Originally the celebrating priest took no part in the *Kyrie*. For that reason it is not mentioned in most Mass Ordinaries, not even in those that contain all the texts of the prayers at the foot of the altar, or of the offertory. This held true for all Masses celebrated with singing, right down to the late Middle Ages. It was not till the thirteenth century, when the general principle was formulated that the priest had to read the variable texts from the missal, that a like prescription was made in regard to the *Kyrie*; the celebrant says the *Kyrie* together with his assistant (or assistants).⁸⁶ But this novelty did not take everywhere at once. The 1290 Mass *Ordo* of the papal chapels, although it stipulates that the priest should read the introit *cum ministris suis*, says nothing of the sort for the *Kyrie*⁸⁷; but a few centuries later the papal chapels also followed the general custom.⁸⁸

For private Mass, on the other hand, even the eighth-century Arch-cantor's writings included the *Kyrie eleison*, along with the introit, in the prayers for the priest; he is to say it nine times, bowing low all the while.⁸⁹ There is no explicit mention here—nor for some time later⁹⁰—of any par-

⁸⁵ Blume, 69 f. In a second text, emphatically stressing the Trinitarian outlook, *ibid.*, 70 f.

⁸⁶ Blume-Bannister, p. 92 (on n. 28); 160 (on n. 99).

⁸⁷ *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 89, 1.30).

The same direction in other Mass-Ordines of the late Middle Ages: Martène, 1, 4, XIX, XXIII f., XXXVII (I, 605 B, 616 B, 626 E, 681 B).

⁸⁸ Brinktrine (*Eph. Liturg.*, 1937), 201.

⁸⁹ *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1186 A): cf. *ibid.*, n. 61; 68 (1175 B, 1183 B).

⁹⁰ *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 205, 1. 11): *Si autem singulus fuerit sacerdos, novem tantum vicibus inclinatus adorando dicit Kyrie eleison, et postea erigit se.* Cf. *ibid.*, 207.

⁹¹ The rhymed commentary of the 12th century remarks only this about the priest: "*Ein Kiri'el'er danne singet*": then

icipation by the server. Even at solemn service, where the assistants are mentioned as taking part, it seems that the nine invocations were said by all together, since there is no indication of any apportionment.⁶⁶ If later on the alternation of the nine between priest and those around him became common, the cause is to be traced to the example of the sung *Kyrie* with its double choir. There is record, however, of another manner of distributing the invocations, the priest taking the first three *Kyries*, the serving cleric the three *Christes*, and the priest the last three *Kyries*.⁶⁷

The priest used often to say the *Kyrie*, as he does the introit, on the Epistle side of the altar.⁶⁸ This is still the practice of the Carthusians, the Carmelites and the Dominicans, and we also do the same at a solemn high Mass. It has been suggested that the change to the center was influenced by the wish to stress the prayer-quality of the *Kyrie*; the priest therefore stands facing the image of his crucified Lord, to whom he directs his appeal.⁶⁹

10. *Gloria in excelsis*

The *Gloria*, like the *Kyrie*, was not created originally for the liturgy of the Mass. It is an heirloom from the treasure of ancient Church hymns, a precious remnant of a literature now almost buried but once certainly very rich, a literature of songs for divine service written in the early Church in imitation of the biblical lyrics, especially the psalms. These lyrics were called *psalmi idiotici*, psalms by private persons in contrast to those of Holy Scripture.¹ They are, for the most part, rude creations, and like the biblical psalms and canticles are not constructed on rhythmic and metrical principles. In their literary expression, too, they hold pretty close to

he sings a kyriel. Leitzmann (*Kleine Texte*, 54), 18, 1. 8.

⁶⁶ See the passages cited above, note 66.

Cf. also, e.g., the Furtmeyr Missal of 1481 (facsimile of fol. 33 in Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik, frontispiece*), where between introit and *Gloria* of a festal Mass the *Kyrie* is inserted nine times without any further remark.

⁶⁷ *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557): Legg, *Tracts*, 58.

The original relationship of chanters and people, and therefore the basic character of the *Kyrie* as a people's prayer is best achieved in the method of distribution mentioned above, p. 341, where the new text invariably falls to the lot of the choir, that is, of the "intoners."

⁶⁸ Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 144.

Cf. *supra*, p. 333.

⁶⁹ P. J. B. de Herdt, *sacra liturgiæ praxis* (2nd ed., Louvain, 1852), II, 84. Cf. also *infra*, p. 370, note 53, regarding the handling of the conclusion of the oration.

¹ J. Kroll, *Die christliche Hymnodik bis zu Klemens von Alexandria* (Braunschweig *Vorlesungsverzeichnis*, 1921 and 1921-2); *idem*, "Hymn" in E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, 296-601.

Eisenhofer, I, 207-210.

The expression *psalmi idiotici* is used by the Council of Laodicea (4th century) in contrast to the biblical chants; can. 59 (Mansi, II, 574). See Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary* (trans. A. Baylay; London, 1912), 6-8. Cf. also A. Fortescue, "Gloria in Excelsis Deo", CE, VI: 583-585.

their biblical models, and yet in them the religious inspiration of those centuries live on perceptibly. The line begun in the New Testament with the *Magnificat* and Zachary's song of praise and the canticle of aged Simeon, is continued in these works. Few, however, have remained in use to the present, among them the $\Phi\omega\varsigma\ \iota\lambda\alpha\rho\acute{o}\nu$, already mentioned by Basil, which is still used in the Byzantine liturgy, the *Te decet laus*, which is in use in the monastic liturgy, and the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria* which survive in our Roman liturgy. This last, often called the Greater Doxology,² was already so highly esteemed even in the ancient Church that it outlived the fate that overtook so many songs which perished as the result of an adverse attitude towards church hymns created merely *humano studio*.³

In the textual tradition of the *Gloria* three principal versions can be distinguished⁴: (1) The Syrian version from the Nestorian liturgy⁵; (2) the Greek version from the *Apostolic Constitutions*⁶; and (3) the Greek version from the Byzantine liturgy, which is found already in the Codex Alexandrinus of the New Testament⁷ and which coincides in all essentials with our Western version. Since we can presume that we are acquainted with the last of these, we shall start by comparing the two forms mentioned first.

Syrian Version

Glory to God in the highest
and on earth peace
and a good hope to men.
We worship thee,
we glorify thee,
we exalt thee,
Being who art from eternity,
hidden and incomprehensible Nature,
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
King of kings, and Lord of lords,
who dwellest in the excellent light,
Whom no son of man hath seen, nor can
see,

Apost. Const. VII, 47

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη,
ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.
αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμεν σε,
δοξολογοῦμέν σε
προσκυνοῦμέν σε

² To distinguish it from the little doxology, the *Gloria Patri*.

³ Cf. IV Council of Toledo (633), can. 13 (Mansi, X, 622 f.).

For the whole study cf. C1. Blume, "Der Engelhymnus Gloria in excelsis Deo. Sein Ursprung und seine Entwicklung," *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXIII (1907), 43-62; J. Brinktrine, "Zur Entstehung und Erklärung des Gloria in excelsis Deo," *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXXV (1927), 303-315.

⁴ A. Baumstark, *Die Textüberlieferung*

des Hymnus angelicus: Hundert Jahre Markus-und-Weber-Verlag (Bonn, 1909), 83-87.

⁵ A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices* (London, 1894), 170-171.

⁶ *Const. Ap.*, VII, 47 (Funk, I, 454 f.).

⁷ Text and variants in Funk, I, 455, note.

In Athanasius, *De virginitate*, c. 20, our hymn is cited as a morning prayer—unfortunately, however, only the beginning is quoted; see Blume, 59, note 2. Cf. *ibid.*, 55 regarding a questionable citation in Chrysostom.

who alone art holy,
(and) alone mighty, (and) alone im-
mortal.

We confess thee through the Mediator
of our blessings,

Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world
and the Son of the Highest.
O Lamb of the living God,
who takest away the sins of the world,
have mercy on us.
Thou who sittest at the right hand of
thy Father,

receive our request.

For thou art our God,
and thou art our Lord,
and thou art our King,
and thou art our Saviour,
and thou art the forgiver of our sins.

The eyes of all men hang on thee,
Jesus Christ.

Glory to God thy Father
and to thee and to the Holy Ghost,
for ever, Amen.

διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως,
σὲ τὸν ὄντα θεόν,
ἀγέννητον, ἕνα, ἀπόρριτον, μονον,
διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν,
κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε,
θεὲ πάτερ παντοκράτορ.

κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ

τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμοῦ
ὃς αἶρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου,

πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν,
ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ,
ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἅγιος,
σὺ μόνος κύριος,
ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ⁹
τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης γενιτῆς φύσεως
τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν,

δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας.

Aside, perhaps, from the great wealth of attributes predicated of God and Christ, the feature that strikes us in these two versions as different from the form familiar to us, is that the praise is directed to God through Christ, the great high-priest. This is typical of the prayer language of the first centuries. True, the version contained in the *Apostolic Constitutions* can hardly be original in its entirety. Throughout the hymn the prayer is addressed through Christ to the Father, and near the end the line of thought seems somewhat strained. All this is rather the work of the redactor,⁹ who appears to have obtruded the notion of mediatorship almost to excess. But the appearance of the formula also in the East Syrian liturgy, where the mediation-formula is no longer found in the orations,¹⁰ proves that even this turn of expression is ancient tradition. The Syrian version probably gives us the basic form of the hymn, not indeed, in its amplifications, but at least in its general structure.

But let us confine our discussion to the western version of our venerable hymn. The oldest witness for the Latin text is the manuscript Antiphonary

⁹ Thus according to *Cod. Vat.* 2089; see Funk, 456, apparatus. Cf. C. H. Turner, *Journal of theol. studies*, XVI (1915), 56.

⁹ Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 13 f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 65, 67; cf. 144 ff.

of Bangor, which originated about 690.¹¹ It forms a connecting link with the Greek tradition, as we can see by comparing it with the nearly duplicate text of the Codex Alexandrinus.

Cod. Alexandrinus

*Ὑμνος ἑωθινός

1. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς
εἰρηνῇ, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.
2. Αἰνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε,
προσκυνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε.
3. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου
δόξαν, Κύριε, βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε, Θεὲ
πατήρ, παντοκράτωρ.
4. Κύριε, υἱὲ μονογενῆ, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ,
καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.
5. Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ
υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας
τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
6. Ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου,
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέσιν
ἡμῶν, ὁ κατήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ
πατρὸς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
7. Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ ὁ μόνος
κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ
πατρὸς. Ἀμήν.

Bangor

Ad Vesperum et ad Matutinam.

1. Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax
hominibus bonæ voluntatis.
2. Laudamus te; benedicimus te; ad-
oramus te; glorificamus te; magni-
ficamus te.
3. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam
misericordiam tuam, Domine, rex cæ-
lestis, Deus pater, omnipotens.
4. Domine, Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe,
Sancte Spiritus Dei. Et omnes dici-
mus Amen.
5. Domine, Fili Dei Patris, agne Dei,
qui tollis peccatum mundi, miserere
nobis.
6. Suscipe orationem nostram; qui sedes
ad dexteram Dei Patris, miserere
nobis.
7. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus
Dominus, tu solus gloriosus cum
Spiritu Sancto in gloria Dei Patris.
Amen.

In the structure of the *Gloria* three sections are plainly discernible; (1) the song of the angels on the night of the Nativity; (2) the praise of God; and (3) the invoking of Christ.

First there is the song of the angels as recorded by St. Luke (2:14). The use of a biblical phrase as the theme at the start of a poem is also found elsewhere in ancient Christian hymns. For instance, the evening hymn which compares with the *Gloria*, a morning hymn, opens with an analogous

¹¹ F. E. Warren, *The antiphony of Bangor* (HGS, IV; facsimile and transcription; HBS, X: Text and commentary; London, 1892-1895), fol. 33, p. 31; and commentary, pp. 75-80.

The whole version of the present-day text is first found in the Psalter of Abbot Wolfcoz of St. Gall (9th cen-

tury); see Blume, 49; references regarding other MSS. and variants, *ibid.*, 47-51. A certain independence is displayed in the ancient Milanese text (DACL, IV, 1534 f.) and in that of the *Antiphonarium mozarabicum* of León; see G. Prado, "Una nueva recension del himne 'Gloria in excelsis'", *Eph. liturg.* XLVI (1932), 481-486.

word of praise utilizing the first verse of Psalm 112: *Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini*.¹² The same verse is used as the opening of the *Te Deum* in the version found in the Antiphony of Bangor.¹³ And in particular this song of the angels was used as an introduction to prayer.¹⁴

In all the versions the second section is a praise of God. This consists in a simple accumulation of phrases expressing our activity, and of names for the godhead. In the oldest witnesses of the version we are concerned with, this portion has obtained a certain exclusiveness and independence by making the address to all three divine Persons.¹⁵ The same thing is noticed even earlier in the Syrian version. In the effort to call God by all His grand names it was but a step to rise to the mystery of the Trinity, which had been made known by revelation. There is an exact parallel to be seen in the *Te Deum* where the praise of God also ends in address to the Trinity: *Patrem immensæ maiestatis, venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium, Sanctum quoque Paraclitum Spiritum*.

And just as in the *Te Deum*, the next section in our present text, clearly distinct from what precedes, is a christological portion; *Domine, Fili unigenite*. God and Christ—that is not an arbitrary addition nor an unfinished enumeration of the three divine Persons (as some commentators seem to imagine when they make excuses for the fact that the Holy Ghost is mentioned only at the very end, and then only in passing). No, God and Christ are the pillars of the Christian order of the universe: God, the beginning and the end of all things, towards whom all religious seeking is bent and all prayer eventually is turned; but in the Christian order also Christ, the way, the road on which all our God-seeking must be directed. Therefore in St. Paul's letters we find this duality of God and Christ not only in the introductory salutation, but time and time again throughout the writing. And if at times St. Paul rounds out the duality and completes it in the Trinity, this is done not so much to acknowledge the three divine Persons themselves, as rather to mark more distinctly the structure of the Christian order of salvation, in which our ascent to God is vouchsafed through Christ in the Holy Spirit. To this notion the construction of the *Gloria* in its present version corresponds in a very extraordinary way, although the musical compositions of the hymn seldom if ever take note of it. We might add that the two main parts of the hymn are in a way allied to the two members of the introductory biblical motto: To God, glory—we join our voices to the angelic choirs in praising God; to men,

¹² *Const. Ap.*, VII, 48 (Funk, I, 456).

¹³ Warren, 10.

¹⁴ Cf. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, 20, with note 27 (reference to the martyrdom of Cyprian and of Justa).

¹⁵ The same trinitarian termination also in the old Milanese text and in the Mozarabic.

The additional *et Sancte Spiritus* also in a missal of 1519 from Aquileia described by W. Weth, *ZkTh*, XXXVI (1912), 418.

peace—we turn to Him in whom the peace of heaven was brought to earth, begging Him to fulfill His work in us.

And now let us get down to details.

The oriental liturgies employ the song of the angels as a triple phrase: $\Delta\delta\zeta\alpha$ ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. This is the form adopted by Luther and the King James Bible: *den Menschen ein Wohlgefallen*—on earth peace, good will towards men. But from the viewpoint of textual criticism the form εὐδοκία in Luke (2:14) is considered untenable; the reading must be εὐδοκίας. This betokens a double phrase in the original text, just as our version has it. But there is another thing to notice. Our ordinary rendering, “Peace on earth to men of good will,” does not quite give us the original sense. Εὐδοκία is not the good will of men but the good will of God, God’s pleasure, God’s favor and grace. The ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας are therefore men of God’s grace and selection, men to whom the news of God’s kingdom has been proclaimed.¹⁶ According to the wording of the text, therefore, there is a limitation in this message of peace: *hominibus bonæ voluntatis*—to those whom God has chosen. But since all men are invited into the kingdom, the only thing clearly enunciated here is that “the children of His kingdom” partake of this peace not because of a turn of fortune’s wheel, but because of God’s free, merciful decree (cf. Eph. 1:5). The entrance of the Redeemer among the race of men spelt out two things, the glory of God and “peace” for men. Christ’s coming to earth really meant the start of Redemption.¹⁷ In this sense it is possible that the angels’ song contained not a wish but the expression of a fact, not an optative but a declarative: Glory is given to God and peace to men! It is the same thing that our Lord spoke of at the Last Supper in His great sacerdotal prayer, the only difference being the degree of development: “I have exalted thy glory on earth, by achieving the task which thou gavest me to do.”¹⁸ But precisely because the glorification of God and the salvation of mankind was not “achieved” in its fullness till the sacrifice of Christ’s Passion, and even then its fruits had still to ripen, and to continue to ripen till the end of time, it is correct to view the angelic song as proclaiming not the work that had already been completed, but the plan and purpose that was yet to be done, step by step: May God be given glory in the highest and may men in His grace find peace! *Gloria sit in excelsis Deo*. And if this was true of the song when the angels sang it, it is truer still when we on earth repeat it. Every day that the Church lives, every time the Church gathers her children in prayer, and particularly when she assembles them for the Eucharist, a new light flashes across

¹⁶ Father Knox’s version: “Glory to God in high heaven, and peace on earth to men that are God’s friends.”

¹⁷ J. Jeremias, “Ἀνθρώποι εὐδοκίας: Zeitschrift f. d. neutest. Wissenschaft, XXVIII (1929), 13-20.

¹⁸ John 17: 4.

Kindred are the shouts of joy at Christ’s entry into Jerusalem, especially Luke 19: 38: “Peace on earth, and glory in heaven above.” Cf. Brinktrine, *Zur Entstehung*, 304.

the world and the Church beholds, with mingled joy and longing, the approach of the Kingdom of God, the advent, in spite of every obstacle, of the consummation of the great plan: that glory will come to God, and to men of God's choice, peace and salvation.

In the eastern liturgies which do not use the Greater Doxology at Mass, the opening scriptural words at least are often used, either at the start of the celebration,¹⁹ or at the preparation of the offerings,²⁰ or at the kiss of peace,²¹ or before Communion.²²

The praises of God, which now follow are plain and clear. We simply list them, inadequate as they are: We praise thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee.²³ The parallels in both of the older versions evidence the fact that the accent is not on the precise and distinctive meaning of each word but on the common basic concept of acclaiming and extolling the greatness of God. If we then construe the next clause, *gratias agimus*, in the same fashion, the pendent phrase, *propter magnam gloriam tuam*, is not so surprising. Still it seems better to take the words at their fullest meaning, for we can really thank God "for His great glory." In the new order of the world, built on grace and love, in which God has given us all things along with His Son (Rom. 8:32), God's kingdom has almost become our kingdom, and the revelation of His glory has become for us an overflowing grace and the beginning of our glory.²⁴ Still this point of grace must not be overstressed. The magnificent thing about the hymn, and the thing that at the same time makes it so liberal, is the fact that it does not pay God tribute in exact ratio to man's indebtedness, nor does it thank Him only in acknowledgement of benefits received. Love does not recognize any scrupulous distinction; with the pardonable pride of children of God, we direct our glance wholly to God's glory, God's grandeur. We are happy to be allowed to praise His glory.²⁵ For that reason a song such as this has such wonderful power to free men from any egoistic narrowness and to bring them all together on a higher plane.

The list of God's names which comes next also serves to praise God. These titles follow each other in a distinct gradation²⁶; Lord, King of

¹⁹ Nestorian Mass: Brightman, 248, 1. 19; 252, 1. 11; likewise in the Byzantine, *ibid.*, 361, 1. 33.

²⁰ Liturgy of St. James: Brightman, 45, 1. 3.

²¹ Ethiopian liturgy: Brightman, 227, 1. 17.

²² *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 13 (Brightman, 24, 1. 25).

²³ This expression already in the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 14, 3: αὐτῶν, αὐτὸν εὐλογῶν, αὐτὸν δοξάζω. Further parallels in Brinktrine, *Zur Entstehung*, 305-310. Regarding echoes of the acclamations with which the Roman Senate greeted the emperor,

cf. Blume, 56. He is right in saying that words like *laudamus*, *benedicimus*, *adoramus*, etc., in this hymn should rather be regarded as reflections of the biblical imperatives (*laudate*, etc.).

²⁴ Cf. *Did.* 10, 4 (*supra*, p. 12): "Above all, we give thee thanks because thou art mighty." On the other hand, see the wording of the Bangor text, *supra*, p. 349.

²⁵ For a closer theological study see Gihl, 443-445.

²⁶ This is especially true if we consider the first *Deus* after *Domine* as purely secondary (see the parallel texts *supra*,

heaven, God, Father, Almighty. The designation, *Deus, Pater omnipotens*, which is also found in the Apostles' Creed, shows again the venerable age of the hymn.

Immediately after this list of God's titles there comes an address to Christ, written in much the same style. It introduces the christological section. The transition is so imperceptible that it goes almost unheeded and we are scarcely aware that something new has started. This can be explained, from the viewpoint of the history of the text, by comparing it with the older versions where an address to the Trinity closed this first section, just as it does in the *Te Deum*; the mention of God the Father was therefore followed by that of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and at once a new turn of thought set in with an apostrophe to Christ. There is really no doubt about where this section starts. On the other hand, there is no reason for considering this as the beginning of a new theme. Our grateful glance toward God's glory moves naturally on toward Christ, in whom that glory was revealed to us. In this christological section we can distinguish the following framework: (1) the laudatory salutation; (2) the litany-like invocations; (3) the triple predication, *Tu Solus*; and (4) the trinitarian conclusion.

First of all there is a list of names, all of them ancient. They are the same as those found in the oriental creed, in the profession of belief in Christ: Lord, only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ.²⁷ At the top of the list is the word "Lord," with the connotation of the Pauline *κύριος*, which is made clear near the end of the hymn in *Tu solus Dominus*. The term "only-begotten Son" also had been highly esteemed in the ancient Church as a special name for Christ.²⁸ In the *Euchologion* of Serapion the word *ὁ μονογενής* was often used all by itself as a usual title for Christ.²⁹ There is a second group of three names, and once again the Kyrios-term *Domine* comes first, in our present-day text amplified to *Domine Deus*, to indicate, no doubt, the essential equality of Father and Son. In the earlier versions this was followed by *Filius Patris*, now transferred to third place obviously because of its special importance. It is a name which appears to say nothing and yet says everything, and it definitely acknowledges our human inability to comprehend the mystery, for Christ is naught else than the radiance of His Father's splendor (Heb. 1:3). Then follows the term *Agnus Dei*, the sacrificial Lamb come from God, a title which refers to Christ's redemptive work. It is no accident that the title "Lamb of God," which recalls our Lord's great mercy, was connected from time immemorial with

p. 349), inserted only to differentiate the word *Domine* (which usually means Christ) in the manner of the Old Testament *Lord God=Yahweh Elohim*.

²⁷ But with an inversion; cf. in the *Credo* of the Mass: *Et in unum Dominum Jesum*

Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum.

²⁸ *ὁ μονογενής υἱος τοῦ θεοῦ* the son of God who, unlike us, "stems from Him in a singular way."

²⁹ I, 1; II, 1, 3; etc. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 49 ff.).

the cry for mercy in our litanies. Here, too, the term “Lamb of God” is followed by a short litany, likewise composed of three members.³⁰ But in this case there is a mixture of hymnic predication and pleading. Taking up the words of the Baptist, we remind our Lord of that voluntary abasement to which He, as Lamb of God, subjected Himself; we remind Him of that atoning Passion by which He “took away” the sins of the world; remind Him also of His triumph as He sits, exalted, “at the right hand of the Father,”³¹ and there, as Lamb of God, hears the bridal songs of the elect. Thus it is that the same cry breaks forth which was heard in the *Kyrie*: “Have mercy on us, receive our prayer.”³² In order to avoid misunderstanding as much as possible, the Church hesitates to call upon the Savior—through whom she offers her prayer, and of whom it is said that He lives always to make intercession for us—to intercede for us, although there is no theological difficulty to doing so. It seems to suit our reverence and our joy in acknowledging His greatness merely to beg His mercy, for we do not want it to appear even for a moment that He cannot help us through His own power. Still the phrase *suscipe deprecationem nostram* does in some way imply Christ’s mediatorship, that office of His which was accented so in older forms of the *Gloria*: Let us lay our pleadings in Thy hands, and carry them up before Thy Father’s throne!

By means of a spanning *Quoniam*,³³ the litany once more turns into a word of praise: “For Thou alone art the Holy One, Thou alone art the Lord, thou alone the Most High.” In the period when our hymn originated, such expressions very vividly outlined the sharp antithesis between our Catholic worship and heathen worship with its many loosely-given attributes of divinity,³⁴ its many *χύρις*, and its emperor-worship.³⁵ Above and beyond all these creations of human fancy stands Jesus Christ, radiant and grand, the sole and only Lord. Our own day has great appreciation of this sublime contrast.³⁶ Taking this as a background there is no need to

³⁰ See Brinktrine, *Zur Entstehung*, 312 f.

³¹ Regarding the text as it appears in the fourth century and the variants, see Blume, 59 f.

³² The text of an old Milanese Antiphony which was brought to light by G. Morin here contains an expanded form: . . . *miserere nobis, subveni nobis, dirige nos, conserva nos, munda nos, pacifica nos, libera nos ab inimicis, a tentationibus, ab hæreticis, ab Arianis, a schismaticis, a barbaris; quia tu solus* . . . H. Leclercq, “Doxologies”, *DACL*, IV, 1534 f.

³³ Cf. the *ἅγιος* at the start of oriental doxologies.

³⁴ The predicate “holy”, *ἅγιος*, *sanctus*, was originally current among the Semites

as an attribute of the gods; in later paganism the use spread elsewhere; F. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen* (3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1931), 110 f., 266; E. Peterson, *Εἰς Θεός*, (Göttingen, 1926), 135 f.

³⁵ Cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* 4th ed.; Tübingen, 1923), 287-324; K. Prümmer, *Der christliche Glaube und die altheidnische Welt* (Leipzig, 1935), I, 214-225.

³⁶ Even though today the polytheistic background is lacking, it is not therefore necessary to follow L. A. Winterswyl-F. Messerschmid, *Die Gemeindegesänge der hl. Messe* (Würzburg, 1940), 15, who diminish the ancient Christian emphasis of

reflect that the epithets mentioned can also attach to any of the three divine Persons, for if we refer them to Christ, they must also by that very fact be claimed for the triune God.

Next follows, as the final chord of this great hymn, a mighty act of homage to the Trinity; the name of Christ blossoms out into a naming of the three; "Jesus Christ—with the Holy Ghost—in the glory of God the Father." Again there is no question here of a mere roll-call of the divine Persons. The image of the God-man remains—of Him to whom we have raised our pleading, of Him who is exalted and glorified, who lives on eternally in that glory which He had with the Father before the world began (John 17:5).

The hymn started with the praise of God. It ends with the praise of Christ, in whom God's glory is disclosed to us. This praise of Christ employs terms which we also meet elsewhere in the ancient Christian liturgy. When the priest before Communion showed the blessed Body of Christ he cried out *Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, and the people answered *Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς*.³⁷ Here the same acclamation is enlarged, and modified to a form of address: "Thou alone art the Holy, Thou alone the Lord," and in our Latin rendering another clause is added to the text, a clause from Psalm 82:19, *tu solus altissimus*, which was likewise understood as referring to Christ.³⁸

this text; they suggest a translation "alone thou art holy," etc. Cf. also the theological explanation in Gühr, 448, note 32.

This "thou alone art holy" is justified even when we think of the saints of the Church, for their holiness is only a participation in God's.

³⁷ Brightman, 341.

This formula, still used at present in the Byzantine Mass, is already certified in Didymus the Blind (d. 398), *De Trin.*, II, 7, 8 (PG, XXXIX, 589 B); likewise in the mystagogic Catecheses of Cyril, V, 19 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 107). See further passages in U. Holzmeister, *ZkTh*, XXXVIII (1914), 128; Peterson, *op. cit.*, 132; 137. Peterson seeks to prove that the *εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς κύριος* is a shout that greets the appearance of Christ somewhat as the secular acclamations accompanied the appearance of an emperor or an official or the like (140). The present formula he would translate "only holy, only Lord is Jesus Christ" . . . (134), in other words, the *εἰς* would

be taken as in pre-Christian acclamations wherein any god was designated as *εἰς θεός* in an "elative sense," not in a "conceptual" sense (cf. 151), so that the god in question was honored for the nonce as "only" or alone, with no thought given to the fact that besides him there were not a few other gods. But as Peterson himself proves, in Christian texts a transit to a profession formula understood in a "conceptual sense," so here the thought must be interpreted in this fashion: Only one is holy, Jesus Christ (and we are all unworthy; 151, 302 f.). Then the acclamation is extended to include the parallel statement of one *Kyrios* in 1 Cor. 8: 6, and tied in with the cry of worship in Phil. 2: 11: ". . . Jesus Christ as the Lord, dwelling in the glory of God the Father."

³⁸ Cf. U. Holzmeister, *ZkTh*, XXXVIII (1914), 128.

The Arians wanted to proclaim only the Father as *altissimus*; see *Contra Variandum*, I, 53 (PL, LXII, 387).

In the Latin Church the *Gloria* was not at first intended for the Mass. Its position must have been somewhat similar to that now occupied by the *Te Deum*.³⁰ It was a song of thanksgiving, a festival song. And in this role it was sometimes included in the Mass at Rome on occasions especially festive. The account written in the *Liber Pontificalis* in 530 reports Pope Telesphorus (d. 136) as ordering for the nighttime Christmas Mass *ut . . . in ingresso sacrificio missæ hymnus diceretur angelicus*³¹; this shows that by the beginning of the sixth century the *Gloria* had long had a place in the Mass at Rome. Another account from the same source (more trustworthy, because closer in time to the matter reported) relates that Pope Symmachus (d. 514) had permitted the *Gloria* to be used on Sundays and the feasts of martyrs, but only at the Masses of bishops.³² The rubric in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* matches this; after the *Kyrie* it decrees: *Item dicitur Gloria in excelsis Deo, si episcopus fuerit, tantummodo die dominico sive diebus festis, a presbyteris autem minime dicitur, nisi solo in Pascha*.³³ According to the *Ordo* of St. Amand, the priest was allowed to intone it during Easter night, and also on the day of his ordination if he was installed in his titular church and there celebrated his first Mass.³⁴ Even as late as the eleventh century the carping question was asked, why cannot a priest use the *Gloria* at least on Christmas night, when it certainly is in place.³⁵ But by the end of the same century the distinction

³⁰ See *supra*, p. 265. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, I, 63 (PL, LXXI, 762). Further references in Martène, I, 4, 3, 6 (I, 367).

Cf. also the heading in the Antiphony of Bangor: *Ad Vesperum et ad Matutinam*. As in the *Te Deum*, the christological section of the *Gloria* in this antiphony is followed by a series of versicles; Blume, 54 f.; Warren (HBS, X), 31; cf. 78 f.

³¹ Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 56; cf. I, 129 f. Since the assignment to Telesphorus is pure fiction, it is enough to admit, with older commentators, that Telesphorus meant only the text of Luke 2: 14, since the entire hymn seemingly came to the West only with Hilary.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 263. In commenting on the prerogative of the bishop to intone the Angelic Hymn, Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 71, points out that a special relationship was seen between angels and bishops; Apoc. 2, 1 ff.; Leo the Great, *Serm.*, 26, 1 (PL, LIV, 213 A).

³³ Lietzmann, 1; cf. *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9 (in the version in Stapper, 20 f.) and

the later supplement *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 25 (PL, LXXXVIII, 949 f.).

See also the decree of Stephen III (d. 772) for the suburbicarian bishops: Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 478.

³⁴ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 471, 477.

³⁵ Berno of Reichenau, *De quibusdam rebus ad missæ officium pertinentibus*, c. 2 (PL, CXLII, 1058 ff.).

It might be that in the north the restriction of the *Gloria* was to some extent first induced by the stricter rubrics of the *Gregorianum*. For the 8th century *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (and with it the *Breviarium*) observe that the *Gloria* falls out during Lent (Silva-Tarouca, 206, 1. 39). Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, I, 1; III, 40, 44 (PL, CV, 995 f., 1159 B, 1161 B) makes the same remark about Lent, Advent and Masses for the Dead. The *Gloria* was therefore part of the normal course of a priest's Mass.

A certain popularity for the *Gloria* is apparent in the fact that MSS. of the start of the 9th century contain an Old High German translation; E. v. Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1916), 34 f.

between bishop and priest seems to have fallen out,⁴⁶ and the present-day rule became universal⁴⁷: The *Gloria* is said in all Masses of a festive character.⁴⁸

Unlike the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria* was from the very outset a song, but it was the song of the congregation, not of a special choir. But it was soon transferred to the clergy gathered in the sanctuary. In contrast to the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria* had the unique distinction of being intoned by the pope himself. He stood at his *cathedra*, facing east; after the *Kyrie* was finished, he turned to the people and intoned the first words,⁴⁹ just as is done nowadays.⁵⁰ The priest, when he intoned the *Gloria*, stayed originally in the place he took after kissing the altar, namely at the Epistle side,⁵¹ as the Carthusians still do. It was not till the twelfth century that the intonation was transferred to the center of the altar,⁵² and then finally the *Gloria* was said through to the end at the same spot.⁵³ Two things perhaps brought this about, first, symbolism,⁵⁴ and second, the desire to underline the importance of the hymn. On feasts of our Lord in the later Middle Ages the

⁴⁶ *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. I*, 8 (PL, CXLIX, 653); Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 2 (PL, CXLIX, 979).

⁴⁷ See the careful regulation contained about 1100 in the Missal of St. Vincent of Volturno (Fiala, 200), somewhat expanded in the Pontifical of Durandus: Martène, I, 4, XXIII (I, 621 f.); Andrieu, III, 649-651.

⁴⁸ To this category belong the entire Pentecost after Easter and also votive Masses of our Blessed Lady on Saturday. The votive Masses of the angels also got the *Gloria*, because it is the song of the angels. Regarding the suppression of the *Gloria* during Advent cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 273 f.

⁴⁹ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942): *dirigens se pontifex contra populum incipit Gloria in excelsis Deo*. *Ordo* of John the Arch-chantor (Silva-Tarouca, 197). *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 458).

⁵⁰ That the celebrant should himself pray the continuation of the hymn or rather sing it along with those around him was not expressly prescribed, but it was understood and taken for granted.

Around the year 1000, when the apologies were most popular, it was customary for the celebrant to recite one of these during the *Gloria*, since the latter

had already become so elaborate that there was no longer any thought of his taking a part in singing it. Martène, I, 4, IV; VI, XIII (I, 499, 530, 576).

⁵¹ *Ordinarium* of Laon (13-14th century): Martène, I, 4, XX (I, 607 D).

Cf. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 8 (PL, CV, 1115).

⁵² *Speculum de myst. Eccl.*, c. 7 (PL, CLXXVII, 358).

But then the *Gloria* was still said to the very end at the Epistle side of the altar. *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerini, 236); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 90); Missal of Sarum: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 666 B, E); the older Rite of Lyons (Buenner, 244).

The *Ordinarium O.P.* also prescribes that the priest, while intoning, to lift his hands which had been resting on the altar and to bring them together at the word *Deo*. The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 90) is even more detailed: *elevando et parum extendendo*.

⁵³ Apparently only since the late Middle Ages. Sölch, 62 f.

⁵⁴ Hugh of St. Cher presents as the reason for intoning the *Gloria* in the center (*in medio altaris*) the fact that the angel who appeared at Bethlehem stood *in medio eorum*. Sölch, 60 f.

Gloria was given extra significance also by a special ceremonial in which one of the singers invited the celebrant to intone the hymn.⁶⁴

The fact that the bishop when intoning the *Gloria* formerly turned to the people,⁶⁵ just as he does at the *Dominus vobiscum* or *Pax vobis*, is an indication that originally the entire congregation was called upon to sing this hymn.⁶⁶ The musical setting corresponded to this disposition of the hymn. As Wagner emphasizes, the oldest melodies that are noted down have "the character of a syllabic recitation; it was more like a declamation performed with voice uplifted than a song,"⁶⁷ obviously because the hymn was to be sung not by a group of trained singers but by the congregation. Even Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403) still refers to the simplicity of the *Gloria* (and of the *Sanctus*) when he writes: "*in Graduali beati Gregorii Romæ paucæ sunt notæ.*"⁶⁸ However, the oldest sources are absolutely silent about any real participation of the faithful. This is understandable, considering the limited use of the *Gloria* only at pontifical services where only an ever-changing segment of the people could gather and where there was always a preference for a more festive and a more artistic accompaniment, so that the singing of the people was hardly favored. But when use of the *Gloria* spread beyond the limits of pontifical Mass, we do learn—through Sicard of Cremona—of the actual singing by the people.⁶⁹ In smaller surroundings and especially in the Romance countries, this did most likely become the custom. But the accounts that survive, deal for the most part with the cathedral and monastery churches and here the performers of the *Gloria* are almost without exception the chorus, that is, the clerics assembled at the service.⁷⁰ They either sang the *Gloria* straight through, or alter-

⁶⁴ *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 43, 1. 13).

Martène, 1, 4, XX-XXII (I, 607, 609, 610). An especially solemn form is found in Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, 220: Two chanters approach the bishop with the words: *Sacerdos Dei excelsi, veni ante sanctum et sacrum altare et in laude regis regum vocem tuam emitte, supplices te rogamus; eia, dic domne (tunc dicat pontifex): Gloria in excelsis Deo.* Similarly in other MSS. since the tenth century.

⁶⁵ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 8 (PL, CV, 1115 B) seems to oppose this turning towards the people. At any rate, it is no longer found in later sources.

⁶⁶ Leitner, *Der gottesdienstliche Volksgesang*, 192.

⁶⁷ Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, I, 87.

The connection can be seen in the fact that the oldest *Gloria* melody (in Mass

XV of the Vatican *Kyrieale*) is the *Pater noster* melody of the Mozarabic liturgy (*Missale mixtum*: PL, LXXXV, 559). Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 28.

⁶⁸ Radulph de Rivo, *De can. observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 135). The elaboration of the melodies he attributes to secular singers (*ibid.*)

⁶⁹ Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215), *Mitræ*, III, 2 (PL, CCXIII, 97 B): The priest intones the hymn, *quam populus concinendo recipit latabundus.* But cf. also Amalar's *Expositio* of 813-814 (Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 150), where, commenting on the fact that on the first Christmas first one angel and then the entire heavenly host appeared, he makes this observation regarding the *Gloria*: *Sicque modo unus episcopus inchoat et omnis ecclesia resonat laudem Deo.*

⁷⁰ *Ordo Rom.* II, 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 971): *Deinde vero totus respondet chorus.*

nately in two semi-choruses, as in the *Kyrie*.⁶¹ At Rome in 1140 the *Gloria* is expressly mentioned as the special concern of the *schola cantorum*,⁶² but that is an understandable exception in this, the oldest place where Church music was fostered.

But at this time and even quite a bit earlier there are traces of a greater musical development of the *Gloria*. The melodies increase in number.⁶³ And since the ninth century there appear the farced *Glorias* or *Gloria-tropes* which we have come to recognize as the bases for a melodic amplification of these tropes. Clement Blume edited 51 independent texts, not counting those not written in metrical or rhythmical forms.⁶⁴ The reform under Pius V banned the tropes, but gave free rein to the musical composition which the *Gloria* seems to invite.

11. The Collect. The Inclusion of the Congregation Assembled

Keeping in mind the original plan of the Roman Mass, we perceive that the oration is the first place—and, until the so-called *secreta*, the only place—in which the celebrating priest himself steps before the assembly to speak. All the other things are singing and reading which—aside from the intonation of the *Gloria*—are carried on by others, or they are prayers inserted later on which the priest says quietly to himself. Here is a clue to the fact that we have reached the first climax in the course of the Mass. The ceremony of entry reaches a peak in the oration of the priest, in the

See also *Expositio 'Missae pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 33.

Similarly the later commentators; cf. Durandus, IV, 13, 1.

⁶¹ This latter arrangement apparently in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 80): *Conventus . . . per distinctiones exultanter decantet.*

⁶² *Ordo Rom.* XI, 18 (PL, LXXVIII, 1033 A).

⁶³ The elaboration affected even the priest's intonation. The Missal of St. Vincent (circa 1100) contains 13 *Gloria* intonations; Fiala, 188.

⁶⁴ Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, pp. 217-299. In these tropes the *Gloria* is divided into a variety of small sections (as high as 20), with the tropings inserted between the sections. These were written mostly in a given verse form, often hexameters or distichs, in such a way that in each opening a (double-) verse appeared. Frequently there is but

little connection with the basic text. This is especially the case when the trope is fitted to a special festival. A favorite was the trope used on our Lady's feasts, popular all over the West: . . . *Filius Patris, primogenitus Mariæ virginis. . . . Suscipe deprecationem nostram, ad Mariæ gloriam. . . . Quoniam tu solus sanctus, Mariam sanctificans, Tu solus Dominus, Mariam gubernans, Tu solus altissimus, Mariam coronans. . . .* Legg, *Tracts*, 139; Eisenhofer, II, 95. The special popularity of this farcing for our Lady's feasts accounts for the rubric in the Missal of 1570 expressly banning this trope: *Sic dicitur Gloria in excelsis, etiam in missis beate Mariæ, quando dicendum est.* (This rubric was still found in the Ordinary of the Mass in the Missal of Leo XIII, but has apparently been dropped since.) At the Council of Trent there was mention of this trope among the *abusus missæ*: *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Görres, VIII, 917.

same way that the presentation of the offerings and the reception of Communion come to a fitting conclusion with an oration. Consequently in the oration the very essence of liturgical prayer is expressed with especial clarity. "Oration" is the name by which the priestly prayer is most often called in the Roman liturgy, even in the oldest Roman *Ordines*. It is a prayer which has, to a certain extent, the character of a public discourse (*Oratio*); it is as spokesman for the people, that the priest speaks it, and for that reason the people themselves are first summoned to pray. In the same sense the term *collecta* is used at present as a designation for the prayer,¹ particularly (as we shall use it in the following discussion) for the first of the three orations of the Mass which here concerns us, the oration which at Rome was distinguished from the *oratio super oblata* and the *oratio ad complendum* by being called the *oratio prima*.² The term *collecta* or *collectio* was native to the Gallican liturgy.³ When the interpreters of the Romano-Frankish liturgy employ the word in the meaning of oration,⁴ this

As a sample of the *Gloria* tropes let the following non-metrical one serve; it is found in many MSS. since the 10th century, and is distinguished not only by its brevity but by the role its last verse has played (Blume, 282 f.).

*Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax
hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*

1. Laus tua, Deus, resonet coram te rex;
Laudamus te.
2. Qui venisti propter nos, rex angelorum, Deus,
Benedicimus te.
3. In sede maiestatis tuæ
Adoramus te.
4. Veneranda Trinitas,
Glorificamus te.
5. Gloriosus es, rex Israel, in throno
Patris tui,
Gratias agimus tibi . . . Filius Patris.
6. Domine Deus, Redemptor Israel,
Qui tollis . . . deprecationem nostram.
7. Deus fortis et immortalis,
Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, misere-
re nobis.
8. Cælestium, terrestrium et infernorum
rex,
Quoniam tu solus sanctus . . . altis-
simus.
9. Regnum tuum solidum permanebit in
æternum,
Jesu Christe, cum Sancto Spiritu in
gloria Patris.

The final verse, *Regnum tuum*, is found re-trope in many troparies, the long

melismatic neume on the word *per* (*manebit*) being broken up into a *prosula*, for which, in its turn, a variety of texts are at hand (26 numbers; Blume, 282-299).

¹In the *Missale Romanum* of Pius V only in the *Ritus serv.*, XI, 1; in our present missal also a number of times in the *Additones et Variationes*, especially c. VI.

²*Ordo Rom. III*, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 979); cf. *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 971); and also *Ordo Rom. I* (ed. Stapper), n. 9 (p. 21, l. 2); cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 120.

³B. Capelle, "Collecta", *Revue Bened.*, XLII (1930), 197-204.

See, e.g., the superscription in the *Missale Gothicum*, Muratori, II, 517 ff. The ancient Roman liturgy recognized the word *collecta* as the designation for an assembly, especially for the assembly that preceded the penitential processions in the station services; see R. Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," *ZkTh*, LX (1936), 511-554. But the word did not serve as a term for the priestly oration. The *Gregorianum of Hadrian* (Lietzmann, n. 27) does have the heading *Oratio collecta* for the first oration on Candlemas, but a reference to Lietzmann's apparatus shows that the preferred reading would be *oratio ad collectam*; see *ibid.*, n. 35; 172; cf. Hierzegger, 517-521.

⁴Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, IV, 7 (PL, CV, 1183); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio*

linguistic usage derives manifestly from Gallican tradition. Despite some vacillation in the use of the words in the Roman sources at hand, the knowledge of the only meaning of the word which is here in question was kept intact, especially in Walafrid Strabo who says: *Collectas dicimus, quia necessarias earum petitiones compendiosa brevitate colligimus i. e. concludimus.*⁶

The oration is, as a matter of fact, the prayer in which the priest "collects" the preceding prayers of the people and presents them to God. This fact explains certain peculiarities in its make-up and in the way it is introduced. Before the priest begins the oration, he summons the congregation to prayer: *Oremus*, Let us pray. And before he gives this summons, he turns around to them with a *Dominus vobiscum*. Older commentators usually cling to a consideration only of the content of this greeting, stressing the fitness of the wish that the Lord might be near and God's favor accompany their praying, as he, the priest, offers up to God the prayer of all.⁶ But the form of the salutation, this direct address to the people, is not explored. For why does the priest just here turn to greet the people? It will not be easy to answer this if we examine only our present concept of divine worship. Such a consideration will not explain why the one saying the prayer should first of all greet the congregation, much less why he should repeat the greeting several times in the course of the prayer-meeting. Yet he does just that. The *Dominus vobiscum* recurs every time the congregation receives an invitation or a special announcement: the summons to join in prayer at the *oratio* and the *gratiarum actio*, or the announcement of the close with the *Ite missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino*.⁷ It is omitted only when there is question of continuing an activity already started.⁸ Obviously the formula which introduces the reading of the Gospel,

(PL, CI, 1249); Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 3 (PL, CLI, 979).

⁶ Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, CXIV, 945 D); somewhat less sure in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 3 (PL, CLI, 979 D).

A discussion of the oration as a résumé in Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 131-132.

⁷ Gehr, 456, finds another reason for the greeting in this, that the priest in the oration performs his office as mediator, and so, after kissing the altar and thus binding himself to the Church celestial, he must turn in greeting to show his relationship with the Church militant on earth.

⁸ There is therefore not reason enough for Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 277, note 1 (cf. 86, note 1), to take the latter *Dominus vobiscum* as the conclusion of the post-communion, or to give the same

explanation for the greeting after the oration in the hours of the Office. The *Benedicamus Domino* which marks the close of the hours corresponds exactly, even in form, to the *Oremus*.

Naturally this *Dominus vobiscum*, even without any formula of address following, could be used as a salutation of the people at the beginning of a solemnity or even serve as a dismissal. Thus it is witnessed by Optatus of Mileve, *Contra Parmen.*, VII, 6 (CSEL, XXVI, 179); Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8 (CSEL, XL, 2; p. 611, l. 7); Chrysostom (in Brightman, 476, note 1). Cf. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum* (1930), II, 204; 216. In our own Mass, however, the salutation is never used in this wise.

⁹ For this latter reason the salutation is omitted not only before the *Oremus* of a commemoration that may follow but also

sequentia sancti evangelii, is intended as an announcement and is therefore preceded by the same greeting.⁹ Another gesture is to be noticed in this connection. Aside from the beginning of the preface, when the priest already stands at the gates of the Holy of Holies, and aside from the Gospel, the priest always kisses the altar before he turns to the people with his greeting.¹⁰ In the medieval high Mass the deacon always turned around with the priest.¹¹

The *Dominus vobiscum* thus has a clear relation to the action that follows; it serves to focus our attention. We might render its monition somewhat prosaically by the use of the vocative: Brethren in Christ, we are going to pray. Devout Christians, listen to today's Gospel.¹² The *Dominus vobiscum* is then, in the first instance, an address to the people and, without overstressing its content (which of course is more than merely an address), it serves to arouse the attention and to denote, each time, an important moment in the course of the liturgy.¹³ Besides, the use of a greeting form enables the congregation to return the greeting, and so, through

before the *Oremus* that precedes the *Pater noster*. On the other hand, it was not omitted just because the *Oremus* of the first oration of the Mass was followed by a *Flectamus genua*—the rule that is followed at present (e.g. on Ember Wednesday and Ember Saturday). *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 24 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 949); Hierzegger, *op. cit.*, 544.

⁹ In the Greek liturgy of St. James the corresponding formula, which is likewise introduced with a *Εὐχήνη πάντων*, has also the form of an invitation *Ὁρθοί ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου* (Brightman, 38, 18); in the liturgy of St. Mark the sequence of greeting and invitation is reversed (Brightman, 119, 8).

¹⁰ Regarding this kissing of the altar see *supra*, p. 316 f.; cf. also Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, (1930, II, 216, who ponders a possible original connection between *Dominus vobiscum* and this altar-kiss, but then rejects it. Because of the late origin of the altar-kiss this connection is actually out of the question.

In the ritual of the late Middle Ages the greeting was sometimes joined with a sign of the Cross over oneself. *Ordinarium* of Coutances (Legg, *Tracts*, 58 f.): *vertens se ad populum et signans se ipsum*. Similarly in the later Rite of Sarum: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 666 C, 671 A, B).

¹¹ Missal of St. Vincent-on-Volturno (Fiala, 200, 202); *Ordo Eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 83, 1. 30).

Martène, I, 4, XXIV; XXXV (I, 626 f., 666 D).

In the monastic rite the practice is still observed today.

¹² As a matter of fact some such phrase as this latter is often used to introduce the Gospel in the vernacular.

¹³ To this extent the explanation given by Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, 105, 1129 C; cf. 1128 C) is pertinent: *Haec salutatio introitum demonstrat ad aliud officium*. The same thought is expanded by Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 114 A).

The rule for the *Dominus vobiscum* at Mass can be formulated more exactly as follows: It introduces the sacerdotal prayer in each of four main sections: at the opening, at the reading service, at the thanksgiving and in the Communion section. Besides these, it also ushers in both of the proclamations of the deacon, namely the reading of the Gospel and the dismissal. But it is, of course, a matter of only secondary development that it also precedes the oration at the end of the prayers at the foot of the altar, and that it precedes the last Gospel, for both of these are texts audible only to the assistants around the altar.

this religious setting of reciprocal salutation, the feeling of God's nearness is intensified.

Both the greeting and the reply are ancient, their origins hid in pre-Christian times. In the Book of Ruth (2:4) Booz greets his reapers with *Dominus vobiscum*. The salutation was thus a part of everyday life. It is met with several times in Holy Scripture.¹⁴ The reply of the reapers to Booz's greeting was: *Benedicat tibi Dominus*. We employ in its place a phrase which means almost the same thing: *Et cum spiritu tuo*, a formula which betrays its Hebrew origin and has many parallels in St. Paul.¹⁵ We render its full meaning by saying simply, "And with you too."¹⁶

Since the greeting is Old Testament, the *Dominus* originally meant merely God: God be with you. But there is no difficulty about referring the indeterminate *Dominus* to Christ, and this is more consonant with Christian worship. Take it in the sense of Christ's own promise (the wording is reminiscent anyway): "*Ecce ego vobiscum sum*" (Matt. 28:20), or that other assurance whose conditions are certainly fulfilled in the liturgical gathering: "Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there in the midst of them" (Matt. 18:20). Actually this is the sense in which the *Dominus vobiscum* is usually interpreted in modern times.¹⁷ But it

¹⁴ Luke 1: 28; cf. Judg. 6: 12; 2 Chron. 15: 2; 2 Thess. 3: 16.

¹⁵ 2 Tim. 4: 22 (Vulg.): *Dominus (J. Chr.) cum spiritu tuo*; cf. Philem. 25; Gal. 6: 18; also Phil. 4:23.

¹⁶ This is a Semitism: *Spiritus tuus* = your person = you.

Still it is to be remarked that even Chrysostom, in *II. Tim. hom.*, 10, 3 (PG, LXII, 659 f.), had already referred "thy spirit" to the indwelling Holy Spirit. In fact, in his first Whitsun sermon, n. 4 (PG, L, 458 f.) he sees in the word "spirit" in this counter-greeting an allusion to the fact that the bishop performs the sacrifice in the power of the Holy Spirit. That is the reason the *Dominus vobiscum* was even at an early age restricted to those endowed with major orders, bishops, priests and deacons, and not given to subdeacons who were numbered among the higher orders only since the 13th century; cf. Eisenhofer, I, 188 f.

¹⁷ Gavanti explains the altar-kiss that precedes in this sense: *osculatur altare sacerdos salutaturus populum quasi qui accipiat pacem a Christo per altare ut supra significato, ut eandem det populo*. Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 5, 1 (I,

226). He is followed by many later commentators; see, e.g., Gihl, 456, note 14.

It is quite probable that this was the very reason for the introduction, as early as the 13th century, of the custom of kissing the altar each time the people were greeted. At any rate it was about this time that the analogous kiss of the altar, the one preceding the kiss of peace, was taken in this sense, so much, in fact, that often it was not the altar but the sacred Host that received the kiss, so that the peace was drawn from Christ in all reality.

The reference to Christ is employed in a different way in the recent edition of the *Rituale Rom.* (IX, 5, 5) where the *Dominus vobiscum* is omitted between the *Panem de coelo* and the oration that precedes the eucharistic benediction. (This had already been ordered by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, June 16, 1663; Gardellini, *Decreta*, n. 2223, 7); the reason that seems to have prevailed was this, that the desire that God might be with his people finds its expression in the eucharistic blessing itself; so Gatterer, *Praxis celebrandi*, 164. However, this principle was not carried through in all instances; cf. *Rituale Rom.* IV, 4, 24-26.

would be practically the same thing to say, more exactly, that the liturgy leaves the word *Dominus* indefinite; in the greeting the wish is made that "the Lord" may be with the congregation, but we know implicitly that the Lord God does come to us in Christ who is our Emmanuel.

This christological sense is more plainly expressed in the salutation *Pax vobis*, the greeting of the Risen Lord to his Apostles, used by the bishop before the collect. In the Orient, outside Egypt, this formula has taken the place of the *Dominus vobiscum* since the fourth century.¹⁸ There is early testimony regarding its use in North Africa.¹⁹ In Spain in the sixth century it challenged the position of *Dominus vobiscum*, and was forbidden by the second Synod of Braga (563) even as the greeting of a bishop.²⁰ However, it became firmly established in the West, but under certain conditions; the bishop was to use *Pax vobis* only as his first greeting of the people,²¹ and only on days when the Gloria had been sung,²² a rule which is still binding.²³ After the song of peace sung by the angels, the salute of peace is tendered to the people by those who, as successors of the Apostles, are in a special way entrusted with this greeting.²⁴

The greeting is spoken by the bishop in the same way as the priest; at the center of the altar²⁵ he turns toward the people and stretches out his hands. This gesture, which in its basic form implies great vivacity and a natural pleasure in bodily expression,²⁶ deepens once more the utterance

For the christological concept in olden times compare *Const. Ap.*, VII, 46, 15 (Funk, I, 454). On the other hand Augustine takes the *Dominus* here usually for God; see Rötzer, 236. Likewise Peter Damian, *Opusc. 'Dominus vobiscum'*, c. 3 (PL, CXLV, 234 B). Cf. also Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1248 f.).
¹⁸ Hanssens, III, 194-209. Its form is usually Εὐρήνη πάντων. The first Roman *Ordo* introduces the collect with the form *Pax vobis* (PL, 78, 942), the second has the form *Pax vobiscum* (*ibid.*, 971). In the use of the greeting in the course of the Mass there were rather large differences between the various rites.

¹⁹ Optatus of Mileve (c. 370), *Contra Parmen.*, III, 10 (CSEL, XXVI, 95); cf. also Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8, 22 (PL, XLI, 770).

²⁰ Can. 3 (Mansi, IX, 777); Eisenhofer, I, 188.

²¹ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942); Amalar, *De eccl. off. præf. alt.*; III, 9 (PL, CV, 992; 1115 f.); cf. Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1249). Amalar, *loc. cit.*, observes that the form at Rome was *Pax vobis*, not

Pax vobiscum. The latter form is actually found in the non-Roman *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 971).

²² Leo VII (d. 939), *Ep. ad Gallos et Germanos* (PL, CXXXII, 1086); Durandus, IV, 14, 7.

²³ *Cæremoniale Episc.*, II, 8, 39; II, 13, 8; II, 18, 25.

²⁴ Matt. 10: 12 f.; Luke 10: 5.

²⁵ Apart from the pontifical high Mass. Here the bishop remains at his throne, to which he returns after the incensing of the altar.

In the Middle Ages the salutation of the priest was frequently spoken at the Epistle side; see *supra*, p. 333. Even in the present Dominican rite the priest stays at the Epistle side where he has already said the *Gloria* from start to finish.

²⁶ The starting-point of this gesture was not originally the folded hands, which arise only from the Germanic sacral culture. The motion of both hands naturally expresses an intense gravitation towards the one or ones greeted, but the natural movement has been regulated by the rules of the schools of oratory, which dic-

of a desire to be united with the congregation and to draw them together into the prayer which is about to begin. This can be recognized even in the form we have today.

In the response the congregation for its part also confirms this community of desire, this will to be united. Do we have here only an acclamation in a wider sense?²⁷ We will surely have to picture these responses in ancient times as acclamations somewhat stormy and unregulated. And it is certain, too, that for centuries the entire people considered this shout, this call as their very own.²⁸ We can best understand the *Et cum spiritu tuo* as a popular consensus in the work of the priest, not that the congregation here gives the priest authority or power to act in its stead, but that the congregation once more acknowledges him as the speaker under whose leadership the united group will approach almighty God. Thus in the greeting and its response we have the same double note that reappears at the end of the oration; the *Dominus vobiscum* seems to anticipate the *per Christum* of the close of the oration, and the *Et cum spiritu tuo* is a fore-runner of the people's agreement expressed in the Amen. How sadly we must admit that, just when we try to recall this simple salutation to its original vitality, we realize how difficult it is for us moderns to make this formality our own in all its former import, even in such surroundings as

tated a certain artistry, and again by the rubrics of worship, which dictated a certain modesty and reserve. Still the rubrical mechanics as found in the Missal of Pius V (*Rit. serv.*, V, 1) were not settled till the later Middle Ages; see the *Mass-Ordo* of Burchard: Legg, *Tracts*, 141; cf. *ibid.*, 100. A preliminary step is formed by the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 236).

Regarding the kiss of the altar that precedes, cf. *supra*, 316 f., 361, f.

²⁷ Acclamations in the strict sense were, in later ancient times, the shouts of a crowd which disclosed the will of the people: veneration when a ruler or his vicar appeared, assent to propositions and resolutions, congratulation, demand and desire. One such is still retained in the consecration of a bishop: *Ad multos annos*. F. Cabrol, "Acclamations," *DACL*, I, 240-265. These shouts often acquired legal significance; cf. E. Peterson, *Elc 066*, (Göttingen, 1926), 141 ff.

²⁸ Even in the spacious churches of the 4th century. Cf. Chrysostom, *In s. Pentec. homil.*, 1, 4 (PG, L, 458), who here remarks that his listeners had shouted out,

in common, when their bishop Flavian had ascended his *cathedra* and greeted them, crying "And with thy spirit." Cf. *In Matth. hom.*, 32 (al. 33), 6 (PG, LVII, 384; Brightman, 477, note 6).

For the Gallican liturgy there is the evidence of the *Expositio* (ed. Quasten, 11): the priest gives the salutation, *ut . . . ab omnibus benedicatur dicentibus: Et cum spiritu tuo*. That the salute of the priest should be answered not only by the *clerici et Deo dicati* but by all was also enjoined by several Gallic synods: Orelans (511; Mansi, VIII, 361 f.); Braga (563), c. 3 (Mansi, IX, 777). Even Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 2 (PL, CLI, 979), still recalls the canon of Orleans when referring to the first greeting, and Durandus, IV, 14, 4 f., also indicates that the answer is given by "choir and people." However in these instances we have probably an indication of the ideal rather than of reality. The most recent remarks of all, those of Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 4, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 107 D, 114 B), might possibly go back to a living practice.

Cf. also *supra*, p. 236 f.

the “dialogue” Mass presents, when the outer form is present fully and beyond quibble.²⁹

In its chief function as an address, the greeting, as we said, introduces the summons to prayer. This summons in the Roman Mass consists in one single word, *Oremus*. In the oriental liturgies the formula, spoken here mostly by the deacon, is much less concise. Thus in the Byzantine Mass you have: “Let us ask the Lord” (τοῦ κυρίου δεηθώμεν), “Let us ask the Lord again and again in peace” (“Ἐτι καὶ ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ κυρίου δεηθώμεν),³⁰ and then the deacon begins the litany. In Egypt the cry is sometimes quite simple: “Pray” (Προσεύξαθε). or “Stand for prayer” (Ἐπὶ προσευχῇν στήθετε),³¹ but sometimes the object of the prayer is mentioned: “Pray for the emperor,” “Pray for the bishop”³²; in fact sometimes the object is cited in detailed formulas, particularly at the prayer of the faithful after the Gospel, and in the intercessory prayers which are inserted in the canon.³³ In the West this invitation to prayer was especially amplified in the Gallican liturgy. The formula, called a *præfatio*, precedes various prayers and series of prayers, both within the Mass and without; its form is sometimes reminiscent of a little homily.³⁴ A remarkable thing in regard to the invitation to prayer in the oriental liturgies is this, that the summonses already quoted are usually followed by the prayer of the people put in words. In the Alexandrine liturgy the people respond to the simple summons with a triple κύριε ἐλέησον, or at least with a single one,³⁵ and even the more detailed summonses of the deacon are thus answered, and meanwhile the priest begins the oration.³⁶ In the Byzantine Mass a fully developed litany is invariably joined to the deacon’s invitation to prayer. The deacon says the invocations and in the meantime, according to present practice, the priest softly speaks the oration (mostly a very extensive one), and only the closing doxology is said out loud. The answer of the people in this instance too is mostly κύριε ἐλέησον. But sometimes another reply

²⁹ Cf. in this sense the observations of F. Messerschmid, *Liturgie und Gemeinde* (Würzburg, 1939), 22 f., but also the practical reflections of A. Beil, *Einheit in der Liebe* (Colmar, 1941), 12-14; 16 f.

³⁰ Byzantine liturgy: Brightman, 359 f., 362, 364, etc.

In the Greek liturgy of St. James the formulas are even more varied; Brightman, 38 ff.

³¹ Brightman, 113, 115, 117.

³² Brightman, 114 f.

³³ Brightman, 119 ff., 159 ff., 165 ff.

³⁴ *Missale Gothicum*: Muratori, II, 520 ff.

³⁵ Brightman, 113 ff., 117, 119 f.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 119 f. Corresponding formulas are still in use in the present-day Coptic

liturgy, and in the Greek language, an indication of their great antiquity; *ibid.*, 155, 158 ff., 165 ff. A litany in which the priest takes the lead, *ibid.*, 175. In the Ethiopian liturgy, too, there is a litany at the beginning of the fore-Mass, in which the people respond to each phrase with “Amen, Kyrie eleison, Lord, have mercy on us”; *ibid.* 206 ff. A sacerdotal prayer of several sections, said after the readings, shows an order the reverse of that in the Roman liturgy: first the call “Stand up to pray,” answered by the people with “Lord, have mercy on us”; only then does the priest greet the people and receive their greeting in return; *ibid.* 223 ff., 227. This arrangement is probably due to the insistence that the people receive the salutation standing.

is substituted; thus after the offertory procession the final invocations of the litanies are answered with Παράσχοις κύριε.³⁷ There is something very appealing when, in the greater litanies, these petitions resound in the humble but solemn promise: "Mindful of the all-holy . . . Mother of God and virgin, Mary . . . we will to put ourselves and each other and our whole life in the keeping of Christ our God," and the people cry out in answer Σοὶ κύριε,³⁸ certainly a worthy chorus for the prayer of the Church of God.

The Roman liturgy has always been more restrained than the liturgies of the Orient in all that concerns the participation of the people. And yet even here we do find in certain instances an extra effort to enlist the cooperation of the people. At the *orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday—amongst the oldest in the liturgy—the Oremus is expanded into a longer phrase, like: *Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, pro Ecclesia sancta Dei. . .* And at the conferring of major orders the *Leonianum* contains invitations to the people to pray which are similarly amplified: *Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos, quos ad presbyterii munus elegit, caelestia dona multiplicet, quibus quod eius dignatione suscipiunt eius exsequantur auxilio. Per. . .*³⁹ The later sacramentaries match this.⁴⁰

At the *orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday the invitation is followed by the deacon's imperative, *Flectamus genua*, that is, with the order to kneel down for silent prayer till the deacon himself—later, the subdeacon—gives the further signal, *Levate*, stand up again. The same command is heard on Ember days and on some other occasions, preceded by a simple *Oremus*. Here we are face to face with a custom which possessed a much greater importance in the ancient Church, both West⁴¹ and East, than it does in our own time. It occurs in the Coptic Mass, where the deacon, using the original Greek form, joins his command to the priest's invitation: Κλῆνωμεν τὰ γόνατα—ἀνέστωμεν⁴²; this is done, for instance, all through Lent after

³⁷ Brightman, 381.

³⁸ Brightman, 363 etc.

³⁹ Muratori, I, 424.

⁴⁰ *Gelasianum* I, 20: 22 (Wilson, 22 f., 26), et al.; *Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 3, 1; 4, 1).

⁴¹ In Caesarius of Arles the custom is found in full swing. Indeed he bemoans the fact that many pay no attention and that he observes them standing *velut columnas* when the deacon has issued his command; Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 33-36. Later a *Pater noster*, introduced by *Kyrie eleison*, is inserted for this prayer of the congregation; thus within the General Prayer of the Church (see *infra*): Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 190 (PL. CXXXII, 224 f.);

Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* II, 70 (PL, CXL, 638). In our own rite of adult baptism this *Pater* preceding the oration is still circumscribed with *Ora, clecte, flecte genua* and *Leva*; *Rituale Rom.*, II, 4, 16; 18; etc. Cf. Nickl, 35 f.

On the other hand, the substitute for the genuflection at the beginning of the hours—a *Miserere*—mentioned by Peter of Cluny, *Ep.*, I, 28 (PL, LXXXIX, 153 C) does not belong to this compound.

The whole question of the people's silent prayer is discussed in Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 108 ff.

⁴² Brightman, 159. The call is repeated three times. The corresponding sacerdotal prayer is no longer extant. We are dealing, therefore, with a fragmentary vestige. Hanssens, III, 233 f.

the Gospel. The practice was not limited in olden times to the Romano-Alexandrian ambit. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (end of the fourth century), which were compiled within the compass of Antioch, the ordinary Mass—apparently, therefore, without restrictions to special occasions—contains the direction for five different calls to prayer (εὐχασθε) right after the readings, addressed respectively to the catechumens, the energumens, the candidates for Baptism, the penitents and the faithful. The context plainly shows that the command meant, Kneel down for prayer.⁴³

The question naturally comes up, why this command, which appears here in the ordinary Mass *ordo*, should in the Roman Mass be restricted to certain extraordinary occasions. The most important source for this restriction is mentioned in Canon 20 of the Council of Nicea (325), which ordered that kneeling be omitted during Eastertide and on Sundays.⁴⁴ This arrangement for Easter and Sundays very quickly spread to the feasts (which were already on the increase) and even to saints' days⁴⁵; the only days left were the *dies quotidiani*,⁴⁶ and finally only the days which had definite penitential character, and even these were further reduced to the merest remnant, with the loss of the entire Lenten season and all days which did not have two proper orations before the Epistle.⁴⁷ And even on the days that remained, kneeling was restricted to the prayer before the real start of the Mass. For even the celebration of the Eucharist, which took place for a long time only on Sundays and feast days, seemed to bear an Easter character.

⁴³ When the deacon, after detailing the contents of the prayer, announces the bishop's prayer, his proclamation in one instance reads as follows: "Stand up, bow down before God through Christ and receive the benediction"; *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 9, 6 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 205). For the faithful the first cry reads expressly: "Ὅσοι πιστοὶ κλῆνωμεν γόνυ, and the second: "Ἐγείρωμεθα. *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 10, 2; 22 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 206, 209).

The people kneeling in this same place also in *Testamentum Domini*, I, 35 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 240). Cf. also the data from Chrysostom in Brightman, 471 ff. ⁴⁴ Mansi, II, 677.

The canon is repeated in *Decretum Gratiani* III, 3, 10 (Friedberg, I, 1355).

⁴⁵ Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 25 (PL, CXIV, 953 A); the prayers are said without kneeling in dominicis et festis maioribus et Quinquagesima.

⁴⁶ *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 475).

⁴⁷ Various older *ordines* still insist that

the oration of the day, even when it is the only one, should be introduced during Lent with *Flectamus genua: Ordo Rom.* I, n. 24 f. 9th century supplement; (PL, LXXVIII, 949); Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 50 (PL, CLI, 1014 B): *Ad omnes horas quadragesimales genua flectimus. Item ad missam, etiamsi salutatio precedat orationem.* Cf. Durandus, VI, 28, 8 ff.; Martène, 4, 17 (III, 162 A B); Martène, *De ant. monach. rit.*, 3, 9, 12 (IV, 316); Missal of Tortosa (1524): Ferreres, 249; cf. *ibid.*, p. LXXXVII. The same procedure still in the Dominican liturgy: *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 50.

The course sketched by Bernold above shows that the *Dominus vobiscum* which appeared to be demanded for the oration of the day was not generally considered compatible with the *Flectamus genua*, and that even then there was a trend to omit the genuflection after the greeting. Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), *De can. observantia*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 136

The only problem was to establish just when precisely the Mass really began. A rule of the high Middle Ages fixed this start at the *Gloria*.⁴⁸ Thus the orations which preceded the *Gloria*, that is, those which preceded the proper collect, and only those, remained under the law regarding kneeling.⁴⁹ Or to put it more exactly, only these were subject to the diminished rules of *Flectamus genua*; for in addition kneeling was prescribed for those assisting in choir, and continues to be so prescribed, at all the orations during Advent, Lent, the Ember tides, most of the vigils and the Mass for the Dead.⁵⁰

Thus a new thing had appeared, or rather, a substitution: kneeling not *before* the oration but *during* the oration. This change concurred with the gradual contraction of the pause which the *Flectamus genua* implied. The *Ordo Romanus antiquus* (about 950) offers a transitional aspect; in the introduction to the *orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday it includes the ancient prescription after the *Flectamus genua*, namely, *Et orat diutissime* (whereupon the *Levate* would have followed), but in the text of the orations it indicates a different order: *Oremus. Flectamus genua. Omnipotens æterne Deus . . . Levate. Per eundem . . .* Thus the pause during which the congregation was to pray was filled by the priest's oration.⁵¹

f.), still holds for it but observes that the Franciscans omit these *genuflexiones, quia in capella Papæ non sunt*. As a matter of fact they were no longer found in the 12th century at the Lateran: *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 28 f.).

⁴⁸ Cf. *Ordo Rom.* XI, n. 63 (PL, LXXVIII, 1050): On the Ember Saturday after Pentecost: *Finito hymno trium puerorum pontifex incipit missam: Gloria in excelsis Deo*. This corresponds to the arrangement in the Mass on Holy Saturday (and analogously on Maundy Thursday) at the present time: organ and bells once more resound with the beginning of the *Gloria*.

⁴⁹ This method of reckoning was naturally somewhat arbitrary. In the eastern liturgies the rule for kneeling during prayer was regulated by a different system, namely, the start of the sacrifice itself. Moses bar Kepha (d. 903) expressly excludes this kneeling down during the sacrifice (the *kurobho*) because, he explains, kneeling recalls the fall while the *kurobho* appertains to the resurrection; R. H. Connolly-H. W. Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy* (London, 1913), 43. In the East Syrian Mass, according to the homilies of Narsai (d.

after 503), there was an analogous basis for the rule that genuflection might be permitted up to the epiklesis but not thereafter; Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 23, 127. Thus the East Syrian rule about kneeling is almost directly opposite that which developed in the Roman Mass as the result of eucharistic cult.

⁵⁰ *Missale Rom., Rubr. gen.*, XVII, 5.

⁵¹ Hittorp, *De off. eccl.*, 66; cf. 49 b. This *Levate* just before the *Per eundem* also in the *Liber ordinarius* of the Premonstratensians (12th century; Waefelghem, 220, with note 2, where however the first sentence says too much); the practice has here been retained down to the present (Lentze; cf. p. 100 *supra*, note 44).

Whereas here the rule dictates standing up during the concluding formula, the very opposite is outlined in a directive of Berthold of Regensburg, who tells the people to fall on their knees when they hear the name of Jesus in the *Per Dom. n. J.C.*; Franz, 652.

The bowing of the head at the name of Jesus was ordered by the II Council of Lyons (1274), c. 25 (Mansi, XXIV, 98).

It is self-evident that the Nicene rule for Easter and Sundays was intended to eliminate not the prayer before the priest's oration, but only kneeling during that prayer. This is evident in the oriental liturgies, in which the litanies of the deacon are still customary, unchanged, even on Easter and on Sundays.⁶² We must therefore come to the conclusion that the elimination of the *Flectamus genua* after our *Oremus* did not purport to eliminate the pause for prayer which this command ordinarily signaled, but that at least a moment's quiet meditation was still retained.

But just as the pause after the *Flectamus genua* disappeared, leaving only a simple hurried genuflection, so the same fate was bound to overtake the pause after *Oremus* when no *Flectamus* intervened, and even more quickly. After all, the elimination of the pause could be tolerated here more easily, since in the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria* which preceded the *Oremus* the opportunity for prayer was offered, for, although the people did not perform these, yet the clergy assisting in choir did, even in later times. A small vestige of the olden *Oremus* pause is still to be seen in a little notice of Durandus, who records with some emphasis that the priest spoke the *Oremus* before the collect and the post-communion at the middle of the altar and only then went to the right side of the altar to finish the oration.⁶³ The pause will be seen in full strength and remarkable extent at the *secreta*.

The effort to draw the congregation into the prayer of the priest also found another mode of expression. Carolingian sources of the tenth century contain the prescription that at the *Oremus* of the priest the people were to bow and were to remain in this position (*acclinis*) until the end of the oration.⁶⁴ In the Gallican liturgy the practice had already been sev-

⁶² The same thing is shown in the parallels in our Office: even on Sundays the oration is preceded by the *preces*. Only on feasts of higher rank (considerably on the increase in recent times) are these *preces* left out.

⁶³ Durandus, IV, 14, 5; IV, 57, 2. The closing formula *Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum* was also said at the center; *ibid.*, IV, 57, 2. This latter arrangement is still found in the *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1169 B), in Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect. 89, and in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557): Legg, 58. Thus it would seem that the aim was to have the priest's oration recited at the center of the altar as much as possible, the only difficulty being the technical one of reading from the Mass book. Cf. the matching treatment of the *Kyrie*, p. 344 above. On the contrary the rule of the later Middle Ages,

stipulating that everything up to the readings and everything after the Communion takes place at the Epistle side was probably founded on the notion that thus the sacrificial part of the Mass might be differentiated and made prominent. Cf. *supra*, p. 345, note 62.

⁶⁴ Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CV, 1249 C): *Deinde dicit: Oremus, invitans secum populum, ut simul orent. Quapropter acclinis debet esse populus usquequo sacerdos incipiat dicere: Per omnia s. s.*

This posture held also for that part of the year in which kneeling was inadmissible. Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 380 (PL, 132, 265): *Ut presbyteri plebibus annuntient, quod in Quadragesima et in ieiunio quattuor temporum tantummodo ad Missarum sollemnia annuntiante Diacono genua flectere debeant. In dominicis e contra diebus vel ceteris*

eral centuries old.⁵⁵ And in the choir rules of many monastic groups the custom was retained for some time,⁵⁶ and is, in fact, still retained but with this modification, that the bow is stipulated only for the first oration, not for the commemorations that follow.⁵⁷ But elsewhere this rather uncomfortable posture was soon changed either to the usual upright stance—this mostly for festival worship—or to an out-and-out kneeling—this on days of penance.⁵⁸ In other words, the old regulation of the *Flectamus genua* before the oration has been replaced more and more—at least since the twelfth century—by kneeling during the oration.⁵⁹

While the priest says the oration, he stands with hands upraised. Until far into the Middle Ages weight was attached to the rule that he stand facing east,⁶⁰ and originally the faithful, too, stood facing east and with arms lifted up.⁶¹ Although this orientation lost much of its importance, and the posture of the faithful underwent many changes,⁶² the priest still remains standing and his hands are still upraised. For after all, this standing posture has a double purport so far as the priest is concerned, since he is the one who leads the congregation in prayer, since he is the *liturgus*.⁶³

festis a Vespere usque in Vesperam non flectant genua, sed stantes incurvati orent. The same prescription also in Burchard of Worms, *Decretum XIII*, 3 (PL, CXL, 885).

⁵⁵ This bowed bearing during the priestly oration is urged, for example, by Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.* 76 f. (Morin, 303, 305; PL, XXXIX, 2284 f.); the same demand especially for the Canon: *Serm.* 73 (Morin, 294; PL, XXXIX, 2277). The bow during the oration which Cæsarius presumes is still united here with the genuflection before the oration in those cases in which the deacons bid it. This arrangement is found also in other Christian sources. In the first instance this bow during prayer was perhaps customary when the orations were really blessings spoken over someone—hence the terms *benedictiones* or *missæ* by which they were often called; cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 27–31, especially 30, note 101; idem., *Gewordene Liturgie*, 48 f. However the begging character of the orations (*supplices te rogamus*) might also have led to the assumption of this posture.

⁵⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 241, note 42.

⁵⁷ Similarly already in the rules of the Canons of St. Victor (12th century): Martène, *App.* (III, 791 f.).

Cistercian rite of the later Middle Ages: Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 315; cf. *Liber usuum*, II, 53 (PL, CLXVI, 1423 B).

⁵⁸ *Supra*, p. 239.

⁵⁹ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.*, ed. Fischer, 29, 1. 5 ff. The Pontifical of Durandus prescribes for a bishop attending the Mass of a priest: *Dum collectæ et postcommuniones dicuntur, debet accumbere super faldistorium . . . et iunctis manibus devote accumbens manere.* Andrieu, III, 644; Martène, 1, 4, XXIII (I, 619 A).

⁶⁰ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 f. (with the additions of the later recension: PL, LXXVIII, 942). The same posture at the oration is still demanded in the Pontifical of Durandus for a bishop standing at his throne: Andrieu, III, 639, 1. 2; Martène, 1, 4, XXIII (I, 616 E).

⁶¹ *Supra*, p. 239.

⁶² *Supra*, p. 240 f.

⁶³ Kneeling, which since the early Middle Ages made such headway as the preferred posture at prayer, was not thought of for the priest's praying except in certain isolated instances like the prayers at the foot of the altar (cf. *supra*, p. 297) and the intercessory prayers which were inserted (*infra*, vol. II, ch. 3, 3). There is a report from the Japanese mission of the 16th century relating how one of

The raising of the arms heavenward is a fitting accompaniment to the prayer that rises to Him who dwells in heaven.

But even this raising of the hands could undergo some alteration, corresponding to the expression of the prayer; sensitive men of antiquity saw how this pose could imply reverential appeal or even passionate demand. Hence even at an early date we hear the admonition, to lift both hands and glance only moderately and modestly.⁶⁴ At the same time the apologists perceive in this posture an image of the Crucified⁶⁵ in whose name the Christian appears before God, a thought which recurs again in the commentators of the Middle Ages, who make much of it particularly as regards the posture during the canon of the Mass.⁶⁶ In the Roman Mass both during the orations and during the canon this moderate and somewhat stylized raising and stretching out of the hands has become a prescription of law for the priest.⁶⁷ However, the priest assumes this posture only in those prayers which have been his since olden times and which he says as speaker for the congregation (the orations, the preface, the canon and the *Pater noster*), but not in those prayers which are only the expression of personal piety and which were given him only later, especially as a contribution from the Frankish Church. For these latter prayers the attitude is one derived from Germanic tradition: praying with hands folded.⁶⁸ Thus in the posture of the priest the various strata of prayers, the distinctions between the ancient deposits and the later ones, are made visible to the eye even today.

12. The Collect: Form and Content

The nucleus of that collection of Roman orations which we meet for the first time in the sacramentaries must have been formed in the period from the third to the sixth centuries, that is to say, from the time that the

the fathers sometimes said Mass on his knees; see JL, VII (1927), 380, following L. Fries, *Die Geschichte Japans* (Leipzig, 1926).

Since Leo XIII, kneeling has come into use for the prayers at the end of Mass.

On the other hand, the genuflection at the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and at *Et incarnatus est* at the high Mass on certain feasts, as is now customary—the prescription is already to be seen in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, ed. Volk, 105, 1. 1) —is rather to be regarded as a dramatic element suggested by the festive performance of the hymn and the solemnity of the profession.

⁶⁴ Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 17 (CSEL, XX, 190); Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 66 (CSEL,

III, 269 f.). Cf. Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 82-87.

⁶⁵ Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. 29, 8 (CSEL, II, 43); Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 14; 29 (CSEL, XX, 189; 200). Cf. Eisenhofer, I, 266 f.

⁶⁶ See *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 2, 14.

⁶⁷ The rule in force at present is first found in its essentials in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 236): *manuum elevatio sic fieri debet ut altitudinem humerorum sacerdotis non excedat, extensio vero tanta sit ut retro stantibus manus appareant evidenter*. Cf. *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1160 C).

⁶⁸ *Supra*, p. 78.

Roman Church completed the transfer from Greek to Latin.¹ The formulation of the prayer material was for long left to the *liturgus*, to extemporize freely perhaps, as he did in his admonitions to the people in the homily, or to recite a text previously fixed and written down by himself or by another. St. Augustine bears witness to both methods of composition. In his booklet on *The First Catechetical Instruction* (*De catechizandis rudibus*) he remarks as an aside that candidates for admission to the catechumenate, if they are well educated or come from schools of rhetoric, ought to be warned not to mock when some bishops or ministers of the Church either fall into barbarisms and solecisms while calling upon almighty God or do not understand or nonsensically separate the words which they are pronouncing; not (he adds) that such faults should not be corrected, so that the people may plainly understand what they are saying "Amen" to, but that at an ecclesiastical *benedictio* the *bona dictio* is not the important thing it is in the forum.² But from the territory of the same Augustine we have conciliar resolutions proposing that at divine service only texts which have been approved should be used.³ Still even in Rome as late as the sixth century some orations show clearly that they were composed for a certain special occasion.⁴

Even for this freely formed prayer, however, a certain style was definitely adopted even from the very beginning of the Latin liturgy. Its external outlines were already conditioned by the laconic spirit of the Roman and his preference for conciseness and clarity. This did not exclude lengthy prayer-formulas. The extended ordination prefaces of the Roman Pontifical (like those for the consecration of bishops and the ordination of priests and deacons) are in substance a part of the most ancient Roman sacramentaries. The Mass-liturgy, too, contains besides the three terse orations which begin with *Oremus* also the rather protracted prayer of thanks introduced with *Gratias agamus*.⁵ But when compared with the prayer language of

¹ Pope Cornelius (d. 253) was the first to get a Latin inscription on his grave. Baumstark is inclined to date the *orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday back to about his period. A. Baumstark, "Liturgischer Nachhall der Verfolgungszeit" (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums und der byzantinischen Literatur*, Festgabe A. Ehrhard dargebracht [Bonn, 1922], 53-72), 64-71; idem., *Liturgie comparée*, 84.

² Augustine, *De cat. rud.*, c. 9, 13 (PL, XL, 320); cf. J. P. Christopher, *St. Augustine: The First Catechetical Instruction* (Ancient Christian Writers, 2; Westminster, 1946), 33-34.

³ Synod of Hippo (393), can. 21 (Mansi, III, 922): *quicumque sibi preces aliunde*

describit non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructoribus fratribus contulerit. A little later the synod of Mileve, can. 12 (Mansi, IV, 330) speaks of the authorization by a council.

⁴ Thus that oration in the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 371) in which God is thanked for having granted us, "freed from the furious foes, to receive the paschal sacrament with peaceful mind", takes us back to the year 538 when the long siege of Vitiges was raised just before Easter; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 137; F. Cabrol, "Léonien (Sacramentaire)", DACL, VIII (1929), 2552 f.

⁵ Cf. the essay to classify the prayer materials of the Roman liturgy in P. Alfonso, *L'Eucologia romana antica. Line-*

oriental or even of Gallic liturgies, the Roman character is still distinctly recognizable even in these longer prayer-formulas. Take just the opening address; in the oriental and Gallic liturgies there is usually an accumulation of divine titles and predicates, arranged in solemn groups of positives and negatives,⁶ whereas in the Roman there is seldom more than a single, simple term. But it was in the oration that this Roman mode found its perfect outlet. In its few phrases liturgical prayer was reduced to the most succinct formula, and yet within that small compass there was room for the most dignified development and the greatest variety.

These orations have the character of petitions. This is not something self-evident, fundamentally, for according to Origen the normal course of every properly adjusted prayer—and surely this holds most especially for public prayer—should begin by praising God through Christ in the Holy Ghost; should then pass on to thanksgiving and an acknowledgment of our weakness; and only after that would it be fitting to make petitions, and these, petitions “for great and heavenly things”; and lastly it should close with the doxology repeated over again.⁷ But the Roman oration is restricted almost wholly to the petition. The other elements are heard only in the address and in the closing formula. Since the very core of the Mass is entirely circumscribed by the prayer of thanksgiving, it seemed to be enough if the close of the three liturgical complexes which are appended to this core should be confined to petition. This is what actually happened in the orations. They consist of a single main clause or at most of a double clause in which the petition is formulated more plainly in a second phrase connected with the first by *et*.⁸

Coming now to details, we have to distinguish two types of Roman orations.⁹ The *simple type* contains basically nothing except the barest ingredients of the petition, as when a child asks its father: *Pater, da mihi panem*, Father, give me bread. Thus there is nothing more than the address and the designation of what we want God to do for us. The expression can be either imperative or subjunctive, and the word order can be varied (schematized: *Panem da mihi, pater*; *Da mihi, pater, panem*). This is simple, direct praying, without ornaments or extras. This type is preserved

amenti stilistici e storici (Subiaco, 1931).

⁶ Thus the beginning of the bishop's oration which concludes the Prayer of the Faithful in the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 11, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 209) reads as follows: Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, ὤψιστε, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν, ἄγιε, ἐν ἀγίοις ἀναπαύμενε, ἀναρχε, μόναρχε. Cf. the chapter “Sprache und Volksart” in Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (Freiburg, 1923), 78-88, and the study of the “Genius of the Roman Rite” in Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 1-19 (cf.

supra, p. 76, note 10).

⁷ Origen, *De or.*, c. 33 (PG, XI, 557 f.).

⁸ E.g. *Exaudi, Domine, quæsumus, preces nostras et interveniente beato N. . . . placatus intende*.

⁹ H. Rheinfelder, “Zum Stil der lateinischen Orationen,” *JL*, XI, (1931), 20-34.

A type-classification founded on the initial words is attempted by P. Salmon, “Les protocoles des oraisons du Missel Romain,” *Eph. Liturg.*, XLV (1931), 140-147.

in substance even when there is an additional clause (*ut . . .*) to describe the object petitioned. But there is a second type, the *amplified type*, in which the address to God is enlarged by a phrase praising Him, the so-called *relative predication*¹⁰: *Deus, qui . . .* This is a definitely literary device, the work of rhetorical art, the sort of oratorical craft one would expect on the occasion of a solemn assembly of the faithful.

The striking thing is that this second type generally does not appear in the secret or post-communion but only in the collect. In the secret and the post-communion, the type commonly used is the simple type, since the object of the petition is already made abundantly clear in the presentation of the offerings and in the reception of Communion. The appearance of this amplified type in the collect is not governed by any strict rule, but we can say that this relative predication is generally found only on days of special solemnity, namely, days of commemoration.¹¹ It is especially frequent on feast days; in fact, for modern saints' feasts it is a fixed part of the collects, as already indicated in the schema of the *Commune Sanctorum: Deus, qui nos beati N. Confessoris tui solemnitate lætificas, concede . . .* Relative predication is not the only method of incorporating the thought suggested by the feast into the petition, but it is certainly the handiest. This relative clause, which emphasizes the concepts of praise and thanksgiving, thus plays within the priest's oration a part comparable to that which the *Gloria* plays in the preceding prayer of the people. Putting it another way, the *Gloria*, which on festive occasions follows the *Kyrie*, resounds again in this relative clause.

In these and similar ways the festal thoughts have been able to slip into the narrow space of the orations. But by so doing it was almost impossible to avoid burdening, and even overburdening, the traditional schemas. It is, for instance, only right, and indicative of a feeling for the hierarchy of the Christian economy of salvation that the saint of the day be inserted by asking God's help *intercedente beato N.* But it is more than the schema can bear when chunks of the saint's biography are introduced into that pliant form, or lengthy theological reflections are projected into it.¹² Still we must never lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with litur-

¹⁰ E. Norden, "Agnostos Theos," *Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig, 1913), 168-176.

Rheinfelder, *op. cit.*, 25 f., with good grounds sees in this use of relative predication in Christian cult an effect of the ancient sacral language so well known to the neo-converts.

¹¹ Thus, e.g., it appears in Lent only on three Sundays and on the two special week-days, Wednesday and Friday, of the fourth week—a week significant because of the baptismal scrutinies; outside of these only on the first Thursday, which

was not provided with a Mass until much later. But then this relative predication appears in nearly all the orations of Holy Week from Wednesday on, thus, e.g., after ten of the twelve prophecies on Holy Saturday; further on all the days of Easter week from Sunday to Friday, and on all the Sundays from Low Sunday to Pentecost inclusive.

¹² Thus, for the former, the collect of St. Jane Frances de Chantal, and for the latter the oration on the feast of our Lady of Sorrows.

gical, communal prayer which always has a tendency to pass from the simple prayer of inspired feeling to the more rational manner of a profession of faith and the utterance of many thoughts. The classical form of the oration, with its beautiful balance between praying and thinking—this we will always be able to admire in the collects of the Sundays after Pentecost.

Before we turn to the study of the theology and contents of these collects, we must take one further glance at their literary design. The striking feature of the old Roman orations has always been their majestic flow, their rhythm. It is evident that there is here a survival of the rhetorical art of dying antiquity; undoubtedly the earliest writers of these collects had studied in the schools of classical rhetoric. What is the secret of this rhythm? The attempt has been made to show that the ancient orations are still guided primarily by the quantitative meters of the classical era. The orations are composed, as a rule, of several members, all more or less of the same length, and these metrical elements are so repeated (not indeed with the regularity of a verse but with a certain freedom) that the opening phrase and the close are brought close together.¹³

It could well be that these metrical laws of classical poetry did have an influence, unsought perhaps, on the elevated prose of the period of the Empire's decline, but in our case the proof is not easy. But the chief factor in achieving this agreeable harmony in the Roman orations was the *cursus*, the rules for which were followed in Latin artistic prose from the fourth/fifth century on.¹⁴ By *cursus* is meant the rhythm of the cadences produced by arranging the accents in the last syllables of a literary period or clause according to certain fixed rules. In the sermons of St. Peter Chrysologus and in the sermons and letters of Pope Leo the Great the rules of the *cursus* are observed with meticulous care, with such care in fact, that the absence of the *cursus* has been used as a clue to the spuriousness of some of the pieces ascribed to the latter.¹⁵ We have already discovered on other grounds that the orations of these earliest levels of our liturgy are compositions of the era of Pope Leo the Great and may even be the work of his hands.

There are three chief forms of cadences in the Roman *cursus*:

cursus planus: / — — / — — (*esse consortes*)
cursus velox: / — — (/) — — / — — (*meritis adiuvemur*)

¹³ J. Cochez, "La structure rythmique des oraisons," *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 138-150. Cf. M.L., an English Benedictine, "The Collects of the Roman Office," *American Ecclesiastical Rev.*, XXXVII, 537; XXXVIII, 379; XLI, 397.

¹⁴ H. Leclercq, "Cursus," *DACL*, III,

3193-3205; Eisenhofer, I, 204.

¹⁵ F. di Capua, *Il ritmo prosaico nelle lettere dei papi*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1937-1939); idem, "De clausulis a S. Leone M. adhibitis" in the C. Silva-Tarouca edition of the Letters of Pope Leo (*Textus et documenta, ser. theol.*, XV; Rome, 1934), pp. xxiii-xxvii.

cursus tardus: / — — / — — (semper obtineat)

In the collect of the 13th Sunday after Pentecost these three cadences are found, in a row, in the three members of the text:

*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, da nobis fidei, spei et caritatis
augmentum,
et ut mereamur assequi quod promittis,
fac nos amare quod præcipis.*

It is remarkable indeed that, for all the care expended on the style of our orations, the Roman liturgy never once overstepped the line dividing prose from verse.¹⁶ We can detect here something of that seriousness that seizes man when he is face-to-face with the majesty of God. There is no object better calculated to inspire poetry and to glorify art than the revelation of God's grandeur and goodness, and the greatest orations of men are replete with just that burden. But when human speech turns directly to God, any possible play of verse dies on the lips of the petitioner who is conscious of what he is doing. This explains, too, why music, which through the centuries has used its treasures to their utmost on the development of every part of the liturgy, especially the prayer of the people, has yet called a halt at the prayer of the priest. The performance of the priest's text has never gone beyond a more or less solemn recitative, the forms of speech-song.¹⁷

Speech-song or *accentus* is the method of performance most suited to liturgical prayer said aloud. It avoids two extremes; on the one hand that passionate speech whose modulation, directed entirely by emotion and mood, seems alien to a prayer which was not formulated by the speaker, and which at any rate gives the personal and individual element too much play; on the other hand the monotony of the severe *tonus rectus*, unbroken

¹⁶ The same is true, moreover, of the sacerdotal prayer of nearly all liturgies. One exception to be found is that in the Gallican liturgy; in the first of the so-called Mone Masses which are traced back to the poet bishop Venantius Fortunatus (d. c. 600), several of the prayers are written in hexameters (PL, CXXXVIII, 876-879). For the Orient see the references to prayers in metrical form in the Syrian liturgies, in Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 76.

¹⁷ Speech-song had already been a practice in the culture of antiquity; see the literary references in O. Casel, *Das Gedächtnis des Herrn in der altchristlichen Liturgie* (Ecclesia Orans, 2; Freiburg, 1918), 14, note 1.

Cf. Wagner, *Einführung*, III, 19 ff.

Efforts to do more, to exaggerate the dramatic elements in the prayers, were suppressed by the Church as occasion demanded. An example in point is found in can. 12 of the synod of Cloveshoe in England (747) which ordered: *ut presbyteri secularium poetarum modo in ecclesia non garriunt, ne tragico sono sacrarum verborum compositionem ac distinctionem corrumpant vel confundant, sed simplicem sanctamque melodiam secundum morem Ecclesiæ sectentur; qui vero id non est idoneus assequi, pronuntiantis modo simpliciter legendo dicat atque recitet, quidquid instantis temporis ratio poscit* (Mansi, XII, 399). Similar advice also in Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 12 (PL, CXIV, 932 f.).

by any cadence whatever, which does not suit at least the more festive prayer assemblies.¹⁸ But speech-song does not ever rise to the proper art-forms of Gregorian Chant. Hence it happened that even after the chant melodies had long been written down (first in neums and later in full notation), no such means was used for the melodies of the priest's prayers.¹⁹ For these it was sufficient to use the simpler notation of the so-called *posituræ* or *pausationes*, which indicated for public readers the type of cadence and from which our modern system of sentence punctuation derives.²⁰ The orations and readings in the Roman Missal still contain vestiges of the signs, and they still serve their original function of directing the eyes to the cadence. Thus the drop of a minor third at the end of the first member of the oration (the relative clause) is indicated by a colon (*metrum*), the drop of a half-tone before the last *ut*-clause by a semicolon (*flexa*), e.g.:

*Deus, qui . . . lætificas:
concede propitius; ut . . .*²¹

Since the collect is a prayer which is supposed to represent within the limits of the introduction to divine service our approach to God, and since, save for an occasional solemnity, no special theme is proposed for it, its content is necessarily very general. It is, in fact, even more general than the nature of a priestly *collectio* demands, even though this *collectio* as such could incorporate only what is general and transsubjective. The Church approaches God in all that indigence and need that must be a part of her in this earthly pilgrimage. Many formulas do not mention any specified object, but merely ask to be heard—for all the desires in the hearts of the assembled petitioners. Or perhaps one or the other constant and ever-recurring desire is mentioned: Help of divine power, overthrow of error and overcoming of danger, inclination to good, forgiveness of sin, attainment of salvation. At the same time, however, these prayers often mirror

¹⁸ For like reasons speech-song (declamation) is also suggested for the leader in the German community Mass; see F. Messerschmid, *Liturgie und Gemeinde* (Würzburg, 1939), 90-93; thus (he says) the sacred word is withdrawn from the whim and fancy of the speaker (91). See also Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 131.

¹⁹ Cf. Wagner, *Einführung*, II, 82 ff., 87 f.

²⁰ The system which was gradually established in the course of the Middle Ages comprised four signs: the *punctus circumflexus*, also called *flexa*, for a simple drop of the voice (a half tone) at a breath-pause; the *punctus elevatus* also called *metrum*, for a longer pause, but where there was a continu-

ation; the *punctus versus* (; or.), for the close of the sentence; and in the lessons the *punctus interrogativus* (?) for the question. Wagner, *Einführung*, II, 87 f., 94.

²¹ See the authentic methods in the *Kyriale*, typical edition, Rome, 1905; also in the *Graduale Romanum*, Rome, 1908 (*Toni communes missæ*); cf. D. Johner, *Cantus ecclesiastici iuxta edit. Vaticanum ad usum clericorum* (Regensburg, 1926) or John C. Selner, *Chant at the Altar*.

Since the 16th century these symbols were no longer used consistently and accurately in the Mass books, having been adopted in ordinary literature for grammatical and rhetorical purposes even in merely quiet reading; see Wagner, II, 91, who proposes a reform on this point.

the powers that stand opposed to each other in the spiritual combat, especially in the form of pairs of contrasting ideas, a literary device which matched the notorious fondness for antithetical phrasing: Corporal and spiritual, thinking and doing, burden of one's own effort and the heavenly intercession of the saints, abstaining from nourishment and fasting from sin, freedom from oppression and devotion to good works, profession and imitation, faith and reality, earthly life and eternal blessedness. Very often we meet that profound and comprehensive antithesis of external action, temporal service, faithful devotion on the one hand, and internal achievement, eternal welfare, and lasting reality on the other,²² somewhat as it is expressed for example in the collect of the twenty-second Sunday after Pentecost: *ut quod fideliter petimus—efficaciter consequamur*: what we ask with faith, we may some day obtain in reality.

Above all, however, the collect makes visible to us the grand outlines of that spiritual universe in which our prayer lives and moves and is; it arises in the communion of holy Church and ascends through Christ to God on high. The oration turns to God in an address which, by its very brevity, appears to disclaim all ability to make comprehensible the nature of the unfathomable: *Deus, Domine, Omnipotens Deus*, or at most, *Omnipotens sempiternus Deus*. Even on saints' feasts, and where some special patronage might put us in mind of a particular helper, the oration is still directed to God Himself, begging Him, through the intercession of this saint—presupposing therefore, that he is invoked in the personal prayers of the faithful—to grant us protection and aid. Even the direct address to Christ within the Mass was not permitted in the ancient Church. At the Council of Hippo (393), an explicit decree was written precisely on this point, apparently directed against certain new trends: *Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet. Et cum altari assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio*.²³ In the Roman liturgy, which never wavered in its profession of the divinity of Christ, this law, that within the Mass the prayers were to be addressed to God the Father,²⁴ was kept with-

²² See in this connection O. Casel, "Beiträge zur römischen Oration," *JL*, XI (1931), 35-45. Especially the term *effectus* is, according to Casel, to be rendered not by effect (result) but by efficacy (realization).

Cf. further W. Kahle, "Vom Stil liturgischen Betens." *Liturg. Zeitschrift*, V (1932/1933). 161-172; P. Schorlemmer, *Die Kollektengebete* (Gütersloh, 1928), especially pp. 29-37; B. Capelle, "Pour mieux comprendre les oraisons du Missel," *Cours et Conférences*, V (Louvain, 1926), 135-145.

²³ Can. 21 (Mansi, III, 922) = can. 23 of the III Council of Carthage (397; *ibid.*,

884). Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 150; 198.

²⁴ In the Roman orations, indeed, no direct address to the Father as such is to be found, but only to God in the sense of a basic relationship of man to his creator; in other words, a trinitarian reflection is wanting. But the *Filium tuum* of the concluding formula opens up the question of the Trinity also for the address, and the only answer must be that "God" refers to the Father. Cf. the theological discussion in Bellarmine, *Disput. de contrav.*, III, 3, 6 (*De sacrific. missæ*, II), c. 16 (ed. Rome, 1838: III, 785 f.). Regarding the biblical data see

out exception right down to the year 1000. Till that time not even one collect—nor, for that matter, one secret or one post-communion—can be found to have infringed this rule.²⁵ It was not till about the end of the millenary, when the native Roman liturgy gave way before the Gallicized form which returned from the north, that any forms of address to Christ Himself appear, as they had previously appeared in the Orient and as they had developed in the Gallic liturgy.²⁶ In private prayer, in the prayer of the

K. Rahner, “‘Gott’ als erste trinitarische Person im Neuen Testament,” *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 71-88.

²⁵ Dom Gaspar Lefebvre, O.S.B., *Catholic Liturgy, Its Fundamental Principles* (St. Louis, 1937), 30, says: “In the Roman Missal are found only twenty-seven prayers addressed to the Son, and these are almost all later than the thirteenth century.”

Pursuing the trinitarian concept even further, especially in view of the prayers addressed to Christ, even medieval interpreters take up the question, why no oration is directed to the Holy Ghost. Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. de missa* (Sölch, 15) replies: *Quia Spiritus Sanctus est donum et a dono non petitur donum, sed a largitore doni*. This is repeated by Durandus, IV, 15, 11. Although speculatively the answer is hardly compelling, it is kerygmatically correct; in other words, the theoretical possibility of prayers addressed to the Holy Ghost should not be exploited for fear that the basic lines of the order of salvation—leading to God through Christ—might vanish in the consciousness of the petitioner. This is particularly true in regard to the sacrifice which Christ offers to the Father; on this Cardinal Bona, *Rer. lit.*, II, 5, 5 (628) lays great stress. But it also holds true generally for all liturgical prayer; cf. *supra*, p. 80. Besides, the presentation of a distinction in the divine essence should not be encouraged. As a matter of fact orations addressed to the Holy Ghost have gained importance in none of the liturgies save the Armenian; see Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 195, note 27.

²⁶ This change was made in the spirit of the Gallic liturgical tradition with its strong anti-Arian bias, wherein, in consequence of the struggle against the Arians

who disputed the essential unity of the Son with the Father, the ambiguous *Per Christum* was restricted, and the address to Christ freely exchanged with that to God and thus permitted to appear on a par with it. But even on Frankish soil this change within the Roman liturgy did not go unchallenged; e.g. in the 9th-century collection of Canons ed. by Benedict the Levite, III, 418 (PL, XCVII, 850 f.; cf. also the *Capitulare* often connected with St. Boniface, in Mansi, XII, App. II, 109), the Canon of Hippo reappears; likewise, about the turn of the 11th century in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 5 (PL, CLI, 980).

Our *Missale Romanum*, amongst the formularies of Sundays and ferias which otherwise spring from ancient tradition, today exhibits seven collects and two post-communion formulas in which the *Per* ending certified in the oldest MSS. is replaced by the *Qui vivis* which presupposes an address to Christ. The fillip inducing the change was probably the mention in these collects of a “coming” of God: in concrete fashion this would be understood of the Christmas coming of Christ. The same is true of two olden orations of the Mass of the Dead; they were provided with the ending because the expressions *redemptor*, *redemptio tua* were thought to refer only to Christ.

For new Mass formularies orations were composed which are directed to Christ. But it is significant that they adhere to the tradition of an indifferent address, *Deus qui* (e.g. on Corpus Christi, or, in modern times, on the feast of St. Gabriel Possenti), instead of *Domine Jesu Christe*. Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 103 ff.

In the case of the oration *pro rege* the Congregation of Rites, by the decree of

people, in hymns, and in fact wherever prayer could be more free and not cramped by the need to keep the divine order of the world in full view, prayer to Christ had always been customary; it is attested even in the days of the Apostles.⁷⁷ But in the oration, which is the official prayer of the priest, it has always been exceptional.

And still it is evident that Christ also must be mentioned in the official prayer of the Christian community. As a matter of fact His name does appear, and has appeared for ages, in the closing formula. And it appears there in such a way that a much deeper insight is granted into the whole structure of the Christian economy than would be vouchsafed by a prayer addressed simply to Christ even though this latter seems at first glance to be eminently suitable to a Christian assembly.⁷⁸ The Roman oration suggests pointedly: We offer up our prayer through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son. This method of prayer or variations of it, already seen in the writings of the New Testament,⁷⁹ prevails in the whole Christian service till the fourth century.⁸⁰ The expression "through Christ" appears especially as a member of the doxology which usually concludes the prayer: we offer our praise to God through Jesus Christ, or (as sources in the second/third century put it) through our high-priest Jesus Christ.⁸¹ The Roman manner, however, which avoids the doxology except at the end of the canon, builds up the thought of Christ's mediatorship in a different way, which it has retained to the present. Note especially that the *per Christum* does not mean a mere *adiuratio* as some older authors thought, as though we begged a hearing "by Christ," for His sake, in virtue of His merits.⁸² Nor

March 3, 1761, restored the ancient ending *Per D. n. J. C.*, appealing, as it did so, to the authority of *antiquissima S. Gregorii Magni sacramentaria*. Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum* SRC, n. 423.

⁷⁷ A. Klawek, *Das Gebet zu Jesus. Seine Berechtigung und Übung nach den Schriften des N. T.* (Neutest. Abh., VI, 5; Münster, 1921). Regarding his attempt to trace the Christ-payers of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles back to the worship of the primitive Church (111 f.), cf. Jungmann, 147 ff.

⁷⁸ Cf. in the latter sense the criticism by Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 90-93.

⁷⁹ Rom. 1: 8; 16: 27; 2 Cor. 1: 20; Heb. 12: 15; 1 Pet. 2: 5; 4: 11; Jude 25.

⁸⁰ Jungmann, *op. cit.*, 118-151.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 126 ff.

Another development circumscribes the atmosphere of prayer still more by adding "in the Holy Ghost" or "in the holy

Church". *Ibid.*, 130 ff.

⁸² Thus, e.g., Suarez, *De oratione*, I, 10, 10-18 (*Opp.*, ed. Berton, 14, 39-41). That the mediatorship of Christ *per modum advocati* should be taken into account in prayer he considers admissible, even in the form of begging for His intercession, but he considers it less suitable for public prayer because we should avoid even the appearance of seeming to pray to Christ *tamquam ad purum hominem*. For this reason he prefers to take *per Christum* to refer to the mediatorship *per modum merentis*. But it is clear that this latter is not the original conception of the formula; numerous texts of the first centuries show this (see the preceding remarks); and besides most of the liturgies left the *per Christum* drop precisely when the Arians obstinately misinterpreted the subordination of the God-man Jesus Christ (which the formula patently attests) as the subordination of the Logos.

does it signify that the gifts we ask *be handed us* through Christ.³³ It must be understood rather as a progressive movement, a mounting upwards. For we declare that we offer up our petitions to God *through the mediation* of Christ, who (as St. Paul says) “lives on still to make intercession on our behalf” (Hebr. 7:25). This kind of prayer is familiar to the Roman Mass, and therefore the concluding formula of the oration must actually be taken in this sense, so that the completed form would read something like: *hoc rogamus per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*. Corroboration is seen clearly in the phrase in the canon: *Te igitur . . . per Jesum Christum . . . supplices rogamus ac petimus*, and from allied phrases in other consecratory prayers. We bring our prayer before God “through our eternal high-priest,” as the expression is sometimes expanded in medieval Latin texts.³⁴

This approach to someone “through” the intervention of someone else was familiar to men in olden times not only in the relationship of attorney or proctor, who represented his client at a legal suit or in a petition for a favor, but perhaps even more in the current version of the greeting in a letter, which at that time could reach its destination only by messenger: “through the bearer I greet you.”³⁵ Just as here a friend is kept in view, so in our case it is God, but in both instances the direct approach is to him who stands in his presence and who speaks to him in our name. It is important to notice that two attributes are attached to the name of Jesus in our formula, two attributes which bring out this connection to both parties: *Dominus noster* and *Filius tuus*. He is our Master; we belong to Him since He has bought us with His blood. And He is God’s Son, related by the closest ties and one with Him in the unity of the divine essence.

Such words would, of course, be quite strange and alien to vital prayer unless in our consciousness there was actually the immovable background that made such prayer a matter of course, perhaps not under all circumstances but at least during the solemn prayer of the Church. But such was really the case in the world in which a conclusion to prayer such as this was used for the first time. When this type of conclusion was incorporated into the daily prayer of the Church, this background must have been thoroughly established in the soul of the faithful community—I mean the thought that the earthly Church had its Head in heaven, Jesus Christ, the

³³ This point is sharply highlighted by P. Bonhomme, O.P., “Par Jésus-Christ Notre Seigneur,” *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 119-137.

³⁴ Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 184 f.: *per sacerdotem aeternum Filium tuum*. Cf. *ibid.*, 90: *per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, verum pontificem et solum sine peccati macula sacerdotem*.

³⁵ Thus at least in the Greek ambit, where indeed the *διὰ Χριστοῦ* appears for the first time; cf., e.g., in a letter of introduction from Oxyrhynchos: Receive our brother Heracles well, *δι' οὗ σε καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοι πάντος ἀδελφοὺς ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ προσαγορεύομεν*. H. Leclercq, “Lettres chrétiennes,” *DACL*, VIII, 2785 (n. 13); cf. *ibid.*, 2781 (n. 3), 2787 (n. 22).

Lord, who in His glorified body returned to the Father as the first-born of many brethren, as King of His holy people, which is bound to Him in the Holy Ghost.³⁶ It was out of this consciousness that the Roman mediator-formula got its further amplification—a second phrase which is this time an irremovable relative clause referring to Christ: who with Thee liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Holy Ghost,³⁷ God,³⁸ world without end.³⁹

Here the glory of the Church triumphant shines forth resplendent, to balance the Church terrestrial assembled and made visible in the community at prayer. And this is the third notion with which the spiritual world of liturgical prayer is rounded out in the oration. It is the Church that prays: *Ecclesia tua, populus tuus, familia tua, famuli tui, fideles tui*—these are the terms by which the oration designates the petitioners and the recipients of God's gifts. In every instance the prayer is worded in the plural, "we": *quæsumus, rogamus, deprecamur*. However, the Church is included here not only conceptually, but actually. In liturgical prayer there is—

³⁶ Inversely this formula, once more given a vital interpretation, can and should make us more aware of this whole series of concepts. Regarding the religious bearing and import of such praying, cf. the chapter "Through Christ our Lord" in K. Adam, *Christ our Brother*. See also Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 137 ff.

³⁷ *In unitate Spiritus Sancti* = at one with the Holy Ghost, in the unity which the Spirit founds; cf. Eph. 4: 3. The unity is to be considered in the concrete as the Communion of Saints, particularly (in the present instance) the triumphant Church in whose midst the glorified Christ lives and reigns; cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 199 ff.

Outside the Roman Mass there is to be found an expression of Christ's reigning *cum (Patre et) Spiritu Sancto*, but this is, of course, an entirely different conception.

³⁸ The word *Deus* was not originally part of the Roman closing formula; cf. the formula *Conversi* in St. Augustine, *Serm.* 100 (PL, XXXVIII, 605, note 2); 362 (PL, XXXIX, 1634). The spot where it was to be inserted was not plainly fixed till late in the Middle Ages.

The confession of Christ's divinity which the word *Deus* expresses is already contained in the words *Filium tuum*. Regarding its superfluity, especially in

vernacular translation, see the next note.

³⁹ The expression *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, is a heritage from the service of the primitive Church (cf. Apoc. 1: 6; 5: 13; 7: 12; etc.; Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.*, I, 1, 5 [al., I, 3, 1; Harvey, I, 25]) to be found in all the liturgies. It is merely an intensified expression for εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (Hebr. 13: 8) and this in turn an intensified expression for εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Hebr. 5: 6; 7: 24; etc.): forever, till eternity. This intensified form was already in use in the synagogue service: *min ha'olam we'ad ha'olam*, from era to era. The rabbis gave this explanation: at first the formula was simply: into eternity ('ad ha'olam), but in opposition to those who doubted the resurrection and maintained there was but one era, the formula was amplified (Tosephta, Berachoth, 7, 21); see H. Sasse in Kittel, *Theol. Worterbuch*, I (1933), 197 ff., 207.

In the context of this closing formula the *per omnia sæcula sæculorum* is referred to the life and reign of Christ; cf. Apoc. 1: 18: *fui mortuus et ecce sum vivens in sæcula sæculorum*.

The English expression "world without end" must be taken to mean "through all eternity" and must not be referred simply to the preceding word "God" which did not belong to the primitive text.

there must be—in fullest reality a communion in which all those participate who join with the priest as he performs the service, all those who are represented expressly by the greeting and its answer and by the comprehensive *Oremus*. Even in a small group of faithful, with the priest standing at the altar at their head, not only is there present a number of Christians, but the Church itself is there in its hierarchic structure—God's people of the New Covenant in the order and arrangement given them by Christ.

Short and summary though the Roman orations might be, in every one of them the new creation is marked out with monumental lines, and it seems to encompass us most forcefully when the priest, at the head of his congregation, looking up to Christ, approaches God with his pleading prayer.

In the Amen the people are once again called upon to confirm the prayer of their speaker.⁴⁰ The word remains untranslated in all the liturgies. Justin renders it by γένοιτο; so be it,⁴¹ and that is obviously the meaning it has here, for it expresses the assent of the people to the priest's praying and pleading. For this purpose it is not the only expression used, but it is by far the most prevalent.⁴²

⁴⁰ Regarding their actually saying *Amen* see *supra*, p. 236.

The *Amen* actually spoken by the people after their prayers is evidenced in Augustine, *De catech. rud.*, c. 9, 13 (*supra*, p. 373); *Ep.*, 217, 26 (CSEL, LVII, 422); *De dono persever.*, 23, 63 (PL, XLV, 1031). That it was particularly expected at this place even in the 8th century is shown in MSS. of the Arch-chanter (Silva-Tarouca, 197, 1. 8, with note 6; 198, 1. 28). Later data, see *supra*, p. 237, note 22 ff.

⁴¹ Justin, *Apol.*, I, 65; likewise already in the Septuagint. To this correspond the customary translations in Italian (*così sia*) and in French (*ainsi soit-il*). In its original use the Hebrew *'amen* means "certainly, truly"; it is the acknowledgment of a statement that is certain and sure; cf. H. Schiller in Kittel, *Theol. Wörterbuch*, I (1939), 339-342; cf. I, 233. Even in the synagogue the *Amen* was used as an acclamation by the people after the doxology; thus the people professed their assent to the praise of God spoken by the leader (Schiller, *loc. cit.*). It was similarly employed in the primitive Church: 1 Cor. 14: 16; Apoc. 5: 14. This primitive use is still to be found in the Egyptian liturgy when the people con-

tinually interrupt the account of the institution with an *Amen* after each phrase; Brightman, 132 f., 176 f., 232.

Regarding the liturgical use of the *Amen* there are comprehensive studies like F. Cabrol, "Amen," DACL, I, 1554-1573, especially 1556 ff.; J. Cecchetti, *L'Amen nella Bibbia e nella Liturgia* (Reprint from *Bollettino ceciliano*, v. 37; Vatican City, 1942), 14-37; H. Thurston, "Amen," CE, I, 407-409.

⁴² In Egyptian liturgies we find the *Amen* of the people at the close of prayer or even in the course of it, either amplified with a *Kyrie eleison*: thus in the opening litany of the Ethiopian fore-Mass where the response of the people each time is: *Amen, Kyrie eleison*, Lord, have mercy on us. (Brightman, 206; cf. 233, 1. 34: *Amen*, grant us!); or it is replaced by a simple *Kyrie* (B., 223, 1. 34) or by a triple *Kyrie* (B., 117, 1. 33) or by a translation (B. 179, 1. 7). The last form is that found originally in the anamnesis of the West-Syrian Mass (B., 53, 1. 17; 88, 1. 7) and (along with a *Kyrie*) in the intercessory prayer of the same liturgy: Raes, *Introductio*, 90. In the Occident two similar instances are noted by A. Dold, "Die Worte *miserere nobis* als Orationsschluss?" JL, IX (1929), 138; Irish and Glagolitic texts are cited.

The present-day Mass usually has several collects. It was not always thus. The Roman Mass for a thousand years had only one oration. Amalar took the occasion of his visit to Rome in 830 to ask the clerics of St. Peter's about this, and he sets down the results of his inquiry with some emphasis in a special preface to his work.⁴³ Even in cases (he says) where in the sacramentaries two Mass formularies are stipulated for one and the same day, because a feast coincides with a Sunday or two feasts fall due the same day, they told him that they have only one oration: *unam tantum*. And Amalar tries to assure his readers that this will suffice even where special reasons intervene; if someone wants to pray for the forgiveness of sin, there is opportunity during the offering of gifts; if someone seeks to enlist the cooperation of the angels, the opportunity is found at the end of the preface; if he wishes to plead for peace, the plea is found in the canon (*pacificare digneris*), etc. But for cases where the same priest wants to fulfill two offices, he suggests the possibility of saying a Mass for each one in particular, that is, several Masses on one day. This possibility was often taken advantage of at the time, until for very good reasons it was finally prohibited.⁴⁴ There was another solution which many made use of, namely, to append the fore-Mass of one celebration to the fore-Mass of another, and only then to continue with the Mass proper (*missa bifaciata*, resp. *trifaciata*), but since this latter would then contain the corresponding number of formulas for the *secreta* and the post-communion the arrangement was rejected as a *monstruosa mixtura*.⁴⁵ However one other way remained open: the *missa sicca*.⁴⁶ The text of one Mass was tacked on to the other in this fashion: after the (post-) communion the priest removed the chasuble and then, standing at the Epistle side of the altar, he read the second Mass formulary, starting with the introit, but skipping from the offertory-verse to the communion-verse; and thus coming to a conclusion. Everyone was aware that this was but a *nudum missæ officium*, and for that reason it was plainly separated from the real celebration. It was a commemorative rite, a devotion which later on acquired an independent

⁴³ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, Præf. altera (PL, CV, 987 f.).

The peculiarity that is found in the older *Gelasianum* and partly also in the *Leonianum*, namely, two orations regularly before the secret, will be discussed later (*infra*, p. 484). This is hardly evidence for a practice of having two orations regularly following each other at Mass, certainly not at Rome.

⁴⁴ *Supra*, p. 221.

⁴⁵ Thus in 1198 by Bishop Odo of Paris;

Pinsk (see note following), 101; Franz, 84 ff.

⁴⁶ J. Pinsk, "Die Missa sicca," JL, IV (1923), 90-118. The term *missa sicca* was derived originally from a rite which was customary at the Communion of the sick; even here in the sick-room the Mass formulary was read, skipping however from the fore-Mass (this might even reach to the *Sanctus*) to the *Pater noster*, and then giving Communion in the usual way, but only under the form of bread (hence the *sicca*); Pinsk, 98 f.

existence, being used on various occasions particularly as an extra-eucharistic service till, after the Council of Trent, it was replaced by the Benediction service.⁴⁷

However, besides such a commemoration which comprised all the proper texts, the other type already discovered (and disapproved) by Amalar continued in use. Here for the commemoration of the extra Office or of some other special exigency only the respective orations (collect, secret, and post-communion) were appended.⁴⁸ Traces of a tendency to use this expedient are found in the Frankish area quite early. Still the effort was made to work out a scheme whereby both themes would be incorporated in one formula. A hundred years before Amalar, the older *Gelasianum* contains a formulary in which the orations (and the *Hanc igitur* formula) express a double purpose, the remembrance of a holy martyr and a service for the dead.⁴⁹ But the *Gregorianum* of Hadrian, in the second Christmas Mass, displays the other expedient, a second oration added for the second theme (St. Anastasia).⁵⁰ By the ninth century the second oration appears as an independent formula in many other liturgical texts.⁵¹ Still, as late as the turn of the eleventh century we hear a voice raised to re-establish the old rule that at each Mass, just as there is one introit and one Gospel, there should be but one oration—and at the same time it lauds those who, when adding extra orations, but seldom overstep the number seven.⁵² It is quite

⁴⁷ Pinsk, 101 ff., 117.

The classic example of a “dry Mass” is the one still to be found in the Blessing of Palms on Palm-Sunday. Even the rubric to be found here, not to turn to the people at *Dominus vobiscum*, belongs to this rite.

⁴⁸ Inversely in the Byzantine liturgy a commemorative rite has been devised in which it is the readings or at least the Epistle that is added to the reading of the day. Max von Sachsen, *Prælectiones de liturgiis orientalibus*, II (Freiburg, 1913), 226.

⁴⁹ III, 95 (Wilson, 303 f.). The first oration reads: *Beati martyris tui (illius), Domine, quæsumus, intercessione nos protege et animam famuli tui (illius) sacerdotis sanctorum tuorum iunge consortiis*.

⁵⁰ Lietzmann, n. 7.

Amalar, too, had this case of precedence in view (*loc. cit.*, 989 C).

For extra-eucharistic functions like the conferring of orders or the introduction of Penance and of penitential reconciliation even the older *Gelasianum* had two or more orations following each other (I, 20; 99; I, 15; 38) and this, at least

in part, from genuine Roman tradition; cf. also the formulary for the ordinations in the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 422-425) and in the *Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 2-4).

⁵¹ Thus the Mass for penitents in the Pontifical of Poitiers (last third of the 9th century) in J. Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in adm. sacr. poenitentia* (Antwerp, 1682), App., p. 59 f.

⁵² Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 4 (PL, CLI, 980). At Cluny in the 11th century the rule held that not more than ten orations were to be spoken at the *missa maior*; *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.* I, 7 (PL, CXLIX, 652); cf. *ibid.*, I, 6; 9 (651, 653). The progressive multiplication of orations can be gauged, e.g., by what happened in the penitential liturgy. Thus in the order of reconciliation on Maundy Thursday the three orations of older sources (8th century) have grown to sixteen in the Romano-German pontifical of the 10th century (Hittorp, 53-55); cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 76, 78f., 96, 187 f.

possible to see in this trend towards a multiplication of orations the same influence at work that produced the long, wordy prayers of the Gallic liturgies.⁶³

As time went on the stress was entirely on this rule, that the number seven should not be exceeded,⁶⁴ and that the last should not be an oration *pro defunctis*.⁶⁵ Besides there was a new regulation, emphasizing that the number of orations should be uneven—seven or five or three or one.⁶⁶ This rule regarding the odd number of orations is still maintained in the present missal for days of lesser rite⁶⁷; manifold are the prescriptions for filling out the orations to the number three. And still the rule is often broken, e.g., by the addition of the *oratio imperata* of the bishop. The numbers five and seven also play a role, but only to this extent that on lesser days these numbers may be taken into account⁶⁸—an example of the rubrical continuance of a rule whose basis has long ago disappeared.

Moreover we will have to point out another development in this growth of orations. The collect (and with it, the secret and the post-communion) has acquired a second function along with the original one. Since the dis-

⁶³ Especially the Irish monks, it seems, were accustomed to such multiplications. At the Council of Mâcon (627) we find a trace of an earnest opposition to the practice aimed especially at this group: A monk Agrestinus had made the charge, *Columbanum . . . sacra missarum sollemnia multiplicatione orationum vel collectarum celebrare*. However the charge was rejected and the opinion of the defender endorsed: *Multiplicationem vero orationum in sacris officiis credo omnibus proficere ecclesiis, quia dum plus Dominus quaritur, plus invenitur*. Mansi, X, 588 f.

⁶⁴ John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 37; 57 (PL, CCII, 45 f., 51 D).

There is a notable development to be remarked in the series of seven orations in the so-called "golden mess," a votive Mass which appeared since the 13th century; here an invariable antiphon was added each time to each of the orations. Franz, 282-286.

⁶⁵ Beleth, *ibid*.

Beleth adds the enigmatic reason: *quoniam finis ad suum debet retorqueri principium*. This same reason recurs word for word in Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 27 (PL, CCXVII, 815), in Durandus, IV, 15, 16, and even in Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, I, 7, 6 (I 89) in their commentary on the rubric which is still in force at present, *Missale Romanum*,

Rubr. gen., VII, 6 (here with the turn that if the first collect is for the living the last must likewise return to the living).

⁶⁶ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 4 (PL, CLI, 980). These numbers are then given various interpretations in accordance with the medieval number symbolism; see Eisenhofer, II, 97. Seven must be taken as the maximum because it was not exceeded in the petitions of the Lord's Prayer.

As the basis for the unevenness of the number there has been some juggling since Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 37 (PL, CCII, 46 A), and even before him, of a verse from Virgil's *Eclogs*, VIII, 75: *Numero Deus impari gaudet*. This is but an expression of the high regard which even antiquity had for odd numbers which, as Pliny (28, 23) puts it, are *ad omnia vehementiores*; see E. Riess, "Aberglaube", Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie d. class. Altertumswiss.*, I (1894), 49 f.

A moral turn is given the concept by Durandus, IV, 15, 15: the uneven number is to be favored because it means indivisibility and unity: *Deus enim divisionem et discordiam detestatur*.

⁶⁷ *Missale Rom.*, *Rubr. gen.*, IX.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, IX, 12; *Additiones et variationes*, VI, 6.

appearance of the Prayer of the Faithful and the curtailment of the *Kyrie-litany*, these orations have become the most obvious place to put into words the special wants of the Church and the needs of the time. To be sure, this was almost entirely the part of the priest and not of the people, so that in very modern times a new substitute was devised, namely the prayers said with the people after Mass. The liturgical practice of older religious orders still gives some indication of the effort to make the oration of the day more prominent and to let the other added orations recede into the shadows; the demeanor in choir manifests the distinction, for it is only during the first oration that the clergy are bowed, showing that this is the priestly prayer they make their own.⁵⁹ A similar point is made by a regulation we occasionally meet with, according to which the celebrant says only the first oration out loud, the other being recited *secrete*,⁶⁰ *tacite*⁶¹; this method has been revived by some in the conduct of the "dialogue" Mass. The present rubric that the first oration end with its own concluding formula is apparently derived from the same line of thinking.⁶²

Today the Epistle follows right after the orations. At a high Mass this is read by the subdeacon; at a less solemn Mass it is the priest himself who reads it, and he does so at once, without changing his position. As a result, especially in the latter case, we do not get the impression that something new is starting, and that here we have a clear line of separation cutting off the introductory or opening rite from the readings. In the Middle Ages the consciousness of this transition was still alive. This consciousness betrayed itself, for instance, in an abuse which the Roman Council of 743 had to denounce, namely, that many bishops and priests conducted only the procession and said the oration and left the rest of the Mass to another.⁶³ Many divisions of the Mass in Scholastic times take cognizance of this separation.⁶⁴ In greater pontifical functions, too, this spot was singled out for the development of those acclamations which, because of their derivation, are called *laudes gallicanæ*. They are still customary at this very place

⁵⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 371.

⁶⁰ Pontifical of the Roman Curia circa 1200 (Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, II, 374); *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 15; 30; 45; 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1129 C, 1136 A, 1142 B, 1160 D).

⁶¹ Pontifical of Durandus: Andrieu, III, 639.

Bishop Ermengaud of Urgel (d. 1035), in founding a daily Mass for his soul's rest, expressly ordered that in it the oration *Deus qui inter apostolicos* should be spoken, like the other prayers of the Mass, *excelsa voce*; *Acta SS*, Nov. II, I, p. 86 B.

⁶² This prescription is found already in William of Hirsau (d. 1091), *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016 D). Later in the Missal of Sarum: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 666 C). But in other medieval Mass arrangements we occasionally find that all the orations are concluded under a single closing formula; thus, e.g., Martène, I, 4, XXXII (I, 655 C).

⁶³ Can. 14 (Mansi, XII, 365).

⁶⁴ *Supra*, p. 114.

On the contrary, the *Missale Upsalense* of 1513, for example, has the section marked *Lectiones* begin with the collect. Yelverton, *The Mass in Sweden*, 13.

even today, above all at the coronation of the pope.⁶⁵ In France until modern times they were a constituent part of the pontifical Mass.⁶⁶ After the oration, two (or elsewhere six) knights⁶⁷ stood forth, or, in their place, an equal number of clerics; they began: *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*. The choir repeated. Then the song became a declaration of fealty and homage: *Summo Pontifici et universali Papæ vita!* and then it became a plea to Christ, *Exaudi Christe*, and to a series of saints, *Sancte Petre . . .*, and after each of the invocations the choir responded: *Tu illum adiuva*. The cry of allegiance to the pope is followed by similar acclamations in honor of the emperor or king, of his wife, of the bishop, of the army, and in each instance the plea *Exaudi Christe* is inserted along with a series of selected saints. If the bishop who was named was present, the whole assembly arose, and the special singers who were chanting the acclamations mounted the steps of his throne, kissed his hand and received his blessing.⁶⁸ The *Laudes* closed with a repetition of *Christus vincit*; a doxological ending, calling upon Christ, the victor over all enemies, was often connected with this close, or sometimes a *Kyrie eleison*. In the course of time the acclamations were much altered, place and situation motivating the adaptations.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ C. J. Perl, "Die Krönungsmesse des Papstes . . . am 12. III. 1939," *Liturg. Leben*, VI (1939), 13.

Cf. *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 16; 31; 45 (PL, LXXVIII, 1129 f., 1136, 1142).

⁶⁶ Martène, I, 4, 3, 13 (I, 369-371). Further texts from Arles and Reims are printed: PL, CXXXVIII, 889 f., 901 f.; U. Chevalier, *Sacramentaire et Martyrologe de l'abbaye de S. Remy* (Bibliothèque liturgique, 7; Paris, 1900), 132 f.

In the 9th century the practice also existed in most German cathedrals: Bona, II, 5, 8 (636). For Rome cf. *Ordo Rom.* XI, n. 47 (PL, LXXVIII, 1044); *Ordo Rom.* XII, n. 2 (1064 f.).

The acclamations are usually subjoined to the collects, but an exception is found in the Pontifical of Durandus, where the *Laudes* follow right after the *Kyrie*; Andrieu, III, 648 f. The same thing is attested by Bonizo of Sutri (d. c. 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels, Berlin, 1930; 59).

For the history of the acclamations, see H. Leclercq, "Laudes gallicanæ," DACL, VIII, 1898-1910 (here also a series of texts); J. Beckmann, "Laudes Hincmari," LThK, VI (1934), 410; J. Chr. Natter-

mann, "Die Laudes ausserhalb und innerhalb der hl. Messe," *Theologie u. Glaube*, XXXIII (1941), 147-153; Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich*, 102-111; 157-160; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, 96-101.

A comprehensive study is offered in J. M. Hanssens, "De laudibus carolinis," *Periodica*, XXX (1941), 280-302; XXXI (1942), 31-53. A critical discussion in E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae. A study in liturgical acclamations and medieval ruler worship* (Berkeley, 1946).

⁶⁷ Vienne: *milites*; Lyons, *equites*; see Martène, *loc. cit.* (369 C). These are the noble representatives of the people. At the coronation of the emperor *scriniarii*, *notarii* appear in this capacity; Eichmann, 96 f.

⁶⁸ Soissons, Reims; Martène, *loc. cit.* (370 C, 371 B).

⁶⁹ Since, in accordance with their origin, the *Laudes* are intended first of all for the ruler, the acclamations for the bishop are not often attested. See, however, besides the examples offered by Martène, in Ebner, 153, note 2; Pontifical of Durandus: Andrieu, III, 649. Also the witness of Bonizo of Sutri, *loc. cit.*, belongs here.

It is quite obvious that here in the pontifical liturgy a special finale has been added to the introductory rite, and this with apparent good reason. But this pledge of allegiance to the bishop who has just entered his cathedral could not fittingly take place until after the bishop himself, by means of the oration, had made his own homage and pledge of loyalty to almighty God.⁷⁰ This custom is a continuation of a custom stemming from ancient times, of acclaiming the ruler when he ascended his throne or also when he was solemnly received. In the form of prayers now prevalent we have the Christian adaptation of the ancient acclaim.⁷¹

⁷⁰ But we also find the *Laudes* (as suits their character) at the end of Mass, just before the *Ite, missa est*; thus, in a specially ancient form, at Vienne: de Moléon, 18. Probably also the *Laudes* known as the "Litany of Beauvais" (c. 1005) are to be placed in the same spot, for they conclude: *Multos annos. Amen. Ite missa est. Deo gratias.* St. Baluzius, *Miscellanea* (Paris, 1679), II, 145.

Kindred acclamations ("Long years!") are to be found in the pontifical Mass of the Byzantine liturgy of the Ukrainians, both at the beginning of Mass, namely

after the Little Entrance before the start of the readings, and at the departure; M. Hornykevitch, *Die göttliche Liturgie* (2nd ed.; Klosterneuburg, 1935), 47, note 98. On the other hand the Byzantine liturgy of Constantinople offers the bishop the acclamation Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη δέσποτα at three different places in the Fore-Mass; Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 536 f.; but see Pl. de Meester, *DACL*, VI, 1636; 1639; 1640.

⁷¹ The transition is discussed by Biehl, 102 f.

II. The Service of Readings

1. Origin and Plan of the Service of Readings

THE SERVICE OF READINGS FORMS THE SECOND SECTION OF THE MASS-liturgy. The reading of Holy Scripture represents the proper content of the fore-Mass in much the same way as the Sacrament forms the heart of the Mass proper; they are both precious treasures which the Church safeguards for mankind.¹ Just as our Lord himself first taught, and only after this foundation was laid did He erect His kingdom, so now too the word of God should first fill our soul before the mystery of the New Covenant is realized amongst us anew. Since the service of readings was at one time an independent entity, it was able to exist even without the continuation in the Mass proper. But since, like every Bible lesson, it demanded some sort of conclusion, we must inquire whether even in the present liturgy its plan stretches out beyond the readings, or at least helps to mould some of the forms now found in the Mass proper. At least the second alternative is plainly verified. And in the oriental liturgies the first is quite apparent; the readings are followed by prayer as is the custom otherwise and the last of the prayers is the Prayer of the Faithful. The same picture is presented in the most important sources of ancient Christian liturgy.

So it is an a priori probability (and the detailed facts will bring this out) that in the Roman Mass too the *Oremus* which follows the readings and the oration which really belongs to it (the so-called secret), if viewed formally, are still part of the reading rite, even if the material shape of the oration and the interval between it and the *Oremus* are concerned with the preparation of the offerings and thus belongs to the opening of the Mass proper. So it is with all the greater right that we speak of a *service* of readings or of lessons.

The beginnings of this service go back, as we have already seen,² to the practice in the synagogue, with whose arrangement the Apostles and the Christians of the primitive Church had been acquainted as they grew up. We must, therefore, next turn our attention to the synagogue service.

The very nature of the religion of the Old Testament, as a religion of revelation, implied a heavy leaning on the reading of the sacred Books. This reading took place not in the Temple at Jerusalem but in the many

¹ Cf. *Imitatio Christi*, IV, 11: *Quod corpus animæ fidei necessaria. Christi et Sacra Scriptura maxime sint*

² *Supra*, p. 11.

synagogues which were built everywhere after the Exile. Here, on appointed days, above all on the Sabbath, the community was assembled. The reading was disposed in such a way that two passages were read at each meeting, one passage from the "Law" and the other from the "Prophets."³ The lection from the "Law" (Torah) was first. It was continued from one meeting to the next as a *lectio continua*, so that the whole was finished during a stipulated period and the series started all over again. A fixed cycle, with a certain number of definitely outlined passages (*parashoth*) arranged for each Sabbath, is not traced until the time of the Talmud.⁴ The reading of the Law in the Palestinian synagogues was also signalized by the fact that it was not done by one reader but was distributed amongst several, usually at least seven, each of whom read a number of verses. Of the remaining Books, the "Prophets" (*Nebiim*), a passage was usually chosen at will. This formed the conclusion of the service and was therefore called *haph-tarah*, "conclusion." Added to the readings was a homily. According to the New Testament accounts⁵ this followed the prophetic reading, but the customary arrangement appears to have been to insert the homily after the first reading, which was the more important one.

The assembly was opened with the *shema*, a kind of profession of faith made up of passages from Holy Writ.⁶ Every assembly also had a congregational prayer, spoken by one of the members of the group appointed by the ruler of the synagogue; it was introduced with the words "Praise the Lord."⁷ However, just how it was done in the time of the Apostles and just where it was inserted, is not clear, since exact and detailed accounts are wanting. Still the groundwork for the *Shemoneh Esreh*,⁸ which was developed after the destruction of Jerusalem, can be traced back prior to this.⁹ The assembly was concluded with the blessing of a priest, if there was one present, or else with some corresponding prayer.

³ E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (4th ed.; Leipzig, 1907), II, 497-544; Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 153-1881 Hanssens, II, 422 f.

⁴ I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (2nd ed.; Frankfurt, 1924), 159-162; Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 154-156. The Palestinians availed themselves of a three-year cycle with 154 sections (or even more, up to 175), the Babylonian tradition on the contrary had a one-year cycle with 54 *parashoth*. There is also question of a three-and-a-half year cycle with 175 *parashoth*.

⁵ Luke 4: 16-20; Acts 12: 15 f.

⁶ Deut. 6: 4-9; 11: 13-21; Num. 15: 37-41.

⁷ Schürer, II, 515; 529; Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 189-249.

⁸ *Shemoneh 'esreh* = "Eighteen" (prayer). The text, with emphasis on the portion which is traceable to the first century, in Schürer, II, 539 ff.; cf. Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 211-220.

⁹ As the basis of the prayer Schürer, II, 542, note 156, reckons the prayer which in the Hebrew text is appended to Eccles. 51: 12 (in A. Eberharder, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach* [Bonn, 1925] it is intercalated as verse 51: 12' to 12¹⁸). It is a praise of God as protector of Israel; the wording is reminiscent of the great Hallel psalm 135, especially because of the recurring refrain "For His goodness remains forever," which is obviously spoken by the people.

The elements of this arrangement can be found quite unmistakably in the service of the Christian congregations at an early date.¹⁰ According to Justin the readings on Sundays were followed by a homily (spoken by the one presiding) and by the common prayer of the congregation¹¹—two elements which continue to be constituent parts of the fore-Mass. The chants or songs which are generally connected with the readings in the Christian liturgies must also go back to some common primitive Christian source. The psalmodic form of the songs carries us back to the synagogue. The *Apostolic Constitutions* of the fourth century¹² makes mention of a singer's psalming the hymns of David after the first of the two readings, and of the people's responding to it. But even two hundred years or so before this, Tertullian makes a cursory reference to the psalmody which follows the readings. Writing as a Montanist, he gives an account of a prophetess who *inter dominica sollemnia* regularly fell into ecstasy, *prout scripturæ leguntur aut psalmi canuntur aut allocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur*¹³; the allusion to *allocutiones* makes it more or less plain that the narrative deals with an occurrence during a public assembly for reading—obviously the fore-Mass.

The arrangement here to be seen, therefore, is the same as that which, in the oldest sources both East and West, prevailed also in the extra-eucharistic service of the Church,¹⁴ the same that is still in use in the Roman Breviary as the second part of every canonical hour. The series is this: reading, responsorial singing of the assembled congregation, prayer.¹⁵ The only thing added to this plan, as occasion demanded, was the homily.

2. The Choice of Readings

Regarding the number and the selection of the readings a great variety has prevailed and still prevails amongst the Christian liturgies. The only agreement is the rule that there should be at least two lessons, of which the last in all cases is to be taken from the Gospels. And the lessons have all been biblical; aside from the primitive era when the various community letters were read, the lessons were gradually restricted to readings from the Scriptures, although there was some variation here and there.¹ That besides

¹⁰ Lines of relationship are pointed out by Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 47-50.

Regarding the reading of Scripture in the primitive Church see the general discussion in Nielsen, *The Earliest Christian Liturgy*, 241-250.

¹¹ Justin, *Apol.*, I, 67.

¹² *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 6 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182; Funk, I, 161).

¹³ Tertullian, *De an.*, c. 9 (CSEL, XX, 310).

¹⁴ In broad outline also in Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.*; first the catechumens receive instruction, then prayer follows (Dix, 29). The same arrangement in the assembly of the faithful (60 f.).

¹⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 268, note 26.

¹ The fluctuation concerned in the main the inclusion of the acts of the martyrs. Reading of the story of the sufferings of the martyrs at the divine service is attested at the earliest in the Acts of

the Old Testament lessons there should be readings from the New Testament—and these even by preference—was to be taken for granted, and was, in fact, explicitly urged in the regulations of St. Paul.² For the rest, the various arrangements can be best understood if we contemplate them in their first beginnings, already indicated in the previous chapter, the arrangement of lessons in the synagogue. But we will be amazed to see how strongly Christian principles of choice gradually took over.

The connection with the service of the synagogue is especially recognizable in the order of the lessons in the Syrian liturgies. In the Antiochene Church of the fourth century one lesson was taken from the Law and one from the Prophets, as once they were in the synagogue, and then followed readings from the letters of the Apostles (or, on occasion, from the Acts of the Apostles) and from the Gospels.³ Even today as a rule two Old Testament readings introduce the reading service of the East Syrian Mass; readings from St. Paul's Epistles and from the Gospels follow.⁴ In the West Syrian Jacobite liturgy there are vestiges of the ancient arrangement. The fore-Mass in most cases contains six readings altogether, three from the Old Testament. Of these, the first two are from the Law and the Prophets (in the narrower sense), as usual, and a reading from the Sapiential books is added.⁵ Other liturgies have retained at least one Old Testament lection,

Apollonius which belong to the second century (n. 47; *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, XIV, p. 327 f.). Such a practice was legally sanctioned expressly for the Mass by the III Council of Carthage (397), can. 36 (Mansi, III, 924): *Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum quorum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur*. This is matched by St. Augustine's witness to actual practice: Roetzer, 62 f., 107 f.

For the area of the Gallic liturgy there are found accounts of reading the acts of martyrs at Mass even in the centuries that followed. For Gaul see the *Expositio ant. liturgiæ gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 13 f.) and the Lectionary of Luxeuil (ed. P. Salmon, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil* [Rome, 1944], 27 ff., 181 f.); also Gregory of Tours, *De gloria mart.*, I 86 (PL, LXXI, 781) and *De mirac. s. Martini*, II, 29; 49 (PL, LXXI 954; 963) must be so understood. On the feast-day of the Martyrs of Lyons (June 2) it was the custom at Vienne even circa 1700 to read the pertinent *Passio* from Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* V, 1) between Gradual and Alleluia: de Moléon, 34. For Milan there is the letter of the Regensburg clerics Paul and Gebhart

of the year 1024 (in J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum* [Paris, 1724], 2, p. 97): *gestis sanctorum quæ Missarum celebrationibus apud vos interponi solent, non indigemus*. See also Martène, 1, 4, 4, 2 (I, 372 f.).

² 1 Thess. 5: 27; Col. 4: 16.

³ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 5, 11 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 198). Cf. for this Baumstark, *Nicht-evangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends* (LF III; Münster, 1921), 17. The sequence: Law—Prophets—Gospel, receives a deeper significance in Maximus Confessor; it reflects the progression: Flesh—Sense—Reason; or again: Shadow—Image—Presence of the reality. H. U. v. Balthasar, *Die 'Gnostischen Centurien' des Maximus Confessor* (Freiburg, 1941), 64.

⁴ Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 15; idem, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen*, 16-19. Only during Eastertide and on feastdays is the first reading taken from Isaiah, the second from the Acts of the Apostles; cf. Brightman, 256, 1. 2-5.

⁵ The three New Testament lessons are taken from the Acts of the Apostles or

besides the two from the New. Thus the Armenian liturgy,⁶ which in this continues the older usage of Byzantium.⁷ And in the West the ancient Gallican liturgy,⁸ along with its sister-forms, the Mozarabic⁹ and the older Milanese,¹⁰ which follow this order outside the Easter time. During the Easter time the Acts of the Apostles replace the Old Testament, a rule which we find similarly in the East Syrian liturgy.¹¹

It is not surprising that during this festive season of the Church year, when the mystery of our Redemption stands out so plainly, there should be a tendency to restrict the readings from the Old Testament in favor of those from the New. The connection with the eucharistic celebration must have tended in the same direction insofar as there was any consciousness of the Easter character of that celebration.¹² Thus in the Egyptian liturgies we find a fourfold lesson, probably in the beginning an attempt to compromise with readings from both Testaments,¹³ but now (in both the Coptic and the Ethiopian liturgies) actually taken from the New Testament only: the Epistle of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles, the Acts and the Gospels.¹⁴ The Byzantine liturgy, too, since about the seventh century, has only two lessons at Mass, both from the New Testament, the "Apostle" and the Gospel.¹⁵

The Roman liturgy underwent the same evolution to a degree at least. Here, too, the Mass must once have had three lessons regularly,¹⁶ as it still

the Catholic Epistles, from the letters of St. Paul and from the Gospels. Brightman, 77-70; Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 16; idem., *Nicht-evangelische syrische Perikopenordnung*, 78 ff., 175 ff.

⁶ Brightman, 425.

⁷ Chrysostom attests more than once a prophetic, an apostolic and a Gospel lection; see the passages in Brightman, 531, note 5; cf. Rahlfs (below, note 15), 124 f. The prophetic reading is also mentioned in the life of St. Theodore Sykeota (d. 613), n. 16: *Acta SS*, Apr., III, 37.

⁸ Evidence from the sources in Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 141, note 13; H. Leclercq, "Gallicane (Liturgie)", *DACL*, VI, 542 f.

⁹ G. Morin, *Liber Comicus* (Maredsous, 1892); *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 109 ff.).

¹⁰ It is still attested in the letter (already mentioned) of the Regensburg clerics (note 1 above), in Mabillon, I, 2, 97; cf. Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, 543 note 1. The present-day Milanese liturgy has generally only two lections.

¹¹ Cf. *supra*, note 4. Cf. also in the Roman Breviary the exclusive choice of New Testament readings (Acts, Apocalypse, Catholic Epistles) during the Paschal season.

¹² Cf. *supra*, p. 239 f. the influence on the posture of the body.

¹³ Cf. the numerous homilies of Origen on the Old Testament books.

¹⁴ Brightman, 152-155; 212-219.

¹⁵ H. Rahlfs, *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche*: Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1915, 123-125 (= *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*, I [Berlin, 1909-1915], 217-219). The Greek liturgy of St. James and the Greek liturgy of St. Mark, too, in their oldest traditional form, had only these two lessons; Brightman, 36 ff., 118 f.

¹⁶ A fragmentary Mass book from lower Italy recently printed has, besides other pre-Gregorian vestiges, also three lessons as a rule; A. Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuchfragmente aus der Zeit des ersten Jahrtausends im Bartschifttyp* (*Texte und Arbeiten*, I, 25;

has on certain of the older liturgical days,¹⁷ and the usual arrangement must have included—in part at least—one reading from the Old Testament and two from the New.¹⁸ But later the Old Testament reading disappeared from the permanent plan of the Mass-liturgy. For on all Sundays the first of the two lessons is always taken from one of the Letters of the Apostles—an “Epistle,” therefore, in the strict sense—and all through Paschaltide it is either from the Letters or from the Acts of the Apostles. Outside this season the pre-Gospel reading at the ferial Masses is, as a rule, from the Old Testament, but for feast days, especially for the feasts of saints, no definite rule can be set down.

But it is plain that wherever the Old Testament appears in the readings of the fore-Mass, it is not for its own sake, nor simply to have some spiritual text for reading, but it is chosen for its prophetic worth and its value as an illustration of the New Testament. This is unmistakable in the prophecies of Holy Saturday; here, with gaze fixed on Baptism, the Old Testament illustrations proclaim the new creation, the new people of God, the triumph over death, the new life and the renovating power of God's spirit. It is equally apparent in the Old Testament readings which here and

Beuron, 1934). Of the 20 formularies partially preserved, nine indisputably have the order of lessons: Old Testament, St. Paul, Gospel. Two formularies have only two readings (Old Testament and Gospel); for the rest no verdict is possible (Dold, p. xxx). Regarding the *Comes* of Murbach, see *infra*, note 18. Regarding the probability that the Gradual originally had its setting after the first lesson of three see *infra*.

Batiffol, *Leçons*, 129, maintained that the ancient Roman liturgy, too, had three lessons only by way of exception. But a different view is held by Kunze, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung*, 141, who places the omission of the third lesson in the 6th century.

¹⁷ Ember-Wednesday, Wednesday of the 4th week of Lent, Wednesday and Friday of Holy Week. The longer series of readings on the Saturdays of Ember-week, on the other hand, is the remains of an ancient vigil service. The ancient tradition had on these days 12 lessons, like those still customary on Holy Saturday. The formularies on these days are therefore regularly given the following headings in the liturgical books of the earlier Middle Ages: *Sabbato in duodecim lectionibus*.

¹⁸ This arrangement is retained in the Zurich and Peterling fragments (Dold, *loc. cit.*). Also in the *Comes* of Würzburg (ed. Morin: *Revue Bénéd.*, 27 [1910], 46 ff.; cf. the observations of the editor, p. 72) and similarly in the *Comes* of Murbach (ed. Morin: *Revue Bénéd.*, 30 [1913], 35), in the latter case with the rubric: *Si venerit vigilia vel Natale Domini in dominica leg. apostolum, si autem in alia die, legis prophetam tantum*.

According to Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), *De canonum observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 139), it was still customary in some places at that time to have three readings at the three Christmas Masses and at the Mass of Christmas Eve; in many churches of Italy the Gradual and Alleluia were so apportioned as intermediary chants that the Gradual followed the first lesson, the Alleluia the second. This is also the case in the present-day Dominican liturgy which has three lessons on the days mentioned and in all four instances the first is a reading from Isaias. Cf. also de Moléon, 110; Waefelghem, 152 f., 155.

The African Mass, too,—from what we can learn from Augustine—had three lessons on some days, other times only two. Roetzer, 100.

there appear on feast days, as when on Epiphany the Prophet Isaias views the peoples streaming into the new Kingdom of God, or on feasts of the Blessed Virgin the Son of Sirach praises the divine Wisdom which has built itself a house on earth.¹⁹ Nor is it much different in regard to the Old Testament readings in the ferial formularies for Lent. They illustrate certain relationships in the New Testament economy of salvation or in the ecclesiastical discipline of the Lenten season: forty days of prayer and penance, the call to repentance, Baptism and its effects, the Law of God; or they present little sidelights to the story of the Gospel or to the life of the station saint; or they suggest some other association with the peculiarities of the station church.²⁰

But we would misunderstand the position of even the New Testament texts and accounts in their liturgical associations if we were to take them solely as primitive accounts of the time of their origin, as mere witnesses of things past, from which we gain no other edification than we might gain from the rest of the testimonials of Christian living. For the words of the Apostles and the accounts of the Evangelists are given a new meaning by being proclaimed anew by the Church to this assembly of Christian men. They must be regarded entirely in the perspective of the present, for they are themselves bearers of the grace-laden message which God gives

¹⁹ The best illustration of the Old Testament lesson in this connection is offered by the grand treasure of homilies delivered by the Fathers on almost all the books of the Old Testament. It is only in virtue of a basic New Testament viewpoint that Origen, for example, could explain in homily not only the prophets but also all five books of the Pentateuch as well as extensive portions of Josue and Judges. He was helped in this, as were most of the other homilists of the ancient Church, by the use of allegorism as a means of explanation and interpretation.

In our liturgical reading of the Old Testament, where the explanation is wanting, formal allegorism plays a part only to the extent that common material from the Fathers is involved, as in the reference of the four beings in Ezechiel (1: 10-14) to the four Evangelists, or the more obvious parallels in the one divine economy.

²⁰ H. Grisar, *Das Missale Romanum im Lichte römischer Stadtgeschichte* (Freiburg, 1925).

Hints to the understanding of the

choice of pericopes in general, partly retrenching Grisar's opinions, in the chapter "De keuze van Epistel en Evangelie" in Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 347-378. Callewaert refers, e.g., to the opening and closing words of the pericopes which often contain the main ideas intended (357 ff.).

It seems to have been a peculiarity of the Roman plan which preceded the one which holds at present to have sought as much as possible for some rapport between Epistle and Gospel. In the Masses of Lent this community of theme is still visible in many instances. On Tuesday of the first week of Lent, however, such a connection will be found only if the pericope of the first reading, from Isaias 55: 6-11 (fixed as it is now even in 645) is extended to 56: 7, that is, to include the verse cited in the Gospel. Patently the reading had reached this far at an earlier time and when it was revised and shortened this harmony was no longer so highly prized. B. Capelle, "Note sur le lectionnaire romain de la messe avant s. Grégoire," *Revue d'hist. eccl.*, XXXIV, (1938), 556-559.

to men through His Church. The word of God in Holy Writ sounds with renewed vigor, waking in the congregation the consciousness of the foundation on which it is built, the spiritual world in which it lives and the home to which its path is directed. It has a message for this very hour, to arouse the congregation to find a Christian solution for the problems which face each of us today.²¹

It is well known that in the service of the ancient Church the various books of Holy Scripture were read straight through, in the manner of a *lectio continua*. The most manifest voucher for this is found in the voluminous commentaries to whole books of both New and Old Testament which various Fathers have left us—commentaries which are nothing else than the homilies which they delivered at the end of the reading at worship. In fact the relationship to this reading is quite often very obvious.²²

This continuous reading of the Scriptures was broken into, as might have been expected, first of all by the greater feast days.²³ For such days a pertinent pericope was selected. For the feasts of martyrs, too, this was done, as Augustine already testifies.²⁴ It was but natural that the passages in question should be used again each year. Still this practice could not have been very extensive even by the end of the fourth century. For the Aquitanian pilgrim lady seemed never to weary of pointing out, as a peculiarity of divine service at Jerusalem, that the lessons and the psalms and antiphons here used on Epiphany or on the days of Holy Week and Easter week were always *aptæ diei*.²⁵ But to the Gallic Church of the fifth century belong the first unmistakable evidences of a system of pericopes.²⁶ On the other hand the festal seasons, even at an early period were already given special consideration by selecting certain more relevant books of the Bible for the reading. Thus at Antioch in the fourth century the Mosaic books were read during the weeks before Easter. Elsewhere during Holy Week first Job and then Jonas were read, in reference to Christ's suffering and Resurrection.²⁷ After Easter the reading of the Acts of the Apostles is affirmed quite early in more than one region.²⁸ So for the Scripture readings of the fore-Mass an arrangement was established much like that which still holds good today in the *scriptura occurrens* of our Roman Breviary.

²¹ Regarding the application of Scripture to the present, both in general and in the liturgy, cf. A. Stonner, *Bibellesung mit der katholischen Jugend* (Paderborn, 1933), 191 ff.; A. Miller, "Schriftsinn und liturgischer Sinn," *Bened. Monatschrift*, XVI (1934), 407-413. Cf. also Parsch, *Volksliturgie*, 261, and my remarks in J. Kramp, *Briefe der Kirche* (Münster, 1940), pp. XX ff.

²² For Augustine see Roetzer, 109.

²³ St. Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen*

des römischen Messbuchs (Freiburg, 1907), 41 f.; G. Godu, "Epître," *DACL*, V, 247 f.

For Augustine, see Roetzer, 103-108, for Leo the Great, see Baumstark, *Misale Romanum*, 26 f.

²⁴ Roetzer, 102 f.

²⁵ *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 29; 31; etc.

²⁶ G. Godu, "Epître," *DACL*, V, 249.

²⁷ Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen*, 7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8. Cf. *supra*, p. 394; Roetzer, 103.

In the Orient the continuous reading of certain books has remained the normal form in the Nestorian and the Jacobite liturgies, and even in modern times it is scarcely ever interrupted.²⁹ In the Byzantine liturgy for the most part the readings, at least for the Gospels, have continued in so-called serials, just as we have them in the *scriptura occurrens* of our breviary; only selected passages of the respective book are read but the readings are so arranged that the selections follow the course of the text. Thus after Pentecost, Matthew is started and continued for seventeen Sundays (with some few pericopes now displaced from their proper order); then sixteen Sundays follow with readings from St. Luke. This division of the Gospels explains the regular use of expressions like Κυριακή πρώτη τοῦ Ματθαίου, κυριακή ἑνδεκάτη τοῦ Λουκᾶ, etc.³⁰ There are also shorter series of readings from Mark and John.

Vestiges of such a progressive reading of the Scriptures are also to be found in our Roman liturgy.³¹ The Gospels of the last weeks before Easter, for instance, are taken from St. John and the same is true of the Sundays after Easter. True, the pericopes follow the biblical order only in part, but still the original intent peers through.³² One other point, noteworthy enough, must be stressed, the fact that at least the title of this continuous type of reading has been retained, for every Gospel is announced with *sequentia sancti evangelii*—the continuation of the reading of the Gospel.

More evident and incontestable are the traces in the Epistles.³³ The Epistles of the Sundays after Pentecost still form a series of pericopes in which the Letters of St. Paul are covered with almost no disturbance of the order of the Scripture canon. Because of the many saints' days which have replaced the weekdays, and which have either special readings or readings taken from the *Commune Sanctorum*, we fail today to recognize such a plan. Actually there are documentary evidences to enable us to trace this plan back to the height of the Middle Ages where it is found to have an even more remarkable extent. The so-called Würzburg *Comes*, the oldest of the documents in question, offers (in addition to the Epistle for specified occasions during the Church year and those for votive Masses) forty-two further readings not stipulated for any precise liturgical function. These forty-two pericopes are taken from the Letters of St. Paul, starting with Romans 5:6-11 and continuing in the order of the accepted canon

²⁹ Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen*, 173 f.

³⁰ N. Nilles, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae* (2nd ed.; Innsbruck, 1897), II, 442 ff. The pericopes are comprehensively treated in Beissel, 12. Cf. Salaville, *Eastern Liturgies*, 190-192.

³¹ Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 375 f.

³² The reading of the Gospel according to St. John during the Easter-to-Pentecost

season is an ancient tradition also in the Orient; cf. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 133. In the Byzantine liturgy even today the Johannine prologue is read with great solemnity on Easterday, then the lections continue from St. John; Beissel, 11-15.

³³ G. Godu, *DACL*, V, 245-344; W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, III. The Roman Epistle-Lectionary (Alcuin Club Collections, 32; Oxford, 1935).

down to Hebrews 13:17-21. The collected Sunday Epistles of that period, insofar as they follow the canonical arrangement, are contained in this group. Of the rest of the pericopes in this Würzburg index, some are found in various reading lists, either as Sunday Epistles, or partly as Epistles appointed for Wednesdays. By a comprehensive investigation⁸⁴ of the pertinent lists of lessons, Father Alban Dold, O.S.B., was able to reconstruct the arrangement of the Epistles for the time after Pentecost, as it probably appeared in the start of the fifth century.⁸⁵

SUNDAY EPISTLE

1. Apoc. 4:1-10
2. I John 4:8-21
3. I John 3:13-18
4. I Pet. 5:6-11
5. I Pet. 3:8-15
6. Rom. 5:6(8)-11
7. Rom. 5:18-21
8. Rom. 6:3-11

9. Rom. 6:19-23 →
10. Rom. 8:12-17 →
11. I Cor. 12:2-11 →
12. II Cor. 3:4-9 →
13. II Cor. 5:1-11 →

14. Gal. 3:16-22
15. Gal. 5:16-24
16. Gal. 5:25-6:10
17. Eph. 3:13-21
18. Eph. 4:1-6
19. Eph. 4:23-28
20. Eph. 5:15-21
21. Eph. 6:10-17
22. Phil. 1:6-11
23. Phil. 3:17-21
24. Col. 1:9-14

WEDNESDAY EPISTLE

- Rom. 8:1-6
I Cor. 10:6-13
I Cor. 15:39-46
II Cor. 4:5-10
II Cor. 6:14-7:1

- Col. 1:12-18
Col. 2:8-13
Col. 3:5-11
Col. 3:12-17
I Thess. 2:9-13
II Thess. 2:15-3:5
II Thess. 3:6-16
I Tim. 1:5-11
I Tim. 2:1-7
I Tim. 6:7-14
II Tim. 1:8-13

That the reading begins with the Catholic Epistles is in accordance with an older arrangement of the canon, in which the Catholic Epistles were placed first immediately after the Acts of the Apostles.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ A. Dold, "Das Donaueschinger Comes-fragment B II 7, ein neuer Textzeuge für die altüberlieferte liturgische Feier der Stationsfasttage Mittwoch und Freitag. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sonn- und Stationsfasttagsperikopen in der Zeit von Pfingsten bis zum Advent," *JL*, VI (1926), 16-53.

⁸⁵ *Loc. cit.*, 37.

⁸⁶ Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, II (Erlangen, 1890), 381 f. "Neither have they [the Catholic Epistles] the same place in the series of the NT books as given in the ancient MSS. versions and catalogues. In most they come between the Acts and the Pauline Epistles. This is the case with the Canon of the Council of Laodicea,

The obvious system of having the weekday readings continue the Sunday ones is followed on only five Wednesdays. The other Wednesdays form an independent series using the material left over from the Sunday series.³⁷ It is to be noted that the readings from Romans which, in the table above, break off at Romans 8:17, are actually continued in our present-day Roman arrangement on the second to the fourth Sundays after Epiphany.³⁸ In the course of the Middle Ages other systems for the Epistles were constructed, incorporating Wednesdays and sometimes even Fridays; but these lists never had other than local importance.³⁹

We also possess a clear idea of the early medieval Roman arrangement for the Gospel.⁴⁰ This, too, agrees fairly well with the arrangement followed today insofar as the same liturgical days come into question. Here, too, weekdays were taken into account, in this case not only Wednesday but Friday, and, as often as not, Saturday also. This involves us in the religious life of the ancient Church, in which the "stational days" as well as the Sundays were taken into account. To the fasting which was an old tradition on these days, was added a prayer-meeting with readings, and gradually—first on Wednesdays, as many evidences indicate—also a eucharistic service.⁴¹ The system of readings which was developed for these services continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages in various places, particularly (it seems) in monastic churches.⁴² Some of the references are as late as the sixteenth century.⁴³ What is not a little surprising is that this

Codices B and A, in the lists of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Leontius, the 'Sixty Books,' Cassiodorus, John of Damascus, etc." Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Edinburgh-N.Y., 1904), I, 360.

³⁷ That exactly 24 Sundays after Pentecost are fitted out with lessons cannot be taken to mean that the time when this plan was outlined there were just 24 Sundays after Pentecost, for there was as yet no Advent.

³⁸ Rom. 12: 6-16; 12: 16-21; 13: 8-10. It is noteworthy that these pericopes are found also in the Epistle list of the *Codex Fuldensis*, the well-known Vulgate text which stems from the 6th century and from the church of Capua; the first two passages are among the pericopes marked *post epifania* (in Godu, DACL, V, 298, n. 16, 22), the third at the start of Lent (lengthened to include up to 14: 4; Godu, n. 33).

In the *Comes* of Alcuin the same three pericopes are somewhat differently apportioned; in addition, Rom. 12: 1-6 is appointed for the first Sunday after Epiphany; Godu, *loc. cit.*, 302, n. 15.

³⁹ A. Wilmart, "Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 137, note 5.

⁴⁰ Th. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, I (LQF, XXVIII; Münster, 1935); St. Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen* (Freiburg, 1907); G. Godu, "Evangelies," DACL, V, 852-923; W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, II. The Roman Gospel-Lectionary (Alcuin Club Collections, 30; Oxford, 1934).

⁴¹ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 233. The preferential treatment accorded Wednesdays appears to have emerged from Innocent I, *Ep.* 25, 4 (PL, XX, 555 f.); cf. also Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio", 520, 533 ff.

We can therefore conclude that the assignment of only a Gospel reading to Fridays indicates that on this day there was simply a service of reading.

⁴² In the Rule of St. Benedict, c. 41, the observance of the stational days named as fast-days is accentuated.

⁴³ Dold, "Das Donaueschinger Comes-fragment," 21 f, 40; cf. Beissel, 166. With the Premonstratensians this arrangement was not supplanted till the

system of pericopes, although extended to two or three days a week, nowhere gives any signs of any continued series of lessons,⁴⁴ not to mention a *lectio continua*. The pericope is chosen very freely, with no regard for previous or succeeding passages. For feast days, those of our Lord and of the saints, the thought of the feast naturally dictated the choice of both Epistle and Gospel. The same thing was true to a rather wide extent also for festive seasons. We have already cited the Sundays after Easter.⁴⁵ The choice for Advent was plainly decided by the catch word: the coming of our Lord, the approach of his Kingdom. The Gospels for Sundays after Epiphany⁴⁶ are similarly selected on the basis of a catch-word (especially if we take into account some older Gospel references which no longer obtain): this is the revelation of the wisdom and miraculous might of the God-man who had appeared on earth.⁴⁷ In the period from Septuagesima to Easter the theme for both Epistle and Gospel is founded on the prospect of the grand festival and on concern for a proper preparation of the congregation and—to a certain extent—of the candidates for Baptism and the penitents.⁴⁸ Above all, however, it is the Roman station churches with their martyr graves and local reminiscences that offer the key in many cases to an understanding of the choice of a pericope.⁴⁹ Least satisfactory is the search for a motive in the choice of the Gospels for the Sundays after Pentecost.⁵⁰ In some instances the proximity of the feast of a great saint

Missal of 1622; Th. Szomor, *Das Prämonstratenser Missale im Vergleich zum römischen* (unpublished dissertation, Innsbruck, 1936), 4 f., 22.

⁴⁴ The only thing that does occur is that on a few occasions the reading is concluded, without a break, on a following day; thus the reading of Luke 16: 19-31 on the 2nd Sunday after Pentecost concludes on the next Friday with Luke 17: 1-10, the reading of Luke 16: 1-9 on the 10th Sunday after Pentecost concludes on the following Wednesday with Luke 16: 10-15, the reading of Matt. 13: 24-30 on the Wednesday after the 19th Sunday after Pentecost is continued on the following Friday with Matt. 13: 31-35. Dold, 42-53.

⁴⁵ *Supra*, p. 399.

⁴⁶ The Epistles, as was pointed out, follow a definite course of continued reading; see above, p. 401.

⁴⁷ J. A. Jungmann, "Die Nachfeier von Epiphanie im Missale Romanum," *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 39-46, especially 41 ff.

The Gospels of the Sundays after

Epiphany (third to sixth) are arranged according to their order in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, but with lacunæ.

⁴⁸ Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 136 refers to the relationships to the Oriental plan for the Epistles on the Sundays of Lent, particularly to the operation of a reading of Genesis which was once the rule and is so even at present in the Orient and in the Roman Breviary.

⁴⁹ H. Grisar, *Das Missale im Lichte römischer Stadtgeschichte* (Freiburg, 1925), throws much light especially on this portion of the Church year.

⁵⁰ Beissel, 195 f. It has been remarked that all the pericopes are taken from the Synoptics.

In some instances we might suppose that the Epistle, fixed (as we have seen) according to a plan of continuous readings, affected the choice of the Gospel; thus on the 7th Sunday after Pentecost (the mention of good and bad fruit). But the whole series of Epistles is shifted by one Sunday in the oldest MSS. or dif-

honored in the Roman Church appears to have influenced the choice.⁵¹ The other passages, we must conclude, are in substance a group of synoptic passages which were not considered in the lists previously made up, but which seemed to have special value for religious instruction.⁵²

When the stationary days lost their importance and saints' days (with their own readings) began to appear in ever-increasing numbers, the weekday pericopes in the old Roman lesson-system lost their significance. So by the dawn of modern times they were almost entirely forgotten. But about this very time the Council of Trent heard the plea for an expansion of the system of readings, and the suggestion was made that for each week three unused Pauline and Gospel passages be selected for ferial Masses, to be inserted in the formulary of the preceding Sunday.⁵³ The plan, however, never came up for consideration and so nothing was done.⁵⁴

3. The Liturgical Setting of the Lessons

The reverence which the Church pays to the written word of God in no way blinds the Church to her task of breaking the bread of God's word to the people. Her consciousness of this duty is revealed in the very fact that some passages are chosen rather than others, and that given passages are used to illustrate certain Church days and feasts. There are even instances in which a passage is put together by omitting some intervening portions of the text,¹ a practice which was widespread in the ancient Gal-

ferently assorted, so that it did not originally fit into the same Gospels as we now have; cf. the table in Godu, DACL, V, 338 ff.

⁵¹ A. Vogel, S.J., "Der Einfluss von Heiligenfesten auf die Perikopenwahl an den Sonntagen nach Pfingsten," ZkTh, LXIX (1947), 100-118. According to this, the pericope of the great catch of fish (Luke 5: 1-11; 4th Sunday) was induced by the feast of the Princes of the Apostles, as Beissel already thought; the pericope of the wise steward (Luke 16: 1-9; 8th Sunday) and the Ephphetha pericope (Mark 7: 31-37; 11th Sunday) by the feast of St. Lawrence, and at least the pericope of the healing of the lame man (Matt. 9: 1-8; 18th Sunday) by the feast of the sainted physicians Cosmas and Damian.

⁵² Beissel, 196.

⁵³ Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die

Reform des Römischen Messbuches" (*Liturg. Leben*, 1939), 55 f.; cf. 34 f. The principle of repeating the Sunday Mass with new lessons was followed even anciently on the Thursday in Pentecost week.

⁵⁴ In most recent times R. Guardini, "Die mystagogische Predigt" (*Volksliturgie u. Seelsorge*; Colmar o. J. [1942]), 159, calls the extension and development of the pericope-system a "very pressing desideratum." He suggests a two or three-year system that might serve along with the present one.

¹ Thus on the Wednesday of Passion week the Epistle reading is derived from Lev. 19: 1-2, 11-19, 25. This is often the case in regard to Old Testament readings, as can be seen easily in the new edition of the Roman Missal where the exact citation is noted in each instance.

lican liturgy and led to the custom of centonization² and to the harmonization of the Gospel accounts.³

From the Church the various pericopes have received their setting. First of all, a title telling the origin of the passage: *Lectio libri . . .*, *Lectio epistolæ . . .*;⁴ or announcing whether the passage is the beginning, *Initium*, or a continuation, *Sequentia*,⁵ of a certain passage. Then there is an introductory word, either the word of address, *Fratres* (in St. Paul's congregational letters), *Carissime* (in his pastoral letters), *Carissimi* (in the Catholic Epistles), or a phrase suggesting the prophetic character of the reading: *Hæc dicit Dominus*, or a reference to the time of the story, *In diebus illis*, *In illo tempore*, (*dixit Jesus . . .*).⁶ Sometimes there is a closing

² *Cento* = "patchwork," a text made up of pieces of various provenience. Centonization was extensively used in the Lectionary of Luxeuil (ed. Salmon [Rome, 1944]; dated circa 700): On the feast of the *Cathedra Petri*, for example, John 21: 15-19 is added to Matt. 16: 13-19 (Salmon, 67 f.); on the *Natale episcoporum* the Epistle from 1 Pet. 1: 3-20 concludes with 5: 1-4 (Salmon, 202 f.). Still greater use is made of it in an old lectionary ed. by A. Dold, *Das älteste Liturgiebuch der Lateinischen Kirche. Ein altgallikanisches Lektionar des 5.-6. Jh.* (Texte und Arbeiten, 26-28; Beuron, 1936). Here for the feast of the dedication of a church an account of the purifying of the Temple is pieced together from 13 passages in the four evangelists, "an original mosaic that is effectively unified". Cf. also in the Bobbio Missal the lesson that is cited as from Colossians: Muratori, II, 914; it is labeled by the editor as a *farrago ex Scripturæ verbis contexta*.

A kindred instance is also to be found in the Roman liturgy: the Epistle *Ecce sacerdos magnus* in the *Commune Confessorum Pontificum* is devised from at least ten texts freely tied together but all taken from the one section of Eccles. 44:16-45:20. Cf. also the troping of biblical lessons in the Middle Ages; see regarding this Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 286.

³ A harmonized text from all four evangelists for the lesson on Maundy Thursday and for the Passion on Good Friday is presented in the "oldest" lectionary mentioned above (Dold, pp. LXIII f.,

CV, 45, 47 ff.). As is known, St. Augustine attempted for his church a harmonized lesson of the Passion like that found in the Gallic liturgies, but the project ran aground (*Sermo* 232, 1; PL, XXXVIII, 1108).

⁴ In this connection note that the Cantic of Canticles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom are all uniformly introduced as *lectio libri Sapientiæ*.

⁵ *Sequentia* = continuation. In the Mozarabic liturgy the Epistle lessons are also announced thus: *Sequentia epistolæ Pauli apostoli ad Romanos*. As a matter of fact there are to be found here, e.g., after Epiphany, the remains of a continuous reading of the Pauline letters (PL, LXXXV, 241 ff.).

Some medieval interpreters have proposed a different explanation: *Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum Matthæum* = the following reading of the Gospel is taken from (the Gospel) according to Matthew, etc.; see William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 325.

Inadmissible is the explanation offered by Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 104, note 2, who seeks to link *Sequentia* with ἀκολουθία. ⁶ The ancient Gallican lectionary cited in note 2 above also makes use of other freer phrases, e.g., *Quæ postquam gesta sunt* (Dold, 6). The word *Dominus* is joined to the name of Jesus: *In tempore illo ait Dominus Jesus* (Dold, 55 et al.). In the present-day Roman liturgy, too, there is often found a supplementing of the subject, the addition of a clarifying word; thus in Luke 2: 33 on the Sunday

formula corresponding to this introduction, but in the Mass this has not become the rule as it did, for example, in our Matins.⁷ Only at the closing of the reading of the prophecies is there always a regular concluding formula, *dicat Dominus omnipotens*. In some of the readings from St. Paul there is also a tacked-on phrase, the words reminiscent of the very theme of all Pauline concepts: *in Christo Jesu Domino nostro*.⁸

The setting of the holy texts in the oriental liturgies is much the same⁹; it has been especially developed in the Coptic.¹⁰

Besides this immediate setting, the readings also generally have an introduction designed to arouse the attention of the audience. The people are addressed, just as they are before the priestly oration, with the salutation *Dominus vobiscum*, to which the people respond. In the Roman Mass this salutation is in use only before the Gospel, whose higher worth is also emphasized by the extra richness of the liturgical framework. In the Milanese liturgy the same greeting precedes the Epistle also,¹¹ and in the

within the Christmas octave; or in Jer. 18: 18 on Passion Saturday where instead of *contra Jeremiam* is substituted *contra iustum*. Cf. further Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 355.

⁷ *Tu autem Domine miserere nobis*; cf. Eisenhofer, II, 513.

⁸ Thus in the first two Christmas Masses (Tit. 2: 15; 3: 7). Other times the words which actually end the piece, *in Christo Jesu*, are extended by the addition of *Domino nostro*, as on the 3rd Sunday of Advent.

⁹ Hanssens, III, 178-180; Droosten, "Proems of liturgical lections and gospel," *Journal of Theological Studies*, VI (1906), 99 ff.

Already Chrysostom is witness to various introductory (and concluding) formulae of this type in the liturgical readings; Brightman, 531, note 5. According to Chrysostom, *In Hebr. hom.*, 8, 4 (PG, LXIII, 75), the lector should not only announce what book is being read from but even state the motive behind what is being related (Τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γεγραμμένων).

¹⁰ The first lesson, from the Pauline Epistles, is ushered in with the Apostle's own solemn self-introduction in Rom. 1: 1, and has various closing formulae, e.g., "May grace be with you and peace, Amen, so may it be," whereupon a prayer follows for a right understanding of the Apostle's teaching. The second lesson,

from the Catholic Epistles, begins: "Katholikon. Our father (James): Beloved," and closes with the warning of the Apostle John regarding the world and its transitoriness (1 John 2: 15, 17). The third lesson, from the Acts of the Apostles, opens with "The deeds of our fathers, the Apostles; may their holy blessing be with us," and closes with the benediction composed from Acts 12: 24. "But the word of the Lord should grow and spread wide and become mighty and be firmly established in the Church of God. Amen." Finally the Gospel, preceded by various invocations addressed to the people, is concluded by the reader with the words, "Glory to our God for eternity. Amen." Brightman, 152-156.

Cf. the formulas in the Ethiopian liturgy which are in part identical with these and therefore indicative of their great antiquity, *ibid.*, 212-222. Here the Pauline lection concludes with an expanded version of St. Paul's own words, "Whoever does not love our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema" (1 Cor. 16:22). At the Gospel a special closing statement is formulated, taken from the evangelist in question; thus for Mark there is "Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear!" (Mark 4: 9, 23; 7: 16).

¹¹ *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 167. After the greeting there is the soft-spoken *Iube Domine benedicere* and the blessing formula: *Apostolica lectio* (with

Mozarabic Mass it is found before each of the three readings¹² and the people answer Amen at the close of each.¹³ Similarly in the Orient the corresponding salutation, Εὐεργήνη πᾶσιν, whenever it is used before the readings, precedes (in part) the pre-Gospel lesson.¹⁴ In some instances the admonition of the deacon, warning the congregation to pay attention, is also placed here before the first reading, although it is far more generally placed just ahead of the Gospel, and then in a more extended phrase.¹⁵ Moreover, in the Byzantine orbit a song (conceived, it seems, as a pre-amble) is premised to each of the readings, in accordance with a general rule that had penetrated through the whole Byzantine liturgy where even in the Office the προκειμενον precedes the readings¹⁶ in the same way that, in other liturgies (according to ancient tradition), a responsory follows them.¹⁷ In the non-Greek liturgies in Syrian and Egyptian areas a preparatory prayer (begging for a fruitful attendance to the word of God) serves a similar purpose before each of the lessons.¹⁸ These prayers are later crea-

the Old Testament reading *Prophetica lectio*) sit nobis salutis eruditio.

¹² *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 109 ff.). After the greeting preceding the second lesson another song is inserted (*psallendo*), whereupon the deacon calls for quiet: *Silentium facite*.

¹³ *Ibid*.

¹⁴ Thus in the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 35), with repetition before the Gospel (38); likewise in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark (Br., 118 f.).

¹⁵ Greek liturgy of St. Mark (Brightman, 118): Πρόσχωμεν. Notice the parallel to the *Oremus* which in the Roman Mass is likewise preceded by the greeting. In the Byzantine liturgy the Πρόσχωμεν precedes the Pauline lection without the greeting (Brightman, 370 f.).

In the interpretation of the Syrian liturgy written by Pseudo-George of Arbela (9th century), *Explicatio off. eccl.*, IV, 4 ff., the deacon, before the first lesson, cries out: "Sit down and be quiet!", before each of the other lessons, "Be quiet!" Hanssens, III, 173, 181, 221. A similar command before the Epistle in the rite of the (Catholic) Chaldeans; Hanssens, III, 179.

There is also evidence here and there in the West of an admonition to be quiet; G. Godu, "Epitres," DACL, V, 255. The warning command was also customary at Rome before each of the four Gospels when these were solemnly introduced to

the catechumens at the scrutinies: *State cum silentio audientes intente! Gelasianum* I, 34 (Wilson, 51).

At the Duomo in Milan the custom is still preserved of having a deacon and two *custodi* call out to the people at the start of the Gospel at high Mass: *Parcite fabulis, silentium habete, habete silentium!* G. Luzzatti, "La s. Messa Ambrosiana," *Ambrosius*, VIII (1932), 294; cf. JL, XII (1932), 247 f. See also Archdale A. King, *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies* (London, 1930), 233.

This is in agreement with the custom witnessed to by the *Ordo* of Beroldus (12th century; ed. Magistretti, Milan, 1894, 51).

¹⁶ In the Byzantine Mass the προκειμενον before the Pauline reading (Brightman, 371); in the Armenian Mass a chant before each of the two pre-Gospel readings (Brightman, 425 f.). Hanssens, III, 169 ff., 174 ff.

¹⁷ The προκειμενον before the reading of the Apostle is first mentioned at Byzantium in the interpretation of the liturgy by the Patriarch Germanus (PG, XCVIII, 412 A). Cf. however the ancient Armenian lectionary in F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905), 517 f. For the whole question see O. Heimig, JL, XI (1931), 298 f.

¹⁸ East Syrian liturgy (Brightman, 225 ff.), West Syrian (78 f.), Ethiopian (212

tions,¹⁹ comparable to the *Munda cor meum* of the Roman liturgy, but this latter prefaces only the Gospel and deals only with the worthiness of the one who is reading.²⁰ The blessing of the reader, which in the Roman Mass appears only before the Gospel, in some cases stands at the very start of all the lections.²¹ Note, too, that sometimes, after the reader has completed his task, he is greeted with the complimentary words, *Pax tibi*.²²

In the summons to the people to be attentive, there is revealed a wish that the faithful might really understand the readings. But the big obstacle to this is the fact that the liturgical language retained from ancient times has become incomprehensible to the people. Sometimes, however, we find that in such cases an actual shift was made to the current vernacular; thus amongst the Maronites and other groups of Syrians a switch was made from the Syrian, which the people no longer understood, to Arabic.²³ Even in the Roman liturgy (which at a papal Mass has at least a symbolic bilingualism in the readings),²⁴ a similar change was made, but only in the territory where the Croatian language is spoken. In these places use is made of the "*Schiavetto*," a collection of Sunday and feast-day Epistles and Gospels translated into "Slavic," that is, modern Croatian. From this book the lessons are produced, whether the Mass is sung in Old Slavic or in Latin.²⁵ Amongst the Copts every lesson is read first in Coptic and then in Arabic. This has its parallel in our own Roman Mass, when, after the

ff.); only in part and with displacement in the Coptic (152 ff.).

¹⁹ Cf. Hanssens, III, 177 f., 184 f., 191 f.

²⁰ The Byzantine Mass also contains a corresponding prayer before the Gospel (Brightman, 371 f.), and it reappears in the Greek liturgy of St. James.

²¹ In the East Syrian Mass the priest pronounces a blessing over the reader of the first two lessons and over the deacon who is to read the Apostle (Brightman, 255, 1. 30; 257, 1. 4); the Gospel he reads himself. On the contrary a similar blessing is not given except before the Gospel in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark (*ibid.*, 118 f.); cf. the West Syrian liturgy of St. James (*ibid.*, 79). Other liturgies do not have any formal blessing of the reader.

²² With these words the pope saluted the deacon after the Gospel, according to *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 11 (PL, LXXXVIII, 943 A); cf. *Ordo* of Johannes Archicantor (Silva-Tarouca, 197). According to Augustine, *Ep.*, 43, 8, 21 (CSEL, XXXIV, 2, p. 102 f.) it was customary among the Donatists for the reader to be

greeted after the Epistle with *Pax tecum*. Roetzer, 99.

In the Byzantine liturgy too the priest greets the reader after the Epistle: Εἰρήνη σοι τῷ ἀναγιγνώσκοντι, and after the Gospel: Εἰρήνη σοι τῷ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ. Brightman, 371 ff.

²³ Cf. D. Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East* (Milwaukee, 1948), 160, 174, 206.

Regarding MSS. of oriental pericopes in two languages, in which (consequently) this transition to the vernacular can be traced, see Kunze, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung*, 79-83.

²⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 444, note 12.

²⁵ C. Segvic, "Le origini del rito slavo-latino in Dalmazia e Croazia," *Eph. liturg.*, LIV (1940), 38-65, especially 41. Thus in the *Schiavetto* the principle which has been followed in the South-Slavic area since the introduction of Christianity, the principle (which Segvic tries to establish) of the vernacular within the (Roman) liturgy, has once more become operative for the readings.

reading of the Latin Gospel, there follows a reading (of Epistle and Gospel) in the vernacular, but with this difference, that the reading in the vernacular is viewed by the general law of the Church only as an introduction to (or a substitution for) the sermon and is left devoid of any liturgical framing.²⁸

Examples of a bilingual reading of the Scriptures are known also from more ancient times. But in these instances the basis is usually to be found in the bilingual character of the congregation. Thus we learn from our Aquitanian pilgrim lady that the readings in Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century were in Greek, but that they were also presented in Syrian.²⁹ Similar arrangements are likewise mentioned in other historical sources.³⁰ It would, indeed, seem that these methods go back to traditions from Apostolic times, to surroundings in which, for the texts in question, no authentic translations into the vernaculars were as yet available for use.³¹ We have already made reference to the solution of the problem of a congregation of mixed language, where the service of readings was conducted in groups separated according to language.³²

It is here in the matter of the lessons that we can see most plainly the great rift that exists—a rift growing wider with the centuries—between the holy text in its traditional sacred language and the natural objective of being understood by the audience. From time to time some sort of decision was inevitable. Sometimes the solution is made in favor of understanding the text; this is done especially where the reading at divine services (by means of a planned catechesis or a sermon) is the only form of relig-

²⁸ Custom, however, and perhaps diocesan regulation do dictate certain procedures regarding the introduction and the conclusion (e.g. the sign of the Cross at the start of the Gospel and the closing words "Thus far the words of today's holy Gospel"). Some of these practices are very old. Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, I, 125 f., offers a number of instances and mentions a collection of Epistles and Gospels in German made in 1210, patently for public use. Formulas like those used at present were used in the 13th century; cf. A. Linsensmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland* (Munich, 1886), 138.

²⁹ *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 47 (CSEL, XXXIX, 99).

³⁰ Here belongs the account from Eusebius, *De mart. Palæst.*, I, 1 (a longer recension ed. by B. Violet, TU, XIV, 4, p. 4; 110; cf. A. Bigelmair, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, 9, p. 275 and in the intro-

duction); the martyr Procopius (d. 303) had done the Church a service in several ways: as lector (reader) and by his translation from the Greek into Aramaic.

The office of translator of lessons and homilies is mentioned in Epiphanius, *Expositio fid.*, c. 21 (PG, XLI, 825). Also in the *Euchologium* of Serapion of Thmuis there is a prayer ὑπὲρ τῶν... ἀναγνώστων καὶ ἐρμηνέων (XI, 4; Quasten, *Mon.*, 57 f.)

³¹ Cf. P. Gächter, "Die Dolmetscher der Apostel," ZkTh, LX (1936), 161-187. According to Gächter it seems probable that the remark of Papias about the aramaic Gospel of St. Matthew (in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, III, 39, 15), that at first each one rendered it as best he could, is to be understood of just such a translation at the public assembly for worship (186). Thus the ancient practice of the synagogue regarding the Hebrew Bible was continued in the Christian community (171 ff.).

³² *Supra*, p. 262.

ious instruction, as in many oriental countries.³¹ In other places, where there were other opportunities for religious teaching, reverence for tradition was too strong to permit such a change. The liturgical lesson then became merely a symbolic presentation of God's word. But even then, whenever a new tide of liturgical thought set in, the reading felt the brunt of the forces that sought a more intelligible form of divine service and desired the use in the lesson of a language which the congregation could understand.

Still the liturgical reading cannot long remain on the level of a prosaic presentation that looks only to the congregation's practical understanding of the text. The performance must be stylized, much in the same way as we have found in the case of the priestly oration.³² The reader must never inject his own sentiments into the sacred text, but must always present it with strict objectivity, with holy reverence, as on a platter of gold. He must recite the text. This can be done by avoiding every change of pitch—the *tonus rectus*. As a matter of fact the Roman *tonus ferialis* has no modulation whatsoever, outside the questions. But in addition there have been, since time immemorial, many forms of elevated performance with certain cadences, little melodic figures which are indicated by punctuation marks.³³ They serve especially to signalize the Gospel above the other readings. Augustine makes mention of a *sollemniter legere* for the reading of the Passion on Good Friday.³⁴ The Epistles, too, were fitted out more richly than the prophetic lessons.³⁵ In the ninth century we hear of a festive tone for the lessons which was used at Rome for the reading of St. Paul's Epistles on Sundays.³⁶ However, the readings in the fore-Mass were consciously kept free of melodic overgrowth. Compared with the Office lessons on feast days, the readings at Mass even now display a great severity, which is, however, well suited to the dignity of the sacrifice.

Early in the Church's history a special reader was appointed for the performance of the readings—always someone other than the leader of the divine service, as we see already in Justin.³⁷ There is a certain amount of drama in this; the word which comes from God is spoken by a different

³¹ Note in this connection that in the most extended compass, that of the Byzantine rite, the whole liturgy is, in the main, understood by the people at least to some extent.

³² *Supra*, p. 377.

³³ Cf. *supra*, p. 378.

³⁴ Augustine, *Serm.* 218, 1 (PL, XXXVIII, 1084).

³⁵ According to Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 17) the Old Testament lessons resound in *gravem accentum*, those of the New Testament on the contrary in *accentum acutum*.

Cf. Statutes of the Carthusians of the year 1368 (ed. Le Messen, p. 271; cited JL, 1924, 96).

³⁶ *Ordo Rom.* IX, n. 8; 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 1008 AB): *in sensu lectionis sicut epistolae Pauli diebus Dominicorum*. Cf. Jungmann, "Der Begriff 'sensus' in frühmittelalterlichen Rubriken," *Eph. liturg.*, XLV (1931), 124-127. For *sensus* with the same meaning see also Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 415, 1, 3 (cf. ZkTh, 1942, 8, note 90) and a sacramentary of the 12th century in Ebner, 194.

³⁷ *Supra*, p. 23.

person than the word which rises from the Church to God. Even if Justin does not actually present the office of lector, that office does certainly appear in the second century as a special position; the lector is the oldest of the lesser degrees of ordination.³⁸ It is clear that the lector has to have, or to receive, a certain amount of education. But this was not the only thing kept in view in choosing him. It is a remarkable fact that since the fourth century in the West—especially in Rome—boys appear preponderantly as lectors. In many places these youthful lectors live under ecclesiastical tutelage in special communities, which thus become the foremost seed-beds for promotion to the higher degrees of spiritual office.³⁹ Childish innocence was considered best suited to lift the word of God from the sacred Book and to offer it, unadulterated, to the congregation.⁴⁰ But at the same time an effort was made to lay greater stress on the Gospel reading by turning it over to someone in higher orders.⁴¹ While in the Orient the position of the lector was not disturbed by this shift,⁴² in the West the reading of the Epistle in the Roman station services of the seventh/eighth century had become the work of the subdeacon,⁴³ and so it has remained at high Mass even now. On the other hand, the service of a lector or of some other cleric to read the Epistle continued to be put to use for hundreds of years at the celebration of the pastor in his parish.⁴⁴ Even in private Mass the reading of the Epistle by a Mass-server is mentioned a number of times as late as the thirteenth century.⁴⁵ And even now in the Roman Mass the desirable thing at a *missa cantata* is to have the Epistle sung not by the celebrant but by *aliquis lector superpellicio indutus*.⁴⁶

³⁸ F. Wieland, *Die genetische Entwicklung der sog. Ordines minores* (Rome, 1897), 67-114; Eisenhofer, II, 369 f.; J. Quasten, "Lektor," LThK, VI, 479 f.

³⁹ For Rome see J. M. Lungkofler, "Die Vorstufen zu den höheren Weihen nach dem Liber Pontificalis," ZkTh, LXVI (1942), 1-19, especially 12.

⁴⁰ E. Peterson, "Das jugendliche Alter der Lectoren," *Eph. liturg.*, XLVIII (1934), 437-442.

⁴¹ See *infra*, p. 443.

⁴² Besides the ἀναγνώστης the ὑποδιάκονος is the only degree in the Greek Church corresponding to the minor orders. Reading has continued to be his duty. If no ἀναγνώστης is present in a congregation, the reading of the Epistle becomes the honorary office of a layman.

⁴³ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 10. Further evidences in Godu, "Epitres," 251 f. Still Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, II, 11 (PL, CV, 1086) is puzzled over this matter, since in the ordination the subdeacon was given no par-

ticular charge. Handing the book to the subdeacon at his ordination was not a general custom till the 13th century; cf. de Puniet, *Das römische Pontifikale*, I, 174.

⁴⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 208. In Spain as late as 1068, in can. 6 of the Synod of Gerona (Mansi, XIX, 1071) there is question of lectors who belong to the clergy but yet are permitted to wed.

⁴⁵ *Supra*, p. 227, note 106.

⁴⁶ *Missale Rom., Rit. serv.*, VI, 8.

According to a decree of the Congregation of Rites dated April 23, 1875, the priest himself should simply read the Epistle, not sing it, in the absence of a lector; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3350.

But in Germany custom appears to sanction the practice of chanting it; so Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 91.

A lector is also mentioned for the first reading on Good Friday and for the prophecies on the vigils of Easter and Whitsunday. In the *Liber ordinarius* of

When the reader performed his duty, this was made visible in the older Roman liturgy by the way he wore his official garb. He is now definitely "in service" and should not seem to be hindered by his garments. This vesture was—as with all clerics—the bell-shaped *planeta* or *casula*. But the deacon and subdeacon wore this tucked up in front, so that their hands were free, and the subdeacon's formed a sort of envelope or pocket so that he could pick things up and carry them around not with bare hands but holding them through the garment.⁴⁷ So when the deacon got ready to read the Gospel he arranged the *planeta* in such a way that it lay tightly folded over his left shoulder and fell across his breast at an angle. Thus he kept it all through his service till after the Communion. But the subdeacon or other cleric, when getting prepared for the reading, took the *planeta* off.⁴⁸ Thus the gradation of office was kept somewhat in a recognizable form. This practice, which appears about the ninth century, is still retained in broad outline at high Masses which take place during Lent or on other days of similar dignity; the deacon and subdeacon make use of the *planeta* (since replaced by dalmatic and tunicle), but the deacon, before the reading, substitutes the *stola latior*, and the subdeacon takes off his outer vestment before he reads the Epistle.⁴⁹

For the presentation of the sacred text the reader also chooses a special place. To be better understood he will turn to the listeners, perhaps—if possible—take an elevated place, as Esdras did,⁵⁰ and as the Roman Pontifical actually prescribes for the lector.⁵¹ As early as the third and fourth centuries there is mention of an elevated place where the reading-desk stood or where the lector stood even without a desk.⁵² Later this was turned into

Liège (Volk, 82, 1. 25) the lessons on Ember Saturday were also assigned to a lector.

Further, it is permitted at present for a cleric in minor orders to substitute for the subdeacon at a high Mass when the latter is not available; he may be vested—*paratus absque manipulo*; decree dated July 5, 1698; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 2002. The question of such a substitution was likewise raised in the Middle Ages, but answered in the negative because reading the Epistle was the exercise of a power which a cleric in minor orders did not possess. The priest himself, in this case, should read the Epistle. Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 8 (PL, CLI, 982); Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 38 (PL, CCII, 46 A):

⁴⁷ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 166-169; Callewaert, *Sacris erudiri*, 233-239.

⁴⁸ Braun, 166.

Cf. *Ordo Rom. V*, n. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 985); Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 15 (PL, CV, 1122 f.); *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 51 (PL, LXXVIII, 960).

⁴⁹ *Missale Rom.*, *Rubr. gen.*, XIX, 6; cf. Braun, 149 f.

The "broad stole" (*stola latior*) is really a stylized folded chasuble—a limp chasuble that was folded over the shoulder and pinned there; eventually the folds were sewed in and the cloth cut down to its present nondescript shape.

⁵⁰ Nehem. 8: 4.

⁵¹ *Pontificale Rom.*, *De ord. lectoris*: *Dum legitis, in alto loco ecclesiae stetis, ut ab omnibus audiamini et videamini.*

⁵² Cyprian, *Epist.* 38, 2 (CSEL, III, 580 f.); 39, 4 (583 f.): *pulpitum*; Council of Laodicea, can. 15 (Mansi, II, 567); *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182).

an ambo⁶³ or pulpit, a podium fitted out with a balustrade and lectern, set up at some convenient spot between sanctuary and nave, and either standing free or else built into the choir railing or into the side-railings of the enclosure, which, in many basilicas, surrounded the space for the *schola cantorum*. The ambo also served—as we will see later in greater detail—for the singer in the responsorial chant. Frequently the preaching was done from here. In the Orient the deacon ascended—and still ascends—the ambo to lead the prayer of the people in the *ekmene*, but it was especially intended for the reader who presented the Sacred Scriptures. This is indicated, *inter alia*, by the names it has: *lectrinum*, *lectionarium*,⁶⁴ *analogium*. Frequently it was very richly adorned with mosaics, sculpture and the like.⁶⁵

But now the Roman Mass contains hardly a trace of an arrangement which seemed so well suited to making the reading as understandable as possible. As far as the people are concerned, the readings have, during the past thousand years, become a mere symbol. The subdeacon who reads the Epistle stands at his accustomed place, facing the altar⁶⁶ and therefore with his back to the people. The deacon who sings the Gospel, should indeed turn *contra altare versus populum*,⁶⁷ but the latter direction, *versus populum*, seems to be countermanded by the first, *contra altare*.⁶⁸ So, for a practical suggestion as to the position to be taken by deacon, the rubric from the pontifical Mass is usually given, since it is plainer: the deacon turns in that direction which corresponds to the north side of an oriented church.⁶⁹

⁶³ The word is derived from the verb *ἀναβαίνειν*, to mount or climb up. It first appears at the Council of Laodicea, can. 15 (Mansi, II, 567).

A. M. Schneider, "Ambo," RAC, I, 363-365.

⁶⁴ The word "lectern."

⁶⁵ H. Leclercq, "Ambon," DACL, I, 1330-1347. Cf. Caryl Coleman, "Ambo," CE, I: 381-2.

⁶⁶ *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, VI, 4: *contra altare*. According to the Mass-Ordo 'Indutus planeta' (Legg, *Tracts*, 184) which appeared in Mass books after 1507, the subdeacon reads the Epistle in front of the steps *contra medium altaris*. This latter expression is already in the *Liber usum O. Cist.* (12th century), c. 53 (PL, CLXVI, 1423 B), and after that in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 90). But the Missal of St. Vincent-on-Volturno (circa 1100) directs: *versus contra altare* (Fiala, 200). Cf. also Durandus, IV, 16, 5.

⁶⁷ *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, VI, 5.

⁶⁸ Gavanti is right when he declares: *verba rubricæ . . . videntur pugnare invicem*. He therefore settles for a direction halfway between altar and people; Gavanti-Merati, II, 6, 5 (I, 242). As a matter of fact the same expression, *contra altare*, is used shortly before in the rubrics of the Mass book, as we noticed already (VI, 4), and here it is used to describe the stance of the subdeacon at the Epistle, with face directed towards the altar. The expression is used unequivocally in this sense by Paris de Grassis (d. 1528) when he gives the rule: In a non-oriented church the deacon should stand at the Gospel *non collateraliter* to the altar, but *facie ad faciem altaris, id est contra ipsum altare* (PL, LXXVIII, 934).

⁶⁹ *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 44: The subdeacon should hold the book *vertens renes non quidem altari, sed versus ipsam partem* (i.e., towards the "Gospel side"); this phraseology was not used till near the end of the Middle Ages) *quæ pro aquilone figuratur*.

Or recourse is had simply to local custom, which is actually diversified.⁸⁰

On the contrary there are no differences of opinion regarding the further rule, that the Epistle is read on the south side of the sanctuary, the Gospel on the north—a rule which the priest himself must observe at the altar even at the simplest private Mass. In addition, a more detailed regulation regarding the Gospel is this, that he does not face straight ahead but towards the corner of the altar,⁸¹ that is, in an oriented church he turns just a bit to the north. This is almost the same rule as that for the deacon at solemn Mass. From the standpoint of the ordinary participant, this means that the Epistle is said at the right side, the Gospel at the left. Further it means that at every Mass the book has to be carried over from one side to the other. The difference in the locale of the readings and the accompanying conduct of the Mass-server are some of the peculiarities of the external Mass rite which make the strongest impression. “Epistle side” and “Gospel side” are phrases that even poorly instructed Catholics are acquainted with. It is therefore very much in place to go into greater detail regarding this regulation.

The north side as the place for the Gospel is specifically mentioned for the first time in the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre (d. c. 908)⁸²; the north, he says, is the region of the devil whom the word of God must contend with. And Ivo of Chartres (d. c. 1117) continues the line of thought,⁸³ remarking that the Gospel is proclaimed against paganism, which is represented by the northern part of the world, and in which the coldness of unbelief had so long prevailed. And Ivo does not mean merely the direction of the body which the reader assumes in the ambo, but the actual position on the north side of the sanctuary, for he speaks of the passage of the levite or of the priest “to the left side of the church” in order to read the Gospel.⁸⁴ And that too has a meaning, for it represents the transfer of preaching from the Jews to the Gentiles.⁸⁵ The suspicion is forced upon one that these are but later attempts to explain by allegory a practice which was long in

⁸⁰ W. Lurz, *Ritus und Rubriken der hl. Messe* (2nd ed.; Würzburg, 1941), 454, note 58: The exact stance—whether diagonally towards the altar or towards the people, or parallel to the altar steps—is determined by the custom of the particular church. According to M. Gatterer, *Praxis celebrandi*, 248, note o, the deacon should stand *sicut sacerdos in missa privata*, therefore diagonal to the altar; on the other hand Ph. Hartmann-J. Kley, *Repertorium rituum* (14th ed.; Paderborn, 1940), 502, direct the deacon to stand turned somewhat towards the people. And J. O’Connell, *The Celebration of Mass* (Milwaukee, 1940), III, 100-101,

takes the third position, insisting that the deacon takes his place facing directly “north,” that is, towards the left-hand side of the church.

⁸¹ *Missale Rom.*, *Ritus serv.*, VI, 1.

Substantially the same direction in the Mass-Ordo of Burchard: Legg, *Tracts*, 146; cf. *ibid.*, 145, note 6.

⁸² Remigius, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1250 f.). Cf. John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 35 A).

⁸³ Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, CLXII, 550).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 110.

use and no longer understood, a practice which did not concern north and south at all, but had an entirely different viewpoint.

An inkling of this is to be found in the author of the *Micrologus*,⁶⁶ a work almost contemporaneous with Ivo. The author writes that it is almost a general custom that the deacon reading the Gospel turn toward the north. But he takes exception to this, not only because the north side is the side for the women, and it is therefore unbecoming that the deacon turn that way, but also because it is plainly *contra Romanum ordinem*, according to which the deacon stands on the ambo turned to the south, that is, the side of the men. He explains the variant practice, which had already become fixed and rooted, as a conscious imitation of the movement and position of the priest who, when saying Mass without a deacon, does really have to say the Gospel at the north side of the altar in order to leave the other side free for the sacrificial activity, and who thus could give the appearance of actually turning towards the north. But this explanation, suggesting the private Mass as the origin of the practice, although it has been repeated in our own day,⁶⁷ is presented only for lack of something better.

Just what is to be said about this "Roman order" which Bernold had in view? He is thinking, one might say, of Mabillon's second Roman *Ordo*, but this order he could not have known since it was not compiled till the tenth century and in Franco-German territory.⁶⁸ The real Roman arrangement was not as precise as Bernold supposes. We can reconstruct it as it actually was, better perhaps from archeological evidences than from literary sources.⁶⁹

The spot from which the deacon at a solemn function could read the Gospel most conveniently and fittingly had to be chosen in such a way that on the one hand the reader had the people before him, and on the other he did not turn his back on the bishop and the clergy surrounding him. In the basilicas of the dying ancient period, where the *cathedra* of the bishop

⁶⁶ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 9 (PL, CLI, 982 f.): *De evangelio in qua parte sit legendum*.

Similarly somewhat later Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 22 (PL, CLXXII, 551).

⁶⁷ M. Daras, "La position du diacre durant l'évangile," *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales* (1930), XV, 57 ff. Similarly Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 106 f.

⁶⁸ *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972): *Ipse vero diaconus stat versus ad meridiem, ad quam partem viri solent confluere*.

The position looking towards the south is already appointed for the deacon in

Amalar's *Expositio* of 813-14, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 164 f. (= Gerbert, *Monumenta*, I, 154 f.); this direction means *Ecclesiam ferventem animo in amore Dei*. Likewise in the *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 36, and in the *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1322 f.). It is also admitted in the Missal of St. Vincent (c. 1100; Fiala, 201): *versus ad septemtrionem sive meridiem*. The same direction is still mentioned in Durandus, IV, 24, 21.

⁶⁹ Cf. the anonymous study "Pourquoi ces différents endroits pour la lecture de l'épître et de l'évangile?" *Les Questions liturgiques*, IV (1914), 314-320.

stood in the apse, he would therefore have to stand to the side, in the forward part of the choir, to the right of the presiding bishop (for all the ranks of honor were reckoned with the *cathedra* of the bishop as the point of departure).⁷⁰ He would thus face either north or south depending on the position of the apse and the *cathedra*, whether to the west, as they were in the older Roman structures, or to the east, as later became customary. As a matter of fact we find the ambo is arranged in many places in accordance with these notions.⁷¹ In the latter case, where the apse is towards the east, the deacon who wanted to talk to the people, turned toward the south. This position is evinced both by the placement of ambos⁷² and by literary documents⁷³; this is the position which Bernold wanted observed (Fig. 1). In the Roman churches of the older type, which had the apse toward the west, the deacon would, under the same circumstances, assume a position facing north, and many Roman basilicas actually indicate this layout (Fig. 2).⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Cf. *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 4 (PL, LXXVIII, 639): the clergy should take their place in the semicircle of the *presbyterium* in such wise *ut quando pontifex sederit ad eos respiciens episcopos ad dexteram sui, presbyteros vero ad sinistram contineatur*. In those early churches in the Occident which faced west the men and women were also seated in the nave to right and left of the *cathedra*: the women were assigned the north side. This continued to be their side also in the oriented churches; Beissel, *Bilder*, 56 f. For meanwhile the point of view that had become established was the orientation at prayer: as before the men were to be at the right, the women at the left; H. Selhorst, *Die Platzordnung im Gläubigenraum der altchristlichen Kirche*, Diss. (Münster, 1931), 33.

Only later, when the rear wall was built out and the *cathedra* was moved from the vertex of the apse to the side, did the arrangement in the sanctuary (opposite that in the nave) become unintelligible. From the viewpoint of the entrance (or, what is the same, from the viewpoint of prayer-orientation), the Gospel is said at the "left" side—a terminology that continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages (e.g. in the Missal of Westminster, circa 1380; see *Supra*, p. 299, note 10), and allegorical interpretations were employed to explain this fact (*supra*, p. 110; Durandus, IV, 23). Still Durandus him-

self notes in his pontifical that there are great feast-days *quibus pontifex sedet post altare* (Andrieu, III, 648; cf. 641). Paris de Grassis (d. 1528) offers an additional explanation of the matter when he points out that the Gospel side is to the right if viewed from the altar itself, not from the viewpoint of the celebrant, *Nam et crucis et crucifixi super ipso altari stantis dextra ad praedictum cornu evangelii vergit* (PL, LXXVIII, 934 B). The *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* again calls the Epistle side the left (II, 8, 40); cf. *supra*, note 59. The Missale Romanum mentions only a *cornu epistolae* and a *cornu evangelii*.

⁷¹ In the Roman *Ordines* both the one design and the other are considered. For instance there is an ancient recension of *Ordo Rom. I* which presupposes a basilica facing west (ed. Stapper) and a later recension in which the oriented structure is basic (ed. Mabillon); see the instruction at the *Gloria* (*Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9).

⁷² The cathedral of Torcello; F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg, 1896), I, 334; cathedral of Grado: DACL, I, 2657.

⁷³ *Supra*, p. 414, note 68.

⁷⁴ Examples of churches facing west in which the ambo was set according to this sense: St. Peter: Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 192-193; S. Maria Maggiore: H. Grisar, *Geschichte Roms und der Päpste*

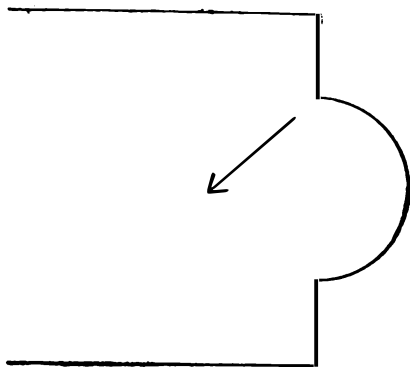


Fig. 1

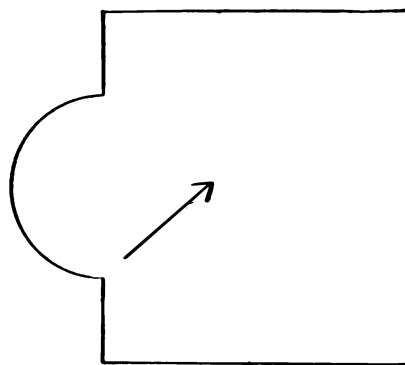


Fig. 2

It is this latter position, set free of its natural foundation, that continued to be the fixed norm in the conception of the medieval liturgists and still survives in the rubrics of the *Cærimoniale episcoporum*. But in the transfer to the oriented churches two possibilities remained open. The deacon could place himself to the left of the *cathedra* (still standing at the center of the apse) and thus speak from the south side of the church, facing the nave and the north (Fig. 3); again there are actual examples.⁷⁵ But it was hardly possible to tolerate for long the reading of the Gospel at the left of the *cathedra* and with face towards the women's side of the church. So the second possibility came to mind; the deacon could stand to the right and still face northwards, too—as we are accustomed to seeing it done (Fig. 4).

This last solution is basically in complete correspondence with the intellectual and cultural condition of the Middle Ages. It seemed more important to hold on to the symbolism of the northward direction (since this had a message for the symbol-hungry eyes of the people of that era) than to turn to the people (since the contents of the Latin lesson were not grasped by them anyway). This arrangement then became a norm for the priest in reading the Gospel at the altar. Thus, besides this symbolical northward

(Freiburg, 1901, I, 344; S. Clemente (Gospel ambo with Easter candle): Th. Gsell Fels, *Rom* (6th ed.; Leipzig, 1906), 364; cf. *Les Questions liturg.*, (1914), IV, 319, Fig. 9.

⁷⁵ S. Maria in Cosmedin: R. Stapper, *Katholische Liturgik* (5th ed.; Münster, 1931), p. 48-49; cf. *Les Questions liturg.*, (1914), IV, 319, fig. 10; S. Lorenzo fuori le mura: Gsell Fels, *Rom*, 783 f.

See also Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La messe* (Paris, 1883), III, p. 39, where, in consequence of the position of the Easter candle, this position of the Gospel ambo "*sur la face opposée*" is indicated also in the cathedrals of Salerno and Beneventum, Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 201, refers to the minster of Aachen (ambo of the year 1011).

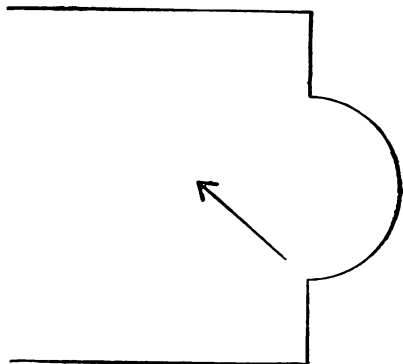


Fig. 3

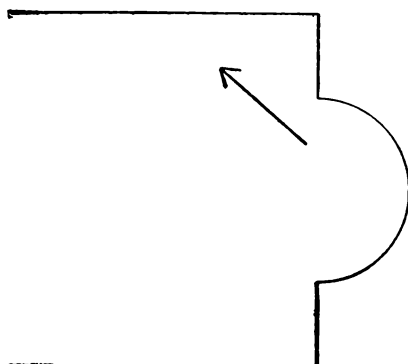


Fig. 4

direction both at solemn and simple Masses another rule remained in force, that the Gospel should be read at the right side (reckoning from the viewpoint of the bishop's *cathedra*). The opposite side was then the Epistle side, but this only at a comparatively late date. Even in the late eleventh century, at the private monastic Masses at Hirsau, if the priest read the Epistle himself, he did so at the "Gospel side" of the altar,⁷⁶ while, on the other hand, according to a Monte Cassino *ordinarium* of about 1100, the Gospel is still read on the "Epistle side."⁷⁷ Belet in 1160 objects that the priest generally reads the Gospel at the altar instead of at a special lectern.⁷⁸ It appears that up to that time the norm mostly followed was a very practical one, to keep the right side of the altar—our Epistle side—free for the gift-offerings at least from the offertory on.⁷⁹

Interest in a gradation amongst the readings was early at work in the choice of readers, as we have seen. But in localizing the reading the process was slower. Even in the early Middle Ages there was, as a rule, but one ambo, which served for all the lessons. Amalar is the first to mention an *excellentiore locus* at which the Gospel was read.⁸⁰ The *Ordo Romanus II*, which originated in the north in the tenth century, directs the subdeacon

⁷⁶ William of Hirsau, *Const.* I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016 D): *lecturus epistolam librum ponit ad sinistram ibique reliqua dicit usque ad communionem*. "Gospel side" therefore means here only the position of the book (probably a complete missal) at the left of the priest, just as now during the sacrificial portion of the Mass. Similarly also *Bernardi Ordo Clun.* (circa 1068), I, 72 (Herrgott, 264), where

nevertheless we read: *lecturus epistolam ad sinistram transit*.

⁷⁷ Lebrun, I, 205 f.

⁷⁸ John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 37 (PL, CCII, 45 C).

⁷⁹ Thus even circa 1100 the Missal of St. Vincent orders at the Offertory: *diaconus . . . ornet altare in dextro latere*; Fiala, 203.

⁸⁰ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1126 C).

who reads the Epistle to mount the ambo, *non tamen in superiorem gradum, quem solum solet ascendere qui evangelium lecturus est*,⁸¹ a rule which is often repeated later on.⁸² At the same time we hear of a specially built desk for the reading of the Gospel; it had the form of an eagle with wings outspread.⁸³

In the church architecture of the later Middle Ages the ambo is no longer considered, or, to be more precise, it is moved away from the *cancelli* farther into the nave of the church where it becomes a pulpit. Obviously the smaller churches did not possess an ambo even in earlier times. Ivo of Chartres apparently has this case in mind.⁸⁴ The Gospel thus retained the place it got either by tradition or by symbolic interpretation—a place on the level of the choir (sanctuary), on the north side. The subdeacon became the bearer of the Gospel book, replacing the lectern or desk—a new honor for the Gospel. But the Epistle later obtained its place on the opposite side, with the subdeacon reading toward the altar,⁸⁵ and himself holding the book.⁸⁶ Thus the “Epistle side” of the altar was evolved. Ivo of Chartres seems to stipulate some such thing,⁸⁷ although in many other places, even at a much later date, there is still no fixed rule.⁸⁸ In an intervening period, when the division of readings to right and left was recognized and still at the same time the need was felt for an ambo, two ambos were sometimes constructed,⁸⁹ one more ornamental on the Gospel side, the other more modest on the Epistle side.⁹⁰ In our modern buildings we sometimes

⁸¹ *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 971); cf. *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1321 C).

On the contrary *Ordo Rom.* XI (a plan for the city of Rome, but originating only circa 1140), n. 40 (PL, LXXVIII, 1040), says without further distinction: *subdiaconus legit epistolam in ambone*.

Martène, I, 4, 4, 3 (I, 373 f.) presents examples from his own time of French churches that followed the one plan as well as some that followed the other.

⁸² Durandus, IV, 16, 2.

⁸³ Durandus, IV, 24, 20. He makes reference to Ps. 17: 11: *et volavit super pennas ventorum*.

Regarding medieval pulpits in the form of an eagle see Eisenhofer, I, 383 f.

⁸⁴ *Supra*, p. 413.

⁸⁵ It is possible that love for symbolism helped to tip the scales, once the reason for turning to the people had lost its force. According to Durandus, IV, 15, 5. the subdeacon looks towards the altar, which signifies Christ, *quia Johannis praedicatio se et alios dirigebat in Christum*.

It is precisely in this portion of the Mass, the Epistle, that the allegorical significance (preaching of the prophets, of John) is of ancient tradition and quite unanimous; cf. *supra*, p. 89; p. 110, note 41.

⁸⁶ For this reason the priest, while reading the Epistle, is even at present directed to place his hands on the book or to hold the book, whereas he reads the Gospel with hands folded, like the deacon whose hands are free. *Missale Rom., Rit. serv.*, VI, 1, 2; 5.

⁸⁷ *Supra*, p. 413.

⁸⁸ Cf. the expression *contra medium altaris* for the reading of the Epistle, note 58 above.

⁸⁹ The study of H. Leclercq, “Ambon,” *DACL*, I, 1330-1347, which covers the period up to the 9th century, maintains that in this time there is nowhere any evidence of two ambos (1339).

⁹⁰ Thus in S. Clemente which was rebuilt in 1100 but kept the form that it had had at the time. In S. Lorenzo the Gospel

see this plan followed, since the regulations in force at the present time¹ leave room for such an arrangement.

4. The Epistle

The first of the two readings of the Roman Mass is called simply "the Epistle" although it is not always taken from the Letters of the Apostles. This usage, which the *Missale Romanum* retains,² existed even in the twelfth century.³ The reading was also called "*lectio*," corresponding to the designation by which the title of the book being read is introduced: *lectio Isaiaë prophetæ, lectio epistolæ*. . . . Since enough was already said previously about the selection of the Epistle, the choice of a reader and his position in the sanctuary, it is only necessary to state that in our Roman liturgy it seems that the principle of the highest simplicity has been followed in the framing of the Epistle itself at high Mass. Consequently there is no address to the people and no reply on their part, no blessing of the reader (as is customary otherwise even in the Office before the longer readings at Matins⁴) and no prayer by the reader for purification, no solemn escort to the ambo (in recent times only the accompaniment of an acolyte has been allowed⁵). Even the melody to which it is sung is kept much simpler than at the Gospel.⁶

ambo dates from the 8th century; Gsell Fels, *op. cit.*, 784.

¹ *Ceremoniale episc.*, I, 12, 18.

² *Missale Rom.*, *Rit. serv.*, VI.

³ John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 38 (PL, CCII, 46 B). The Epistle can be taken from all books of the Scriptures except the Psalms and the Gospels.

⁴ All the more surprising then is the practice of having the subdeacon at high Mass, after the reading of the Epistle, bring the book to the celebrant, and kiss his hand and receive his blessing. Thus already in Durandus, IV, 17. According to the Missal of St. Vincent (circa 1100) he gives the book to the thurifer and simply receives the priest's blessing with head bowed (Fiala, 200). It seems, therefore, that the older element is not the return of the book but the reverence and the blessing. Cf. for this also Martène, I, 4, 4, 5 (I, 374). Still the original significance may perhaps be seen in the *Ordo* of the Lateran church (middle of the 12th century); according to this the subdeacon offers the bishop the Epistle *legendam*; only after the latter has read

it does the subdeacon kiss his hand (Fischer, 81). Later the bishop read the Epistle at the same time that the subdeacon did.

That the ceremony was continued ties in very well with the rather commonly accepted allegorical interpretation of the Epistle as the preaching of the prophets or the Baptist: by means of a symbolic ceremony it was possible to suggest the fulfillment of the Old Covenant through Christ who is represented by the priest; cf. Durandus, *loc. cit.*

In some isolated instances this blessing of the subdeacon is found fitted out with a petition and a formula of benediction: *Ordinarium* of Bayeux (13th c.): Martène, I, 4, XXIV (I, 627 B).

⁵ Cf. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 29 (PL, CCXVII, 816 C). In the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 236) this is done only on Sundays and feasts.

⁶ It is therefore all the more striking that since the 11th century tropes were composed for some of the Epistles, but not for the Gospels. These tropes expanded the text either by means of Latin phrases

This sobriety was evidently intentional, in order to let the Gospel stand out more strongly. Putting it more exactly, it was retained when the richer fitting-out of the Gospel was begun. In general an older manner in the fitting-out of the lection still survives in the Epistle. Here, too, the role of the lector is still acknowledged at least in part—which agrees with what we have said. To sit during the Epistle was also one of those olden reading practices.⁶ On the other hand, this sobriety is not quite so pronounced as at the readings which bear the stamp of greatest antiquity—those of Good Friday and Holy Saturday. About these the rubric still remarks that they are read *sine titulo* and the answer *Deo gratias* is omitted at the end—two elaborations which have nevertheless been accorded the Epistle.

The *Deo gratias* at the end is not necessarily proper to the Epistle only. It is repeated at the end of the last Gospel, just as it follows at the lessons of the Office, and also at the *Ite missa est*. In truth only in the last case does the response bear the marks of primitiveness, since it is made by the choir and not by the servers.⁷

It is without doubt sensible and very becoming for one to thank God after being permitted to receive His word. But it is questionable whether the *Deo gratias* is here intended as a spoken thanks. Primarily its function seems to be quite different. In this *Deo gratias* we have a formal shout which was much used outside of divine service especially in the North African Church, e.g. as an acclamation in the sense of approval, and as a greeting of Christians on meeting each other.⁸ The *Deo gratias* seems to have come from North Africa into the Arabian liturgy, where it is used along with *Amen* as a response after the reading.⁹ We find also that it was

or, later, by means of French farcings. Blume, *Tropen des Missale*, II (Analecta hymnica, 49), p. 165-207, especially 167 f.; idem., "Epître farcie," LThK, III, 734.

⁶ At one time it was customary at high Mass for the celebrant to sit during the Epistle, even if only a simple priest, along with the deacon, as is still the practice in the Carthusian and Dominican rites and as I myself saw it done at Lyons in 1929. This custom is attested also in the *Udalrici Consuetudines Clun.* (circa 1080), II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 716); in the Missal of St. Vincent: Fiala, 200; in the old Cistercian rite: Schneider, (*Cist.-Chron.*, 1926), 315 f.; in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 90; and in Durandus, IV, 18. Sitting also became customary for the faithful (*supra*, p. 241), and in many lands, especially those following English and French practices, it has con-

tinued customary; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (StZ, 1927, II), 355.

For the papal and episcopal Mass see *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 942); cf. *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 971). At a pontifical Mass the bishop sits even today and reads the Epistle the while: *Ceremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 39; 41.

⁷ On the contrary in the Office the whole choir answers the readings with *Deo gratias*. Thus the *Deo gratias* at the Epistle, which is apparently not mentioned in medieval *Ordines* or Mass books, becomes a secondary development, derived from the Office.

⁸ F. Cabrol, "Deo gratias," DACL, IV, 649-652; cf. the examples from inscriptions which are there cited by H. Lelercq, *ibid.*, 652-659.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 650.

a part of the Roman liturgy at an early period. At the stationary service in the eighth century when the deacon made the announcement of the next station, right after the Communion of the Pope, the people answered, *Deo gratias*.¹⁰ The sense in which the formula is here used is plain. The only purpose is to express the fact that the hearers have understood the announcement. It is the same situation as that predicated in the rule of St. Benedict where the gate-keeper is told to answer *Deo gratias* whenever anyone knocks at the monastery doors.¹¹ Surely he is not shouting his gratitude for any benefit received; he is merely indicating that he has heard the summons. But he does use a formula which goes down deep into Christian concepts, a formula which has become so much a part of everyday life that it can serve as a simple signal. It is in this sense that we must understand the *Deo gratias* which is said after the *Ite missa est* and on other occasions in the Roman liturgy,¹² especially after the Epistle and the lessons. We can trace here the prevailing tone that dominates the Roman liturgy, the strong, religiously accented consciousness of the community, the realization that after the proclamation made to all, after the presentation of God's word, no doubt should be left about its reception. The proclamation has been heard, the reading has been received, and the reply that resounds from the people is one which the Christian should use in every challenging situation in life: *Deo gratias*, Thanks be to God.

5. The Intervient Chants

It is in the very nature of things that the grace-laden message which God proclaims to men would awaken an echo of song. In the chant which is linked with the readings we have the most ancient song of the Christian liturgy, and in particular of the Roman liturgy. In contrast to the more modern strata of the Mass chants: introit, offertory and communion, which were antiphonal in design and so demanded a special singing group for performance, the gradual and alleluia still show plainly the traits of the older responsorial method which dominated the field till at least the fourth century. For this type of music only one trained singer was required, with the people all answering together. Only this solo singer had any continuous text to reproduce; the people answered by repeating after each passage the unchanging verse, the refrain or *responsum*.¹ This is a very simple procedure, but for a vital participation of the people a procedure suitable in the highest measure, since neither any special preparation nor a written

¹⁰ *Ordo* of St. Amand: Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 462; cf. *Breviarium eccl. ord.*: Silva-Tarouca, 200.

¹¹ Rule of St. Benedict, c. 66.

¹² Cf. the enumeration in Eisenhofer, I, 192 f.

¹ The Greeks had various designations for

this: ἀρχοτελεύτιον, ἀρχοστίχιον, ὑπακοή, ἀφύμνιον; the singing itself they called ὑποψάλλειν, ὑπακούειν, *succinere, respondere*. Leitner, 207 f.

In Spain it was called *subpsalmare*; Férotin, *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, p. XLI f.

text were necessary for the people. This responding of the people was customary both in the singing of the races of the ancient Orient and in the divine service of the Old Covenant.² But in the pre-Christian and primitive Christian eras there was in the texts scarcely any distinction between song and prayer, nor was there any definite singing tune for use only in the performance of the psalms, since certain recitatives and even formal melodies were customary also for the other books of the Bible.³ But responsory itself was to some extent inherent in the very text of the psalms. It was a legacy which the synagogue inherited from the services in the Temple.⁴ And thence it passed to the primitive Church where it is found in full practice.

According to the arrangement of the agape outlined by Hippolytus of Rome, the faithful were to say "alleluia" when the psalms were read at the beginning of the agape.⁵ The reference is to the alleluia psalms in which the biblical text already contains the entry, "alleluia," either at the beginning or at the end, as an indication that the word was to be inserted as a response after every verse.⁶ St. Athanasius on one occasion mentioned the deacon's reciting a psalm before the entire people, while the people responded repeatedly: *Quoniam in æternum misericordia eius*,⁷ just as we find it sketched in Psalm 135.

Since the third century, contemporaneous with the vanishing of the vogue of privately composed hymns,⁸ the use of the Scriptural psalms became more pronounced. And the opposition to these hymns probably led to a greater stressing of the musical character of the psalms.⁹ In the fourth century there is explicit evidence of the use of psalm chant in the reading

² Leitner, *Der gottesdienstliche Volksge-sang im jüdischen und christlichen Alter-tum*, 26-93; Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 494 ff. Cf. also Nielsen, *The Earliest Christian Liturgy*, 281-289.

³ Elbogen, 503 ff. The accent marks of the Masoretic texts contained (as we know) indications also of the method of production. Much information regarding cantillation signs (*ta'amin*) may be obtained from Solomon Rosowsky, "The Music of the Pentateuch," *Proceedings of the Music Association*, XLVIII (1934), 38.

⁴ Elbogen, 494 f. The fundamental elements of Hebrew cantillation are thoroughly discussed in Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music* (New York, 1929).

⁵ Hippolytus of Rome, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 51 f.; Hennecke, 581); cf. *supra*, p. 13, note 29.

⁶ Cf. Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 27; see for this Dekkers, 35.

⁷ In this way the Hallel was prayed at

the synagogue service; see Elbogen, 496: The leader began with "halleluja," the congregation repeated it, and after each half-verse chimed in again with "halleluja," in all (as the ancient sources report) 123 times.

In much the same way the alleluia is used as a refrain after a rather lengthy series of verses in the Stowe Missal.

A discussion of the relation of the alleluia to the liturgy of the synagogue in P. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 31.

⁷ Athanasius, *De fuga*, c. 24 (PG, XXV, 676 A).

⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 346.

⁹ During the first two hundred years of the Christian era the Psalter appears to have served the Church only as a prayer-book, not as a songbook, just like the other books of the Bible. B. Fischer, *Die Psalmenfrömmigkeit der Märtyrerkirche* (Freiburg, 1949), 3, 10, referring to R. Knopf.

service of the fore-Mass, and its performance followed the method of responsorial song already in vogue.¹⁰ In this process the alleluia gained considerable importance. It is, at any rate, a phenomenon worth remarking, that nearly all the liturgies both East and West still display the alleluia in the Mass in some form or other.¹¹ And usually the alleluia follows the second-last reading, either immediately¹² or (as in the Roman liturgy too) mediately, so that it looks like a prelude to the Gospel¹³; but sometimes it does not appear till after the last lesson.¹⁴

In the sermons of St. Augustine we are introduced to the fully developed form of the responsorial psalming as it was done between the lessons. He speaks of a psalm "which we heard sung and to which we responded."¹⁵ Augustine himself was wont to select the psalm. Even lengthier psalms were sung right through without curtailment.¹⁶ The refrain seems always to have consisted of an entire verse of the respective psalm. It could be taken either from the beginning of the psalm or from the context. The first alternative we see exemplified in Psalm 29, where the response is: *Exaltabo te Domine quoniam suscepisti me nec iucundasti inimicos meos super me.*¹⁷ Due to their constant recurrence these refrains were quite familiar to the people. Like Augustine, another preacher, St. Chrysostom, takes occasion time and time again to refer to these refrains as a starting point for a deeper study of the contents of the psalms.¹⁸ St. Leo the Great, too, makes reference to this community singing of the psalms with the people.¹⁹

¹⁰ *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 6 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182): When the reader has finished two readings, another shall psalm the Psalms of David, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστιχία ὑποψαλλέτω.

¹¹ The only exceptions are the Ethiopic and the Gallican liturgies. Still even in the Ethiopian there is a trace; see Hanssens, III, 187. In the Gallican the *canticum trium puerorum*, which is itself arranged in responsorial fashion, seems to have taken over the role of the alleluia chant.

¹² West Syrian liturgy (Brightman, 36; 79), Greek liturgy of St. Mark (*ibid.*, 118), Byzantine (371) and Armenian liturgies (426); the Milanese liturgy (present-day missal; Daniel, *Codex liturg.*, I, 60).

¹³ Coptic liturgy (Brightman, 156), East Syrian liturgy (*ibid.*, 258 f.).

¹⁴ Mozarabic liturgy (PL, LXXXV, 536). As A. Lesley notes (*ibid.*, note), it was decreed by the IV Council of Toledo (633), can. 12 that the alleluia be sung

not before the Gospel but after it; cf. Isidore, *De eccl. off.*, I, 13, 4 (PL, LXXXIII, 751), who took part in the proposal and who presents the following reason: Thus it could be suggested that our life after the revelation of the Gospel must be one praise of God.

Obviously, then, even here a different plan had previously been followed.

¹⁵ Augustine, *Enarr.* in ps. 119, 1 (PL, XXXVII, 1596). Further texts in Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 81 f. and likewise in Roetzer, 101 f.

¹⁶ Augustine, *Enarr.* in ps. 138, 1 (PL, XXVII, 1784).

¹⁷ Wagner, I, 82. The text named, along with the following verse (as the remainder of the psalm) today forms the gradual for the Wednesday in Passion week.

¹⁸ Chrysostom, *In ps. 117 expos.*, 1 (PG, LV, 328); in ps. 144, 1 (464); Leitner, 208 f.

¹⁹ Leo the Great, *Serm.*, 3, 1 (PL, LIV, 145): *Davidicum psalmum . . . consona voce cantavimus.*

It is really remarkable that now only a few remnants remain of this responsorial singing which was once so flourishing. Quite early it invaded the domain of art.²⁰ In the Oriental Church the refrain was first expanded into a strophe, the *heirmos*, then further verses were intercalated for the repetition of the refrain, and these groups of strophes, called a "canon," entwine around the psalm or canticle of the singer like an ivy-vine. These canons were performed by a choir, or by two choirs.²¹ The next step in the evolution was to drop most of the psalm at a solemn Office, retaining a few verses which were hymnically interwoven in the manner indicated. Finally in the canticles the basic text disappeared entirely and all that was left was an elaborate store of hymn poetry, redolent of the biblical songs upon which they had been founded.²²

Between the readings of the fore-Mass, however, the development did not reach these lengths even in the Eastern liturgies. The basic form did not disappear entirely. True, only a fragment of the psalm remains, a few verses that vary with the church year. But this remnant is linked with the alleluia which appears in some sort of repetition, so that the responsorial character is still plainly recognizable. Amongst the East Syrians a triple alleluia follows after every three verses²³; amongst the Copts, a triple alleluia after two verses, and a single alleluia after another verse²⁴; amongst the West Syrians, a double alleluia precedes, and a single alleluia follows the one verse of the psalm.²⁵ Similarly in the Byzantine liturgy the variant verse is enclosed between an alleluia at the beginning and one at the end.²⁶ On Holy Saturday a whole psalm is sung, with alleluia inserted as a response after each verse.²⁷ But less extended chants which are found within the compass of the lessons display few of the responsorial features²⁸; they are, in fact, mere preludes to the later readings rather than echoes of those that went before. Even the alleluia, paralleling this, seems to have been

²⁰ In folk song responsorial singing was retained and the alleluia, like the *Kyrie eleison*, continued to be used as a refrain in both spiritual and secular songs; see the references in Leitner, 205, Note 6.

²¹ This line of progress is described in greater detail by O. Heiming, *Syrische Eniânê und griechische Kanones* (LQF, 26; Münster, 1932). Among the psalms which were thus intercalated with new compositions, a special role was played by Ps. 113 ff. and Ps. 148 ff., alleluia-psalms which were from the start suited to the responsorial performance (Heiming, 42).

Andrew of Crete (d. 740) is accounted the first great composer of these canon-poems.

²² Cf. the study in Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 26 ff.

²³ Brightman, 258 f.

²⁴ Brightman, 156.

²⁵ Brightman, 79.

Cf. the Armenian liturgy (*ibid.*, 426; Hanssens, III, 188 f.).

²⁶ Brightman, 371.

²⁷ Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 92. Cf. Max von Sachsen, *Praelectiones de liturgiis orientalibus* (Freiburg, 1913), II, 239 f.

The alleluia as a response to each verse of a complete psalm is also preserved in the Byzantine burial service, P. Matzerath, *Die Totenfeiern der byzantinischen Kirche* (Paderborn, 1939), 10; 101 f.; 105 f.

²⁸ Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 92 f.

conceived predominantly as a preparation for the Gospel,²⁹ if it is possible to judge in the midst of such a variety and irregularity in the forms of the chants as well as the prayers.

In the Roman liturgy, too, this curtailment of responsorial song has been allowed a free hand, and not one single chant has retained the original type unimpaired. Aside from the ferial formularies, in which only one responsorial chant follows the Epistle,³⁰ as is also the case after the several lessons of the vigil Masses on Ember Saturdays—aside from these instances the full form of the Sunday and feast-day formularies includes two songs, the gradual and the alleluia (*resp.* Tract), and in addition the more recently composed sequences also belong in this grouping. There are various indications that tend to show that the gradual originally followed the first of the three readings (which disappeared very early).³¹ That is manifested even at present on the few days that have three readings; one of the chants follows the first reading, one the second.³² Similarly in the Milan liturgy the *psalmellus* follows the first of the three readings, and the alleluia chant follows the second.³³ In fact, even in the Roman liturgy a fragment of a Mass book has recently come to light which regularly has the gradual follow the first of its three lections, and the alleluia the second.³⁴

When the first reading disappeared, it was hard to sacrifice either the gradual or the alleluia, probably because both had become by that time—the sixth century—jewels of the Roman Mass; perhaps, too, because by that time the alleluia was more and more considered an Easter piece³⁵

²⁹ Hanssens, III, 187-191.

³⁰ This rule is followed, among others, in the *Commune* formulary *In vigiliis apostolorum*; likewise in the ferial Masses of Advent (see the rubric after the first Sunday of Advent). In Lent there is an exception insofar as the tract *Domine non secundum* comes into question (see below, p. 431, note 66). It is therefore inconsequent if votive Masses, even those which are matched by a violet color, are decked out with gradual and alleluia or tract. Still such inconsequences are found quite early; see, e.g., the Antiphony of Senlis (9th century): Hesbert, n. 154, compared with n. 121 (vigils of Apostles).

The appearance of a single chant in ferial Masses bears a relationship to the fact that here (aside from Ember week and such) three lessons were not usual. Cf. the outline of lessons as apportioned to various week-days, above, p. 400.

³¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 395.

³² There is only an apparent exception in the Wednesdays of the 1st and 4th

weeks of Lent, insofar as a tract, in addition to the second gradual, follows the second reading; cf. below, p. 431, note 66. On Good Friday the first lesson is followed nowadays by a tract only, but it was different in the most sacred antiphonaries; Hesbert, n. 78.

³³ The *psalmellus* is a double verse that changes with the Church year, much like our gradual; *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), p. 167 etc. The Gospel, too, is followed by a chant, the *antiphona post evangelium*, but (as the name implies) it has no responsorial character.

³⁴ A. Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuchfragmente* (see above, p. 395, note 16), p. XXX.

According to Durandus, IV, 19, 2 the gradual was at that time sung before the Epistle in many churches.

³⁵ This was the arrangement, at any rate, in the closely related liturgy of North Africa. Here the alleluia was in use only in the Easter-to-Pentecost season and on Sundays; Isidore, *De eccl. off.*, I, 13, 2

admirably suited to the eucharistic celebration especially on Sundays and feast days. And then it was no longer regarded simply as an echo of the Epistle but a presentiment of the joyous Gospel message, as the later interpreters regularly explain it.³⁶

All the more, then, must the texts of the two chants be shortened, and all the more thoroughly in proportion to the melodic elaboration which by this time they had gained. If in the Orient it was poetics that proved to be the enemy of the ancient responsorial technique, in the Western world it was musical art. Already in St. Augustine's time the singers displayed the tendency more and more to enhance the chant with richer melodies.³⁷ The external beauty of God's house had been enhanced, the service increased in splendor; it was but natural that the music should follow suit. The formation of the elaborate melismas must have been accomplished in the solo singing of the psalmist long before a similar development could be inaugurated in the *schola cantorum*.³⁸ This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that even later melodies of the responsorial songs, compared with those of the antiphonal songs of the *schola*, show an unevenly greater embellishment. This can be seen to best advantage only since the *Graduale Romanum* has been republished with the fuller ancient melodies. The richness of the solo chant must have had a reaction also in the *responsum* of the people. Gradually this response slipped away from the congregation and into the ranks of the singers, that is, the *schola*. With this new development another fact was closely related, namely that even the most ancient books containing the texts for the Roman chants between the readings—with a few exceptions that were fast disappearing—indicate for both grad-

(PL, LXXXIII, 750). In the church of St. Augustine it was heard, in the main, only during the Easter season; Roetzer, 234 f. Vigilantius wanted the same thing in Gaul; Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium*, c. 1 (PL, XXIII, 339).

This latter restriction to Eastertide had its sponsors also within the territory of the Roman liturgy at the time of Gregory the Great, who was reproached *quia Alleluja dici ad missa extra pentecostes tempora fecistis*. For his own praxis the pope invokes the old tradition stemming from the church of Jerusalem. Gregory the Great, *Ep. IX*, 12 (PL, LXXVII, 956). Perhaps it was Gregory who had ordered the omission of the Alleluia after Septuagesima, a reform that did not seem radical enough to his correspondent; cf. below, note 67. A different explanation of the spare accounts which have been preserved is sought by J. Froger, "L'Alle-

luja dans l'usage romain," *Eph. liturg.*, LXII (19-48), 6-48.

A certain connection between the Alleluia and Easter is even a pre-Christian tradition, for the alleluia belonged especially to the paschal Hallel.

³⁶ See the results of this interpretation in Durandus, IV, 20.

³⁷ Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX, 6 f.; X, 33 (CSEL, XXXIII, 208; 263 f.); Cassian, *De coenob. inst.*, II, 2 (CSEL, XVII, 18).

³⁸ Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 33-40. Wagner believes he is able to date the introduction of the rich melismatic style into the responsorial Mass chants about the period between 450 and 550 (83 f.). But since the explanation of the Gallican liturgy ascribed to St. Germanus belongs at earliest to the 7th century, it seems better to stretch out this period to the time of Gregory the Great.

ual and alleluia only a single verse instead of the full psalm.³⁹ This is what we are accustomed to at present, and so the responsorial design of these songs is scarcely ever noticed.

Still this abbreviation of the texts did not make such progress in other parts of our liturgy. In these places it came to a halt. Thus in the invitatory in Matins we have an example of the original form of responsorial singing. In order to render the design of the songs we are considering more plainly visible we might do well to outline and compare the forms of responsorial song still preserved in our liturgy.

| 1. Invitatory | 2. Responsory at the Little Hours | 3. Responsory at Matins |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Response intoned | Response intoned | |
| Response of the choir | Response of the choir | Response of the choir |
| Verse 1 of the Psalm | Verse | Verse |
| Response of the choir | Response of the choir | Response of the choir |
| Verse 2 of the Psalm | | |
| Response of the choir | | |
| | | |
| <i>Gloria Patri</i> | <i>Gloria Patri</i> | (<i>Gloria Patri</i>) |
| Response of the choir | Response of the choir | Response of the choir |
| | | |
| 4. Alleluia Chant | 5. Gradual | |
| Response intoned | Response of the choir | |
| Response of the choir | (Response of the choir) | |
| Verse | Verse | |
| Response of the choir | | |

In the gradual almost nothing of the original responsory character is retained, though the older sources did keep the names *responsorium* or *responsorium graduale*.⁴⁰ Still the second half of the text is designated as *versus* (V.). This verse takes the place of the once complete psalm sung by the precentor. Even now all of it except the final cadence is performed (according to rule) by one or two soloists. But the preceding portion of the text which corresponds to the older response of the people is now begun by the soloist(s) and continued by the choir. This method of performance, of which there are evidences even at an earlier period,⁴¹ is a substitute for the more ancient plan according to which the *responsum* was first pre-intoned by the precentor and then repeated by all.⁴² The further repetition

³⁹ It can now be easily studied in the editions of the six oldest MSS. (8th and 8-9 centuries), which appear in parallel columns in R. J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935). Cf. *supra*, p. 64.

⁴⁰ *Expositio 'Primum in ordine'* (PL, CXXXVIII, 1174): *Et dictum respon-*

sorium, quod uno cessante hoc ipsum alter respondeat.

⁴¹ *Ordo* of the Lateran church (middle of the 12th century): Fischer, 81, 1. 19.

⁴² Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 87 f. This repetition is clearly attested in Amalar's exposition of 813-14, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 162 = Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 151 (see *supra*, p. 89, note 73); in

of the *responsum* after the verse was still customary in the thirteenth century, and in many places even later.⁴⁸ As a rule⁴⁹ it was at first omitted only in those instances in which another chant, the alleluia or a tract, followed,⁴⁸ but in most churches it soon disappeared entirely. In order to avoid an unsatisfactory ending⁴⁹ it then became the practice to have the entire choir join in during the closing cadence of the verse,⁵⁰ as usually happens today. But in the new edition of the *Graduale Romanum* (1908), the original plan was also permitted, that namely of repeating the *responsum* after the verse.

In Holy Week two graduals are retained which even today show several verses instead of the usual one.⁴⁸ The repetition of the response after the individual verses which was still customary in the Carolingian period⁴⁹ and even later⁵⁰ has disappeared, it is true, so that the chants are no longer to be distinguished from the *tractus*; indeed they have actually taken this title from the latter form. In Easter Week also a lengthy section of the Easter psalm *Confitemini*, with a constant repetition of the refrain, *Hæc*

the *Expositio 'Missa pro multis,'* ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 34; in the *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1321); in the *Ordo Rom. II* (10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 971 B); and also in the late medieval *Ordinarium* of Chalon: Martène, 1, 4, XXIX (I, 646 CD).

⁴⁸ Wagner, 87 f.

Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 96 (PL, CLXXII, 575 C); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 3 (PL, CCXIII, 106 A); Ordinal of Exeter (1337), ed. Dalton (HBS, 37), 295. Also, according to the *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (in printed missals between 1495 and 1530), the response *Beata gens*, in the Pentecost Mass which is presented as a paradigm, is repeated after the verse; Legg, *Tracts*, 38.

The repetition after the verse was done on a higher tone: Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 11 (PL, CV, 1120); Sicard, *Mitrale*, III, 3 (PL, CCXIII, 105 f.).

On the other hand in *Ordo Rom. V* (10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 987 C), the repetition is left to the discretion of the bishop, who gives the choir-master a sign if he wants the repetition. Durandus, IV, 19, 9, then makes the general statement that at Mass, differently from the Office, the repetition is not customary. This ties in naturally with the fact that the gradual had become music-

ally much richer than the responsories of the Office.

⁴⁹ Every repetition is suppressed in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 145).

⁵⁰ Thus, e.g., in the 1312 Ordinal of the Carmelites (Zimmerman, 71).

Cf. Ursprung, *Die Kirchenmusik*, 57.

⁴⁸ In the Mass for the feast of John the Baptist the omission of the repetition brought with it an unnatural and infelicitous break in the text. For the verse reads as follows: *Misit Dominus manum suam et tetigit os meum et dixit mihi*; this naturally demands the repetition of the response: *Priusquam*. (If need be we could take the Alleluia-verse as a continuation of the phrase: *Tu puer . . .*)

⁴⁹ Wagner, 88 f. Thus in the 13th century at Bayeux, but here in the same way the response after the verse was begun by the chanters and continued by the choir to the finish. U. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux* (Bibliothèque liturgique, 8; Paris, 1902), 27.

⁴⁸ On Wednesday: *Domine exaudi orationem meam*, with five verses; on Good Friday: *Domine audiui*, with four verses.

⁴⁹ Wagner, 89 f.

⁵⁰ Robert Paululus (d. circa 1184), *De caeremoniis*, III, 17 (PL, CLXXVII, 449 A).

dies quam fecit Dominus, exsulemus et lætemur in ea, long survived.⁵¹ But as time went on the verses of the psalm were distributed throughout the week. Just as here in the Easter octave a store of antique responsorial song is to be found, so (to cite another example) in the second Christmas Mass, too. The head-piece of the gradual, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Deus Dominus et illuxit nobis*, was the song which the Christian people in the fourth century repeated tirelessly during the Christmas procession from Bethlehem to Jerusalem.⁵²

If in the gradual only a rudiment of the ancient responsorial singing has been retained, in the alleluia, as it is presented now, the original design still peeps through. The singer chants alleluia,⁵³ just as he usually intones the refrain. The congregation repeats it. The singer begins the psalm, that is, he sings the verse which replaces the psalm. The choir again repeats the alleluia.⁵⁴ In Eastertide, from Low Sunday to Whitsunday, where a double alleluia is inserted in place of the gradual and alleluia, a second verse follows and then the alleluia once more.⁵⁵

The present-day manner of executing the alleluia really corresponds in substance to this description: the first alleluia is sung by one or two soloists and then, with the *jubilus* added, is repeated by the choir; the verse again is the soloist's; and in the repetition after the verse the choir joins in once more at least with the *jubilus*.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Antiphonal of Mont Blandin (8-9th century): Hesbert, n. 80, with verse 1, 2, 3, 4, 16, 22, 26. Cf. *Ordo Rom. XI*, n. 47 (PL, LXXVIII, 1044 B): *Duo cantores in pulpito cantant Graduale: Hæc dies quam fecit Dominus. Primicerius cum schola respondet.*

There is evidence also for the feast of the Cathedra of St. Peter of a *responsum* with three verses: PL, LXXVIII, 655 A.

⁵² *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, 25, 6; cf. 31, 2 (CSEL, XXX, 75; 83 f.); Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 166 f.

⁵³ *Hallelu-yah* = Praise Yahweh.

⁵⁴ For this conception cf. A. Eizenhöfer, "Der Allelujagesang vor dem Evangelium," *Eph. liturg.*, XLV (1931), 374-382. According to the explanation which predominated till then, only the word "alleluia" with its *jubilus* was at first used at Mass, and only later on was a verse added as a support; Eisenhofer, II, 108 f. This opinion runs counter to the fact, already established, of the common acceptance, even at Rome (see above, p. 422) of the alleluia in responsorial psalmody; for the essentially responsorial character of the alleluia see H. Eng-

berding, "Alleluja," RAC, I, 293-299, especially 295.

It is true that in the MSS. the alleluia-verse is not presented uniformly, that therefore in its present state it is of later date. But that is not the same as saying that even previously the alleluia at Mass was not connected with a verse.

⁵⁵ That this is not the case also in Easter week is explained by the fact that the psalm *Confitemini* had an even stronger and more original Easter character than the alleluia. The reflections in Gehr, 501, therefore, miss the main point.

It must be remarked that the double alleluia of Eastertide is, musically and textually, really two separate alleluias juxtaposed.

⁵⁶ Thus according to the rubric in the *Graduale Romanum* (ed. Vaticana, 1908), *De rit. serv. in cantu Missæ*, IV: *Si Alleluia, alleluia cum versu sunt dicenda, primum Alleluia cantatur ab uno vel a duobus usque ad signum *. Chorus autem repetit Alleluia et subiungit neuma, seu iubulum, protrahens syllabam a. Cantores versum concinunt, qui ut supra occurrente asterisco a toto choro terminatur. Finito*

The tendency to drop the repetitions, particularly the repetition after the verse, was also manifested in the alleluia,⁶⁷ but, excepting the days of lesser solemnity,⁶⁸ the tendency was overcome. The nearness of the joyous message of the Gospel probably helped to produce this result.⁶⁹

In the *jubilus* of the alleluia Gregorian chant achieved its highest expression, and, no doubt, in the ages before people were spoiled by the charms of harmony, the untiring reiteration of the melismatic melodies with their endless rise and fall must have been a wonderful experience for the devout congregation.⁷⁰

In penitential periods the *tractus* takes the place of the alleluia. Its one big peculiarity today is the fact that it consists of a lengthy series of psalm verse, each marked with the designation *V(ersus)*. The tract for Palm Sunday, for instance, embraces the greater part of Psalm 21, that of the first Sunday of Lent the complete Psalm 90. The Carolingian liturgist thought the chief distinction between tract and gradual was the lack of a response (refrain) after the verses in the former, where it was still customary in the latter.⁷¹ Musically the distinctive mark is the scantier store of melody.⁷² This in fact may possibly be the derivation of the name: *tractus* = *εἰρηός*, a typical melody, which recurs according to fixed rules in the course of the piece.⁷³ Medieval interpreters sought the derivation in the "drawn-out" method of singing, a style appointed for penitence and

versu cantor vel cantores repetunt Alleluia et chorus addit solum neuima. This distribution to choir and soloists (*pueri*) is already to be found in the *Ordinarium* of Bayeux of the 13th century; Chevalier (note 47 above), 27.

⁶⁷ *Ordo Rom. V*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 987 C).

⁶⁸ Both repetitions are omitted in paschal Masses of a ferial character (Rogations, vigil of Pentecost and partly Pentecost Ember days). In this case there is the same design as is now found in the gradual.

Only the repetition after the verse has disappeared on Holy Saturday. It is only this last phenomenon that is explained in Wagner, I, 95. This is really only a sort of toning-down of the festal jubilee in accordance with the type of celebration; cf. *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 26 (PL, LXXVIII, 950 A): *in quotidianis diebus* it is alright to be satisfied with the first Alleluia.

Spanish missals of the later Middle Ages had only one alleluia outside the paschal season, and only the verse followed; Ferreres, 106.

⁶⁹ Cf. Durandus, IV, 20, 7: *Per hoc vero quod Alleluia cum pneuma repetitur, laus et gaudium ineffabile patriæ significatur.*

⁷⁰ Even in the ancient Church the alleluia was sung with rich melismas. Pertinent remarks of St. Augustine (who speaks of wordless jubilation) in Roetzer, 233-235. Further particulars in Wagner, I, 36 ff. Regarding the singing of the Alleluia among oriental Christians, see Wagner, 92. From his own experience Wagner confirms the report of older authors that the Copts often sing just alleluia for a quarter of an hour.

⁷¹ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 12 (PL, CV, 1121): *Hoc differt inter Responsorium, cui chorus respondet, et Tractum, cui nemo. . .*

⁷² Many of the tracts belong to the second or to the eighth (ecclesiastical) mode, and the preference is for the same melodies. The same musical melodies are repeated from verse to verse and from tract to tract. Wagner, I, 99 f.

⁷³ Wagner, I, 99.

grief⁶⁴; but this was hardly the original notion of these chants, for amongst them are found several that begin with *Jubilare, Laudate Dominum*. Wagner has good grounds for his opinion that in the tract we have simply graduals—perhaps we ought to say responsorial chants—of the fourth/fifth century, chants which, in their melodic design and partly in the range of their text, stem from the more ancient period of Roman solo-psalmody and so reflect the condition of the chants before the art of the singer had succeeded in embellishing it and thus led to the shortening of the psalm.⁶⁵ This traditionally simpler manner was later used more and more exclusively for fast-day Masses,⁶⁶ in which we generally find the older forms retained, especially in the last days of Lent.⁶⁷ Later the tract was given a certain animation by being divided amongst the whole choir in alternate fashion, as is the rule now.⁶⁸

It was really an important moment in the liturgy when, at the Roman stationary service of the seventh century, right after the Epistle the singers

⁶⁴ Durandus, IV, 21, 1.

Later the name was usually derived from the fact that the tract was sung straight through, "in one strain" (*trac-tim*), without interruption by a refrain; cf., e.g., Gühr, 493.

⁶⁵ Wagner, *loc. cit.* Cf. idem, *Geschichte der Messe* (Leipzig, 1913), I, 4, with the hint that in the medieval tract melodies are probably concealed the remains of synagogue song.

⁶⁶ Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 100 f.

More in detail we refer to the Sundays from Septuagesima on, a few incidental feasts, as well as Ember and Holy Weeks. It is only here that the oldest chant books indicate the tract; see the survey in Hesbert, p. 244.

The tract *Domine non secundum peccata*, which we use every Monday, Wednesday and Friday in Lent, is a more recent composition. It was introduced in Frankish territory, and not before the 8th century. Its origin is due to the then prevailing penitential discipline which exacted from public penitents special penitential works on the three *feriæ legitimæ* all through *Quadragesima*. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 70 f.

⁶⁷ Since these are regularly the chants which stand in the second place, especially on the Sundays in the pre-Easter fasting season, there is an explanation for the loss of the *responsum*. This latter would have had to stay in the alleluia, but this too was excluded during this season.

About 400 the alleluia was still compatible with sorrowful solemnities, like the burial of Fabiola, even at Rome; Jerome, *Ep.*, 77, 12 (CSEL, LV, 48, 1. 12). But a few decades later Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 19 (PG, LXVII, 1476), was under the impression that the alleluia was originally sung at Rome only on Easterday. What is behind his report, which is at any rate quite questionable (cf. Cabrol, *DACL*, I, 1236), might possibly be the fact that the alleluia was removed from *Quadragesima*. This was already a fixed rule in Spain and in Africa at the time of St. Isidore, *De eccl. off.*, I, 13, 3 (PL, LXXXIII, 750 f.), and perhaps also in Rome. Gregory the Great seems to have banned the alleluia further, from *Septuagesima*; Callewaert, *Sacris crudiri* 650, 652 f. On the part of the Greeks the omission of the alleluia during the Lenten season was for the first time made a matter of complaint and accusation by Leo of Achrida in 1053; A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios II* (Paderborn, 1930), 94, note; 124.

⁶⁸ *Graduale Romanum* (ed. Vaticana, 1908), *De rit. serv. in cantu Missæ*, IV: *cuius versiculi alternatim cantantur a duabus sibi invicem respondentibus chori partibus, aut a cantoribus et universo choro*.

Reporting from Rouen, de Moléon, 361, tells of an older manner of performance.

ascended the ambo, first the one who intoned the *responsorium* and after him the one who did the alleluia. For these songs were not like those of the *schola*, intended merely to fill out a pause, nor were they, like the latter broken off at the signal of the celebrant. They were independent, self-sufficient members inserted between the readings like a moment of pious meditation, like a lyrical rejoicing after the word of God had reached the ears of men.⁶⁹ The name of the singer like that of the reader of the Epistle had to be made known to the pope at the beginning of the service.⁷⁰ Previous to Gregory the Great these chants were done by deacons,⁷¹ but St. Gregory forbade this⁷² since he wanted to avert the possibility of a beautiful voice counting in the promotion to diaconate. So the duty fell to the subdeacon's lot.⁷³ When the singer mounted the ambo, he was not allowed to stand at the top—at least this was true later, in the territory of the Romano-Frankish liturgy. This platform was reserved to the Gospel. Instead, like the reader of the Epistle, he had to be satisfied with one of the steps (*gradus*) of the stairway.⁷⁴ Hence the chant took the name "*graduale*."⁷⁵ And his vesture, too, was that of the reader of the Epistle—that

⁶⁹ The time occupied by these chants seems to have meant nothing even in the 11th century; this is gathered from the lengthy prayers that the celebrant was expected to recite during these intervening chants. Those in the *Missa Illyrica* and in the Mass-*Ordo* of *Cod. Chigi* would take at least a quarter of an hour even for a hurried recital; Martène, 1, 4, IV; XII (I, 499-504; 570-574).

⁷⁰ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 940). Apparently two different singers are here meant; see Stapper in his edition of the *Ordo Rom. I* (Stapper, 17). The duality is patent in the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 456) and in the *Ordo Rom. III* (11th century), n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 979).

⁷¹ This Office is emphasized more than once in the grave inscriptions, e.g., in that of the archdeacon Deusdedit (5th century):

*Hic levitarum primus in ordine vivens
Davitici cantor carminis iste fuit.*

(Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 170).

⁷² At the Roman Synod of 595 (PL, LXXVII, 1335).

⁷³ This seems to be at least suggested in *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 940). Later on every grade of orders was waived; see below, note 81.

⁷⁴ *Expositio 'Primum in ordine'* (circa 800; PL, CXXXVIII, 1174 C); *Ordo*

Rom. II, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 971 B); *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 34 f.

Amalar's interpretation of 813-14, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 184, does indeed refer to this rule, but also allows a second step.

⁷⁵ The name and the corresponding practice were certainly to be found in the Frankish kingdom towards the end of the 8th century. Antiphonary MSS. of this period, as found in Hesbert, regularly use the superscription *Grad.* or *Resp. Grad.*

But even at Rome, where the older *ordines* simply use the term *Responsorium* for this song, in the *Gregorianum* of Hadrian the designation handed down is uniformly this one, in some form or other: (*sequitur*) *gradale*, *gradalis*, *gradalem*; Lietzmann, n. 1.

A suspicion that the term might be traced back to Frankish transcribers is strengthened by an explicit remark of Amalar's, *De ord. antiph.*, *prol.* (PL, CV, 1245 B), that he had ascertained at Rome *quod dicimus gradale, illi vocant cantatorium*. However this is said about the book.

Gastoué suggests another derivation for the word *graduale* (*gradale*), recalling that the adjective *gradalis* meant "well-ordered, composed with care," and that this adjective was applied to the

is, he first took off the *planeta*.⁷⁶

For the text of the chant the singers of the responsorial songs looked to a special book which is called, in the Roman *Ordines*, simply *cantatorium*. This he carried along to the desk. Amongst the six oldest manuscripts which give us the Mass chants, only one is devoted entirely to the solo-songs.⁷⁷ All the others combine these in one book with the antiphonal chants of the *schola*; this shows that by the ninth century the singer had become simply a member of the ensemble,⁷⁸ and the latter, in turn, had long since taken over the response and therefore needed to have the text in view. Nor was the singer separated from the choir in space, particularly when the ambo gradually disappeared from the plan of the church. About the same time the soloist was replaced by two or three singers⁷⁹; soon even four were mentioned.⁸⁰ In other places the boy singers appeared as performers of the solo chants, apparently as a continuation of the arrangement followed in the Gallic liturgies⁸¹—an arrangement which must have been car-

responsorium; A. Gastoué, *L'art gregorien*, 174.

In English the gradual is sometimes referred to as "grail."

⁷⁶ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 15 (PL, CV, 1122 f); cf. also the references given *Supra*, p. 411, note 48.

⁷⁷ The Gradual of Monza (8th century); see the ed. in Hesbert.

Whereas in Rome and Italy at this time the *cantatorium* is still a separate book, in the Frankish kingdom it is united with the Mass antiphonary. Amalar, *De ord. antiph.*, prol. (PL, CV, 1245 B).

The *cantatorium* is also referred to under the term *tabula*, as Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 85, note 5, opined and J. Smits van Waesberghe proves, for the *tabula* which Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 16 (PL, CV, 1123), says the singers held in their hands, were probably the *cantatorium*, bound (as usual) in ivory; see JL, XII (1934), 423; 457; JL, XIII (1935), 453; cf. also de Moléon, 54; 284. ⁷⁸ In the Roman station services this situation seems to have been brought about already in the 8th century, as seems clear from the papal notification referred to in *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 940 C): *talīs de schola cantabit*. (In Stapper's ed. the *de schola* is missing; 18).

⁷⁹ Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cleric.*, II, 51 (PL, CVII, 363). According to

Ordo Rom. XI, n. 20 (PL, LXXVIII, 1033), on festive occasions two *cantores* mount the ambo and together sing gradual and Alleluia. According to the *Ordinarium* of Laon (c. 1300), the gradual was sung by two subdeacons, the Alleluia by two deacons; Martène, I, 4, XX (I, 607 D). ⁸⁰ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 38 B).

For great feasts: *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 145); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 47, 1. 17).

⁸¹ In the *Expositio ant. liturgiæ gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 12; 14), mention is made of *parvuli* who sing the Kyrie and also the responsory after the lessons.

About the same time singing boys also appear in the Orient in the role of pre-centors; see *Testamentum Domini*, I, 26; II, 11 (Rahmani, 55; 135). Cf. J. Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (LQF, XXV; Münster, 1930), 137 f.

Singing boys are found in Rome at a very early time, but only for antiphonal chant within the *schola cantorum*; Wagner, I, 23; 29; 216 ff. In the Roman liturgy boys as performers of the gradual are expressly mentioned for the first time by Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 3 (PL, CCXIII, 106 A). However they are already presupposed in *Ordo Rom. V* (10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 987 B); here there is a prescription that

ried over into the Roman liturgy only after encountering great opposition.⁸³

The text of these chants is derived, as a rule, from the psalms and canticles; after all, this matches their origin as psalmodic chants. But where two songs follow each other, they are totally independent and the choice of one in no way influences the choice of the others.⁸⁴ The tracts follow the rule strictly and are taken, without exception, from the psalms. For the gradual and the alleluia chant, texts not taken from the psalter are very infrequent in the pre-Carolingian Roman liturgy. They do appear now and then on feast days, when the remarkable art which was able to adapt the psalm verses to the occasion did not seem able to achieve its aim.⁸⁵ On Sundays no effort was made to draw a particular connection between the chants and the readings; the effort would probably have been fruitless anyhow.⁸⁶ But on feasts there is a certain agreement between them. Thus on the feast of St. Stephen, after the account of the hearing before the High Council, the gradual continues with Psalm 118:23: *sederunt principes et adversum me loquebantur*. And on Epiphany the closing sentence of the lesson is simply taken up and amplified: *Omnes de Saba venient*.

the singers, if they are clerics, should, after the alleluia, kiss the knee of the bishop seated at his throne; *si vero extra gradum fuerint, pedibus eius pervolvantur*.⁸⁷ Here we might cite the order of the canons of Theodore of Canterbury (II, 1, 10): *Laicus non debet in Ecclesia recitare lectionem nec Alleluia dicere, sed psalmos tantum et responsoria sine Alleluia* (H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche* [Mainz, 1883], 539; Finsterwalder, 313, cf. 243; 268; 283), that is, a layman may not be a precentor, at least for the sacred alleluia. The explanation given by Leitner, 193, is unsatisfactory.

A similar prohibition had already issued from the Council of Laodicea (4th century), without any such restriction; only the *καλονικοι ψάλλει* are allowed to sing psalms (can. 15); cf. Leitner, 184. But there was a way out; the boys could be joined to the ranks of the clergy as lectors; cf. *supra*, p. 410. For the performance of the responsorial psalms was, in early times, scarcely distinguished from a reading. For both a lector was required. Thus Augustine, referring to boys whom God had inspired to sing a psalm (which he, Augustine, had not foreseen): *Serm.* 352, 1 (PL, XXXIX, 1550 A): speaks of them in the same way as

cordi etiam puerili imperavit, as he speaks of *pueri* who, *in gradu lectorum*, read the Holy Writ: *De cons. evang.*, 9, 15 (PL, XXXIV, 1049). See also Quasten, *Musik und Gesang*, 138 ff.

⁸³ On the other hand in the gradual itself the response and the verse or verses are taken from the same psalm.

⁸⁴ Here we must mention among the texts still used today: gradual and alleluia-verse on the feast of St. John the Evangelist (John 21: 23, 19; 21: 24) and on the Epiphany (Is. 60: 6, 1; Matt. 2: 2); the gradual on the feast of John the Baptist (Jer. 1: 5, 9) and on the Commemoration of St. Paul (Gal. 2: 8 f.); the alleluia-verse on Easter Sunday (1 Cor. 5: 7); Hesbert, n. 14, 18, 80, 119, 123.

⁸⁵ While the Mass songbook counted the Sundays right through from Pentecost to Advent, the pericope lists (which differed among themselves) usually started a new Sunday series after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, a list independent of the Easter group. So the chants after the 29th of June combined with different lessons from year to year—much as in the present breviary from August on the lessons of the 2nd and 3rd nocturns fall in with different lessons of the *Scriptura occurrents*.

Indeed there is even an instance where the chant is an actual continuation of the reading, namely on Ember Saturday when the lesson from Daniel concludes with the canticle.⁸⁶

For the alleluia verse in the Sunday formularies there was from the very start no fast connection with certain psalms. But Amalar does advise choosing those verses which would most appropriately lead to the repetition of the alleluia, those (in other words) which gave expression to the joy of the Church or the praise of God.⁸⁷ The antiphonaries often contained a list of suitable alleluia verses to be chosen at will.⁸⁸ It is therefore evident that later on, after the various churches had settled on a certain alleluia verse for each formula there should be very little uniformity on this matter amongst the Mass books.⁸⁹ And this also explains why the present *Missale Romanum* should contain amongst these verses such a great number of non-psalmodic and even non-Biblical texts, for the connection with the original psalm-chanting had meanwhile been loosened even more.

In medieval liturgical practice the alleluia obviously received greater attention than the gradual. The gradual was allegorically interpreted only as a re-echoing of the penitential preaching of John the Baptist and at best as a transition from the Old Testament to the New, and therefore, despite its content and its musical form, it was often accounted penitential in character.⁹⁰ But the alleluia was the first of the Mass chants to be treated with troping.⁹¹ The alleluia verses which were performed by a soloist were the very first texts of the Mass to be set to multi-voiced compositions.⁹² But in general, the stress was put not on the verse but on the alleluia

⁸⁶ Add the parallel case with regard to the prophecies on Holy Saturday.

As Hesbert, p. XLII remarks, in such cases the reader also performed the chant which followed at once in his Bible text and was here often accompanied by notes or corresponding signs as well as by a rubric (*Hic mutes sonum* or the like); cf. *Paléographie musicale*, XIV (1931-4), 272; see also the Antiphonary of Senlis in Hesbert, n. 46 a.

⁸⁷ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 13 (PL, CV, 1122).

⁸⁸ Hesbert, n. 199; cf. the editor's introduction, p. CXIX f. The list of Compiègne contains 78 numbers.

⁸⁹ See the samples in Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, n. 199 and p. CXIX f.

⁹⁰ Cf. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 31 (PL, CCXVII, 817): the gradual signifies *pœnitentiæ lamentum*; therefore it is more correct to sing it not *festivis*

aut modulationis vocibus but *quasi cantum gravem et asperum*.

Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 19, 1: *per Graduale conversio de Judæis, per versum conversio de Gentilibus, per Alleluia utriusque in fide lætitia, per sequentiam canticum victoriæ figuratur*. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 19, 4; IV, 20.

⁹¹ Blume, *Tropen des Missale*, II (Analecta hymnica, 49), p. 211: the alleluiaic verse on the contrary, with its closing Alleluia, is the proper medium for the growth of the tropes. The oldest tropes to the Alleluia-verse reach back to the 9th century (214). *Ibid.*, p. 215-287, the edition of the text of the "*Tropi ad Responsorium graduale et ad versum Allelujaicum*".

⁹² In the Winchester Troper (11th century), ed. Frere (HBS, VIII), of the 100 or so multi-voiced compositions, 54 are for alleluia-verses, besides about a dozen for sequences; cf. Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 119-121.

itself. On its final vowel tune was piled upon tune, florid melodies called *jubili* or, to follow medieval precedent, *sequentia*.⁶⁵

Singers found it no easy task to memorize these long intricate tonal figures. But since about the middle of the ninth century certain texts begin to make an appearance in Normandy and then in St. Gall—texts intended to support the melodies⁶⁶ and at the same time (and perhaps even primarily) to render the melodies more agreeable to the musical sensibilities of the northern peoples to whom up to now the melismatic chant was strange. Soon this new art was also extended to newer and more protracted melodies.⁶⁷ It is the same routine that was later repeated in the tropes, but with this difference that in the latter case brief texts already in existence were expanded.⁶⁸ Notker Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall (d. 912), set to work to supply texts on the principle of one note to a syllable. This text was then itself called *sequentia*. They were written in a free rhythmic style, a kind of elevated prose, and were therefore also called “proses,” a term which is still used in French for church hymns. But since each of the musical phrases or strophes of the complete melody was repeated with a different text, the result was a series of paired strophes which were then usually performed by alternate choirs. However; the first and last strophes—the introduction and the conclusion—were not usually paired.⁶⁹

After the year 1000 a new type of sequence began to develop, a type founded on rhythmical principles and, in general, composed of even verses

⁶⁵ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 16 (PL, CV, 1125). Even earlier in the Antiphony of Mont-Blandin (c. 800), in the list of alleluia-verses the note is added to several: *cum sequentia*. Hesbert, n. 199 a; cf. *ibid.*, p. CXIX f.

Cf. also in the *Ordo Rom II*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 971, note d): *sequitur jubilatio quam sequentiam vocant*.

⁶⁶ A. Manser, “Sequenz,” LThK, IX (1937), 482-485; here a good bibliography.

Wagner, I, 248-276.

On the other hand even in the 12th century the *Speculum de myst. Eccl.* (PL, CLXXVII, 359 C) maintains: *quædam ecclesiæ mystice pneumatizant sequentiam sine verbis*. Cf. Blume-Bannister, *Tropen*, I, p. 12 f.

⁶⁷ According to Wagner, I, 253 ff. these richer melodies must have been brought over by oriental monks from the Byzantine music treasury. But Cl. Blume and H. Bannister, *Liturgische Prosen erster Epoche* (Analecta hymnica, 53; Leipzig, 1911), pp. XXI-XXVIII, differ with him, referring to the fact that the

traditional sequence melodies—the oldest traceable to the 9th century—fit in perfectly with the Gregorian melodies of the final syllable of the alleluia and in fact build up upon it (XXVI f.). In this continuation they prefer to see rather the independent “improvisations” of the sequence-poets (*ibid.*). A preliminary step to the sequence proper they find in the *versus ad sequentias* of French MSS, which are based only on part of the Alleluia *jubilus*. In a similar vein also Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 67 ff. Cf. also Anselm Hughes, *Anglo-French Sequelæ* (1934), *passim*, and Jacques Handschen, “The Two Winchester Tropers,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1936), 35.

A new and comprehensive study of the whole question in W. v. d. Steinen, “Die Anfänge der Sequenzedichtung,” *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, XL (1946), 190-212, with continuations to XLI (1947), 122-162.

⁶⁸ *Supra*, p. 344 f.

⁶⁹ Cf. the examples in Wagner, I, 256 ff.

and strophes; they also make use of rhyme. This is the flourishing period in the composition of sequences, the most famous writer of which was Adam of St. Victor (d. about 1192). Some 5000 sequences have been collected from the manuscripts⁹⁸; they form an important branch of literature in the Middle Ages.

In northern countries the Mass books of the later Middle Ages contain a sequence for almost every feast day, or even (you might say) for every Mass formula that uses the alleluia. A Cologne missal of 1487 has 73 of them, the Augsburg missal of 1555 has 98.⁹⁹ But elsewhere, above all in Rome, their reception was very cool,¹⁰⁰ or at least (in line with their origin) they were not used at low Mass.¹⁰¹ In the reform of the Mass books under Pius V, out of all the luxuriant crop only four were retained—the same, approximately, as those which are encountered earlier here and there in Italian Mass books.¹⁰² The Italian tradition and the humanist attitude were probably both at work in bringing this result about.¹⁰³

Of the sequences kept,¹⁰⁴ the Easter sequence, *Victimæ paschali*, belongs to a traditional form halfway between the older and the newer type. Its author is the Burgundian Wipo (d. after 1048), court-chaplain of Emperor Conrad II. This sequence, which, for all its freshness and the happy, genuinely paschal play of its thoughts, still gives us the impression of a somewhat clumsy poem, is in its original form actually very strictly fashioned; there are an introduction, and four verse-pairs matched line for line and syllable for syllable.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ In the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* ed. by Cl. Blume and G. M. Dreves, the portion given over to "*Sequentiæ incditæ*" comprises vols. 8, 9, 10, 34, 37, 39, 40, 42, 44. Other sequences are contained in vols. 7, 53, 54, 55; cf. also v. 47, 49.

A selection is presented in G. M. Dreves-Cl. Blume, *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung* (Leipzig, 1909).

⁹⁹ The figures according to Eisenhofer, II, 113. English Mass books often contain a rubric to the effect that the sequences that follow are to be sung above all in Advent and at greater saints' feasts outside the period from Septuagesima to Easter. J. W. Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (London, 1916), 461-496; cf. Ferreres, 109.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 33 (PL, CCXVII, 820 A); Wagner, I, 275 f.

¹⁰¹ Thus among the Dominicans and the Carmelites; Manser, 484.

It is in this same sense that the Missal of Benedict XV (1925) permits the priest

to omit the sequence at private Masses within the octave of Corpus Christi, and likewise at private daily Masses for the Dead.

¹⁰² See in the index in Ebner.

Cf. also Wagner, I, 276.

Some few other sequences are preserved in the propers of various orders and of some French dioceses; thus, e.g., the sequence *Latabundus exultet* on Christmas and Epiphany in the present-day Dominican rite.

¹⁰³ Cf. *supra*, p. 136.

¹⁰⁴ Data regarding the literary history in Eisenhofer, I, 112-114.

An edifying exposition in Gühr, *Die Sequenzen des römischen Messbuches dogmatisch und ästhetisch erklärt* (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1900).

¹⁰⁵ Wagner, I, 268.

In the reform under Pius V the 5th strophe was left out; in strophe 4a the *suos* was replaced by *vos*, but the Vatican edition of the *Graduale Romanum* has once more restored the *suos*.

1. *Victimæ paschali laudes**Immolent Christiani.*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2. <i>Agnus redemit oves, Christus innocens Patri reconciliavit peccatores.</i> | 2a. <i>Mors et vita duello confluxere mirando, dux vitæ mortuus regnat vitæ.</i> |
| 3. <i>Dic nobis, Maria, quid vidisti in via?</i> | 3a. <i>Angelicos testes, sudarium et vestes.</i> |
| 4. <i>Sepulchrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis.</i> | 4a. <i>Surrexit Christus, spes mea, præcedit suos in Galilæam.</i> |
| 5. <i>Credendum est magis soli Mariæ veraci quam Judæorum turbæ fallaci.</i> | 5a. <i>Scimus Christum surrexisse a mortuis vere, tu nobis, victor rex, miscere.</i> |

It might be well to note the structure of the latter part of the sequence: a question by the congregation, the answer of the biblical person, a common paen of praise from both. This is really a formal type, often employed especially in oriental church poetry.¹⁰⁰ From the fact that in the first half of the sequence, unlike the second, there is no rhyme but only assonance, it has been argued with some probability that the first part of the hymn must have been in existence already before Wipo.¹⁰⁷

The Pentecost sequence, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, which was formerly ascribed to a number of different authors, is the work of Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1228).¹⁰⁸ Here the sequence, although built on the alleluia-jubilus, has become an independent hymn. Still the text is tied up with the second alleluia verse, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*¹⁰⁹ and so becomes an earnest prayer, a cry for that vivifying power from above which overcomes all the weakness of nature. Thus it came to be an expression of medieval devotion to the Holy Ghost, which had revealed itself in the dedication of so many hospitals and hospital churches to the Holy Ghost.

In the *Lauda Sion*, the sublime didactic poem on the Holy Eucharist which St. Thomas Aquinas composed in 1263, the spirit of Scholasticism created within the liturgy a memorial which bears witness at once to the penetrating search for knowledge and the deep devotion of those generations.

The *Stabat Mater* was long assigned to Jacopone da Todi (d. 1306),

¹⁰⁰ Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 113 f.

¹⁰⁷ A. Arens, "Wipos Oster-Sequenz," *Theologie u. Glaube*, XVIII (1926), 149-154.

¹⁰⁸ G. Morin, *Revue Bénéd.*, XXX (1913), 121; Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 37-45. See also Card. Pitra, *Spicilegium solesmense* (Paris, 1855), III, 130.

Stephen Langton is well-known as a theologian and as the originator of the present system of dividing the Scriptures into chapters.

¹⁰⁹ This itself is of later origin. In its stead in older antiphonaries the verse *Spiritus Domini* or *Hæc dies* was to be found; Hesbert, n. 106.

but appears to be the work of an even more ancient Franciscan; of late St. Bonaventure has been designated as author.¹¹⁰ At first it was accepted in Mass books only exceptionally,¹¹¹ and for long it was used only in Books of Hours and prayer books. Not till 1727, when Pope Benedict XIII extended the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows to the whole Church, was it admitted into the Roman Missal. And it actually exhibits a character that is not properly liturgical, an accent that is emotionally lyrical rather than hymnic, and in its immersion in the sufferings of Christ—reminiscent of St. Francis's mysticism—it shows traces of individual piety, of Franciscan devotion to the Passion and our Lady hardly consonant with the objective spirit of common prayer.

Almost the same is true, at least in part, of the *Dies iræ* which put in an appearance at the end of the twelfth century.¹¹² But the *Dies iræ* has its basis in the liturgy, since it grew out of a rhymed trope added to the responsory *Libera me, Domine*.¹¹³ Besides, various portions of the hymn have been borrowed from older liturgical songs.¹¹⁴

The possibility of giving the alleluia a musical elaboration was the tiny crevice in the structure of the Mass liturgy which the medieval mind was able to widen to such an extent that there was space for its own liturgical language and its own liturgical creations. The sequence, along with the alleluia, became the first crown and climax in the Mass. Here it was that polyphony found its first outlet.¹¹⁵ At the sequence the organ seems to have been used as an accompaniment from the start.¹¹⁶ Later we hear of a solemn pealing of bells to accompany the sequence.¹¹⁷ Dramatic art, too, found

¹¹⁰ A. Manser, "Stabat mater," LThK, IX (1937), 759 f.; cf. M. Grabmann, *Zeitschr. f. Ascese u. Mystik*, 19 - ZkTh, LXVIII (1944), 27.

¹¹¹ However see Ebner, 168: a later entry in a Minorite missal of the 13th century.

¹¹² M. Inganez, "Il *Dies iræ* in un codice del secolo XII," *Rivista liturgica*, XVIII (1931), 277-288, called attention to a text—partially variant—of this time; Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 102. As a consequence the ascription to Thomas of Celano (d. circa 1255) can no longer be maintained.

¹¹³ The 9th responsory in the Office for the dead, also used for the *Absolutio ad tumbam*.

Cf. the occurrence in a Burial rite of a Franciscan missal of the 13th century: Ebner, 120.

¹¹⁴ Eisenhofer, II, 114, after Cl. Blume, "Dies iræ," *Cäcilienvereinsorgan*, XLIX, (1914), 55 ff.

¹¹⁵ See *supra*, p. 125.

¹¹⁶ Wagner I, 264 f.

¹¹⁷ *Liber ordinarius* of the Liège St. James monastery (Volk, 53, 1. 13).

In many parts of Germany it is customary to ring a bell at the Gospel. It is as good as proven that here we have a case of transfer; the sequence being omitted, the bell was rung at the Gospel instead. A transitional stage is seen in de Moléon, 245, 365, 426; according to these accounts, it was the custom in French churches about 1700 to ring a bell "during the gradual," "shortly before the Gospel and during it," "during the *prosa*"; the reporter thought that this was done to usher in the Mass of the Faithful. It is remarkable that an English source about 1529 mentions the ringing of a large bell at the Gospel; see Maskell, 63. Also a Trier Synod of 1549, can. 9, speaks of a signal of the bell at the Gospel; Mansi, XXXII, 1447.

an opening here for its first efforts. As is well known, the older type of sequence, with its double-strophe that seemed to invite the use of dialogue (as we still have it in the *Victimæ paschali*), was the most important starting-point for the religious play. The dramatic development properly so-called did not, it is true, intrude here, just before the Gospel, where the link with the liturgical action was too pronounced, but it is found usually at the beginning of Mass where on Easter the dialogue-trope, *Quem quæritis in sepulchro, o Christicolæ*, introduced the introit *Resurrexi*.¹¹⁸

But the verse-pairs with the repetition of the melody did give rise to the possibility of a popular amendment and elaboration at this very spot. There is proof that in the *Victimæ paschali* the step so important for the development of a German vernacular hymnody was actually taken; vernacular verses were written in imitation of the Latin, and were then sung by the whole congregation right after each strophe of the Latin.¹¹⁹ This is the origin of the ancient *Christ ist erstanden*, a German Easter hymn traced back to the twelfth century, whose melody gives a clear indication of the connection between German hymn and Latin sequence.¹²⁰

The ancient Pentecost songs, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* and *Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* stand in the same relation to the Whitsun sequence, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*; likewise the *vulgaris prosa* known as *Christ fuer gen Himmel* is linked with the sequence for Ascension, *Summi triumphum*.¹²¹ The syllabic character which distinguished the sequences from the more ancient melismatic chants, along with the accentual versification (as distinguished from the quantitative), was from the start a popular element that made such a transformation easier. But when these songs became distinct and independent of the sequences they could no longer keep their place within the liturgy of the Mass. Performance by alternate voices—either precentor *versus* choir, or two choirs—has continued, even till now, as the rule for the sequences.¹²²

¹¹⁸ K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), I, 201-222.

Ursprung, 77; cf. 79.

¹¹⁹ W. Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied* (Freiburg, 1883), II, 12, quotes a school plan of Crailsheim, 1480: *Item circa alia festa Resurrectionis, Ascensionis et Corporis Christi habentur plures canciones convenientes cum sequentiis; videlicet in sequentias 'Victime paschali laudes': 'Christ ist erstanden,' circa quoslibet duos versus, etc., regulariter fit. Vel aliud: 'Surrexit Christus hodie, alleluja, alleluja, humano pro solamine, alleluja', vulgus: Erstanden ist der heilig Christ, Alleluja, Der aller Welt ein Tröster ist, Alleluja, usw.*

For Ingolstadt about 1530 Dr. Eck attests this usage: *Sub Alleluja solet ali-*

quando cani: 'Christ ist erstanden'. Grevling, Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch, 152, note c.

Bäumker, *op. cit.*, (1886) I, 199, also cites the Mainz Cantual of 1605 and 1627, where German verses within the sequence of great feasts are presupposed.

¹²⁰ See the comparison presented by Ursprung, 72, cf. 101. Also printed in P. Gennrich, *Der Gemeindegesang in der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche* (Welt des Gesangbuches, 2; Leipzig o. J.), 27.

Other older forms of the song in Bäumker, I, 502-510.

¹²¹ Bäumker, II, 12.

Cf. also W. Bäumker, *Zur Geschichte der Tonkunst* (Freiburg, 1881), 132 f.

¹²² *Graduale Romanum* (ed. Vat., 1908), *De rit. serv. in cantu Missæ*, IV.

In the period of Baroque it was especially the sequence *Lauda Sion* that received a ceremonial embellishment. At the high Mass celebrated before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, the celebrant near the end of the sequence, before the words *Ecce panis angelorum*, took the monstrance from the throne and turned with it to face the people; or he himself intoned the words just mentioned.¹²⁸

The fact that here the swift course of the Mass seemed to reach a point of rest, a breathing spot before the triumphal entry of the divine word in the Gospel, was early manifested in the possibility of making various insertions here. In contrast to a more ancient arrangement, which placed the ordinations (without any fore-Mass) immediately before the start of the Mass proper,¹²⁹ it was customary at Rome as early as 600 to insert the conferring of the major Orders before the Gospel, or more precisely, between gradual and alleluia, *resp. tract.*¹³⁰ This has remained the rule even today, at least for ordination to priesthood and episcopacy. Like the consecration of abbots and virgins and the crowning of kings, these are introduced before the alleluia or, as the case may be, before the last verse of the sequence or the tract.¹³¹

In the later Middle Ages it became customary at a high Mass to start the preparation of the offerings during these interposed chants before the Gospel.¹³² This custom was then taken over here and there into the less

¹²⁸ The latter was the case at the Corpus Christi high Mass as celebrated at Klosterneuburg in the 18th century; Schabes, 171.

For the Premonstratensians of Brabant a provincial chapter of 1620 decreed: Each time, when the conventual Mass *de Venerabili* was celebrated, *Ecce panis* should be sung after the Alleluia, *et sub istis omnibus* (viz., also at the *Tantum ergo* and *Genitori* before and after the service) *venerabile sacramentum a celebrante exhibeatur, acolythi tadas accensas teneant, cymbala pulsant et thuribularius thurificet*. J. E. Steynen, *Capitula provincialia Circariæ Brabantiae* (Supplement to the *Analecta Præm.*, 17-18 [1941-42], 4).

Countless other examples since the 14th century in Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, 150-153.

¹²⁹ Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 6).

¹³⁰ *Ordo Rom. VIII*, n. 3, 4, 8 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1001-1004); cf. de Puniet, *Das römische Pontifikale*, I, 131 f. Since the 10th century the other orders which were previously conferred outside Mass or after Communion were often inserted

here, until later the Gallican fashion of conferring the orders at various places in the fore-Mass finally won the day; *ibid.*, 132.

¹³¹ *Pontificale Rom., De ordinibus conferendis*.

¹³² Thus already in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 81): The subdeacon washes his hands and then puts wine into the chalice and the requisite hosts on the paten. Cf. *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 237); *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1161 B).

We learn that in French episcopal churches of the late Middle Ages this preparation took place on a side altar and that the deacon spoke the accompanying words (*Deus qui humanæ substantiæ or De latere*) at the commingling of the water. Frequently the chalice and paten were then carried to the altar during the *Credo*; Martène, 1, 4, 4, 10 (I, 375 f.). Further examples, *ibid.*, 1, 4, XXIV, XXIX, XXXVII (I, 627 D, 646 D, 677 D).

Cf. also the Mass-plan *Indutus planeta* (in Mass books since 1507), in Legg, *Tracts*, 184.

solemn Mass.¹²⁸ At the same time we hear occasionally that during these chants and preparations the celebrant was to say certain *apologiæ* quietly to himself, or at least that he could do so; in fact some Mass books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries offer a large store of them in this place.¹²⁹ It is hard to say whether this is the expression of an exaggerated sin-consciousness or of a remarkable *horror vacui* which could not tolerate a pause not filled with vocal prayer. Both practices disappeared in the course of time.

6. The Gospel

It is a strict rule which holds true in all liturgies, that the last of the readings should consist of a passage from the Gospels,¹ but this is not something self-explanatory. If the order of the biblical canon or the time sequence of the events were the norm, the Acts of the Apostles would, at least on occasion, come last. But obviously there had to be some order of precedence, and there was never any doubt that the Gospels hold the highest rank; they contain the "good tidings," the fulfillment of all the past, and the point from which all future ages radiate. And just as in a procession of the clergy the highest in rank comes last, so too in the series of readings.²

How highly the Gospels were regarded is seen in the care and the wealth that was expended on the manuscripts containing them. The Gospels were long written in stately uncials even after these had otherwise gone out of use. Not a few manuscripts were prepared in gold or silver script upon a purple ground, or they were richly decorated with miniatures. What Christian antiquity had begun in this regard, was even surpassed in the Carolingian era. Not seldom was the binding of the evangeliary covered with ivory and pure gold or silver.³ The Gospel book alone was permitted

¹²⁸ See the rite in the Regensburg Missal of 1500 (Beck, 265).

Elsewhere the priest should here merely see whether chalice and paten are ready for the sacrificial offerings; thus in two Mass-plans in Legg, *Tracts*, 39, 58.

¹²⁹ Ebner, 297, 337.

Cf. *supra*, note 69.

See also the account from the life of St. Thomas of Canterbury (d. 1170), who used to say St. Anselm's penitential prayers during the chants of the fore-Mass; Martène, 1, 4, 4, 9 (I, 375).

¹ Only in the enumeration of the lessons in Justin, *Apol.*, I, 67, are the "memoirs of the apostles" (= Gospels) named first, and then the prophets; but no argument can be built on the order here outlined.

The oldest attestations for the Gospel as the last lesson will be found in Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentl. Kanons*, II (Erlangen, 1890), 380, note 2.

² Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1250 A): the Epistle precedes, just as the Lord sent his apostles before him (Luke 10: 1). Later expositors unanimously see in this precedence of the Epistle a representation of the activity of the Forerunner; thus Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 11 (PL, CV, 1118); Durandus, IV, 16, 2 ff.; Eisenhofer, II, 103.

³ St. Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1906); H. Leclercq, "Évangélaire," DACL, V, 775-845; F. Cabrol, *Books of the Latin Liturgy* (London, 1933), 144-147.

on the altar which otherwise bore only the Blessed Sacrament, a conception which survives in the Greek Church down to the very present.⁴

In the liturgy itself the effort was made from earliest times to enhance and stress the *evangelium* as much as possible. It was to be read not by a lector but by a deacon or a priest.⁵ On feast days perhaps the bishop himself read the Gospel⁶; in Jerusalem this was the case every Sunday.⁷ In the West the delivery of the Gospel was the deacon's duty from earliest times,⁸ for he was the first cleric amongst all those assisting. On Christmas night it became the privilege of the Roman emperor to stand forth in full regalia to deliver the Gospel: *Exiit edictum a Cæsare Augusto*.⁹

In the latter part of the ancient Christian period the question was agitated, whether the Gospel was not too sacred to be heard by the profane ears of the catechumens. The Roman baptismal rite as revised in the sixth century¹⁰ at all events puts the sharing of the Gospel on a par with the sharing of the confession of faith and the Our Father which were always regarded as restricted by the *disciplina arcani*. And as a matter of fact the catechumens—as a rule children who were subjected to the forms of adult baptism—were dismissed before the Gospel at the Scrutiny-Masses. Similar endeavors must have made themselves felt in Gaul even earlier, for the Council of Orange in 441 had occasion to insist that the catechumens were

⁴ Leclercq, 778.

⁵ Thus according to the *Ap. Const.*, II, 57, 7 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182). The deacon is mentioned by Jerome, *Ep.*, 147, 6 (PL, XXII, 1200).

According to Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 19 (PG, LXVII, 1477 A), the Gospel was reserved in his time in many places to the priest, in Alexandria to the archdeacon, elsewhere to the deacon.

⁶ Sozomen, *loc. cit.* In the Byzantine-Slavic rite even at present the celebrant (and therefore, on occasion, the bishop) on Easter Sunday himself reads the Gospel (John 1: 1-17), and does so in this manner: each sentence is repeated by each of the priests and deacons present, and at the finish the bells are rung. A. v. Maltzew, *Fasten- und Blumen-Triodion* (Berlin, 1899), 723-725.

⁷ *Aethiopia Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 10 (CSEL, XXXIX, 73 f.). In the Syrian liturgies and in the Ethiopian it is still the practice at present for the celebrant always to read the Gospel; Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 93.

⁸ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 942 f.). Jerome, too, speaks of the deacon as reader of the Gospel, *Ep.*, 147, 6

(CSEL, LVI, 322). The deacon also reads the Gospel in the Byzantine and the Armenian liturgies; in the Coptic liturgy the deacon has several readings; Baumstark, 93 f.

⁹ In the Roman *ordines* this right is assigned to the emperor only for the pertinent lesson at Matins; *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 67 (PL, LXXVIII, 1182); *Ordo Rom. XV*, n. 9 (1278). But the right was also exercised at Mass, e.g., by Charles IV and by Sigismund; see Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich*, 100 f. Frederick III did the same at Rome in 1468; see the account in Browe, *JL*, XII (1934), 166. The rite included the ceremonial in which the emperor drew his sword and brandished it three times as a sign that he upheld the Gospel. In virtue of his consecration as ruler the emperor was granted the spiritual honors of a canon. By many, in fact, he was considered a deacon or at least a cleric. Biehl, 100 f., 121 ff.; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, 282 f.

¹⁰ *Ordo Rom. VII*, n. 5 (PL, LXXVIII, 997); *Sacramentarium Gelasianum I*, 34 (Wilson, 50-53); P. de Puniet, "Catéchuménat," *DACL*, II, 2605 ff.

also to hear the Gospel.¹² This latter attitude paralleled the counsel of our Lord: Preach the Gospel to the whole of creation (Mark 16:15), and was always the standard in the Church as long as the catechumenate continued to be a vital institution for the instruction of candidates for Baptism. The word of the Gospel should resound throughout the world—this idea sometimes found (and finds) a special symbolical expression in the practice of reciting the Gospel-pericope on festive occasions in several languages.¹³

The deportment of the deacon, too, as he walked to the place where the Gospel was to be read, was built up gradually into a formal procession. The beginnings of such a ceremonial are already to be seen in the first Roman *Ordo*¹⁴; the deacon kisses the feet of the pope, who pronounces over him the words: *Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis*.¹⁵ Then he goes to the altar where the Gospel book has been lying since the beginning of the service (having been placed there ceremoniously by a deacon, accompanied by an acolyte).¹⁶ He kisses it and picks it up.¹⁶ As he betakes himself to the ambo, he is accompanied by two acolytes with torches, and by two subdeacons, one of whom carries a *thymiamaterium*.

¹² Can. 18 (Mansi, VI, 439). The same prescription is repeated by later councils. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 36 (PL, CV, 1156 B), calls the dismissal before the Gospel *consuetudo nostra*, but finds it unreasonable. Cf. P. Borella, "La 'missa' o 'dismissio catechumenorum'," *Eph. liturg.*, LIII (1939), 60-110, especially 63 ff.

¹³ In the Byzantine-Slavic rite of the Catholic Ukrainians it is still the custom to sing the Gospel on Easter Sunday in several languages, including the modern one of the locality in which the church is built. Usually the various languages follow verse for verse or section for section; see note 6 above.

In the solemn papal Mass not only the Gospel but the Epistle also is read in both Latin and Greek; Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 14-16. There is evidence for the practice since the early Middle Ages: *Liber pont.*, Vita of Benedict III (d. 858; Duchesne, II, 147); *Ordo Rom.* XI, n. 20; 47 (PL, LXXVII, 1033, 1044), etc. The custom held also for Easter and Pentecost and for the Ember Saturdays; see Kunze, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung*, 105 f.

Similar customs were still in existence at St. Denis about 1700; Martène, I, 3, 2, 10 (I, 281 D). Further accounts, *ibid.*

I, 3, 2, 7 (280 f.). At the coronation of Alexander V at the Council of Pisa (1409) both readings were done in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; Martène, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 5; 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 942 f.).

¹⁵ In this short form also in Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 106).

¹⁶ This was obviously done to show that the sacred message comes from Christ. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125) and later interpreters; with special exactness Hugh of St. Cher (ed. Sölch, 18).

¹⁷ In the Middle Ages it was the rule (to a great extent) to place the Gospel book on the altar at the beginning of Mass. However, according to the Cistercian and Carmelite rites, it was laid on the reading desk at once; Sölch, 66.

When, in the present-day high Mass, the deacon lays the Gospel book on the altar after the Epistle, it is doubtless a reminiscence of the ancient symbolic ritual. The older, fuller ceremony was probably omitted from the Missal of Pius V (*Rit. serv.*, VI, 5) because the Gospel is contained in the missal, and the latter is on the altar from the start. Sölch, 67.

In the Gallican liturgy of this period we come upon somewhat the same picture as that at Rome, but heightened a little. The well-known commentary on this ancient liturgy—a work of the seventh century—sees in the solemn entry of the *evangelium* (which is accompanied by the chanting of the *Trisagion* and at which seven torches are carried) a representation of Christ's triumphal coming.¹⁷ We can also include as parallel the Little Entry of the oriental liturgies, although this is placed at the very beginning of the reading service.¹⁸ Its center, too, is the Gospel book—if not exclusively, at least predominantly.¹⁹ A procession which apparently centers on the Gospel book is also found in the Coptic liturgy. The procession is formed immediately before the reading of the Gospel; lights are carried in front of the book, and the altar is circled.²⁰

As seems plain from what has been said, the carrying of tapers before the Gospel tallies with an ancient Christian practice that must have been common to all the liturgies. In fact St. Jerome testifies that it was customary in all the churches of the Orient to light lights when the Gospel was to be read, and this on the brightest day; in this way an air of joy could be lent to the gathering.²¹ More precisely, however, the practice was palpably an honor paid to the holy book. The Roman *Notitia dignitatum*²² of the fifth century, amongst the official insignia of the various dignitaries of the Roman State which are there illustrated, shows for the *præfectus prætorio* a picture in which a book stands opened on a covered table between two burning candles—a book whose cover bears a likeness of the

¹⁷ *Expositio ant. lit. gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 14 f.): *Egreditur processio sancti evangelii velut potentia Christi triumphantis de morte, cum prædictis harmoniis et cum septem candelabris luminis, quæ sunt septem dona Spiritus Sancti . . . ascendens in tribunal analogii velut Christus sedem regni paterni, ut inde intonet dona vitæ clamantibus clericis: Gloria tibi Domine, in specie angelorum qui nascente Domino: Gloria in excelsis Deo, pastoribus apparentibus cecinerunt.* The seven torches (after Apoc. 1: 12, 20) still found in *Ordo Rom VI* (Germany, 10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 991). On the contrary only at the entry for the start of services in *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 941).

¹⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 263.

¹⁹ See above all the rite in the Byzantine liturgy (Brightman, 367). Here, too—apparently about the same time as in Gaul—the reference to the entrance of the Son of God into the world; Hanssens, III, 105.

For the other rites of the Orient, cf. the indications in Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 82. B. sees the prototype of the *μικρὰ εἰσοδος* in the procession from the church of the Resurrection to that of the Holy Cross after the fore-Mass of Sunday morning's service, as described in the *peregrinatio Aetheriæ*, c. 24 (CSEL, XXXIX, 74). The explanation does not seem to be wholly warranted, for the procession here mentioned took place after the Gospel and had an entirely different function (cf. *supra*, 261 f.).

²⁰ Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orient. collectio*, I (1747), 189* f. Cf. for the Ethiopian liturgy, Brightman, 220, 1.5.

²¹ Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium*, c. 7 (PL, XXIII, 346).

²² Regarding this remarkable document cf. H. Leclercq, "Notitia dignitatum," DACL, XII, 1711-1715; cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 81, note 3.

emperor on a ground of gold; it is the *liber mandatorum* which contains the powers granted to this official by the emperor.²³ We can also recall the custom of carrying lights and incense before the bishop at a solemn entry—one of the honors which, since the time of Constantine, was transferred from the higher civil officials to church dignitaries.²⁴ It is but a step to explain the carrying of lights and incense before the Gospel book on the basis of the personal honor paid to the bishop; in the Gospel book, which contains Christ's word, Christ Himself is honored and His entry solemnized.²⁵ This custom is on a level with the practice of erecting a throne at synods and placing the Gospel book thereon to show that Christ is presiding,²⁶ or with that other practice, followed as late as the tenth and twelfth century, of carrying the Gospel book in the Palm Sunday procession to take the place of Christ.²⁷

In the later Middle Ages the processional character of this act was emphasized in many places by having a cross-bearer precede the group.²⁸ The cushion for the book was probably also carried in the procession.²⁹ This stately escort of the Gospel book at a high Mass is sometimes reflected in the action of private Mass, when the priest himself transfers the Mass book for the Gospel.³⁰ At Le Mans it was even the custom for the priest to

²³ *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1876), p. 8; 107; cf. E. Böcking, *Über die Notitia dignitatum* (Bonn, 1834), 96 f., 101.

²⁴ *Supra*, p. 68 f.

²⁵ Cf. Remigus of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1248 A), who says of the Gospel-book in the procession at the beginning of Mass: the Gospel of Christ is surrounded by a grand retinue *tamquam persona præpotentis*.

²⁶ Thus, e.g., at the Council of Ephesus (431); Cyril of Alexandria, *Apol. ad Imperatorem*, (PG, LXXVI, 472 B).

²⁷ Eisenhofer, I, 506.

It is not necessary, therefore, to follow Atchley, 184 f., in considering the use of lights and incense at the Gospel procession as originally intended to honor the bishop.

²⁸ Durandus, IV, 24, 16; Frere, *The use of Sarum*, I, 73.

The custom existed among the Premonstratensians and even today is preserved by the Dominicans and in many French churches; Sölch, *Hugh*, 69 f.

²⁹ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 41 (PL, CCXVII, 823 B); Durandus, IV, 24, 1. Also at a later period; de Moléon, 55; 229.

In this procession the Middle Ages found ample opportunities for allegorical interpretation: The deacon must proclaim the Crucified. The cushion reminds him of the reward. The two candles recall the fact that he must have a knowledge of both Testaments, or they refer to Enoch and Elias who will precede Christ's second coming, etc. Durandus, IV, 24, 12-16; cf. A. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 324, with the references to older expositors. That the deacon carried the book supported on his left arm was also a matter of moment, because the preaching of Christ in the Gospel passed from the Jews to the Gentiles (indicated by the left); Sölch, 67 f.

³⁰ *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (15-16th century): Legg, *Tracts*, 39; *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557), *ibid*, 58.

Even in the present *Missale Rom.*, *Ritus serv.*, VI, 1, the priest at a private Mass is given to understand that he himself carries the book to the other side: *ipsemet seu minister*. C. M. Merati (d. 1744) was the first to think it more fitting that the server transfer the book, and he has him carry it over closed, *pollice sinistro inter folia interiecto*; Gavanti-

carry the Gospel book to the altar at a high Mass, and only then to turn it over to the deacon.³¹

That Christ Himself is honored in the Gospel book³² is also revealed in the acclamations that are uttered. Here we have another of those dramatic elements which the Roman Mass gradually acquired in the countries of the North. The deacon greets the people and receives their greeting in return.³³ Then he announces the pericope and the cry is heard: *Gloria tibi, Domine*.³⁴ After the lection the Mass-server answers: *Laus tibi, Christe*.³⁵ And in one Italian church of the twelfth century use is made of the shout of homage with which the crowds greeted our Lord: *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*.³⁶ In some isolated instances the deacon himself, at the end of the reading, is saluted by the celebrant with a *Pax tibi*.³⁷

Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 5, 5 (I, 233). Practical considerations have here won out over the esteem for symbolism. Cf. however the stressing of the ancient rubric by J. M. Hanssens, "Cuius est in Missa privata transferre Missale?" *Eph. liturg.*, XLVIII (1934), 328-330.

³¹ As a practice still circa in de Moléon, 221.

³² Cf. Augustine, *In Joh. tract.*, 30, 1 (PL, XXXV, 1632): *Nos itaque sic audiamus evangelium quasi præsensem Dominum*. Similarly already Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Phil.*, 5, 1: The Gospel is his refuge, "like the flesh of Jesus."

³³ Thus first in the Carolingian *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972).

³⁴ From the Gallican Mass of the 7th century; see above, note 17. With the wording *Gloria Deo omnipotenti* already in Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, VIII, 4 (PL, LXXI, 451 D).

Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 f.) is the first to attest its presence in the Roman Mass and he wishes that everyone should join in saying it, even if he cannot understand the words of the Gospel.

Cf. in the later part of *Ordo Rom I*, n. 27 (PL, LXXVIII, 950 C); also Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 46 (PL, CCXVII, 826), who apportions it to the people.

According to the *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557) the priest adds to the response given by the clerics (*Gloria tibi Domine*) the words: *Qui natus es de Virgine* or *Qui apparuisti hodie*, etc.; Legg, *Tracts*, 59.

The phrase may ultimately spring from the Orient. In the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 38), the people cry out before the Gospel: *Δόξα σοι κύριε*. In the Coptic liturgy (Br. 156) the choir does this. The Greek form in the Coptic Mass may possibly reach back to the 7th century. Similarly in the Armenian liturgy (Br., 426) where the words "God speaks" are added.

³⁵ That it is the Mass-server and not the choir that answers ties in with its recent (late Middle Age) origin. Still the Armenian liturgy repeats the acclamation which the clerics spoke before the Gospel: "Glory be to thee, O Lord, our God!" (Brightman, 426).

³⁶ Sicard, *Mitræ*, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 112 A); the same circa 1300 in Tours: Martène, I, 4, 5, 6 (I, 379 C). The same exclamation is used by the Jacobites after the announcement of the Gospel; Brightman, 79.

According to John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 48 D), all should cry after the Gospel: *Amen*, or *Deo Gratias*. A rule for nuns of about 1115 has the choir answer *Amen*; de Moléon, 110. Other later authors attest the practice: cf. van Dijk, 326. It probably stems from the Rule of St. Benedict (c. 11) according to which all should answer *Amen* when the abbot has finished the reading of the Gospel. Cf. the Mozarabic liturgy (*supra*, p. 406).

This *Amen* was said with hands uplifted, according to Durandus, IV, 24, 30; 34.

³⁷ *Supra*, p. 407. The practice still ap-

If, in these cries, the clergy answer the message of joy rather than the people, still the faithful also take a part in showing honor to the Gospel, at least by their bodily posture. From ancient times it has been customary to listen to the Gospel *standing*.³⁸ The practice prevails generally in the Orient, too,³⁹ and is provable there as far back as the fourth century.⁴⁰ In the West also there is early and manifold evidence of standing at the Gospel.⁴¹ The medieval interpreters place a great deal of weight on the usage and describe it in minute detail. When the deacon's greeting sounds, all stand up and turn to him. Thereupon all the people face east, till the words of our Lord begin.⁴² Meanwhile the canes that are used to support oneself⁴³ are put aside and the people either stand erect (like servants before their Lord)⁴⁴ or else slightly bowed.⁴⁵ The men are to remove every head covering, even the princely crown.⁴⁶ Mention is made, too, of setting

appears in Mass books of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 300, 337. But it is no longer understood even in *Ordo Rom. III* (11th century; Germany), n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 980). In the *Missa Illyrica* all the clerics cry out to the deacon: *Pax tibi*; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 B).

³⁸ Today it is prescribed as the one exception to the kneeling position at private Mass; *Missale Rom., Rubr. gen., XVII, 2*.

³⁹ Hanssens, III, 214.

⁴⁰ *Const. Ap., II, 57, 8* (Quasten, *Mon., 182*); Sozomen, *Hist. eccl., VII, 19* (PG, LXVII, 1477 A). Cf. the reading of the law by Esdras: 2 Esdr. 8: 5.

⁴¹ *Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 218): *Hic [Anastasius I] constituit, ut quotiescumque evangelia sancta recitantur, sacerdotes non sederent, sed curvi starent*. This order, which belongs to the oldest portion of the book (dated circa 530 according to the generally accepted norm), is found again in an expanded form (*sacerdotes et ceteri omnes*) in the pseudo-Isidorean Decretals (PL, CXXX, 691), whence it crept into various later canonical collections; for this last see Browe, *Eph. liturg., L* (1936), 402.

⁴² Amalar, *De eccl. off., III, 18* (PL, CV, 1125 C); *Ordo Rom. II, n. 8* (PL, LXXVIII, 972).

⁴³ These sticks, later in the form of crutches, usually took the place of pews; Sölch, Hugh of St. Cher, 74. Canes of

this sort are still used for the same purpose by Abyssinian monks.

⁴⁴ Amalar, *loc. cit.*

Further illustrations below, note 45 f., and in van Dijk (*Eph. liturg., 1939*), 325; Durandus, IV, 24, 23-25.

⁴⁵ Thus according to the ancient canon; see note 41 above. John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 49 B): *erecti . . . aut capite inclinato*. This regulation is still found in the 13th century; see van Dijk, 323: *erecto corpore . . . et capite aliquantulum inclinato*. The folding of the hands (the practice in Spain) was probably inspired by the same reasons which fostered the bowing of the head; see the evidence from a lectionary of the year 1073 in Férotin, *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, p. 904; cf. Ferreres, 112.

⁴⁶ *Ordo Rom. II* (10th century), n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972): *Sed et baculi omnium deponuntur de manibus, et in ipsa hora neque corona neque aliud operimentum super capita eorum habetur*. Cf. *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1322).

Similarly most of the later interpreters, e.g. Hildebert of Le Mans (d. 1133) in his poetic exposition of the Mass: *Plebs baculos ponit, stat retegique caput* (PL, CXI, 1178). Women, however, were to keep their heads covered, *propter pomum vetitum*. In case of necessity the mother should lay a handkerchief on the head of a girl: John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 39 (PL, CII, 49).

aside one's weapons and outer mantle or cloak,⁴⁷ as well as gloves.⁴⁸ Elsewhere the knights laid their hand on the hilt of their sword, or they drew the sword and held it extended all during the reading⁴⁹—expressions, both, of a willingness to fight for the word of God.

When the Gospel ended it was customary in the Roman station services for a subdeacon to take the book (not with bare hands, however, but holding it *super planetam*),⁵⁰ and to bring it around to the attending clergy to be kissed⁵¹ before it was returned again to its casket, sealed and brought back to its place of safekeeping.⁵²

In countries of the North the people were, for a time, permitted to share in this veneration of the Gospel book.⁵³ Later the right was limited to *personis inunctis*.⁵⁴ And from there on it was usually handed only to clerics

⁴⁷ Durandus, *loc. cit.*; mentions *arma* and *chlamys*.

⁴⁸ Albert the Great, *De sacrificio missæ*, II, c. 7, 7 (*Opp.*, ed. Borgnet, 38, 56).

⁴⁹ Thus above all among the religious orders of knights; Bona, II, 7, 3 (669). This is attested as still the practice of these military orders by J. M. Cavalieri (d. 1757), *Commentaria in authentica SRC decreta*, V (Augsburg, 1764), 31. See also note 9 above.

Some student fraternities have taken over the usage of drawing their weapons at the Gospel. A custom having a similar aim is that of waving banners, as is done by certain Catholic organizations.

⁵⁰ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943). The subdeacon, like other clerics of the 8th century, wore a bell-shaped chasuble which he therefore rolled up. In like manner the acolyte covered his hands when he picked up the book before the entrance procession and carried it to the altar. *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 5 (PL, LXXVIII, 940); Beissel, *Bilder*, 304 f., 313.

⁵¹ In *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943) it seems at first only a small group were concerned, at least if Batiffol's explanation of the phrase *per ordinem graduum* pertains here; *Leçons*, 82.

This kiss of the Gospel book by the bishop and the assembled clergy is attested as an ancient tradition by Jonas of Orleans (d. 843), *De cultu imag.*, II, *præf.* (PL, CVI, 342 f.).

The book is honored by a kiss from the pontiff upon entering the church, and

by a kiss from the deacon before he ascends the ambo (*supra*, p. 445). *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 5; 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 950 C, 971 C), which mentions the same reverences, also names the bishop as the first to kiss the book after the Gospel; n. 8 (972 B).

In the Byzantine liturgy the celebrant kisses the Gospel-book at the finish of the Little Entrance; Brightman, 368, 1. 19 f.

⁵² *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 11 (PL, LXXVIII, 943).

⁵³ *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 36; *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972 B). According to William of Hirsau (d. 1091), *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017), the priest at a private Mass kissed the book after the reading, then handed it to the Mass-server *et aliis communicare volentibus* to be kissed. Also according to the Lay Folks Mass Book of the 13th century (Simmons, p. 18), the faithful still kiss the book. Later there is no mention of it any more.

In the Coptic liturgy it is also customary for those present to kiss the book after the reading of the Gospel, the priest kissing the open book, the faithful kissing the silken covering; Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orient. collectio*, I, 190. Notice the similarity to the practice at Bayeux, note 56 below.

⁵⁴ Thus according to a decision of Honorius III, March 8, 1221 (A. Potthast, *Regesta pont. Rom.*, I [Berlin, 1874], p. 573); cf. J. M. Cavalieri, *Commentaria*, V, 31.

to be kissed,⁶⁵ and the celebrant used to do so with the book opened, just as it is customary nowadays, while the rest of the choir did so with the book closed.⁶⁶ Gradually, however, since the thirteenth century, the custom of having the clergy kiss the book disappeared,⁶⁷ although it was still to be found in some places as late as the eighteenth century.⁶⁸ According to present-day practice even the deacon no longer kisses the book,⁶⁹ but only the celebrating priest⁷⁰ or (but only in his stead) an attending higher prelate,⁷¹ even at a private Mass. And while doing so the priest says: *Per evangelica dicta delectantur nostra delicta*. Similar formulas have attended the kissing of the Gospel since around the year 1000.⁷² And traces of the original mean-

Even according to present usage a Gospel book (not the same as that kissed by the celebrating bishop) can be handed to a *maximus princeps* for a kiss, likewise to a high prelate. *Ceremoniale episc.*, I, 29, 9. For the rest, however, the prohibition to hand the book to lay people has been repeatedly stressed in decrees; Gavanti-Merati, II, 6, 2 (I, 237 f.).

⁶⁵ Thus in John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 35 B).

⁶⁶ Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract.* (Sölch, 21).

At Bayeux the book was handed to all the priests open, to other clerics closed; Martène, I, 4, XXIV (I, 628 C). Similar customs also existed elsewhere; see Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 204, note b.

In this case the open book was understood in the light of Luke 8: 10: "To you it is granted to understand the secret of God's kingdom; the rest must learn of it by parables." Durandus, IV, 24, 32.

⁶⁷ Durandus, IV, 24, 32, cites it only in the following form: *Postea in quibusdam ecclesiis liber clausus illis qui sunt in choro ostenditur*. However it did endure for a long time in many places in France: Martène, I, 4, XX, XXIV; cf. XXIX (I, 608 A, 628 B, 646 E).

In England we see the practice, but in a later part of the Mass, at the Offertory when the clergy are incensed and then each is given the book to kiss; Missal of Sarum: Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 667).

⁶⁸ According to Martène, I, 4, 5, 6 (I, 379 D), it was at that time customary at Vienne and Tours to hand each one the open book with the words: *Hæc est lex divina*. Likewise Lebrun reports the custom at Paris: After the thurifer has

incensed each individual, the subdeacon presents the Gospel book to be kissed with the words: *Hæc sunt verba sancta*, whereupon the other answers: *Credo et confiteor*; Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 203 f. Similarly amongst the Premonstratensians in the *Ordinarius* of 1739; Waefelghem, 56, note 2.

⁶⁹ The subdeacon often kissed the book as soon as the reading was finished: Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ*, III, 4 (PL, CCXII, 112 B); Durandus, IV, 24, 30.

In the rite of the Dominicans and of the Carthusians he kisses it after the priest; Sölch, *Hugh*, 75.

In some places the deacon also kissed the book before starting to read: thus in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 B), in the Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 201), likewise in Sicard, *loc. cit.* (110 B). According to a mid-Italian sacramentary of the 11th century he kissed not only the book but the altar, saying *Munda cor* and *Domine labia mea*; Ebner, 340. The same formulas, without the kissing of the altar, also at St. Vincent: Fiala, 201.

⁷⁰ The possible exceptions, note 54 above.

⁷¹ *Missale Rom.*, *Rit. serv.*, VI, 2; 5. The same direction in the *Ordo Missæ* of John Burchard; Legg, *Tracts*, 147.

⁷² Specially frequent is the formula which appears about 1030 in the *Missa Illyrica*, mostly with slight variations: *Per istos sanctos sermones evangelii Domini nostri Jesu Christi indulgeat nobis Dominus universa peccata nostra*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 B). Likewise in a mid-Italian book about the same time: Ebner, 300 (*quando salutant omnes evangelium, dicat unusquisque . . .*); likewise later:

ing of reverent and grateful greeting are to be seen in a formula from that early period: *Ave verba sancti evangelii quæ totum mundum replestis*⁶⁵; or in the words found in a more recent arrangement of the private Mass: *Deo gratias, credo et confiteor*.⁶⁶

In contrast to this sharp retrenchment of the kissing of the book, the use of incense—again in the northern countries—has been on the increase. Originally the censer was merely carried in the procession of the book to the ambo; no special incensing took place. Then later it was to be carried up the ambo with the deacon,⁶⁷ if there was room. In fact a second *thuribulum* was probably employed.⁶⁸ Now the fragrant smoke emanating from the censer and swirling around the Gospel book gains a special value; everyone wants to be touched by it, to be blessed by the blessing of this consecrated incense, and therefore after the reading the censer is carried through the crowd. This usage is, significantly, mentioned first by the same witness who testifies to the ceremony of handing the book to the people to be kissed.⁶⁷ The practice was curtailed and only the celebrant was incensed, but even then this incensation retained its special meaning (already men-

ibid., 322, 355; Fiala, 202. Cf. Martène 1, 4, XIII, XVI (I, 576 D, 596 f.).

In a somewhat exuberant fashion the *Alphabetum sacerdotum* (after 1495; Legg, *Tracts*, 40) directs the priest to make a sign of the Cross over the book while saying: *Deo gratias. Per evangelica dicta deleantur delicta. Amen. Hæc sunt verba sancta. Credo et confiteor*. The formula in use at present I find only one other place, in the Pontifical of Noyon (end of the 15th century); V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* (Paris, 1937), I, 170.

⁶⁵ Missal of St. Denis (11th century; cf. Leroquais, I, 142): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 523 B); here at the same time the formula already referred to (note 62), *Per istos*. Some mid-Italian Mass books of the 11th century use here the formula that is also used at the start of Mass: *Pax Christi quam* (see pp. 291, 312, *supra*); Ebner, 298, 300.

⁶⁶ Missal of St. Pol de Léon 15th century; cf. Leroquais, III, 230 f.): Martène, 1, 4, XXXIV (I, 662 E). Here, however, there is a further formula, our *Per evangelica dicta*, which is otherwise hard to find in medieval Mass books.

The first-named formula should be compared with that used in the Jacobite Mass, in which the deacon, after intro-

ducing the Gospel, cries out: "We believe and confess." (Brightman, 80, 1. 6).

⁶⁷ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, c. 18 (PL, CV, 1126 B); *Expositio 'Missæ pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 35.

⁶⁸ *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 971).

⁶⁷ *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 972): *thuribula per altaria portantur et postea ad nares hominum feruntur et per manum fumus ad os trahitur*. Cf. *supra*, p. 449. In part more precise in the *Ordo Rom. V* which likewise belongs to the 10th century, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 987): *Acolythorum autem gestantium incensoria unus pergat ad altare incensionem exhibere circa illud, necnon et episcopo ac presbyteris atque diaconibus cunctoque clero, alius vero pergat ad populum*.

The connection between incensing and kissing the book is plain in the *Missæ Illyrica*, which also has a prayer for each: *Tunc allato incenso simulque evangelio ad salutandum dicant singuli: Per istos sanctos sermones . . .* [see note 62 above] *Quando incensum offertur dicant singuli: Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo, Domine*; Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 505 B). The same connection still existed in the time of Lebrun in some of the churches of France; see note 58 above.

tioned),⁶⁶ different from others,⁶⁷ until it, too, was gradually lost.⁷⁰ The incensing of the book before the start of the reading is mentioned since the eleventh century.⁷¹ This has been retained and was, in fact, at one time even duplicated after the reading—another instance of the new (and yet basically ancient) concept of honoring the Gospel.⁷² It is only in the *Mâss* for the Dead that the kissing of book and hand is omitted, and so also this incensing.⁷³

The desire to grasp the sacred word of God and to secure its blessing (a desire that proved transiently effective in the case of the incensing), also found a lasting expression in another symbol—the sign of the Cross. In the ninth century for the first time do we come across this practice of the faithful signing a cross on their foreheads after the deacon greets them.⁷⁴ Then we hear of another custom, the deacon and all those present imprinting the cross on forehead and breast after the words *Sequentia sancti evangelii*.⁷⁵ About the eleventh century mention is made of forehead,

⁶⁶ *Ordo Rom. VI* (10th century), n. 7 (PL, LXXXVIII, 992 A): *episcopus . . . accepto odore incensi*.

William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam* (ed. van Dijk, 326): *Lecto evangelio liber et thuribulum ad episcopum deferitur . . . et ipse thus adolet*. A middle stage is seen in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 81): After the reading, the deacon is presented with *incensum odorandum*, likewise then the bishop and the assisting priest. (Similarly the Missal of St. Vincent: Fiala, 201.) In fact here the deacon is offered this *incensum* also at the very beginning of the reading. Also in the *Liber ordinarius* of the Liège monastery of St. James (Volk, 91) we read much the same thing at the beginning of the Gospel: *thuriferarius debet diaconum interim incensare et ad finem evangelii similiter facere*, whereas the celebrant is not incensed.

⁶⁷ This special meaning is expressed, to some extent, in the prayer which the celebrant says while putting in the incense: *Odore coelestis inspirationis suae accendat Dominus et impleat corda nostra ad audienda et implenda evangelii sui praecepta. Qui vivit*. This is to be found in Mass books since the 11th century, e.g., in the Missal of Troyes (circa 1050): Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 531 A); in a mid-Italian missal of the 11th century: Ebner, 297 (later examples, *ibid.*, 332,

337, 345); also, with the addition of a second formula of blessing, in the *Missal Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 504 f.).

⁷⁰ Durandus, IV, 24, 34, is aware only of the incensing of the bishop after the Gospel, and sees in it an invitation to prayer.

⁷¹ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 35 A); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 110 B). Other interpreters know nothing of it, not even Durandus.

According to the Sarum Ordinary (c. 1320) it is not the book but the altar that is incensed; Legg, *Tracts*, 4.

⁷² Cf. *supra*, p. 445 f.

⁷³ According to the present-day *Missale Romanum*. At the time of Durandus (IV, 24, 33) the basic principle regarding Masses for the Dead was formulated: *omnis solemnitas subtrahitur*, but it was applied only in part to the kiss, not as yet to the incensing.

⁷⁴ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 D); *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1322 A). Also, according to Remigius of Auxerre (d. circa 908), *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1251 A), the people make the sign of the Cross on their foreheads, the deacon on both forehead and breast.

⁷⁵ *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXXVIII, 972).

There is mention only of the deacon in the Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 201)

mouth and breast,⁷⁶ and since that time also of the signing of the book.⁷⁷ At the end of the Gospel it was the custom for all those present to sign themselves with the cross once more.⁷⁸ The original idea of this signing of oneself is probably indicated in the scriptural text frequently cited in this connection, the quotation about the wicked enemy who is anxious to take the seed of the word of God away from the hearts of the hearers.⁷⁹ This, in any case, makes the sign of the Cross at the close intelligible,⁸⁰ since it is practically as ancient as the other at the beginning. This opening act, which alone has continued to exist, indeed has grown somewhat, was at first explained in a similar sense.⁸¹ And it is a "blessing" of oneself,⁸² that is true. But another explanation takes over by degrees; an ever-increasing stress

and in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 9 (PL, LI, 983); likewise in Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. super Missam* (ed. Sölch, 20), where besides the crossing of the book comes first. The same ritual in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 91). According to the Regensburg Missal of 1500 (Beck, 265 f.), the priest at a non-solemn Mass stands at the center of the altar and crosses his breast and lips with the words: *Jube Domine benedicere. Dominus sit in corde † meo in labiis † meis, ut . . .*, and thereupon he signs the altar, adding the words: *† Pax tecum. Et cum spiritu meo*. Then he starts the reading of the Gospel with *Dominus vobiscum*, and once more signs the book, his forehead and breast; likewise at the end he signs the book.

⁷⁶ William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017); cf. as a preliminary step *Bernardi Ordo Clun.*, I, 72 (Herrgott, 264).

Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 23 (PL, CLXXII, 551); John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 4803); Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 43 (PL, CCXVII, 824); *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerini, 238); Durandus, IV, 24, 28.

The threefold sign of the Cross is attested for the first time, in general, by these authors of the 11th and 12th centuries.

⁷⁷ John Belet, *loc. cit.*

Alexander of Hales, *Summa de sacrif. missæ*, and following him William of Melitona (in van Dijk, *Eph. liturg.*, 1939, 325). That the faithful, too, should sign

themselves with the Cross these interpreters declare is only the opinion of *quidam* (van Dijk, 325). As a matter of fact among the Saxon Franciscans of the 15th century it was still thought sufficient that the deacon should make a single sign of the Cross, and this upon himself; *ibid.*, note 149.

⁷⁸ Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1251 C); *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972 B); John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 39 (PL, CCII, 48 D). Further witnesses from the 12-13th century in van Dijk, 326.

This last sign of the Cross was customary among the Dominicans from the outset and is still prescribed; Sölch, *Hugh*, 74; at present it is the large Latin Cross that is prescribed both here at the end and also after the triple Cross at the beginning; *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 26.

⁷⁹ Luke 8: 12.

⁸⁰ The quotation is connected with this closing sign in Remigius, *loc. cit.*, Belet, *loc. cit.*

Further illustrations in van Dijk, 326.

⁸¹ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 f.).

⁸² The Sacramentary of St. Denis (11th century) presents a special prayer for this sign of the Cross with the rubric: *Quando se signant*; the prayer is as follows: *Crucis vivifica signo muni, Domine, omnes sensus meos ad audienda verba sancti evangelii corde credenda et opere complenda*; Martène, I, 4, V (I, 523 A).

is placed on the readiness to acknowledge God's word with courage⁶³ in the sense of St. Paul's assertion: I am not ashamed of this Gospel.⁶⁴ Probably it was in this sense that the signing of the forehead grew into a triple signing of forehead, lips and breast, and in addition, the signing of the book. The meaning is this: For the word which Christ brought and which is set down in this book we are willing to stand up with a mind that is open; we are ready to confess it with our mouth; and above all we are determined to safeguard it faithfully in our hearts.⁶⁵

Pursuing this conception of a blessing with which we ought to prepare for the Gospel, Amalar remarks that the deacon who is about to scatter the seed of the Gospel stands in need of a *major benedictio*.⁶⁶ The simple word of blessing which, according to the first Roman *Ordo*, the pope pronounces over the deacon,⁶⁷ is soon broadened out into formulas that reproduce⁶⁸ or resemble the one we use today, for example, *Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis ut nunties competenter evangelium pacis*,⁶⁹ or it is replaced or supplemented by other blessing formulas, for instance: *Benedictio Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super te et aperiatur Christus os tuum ad pronuntiandum digne idoneeque sanctum evangelium suum*,⁷⁰ or: *Corrobores Dominus sensum et labia tua, ut recte pronunties nobis eloquia divina*,⁷¹ or by a biblical phrase *Deus misereatur vestri et benedicat*,⁷² or: *Spiritus Domini super te, evangelizare pauperibus*.⁷³ Then too, the deacon formally begs for the blessing with *Iube, domne, benedicere*.⁷⁴ Since the eleventh century there appears, either before or after the

⁶³ Amalar, *loc. cit.* (1126 A); Belet, *loc. cit.* (PL, CCII, 48 A); Durandus, IV, 24, 27.

⁶⁴ Rom. 1: 16.

⁶⁵ This interpretation in its essentials already in Belet, *loc. cit.* Regarding the history of the sign of the Cross in general, and the various ways of making it, see Eisenhofer, I, 273-281.

The West Syrians have a custom that gives apt expression to the desire to cling to the Gospel; the faithful are wont to murmur the closing word of each phrase along with the reader; thus according to several accounts from Jerusalem, e.g. Chr. Panfoeder, *Das Persönliche in der Liturgie* (Mainz, 1925), 129.

⁶⁶ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1125 D).

⁶⁷ *Supra*, p. 444.

⁶⁸ Mid-Italian missal of the 11th century: Ebner, 300.

⁶⁹ *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 A). From then on frequent everywhere, e.g. Sarum Ordinary (14th c.):

Legg, *Tracts*, 4; Hungarian Mass books since the 12th century: Radó, 42; Jávör, 114. Also still in the *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 14.

⁷⁰ Missal of Troyes (c. 1050): Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 531 A); cf. *ibid.*, IV, V, XV f. (I, 505 A, 523 A, 589 E, 596 E). Almost duplicated in mid-Italian Mass books of the 11th century: Ebner, 297, 300, 337.

⁷¹ Mass-*Ordo* of Amiens (9th century), ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 441; Martène, I, 4, VIII, XXV (I, 539 A, 631 D); Ebner, 325.

⁷² *Udalrici Consuet. Clun. II*, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 716).

⁷³ Missal from Bobbio (10-11th century): Ebner, 81.

⁷⁴ Mid-Italian Mass books of the 11th century: Ebner, 300, cf. 355; *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1161). Already in the 7th century the reader begged a blessing at the table-prayers of Roman monasteries by using this formula:

celebrant pronounces the blessing, another prayer by which the deacon prepares himself, our *Munda cor meum*.⁹⁵ But it was far from common even as late as the sixteenth century, and in the Dominican use is lacking even today. Elsewhere the deacon recites the psalm verse: *Domine, labia mea aperies et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam*.⁹⁶

In a non-solemn Mass the priest, before starting to read the Gospel, was satisfied with a little petition, *Dominus sit in ore meo*⁹⁷ or with Psalm 50:17⁹⁸ or with one of the formulas already mentioned (revised with reflexives): *Corrobores Dominus sensum meum et labia mea ut recte pronunciem verba sancti evangelii. Per Christum*,⁹⁹ or with the sentence used in the present-day Dominican rite: *Dominus sit in corde meo et in labiis meis ad pronuntiandum sanctum evangelium pacis*.¹⁰⁰ In the *Ordo Missæ* of John Burchard (1502) the *Munda cor meum*, with the petition for the blessing and the blessing, both unchanged, were taken over into the private Mass just as we have them today.¹⁰¹

Thus the same thought of a proper preparation is disclosed: Pure must be the heart and chaste the lips of him who is to set forth the word of God, as the Lord Himself had declared in His message to Isaiah when the seraph had touched the seer's lips with the glowing coal¹⁰²; lips that were to pronounce the word of God; and the heart, too, because this pronouncement was not to be a mere mechanical movement but an intellectual and intelligent speech, because the messenger of the glad tidings (and this holds also for one who only reads the message to the assembly) must first take the lesson to heart before he conveys it to the congregation.

Ordo of Johannes Archicantor, *De convivio* (Silva-Tarouca, 213 f.).

Jube = dignare = "deign"; it is a courteous formula which implies that great lords do not themselves act but charge servants with the task. The *dominus* here used is also customary in other cases to distinguish earthly masters from the heavenly *Dominus*.

⁹⁵ Ebner, 300, 314, 340, 342; *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1161).

⁹⁶ Ps. 50: 17; *Ordo Rom. VI* (10th century), n. 6 (PL, LXXVIII, 991).

Also Esth. 14: 12 f. (in Old Latin phrasing: *Conforta me rex . . .*) is often found in monastic texts: Fiala, 201; Ebner, 355; De Corswarem, 121; cf. Missal of Hereford (1502): *Da mihi, Domine, sermonem rectum . . .* Maskell, 66.

⁹⁷ *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101).

⁹⁸ Lyons Mass book of the 13th century: Ebner, 326.

⁹⁹ Lyons Missal of 1531: Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 659 A).

¹⁰⁰ *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 18. Similarly already a Hungarian missal of the 13th century: Radó, 61.

¹⁰¹ Legg, *Tracts*, 146. In the Mass-plan '*Indutus plancta*' (since 1507) it is left to the option of the priest to pray either *Sit Dominus in cor meum* or *Munda cor meum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 184.

Older Mass-ordos direct the priest to kiss the altar while saying the pertinent prayer at private Masses: *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 101, 1. 27). Cf. Sarum Ordinary of the 14th century: Legg, *Tracts*, 4.

¹⁰² Is. 6: 6 f.

A similar prayer for purity, based on this passage from Isaiah, is found at the beginning of the liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 32, 1. 4). But here the glowing coals are referred to the two natures in Christ, to his humanity aglow with the divinity; this interpretation is quite frequent in the exegesis of the Fathers since Origen.

7. The Homily

The sermon, which (together with its embellishments) is delivered in the vernacular after the Gospel,¹ is currently regarded as an interpolation in the course of the liturgy rather than as a step forward in its progress. As a matter of fact, however, it belongs to the earliest constituent parts, indeed to the pre-Christian elements of the liturgy. The Sabbath Bible reading in the synagogue, which according to rigid custom had to be followed by a clarifying explanation, was for our Lord the main opportunity for preaching the word of God to receptive hearers and to proclaim His kingdom.² At Antioch in Pisidia Paul and Barnabas, in similar circumstances, were ordered by the rulers of the synagogue to direct "a word of encouragement" to the assembly.³

It stands to reason, therefore, that in Christian worship the homily was similarly joined at the very start to the reading of the Scriptures.⁴ Indeed, the homily appears almost as an indispensable part of public worship,⁵ which took place, of course, only on Sundays. The Bishop who presided over the community-worship would himself address the congregation after the reading. This was a particular duty of his. Still the priests also were allowed to preach; thus we have the numerous homilies of an Origen,⁶ or those of Hippolytus of Rome or later those of Jerome, and—

¹ According to Durandus, IV, 26, 1, the sermon took place only after the *symbolum*, which served as a subject for exposition. This is still the custom in some places, like the diocese of Trier.

According to the *Ordo* of the Lateran church (Fischer, 78), the sermon (on the worthy reception of Communion) took place here on Easter Sunday *post acceptam oblationem*; cf. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 116 B). The Low German "Rule for Lay People" (15th century; R. Langenberg, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Mystik* [Bonn, 1902], 87) also assumes that the preaching is done at this spot; similarly the Pontifical of Noyon (15th century; V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* [Paris, 1937], I, 170). In France and England the sermon in the later Middle Ages was usually inserted after the *Orate fratres*; in France this practice continued till the 18th century; Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 317 ff., especially 318, note 2. The explicit prescription in the *Missale Romanum*, *Ritus serv.*, VI, 6, according to which the

sermon follows the Gospel, was first inserted in 1604 by Clement VIII.

² Luke 4: 16 ff.; Mark 1: 21, and parallels.

³ Acts 13: 15.

⁴ Justin, *Apol.*, I, 67; cf. Irenæus as in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 20, 6.

⁵ Towards the end of the Middle Ages, therefore at a time when the sermon was becoming more and more separated from the Mass, emphasis was frequently laid on the obligation of the faithful to attend Mass and the sermon on Sundays. J. Ernst, *Die Verlesung der Messperikopen in der Volkssprache* (Separate print from *Theol.-prakt. Monatsschrift*, 1899; Passau, 1899), 14-16.

⁶ Origen had incurred the displeasure of his bishop by preaching outside his diocese, even though with the permission of the bishop of the place. About 230 he had himself ordained priest but again, because of his self-mutilation, this was contrary to the canons. O. Bardenheuer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1914), II, 108 f.

from Antioch—those of Chrysostom. In the fourth century it was the general custom in the East, when several priests were present at the divine service, that each one would preach after the reading; and finally, as a rule the bishop himself.⁷

In other places, the presbyters were not allowed to preach at public gatherings, whereas for the work of catechizing no grade of Orders was required at all. Thus, after the fall of Arius, preaching was forbidden to priests in Alexandria⁸; likewise in North Africa, where the prohibition was not cancelled till the time of St. Augustine who himself was permitted to preach when only a priest. A similar practice obtained for a long time in Rome and in Italy. In fact under Pope Celestine⁹ a letter of disapproval was sent out from Rome to the bishops of Provence where a contrary custom was in vogue. Sozomen made it known that in his day, as he thought, no preaching whatsoever was done in Rome.¹⁰ As a matter of fact there is no provision for preaching in the ancient Roman *Ordines*, which (of course) record primarily only the divine service for the major stations.¹¹ Still the homiletic works of a Leo the Great and of a Gregory the Great prove that this was not altogether a period of absolute silence.¹² From the beginning of the Middle Ages, at any rate, there was in general a strong return to the preaching of the word of God.¹³

⁷ *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 9 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 182 f.); *ibid.*, VIII, 5, 12 mentions only the preaching of the bishop.

Likewise the pilgrim lady Aetheria reports regarding Jerusalem that as many of the priests as wanted to preached, but after them came the bishop; *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 25, 1 (CSEL, XXXIX, 74); cf. *ibid.*, c. 43, 2 (93). St. John Chrysostom, too, while a priest at Antioch, frequently refers to the fact that after his sermon other addresses would follow, occasionally that of the bishop. Similarly Jerome, in the homilies which he delivered at Bethlehem. See the passages in A. Bludau, *Die Pilgerreise der Aetheria* (Paderborn, 1927), 63 f. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 98, recognizes in this succession of several speakers an echo of the charismatic preaching of the primitive period.

⁸ Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 22 (PG, LXVII, 640); Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, VII, 19 (PG, LXVII, 1476 f.).

⁹ Celestine I, *Ep.*, 21, n. 2 (PL, L, 528-530).

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* (PG, LXVII, 1476).

¹¹ The first Roman descriptions of the Mass which also mention the sermon are: *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 50, 1. 32; 78; 1. 22; 82, 1. 9); *Ordo Rom XI* (n. 20; PL, LXXVIII, 1033 C) of the 12th century and *Ordo Rom. XIV* (c. 53; PL, LXXVIII, 1162 A, C) of the 14th.

A number of sermons by Innocent III have been handed down. In numerous passages in *Ordo Rom. XV* (circa 1400) the sermon after the Gospel of the papal service is alluded to (PL, LXXVIII, 1274 ff.).

In Germany in the 10th century, in *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 A), which had its origin there, the sermon is presumed in the plan of the episcopal service. The Lombard, Bonizo of Sutri (d. c. 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels, 59), also testifies to the same arrangement.

¹² Cf. also Batiffol, *Leçons*, 137.

¹³ In some oriental communities the sermon has long since gone out of use. In the texts of the Coptic Mass, however, the place of the sermon after the Gos-

But if in Christian antiquity the preaching to the assembled congregation was chiefly restricted to the bishop, there resulted from this the clear and indubitable expression of his teaching authority. Furthermore such a restriction was quite necessary because of the none too high ability of the priests. But the restriction was carried through without considerable harm in the well-established provinces of North Africa and middle Italy, where every little town had its own bishopric. In Gaul the case was quite different. There the Council of Vaison (529), at the urgent request of St. Cæsarius,¹⁴ expressly gave the priests in the city and in the country the right to preach¹⁵; and in case the priest was hindered by sickness, the deacons were to read from the homilies of the Fathers. In fact the ancient commentary on the Gallican Mass has the homily follow the Gospel in the ordinary course of the service; there, apparently, the mere reading of the *homiliæ sanctorum* was practically on a par with the real sermon.¹⁶ In regard to this latter it was the duty of the preacher (stressed by the author of the *Expositio*) above all to find, by his own efforts, the proper medium between the language of the people and the pretensions of the more highly educated. And even when the homilies of the Fathers were read, they had to be rendered more or less freely in the language of the people. The Carolingian Reform-Synods of 813 expressly demanded the translation of the homilies *in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicuntur*.¹⁷ The requirements of the clergy were supplied by various collections of homilies, such as were prepared for reading at monastic choir prayer (as, for example, those of Paul Warnefried), or others that offered an explanation of the Epistle and Gospels intended directly for the laymen's service.¹⁸ In this modest form the homily must have been used quite regularly in the following centuries even in the country—at least in Germany—in such a way, at any rate, that it shared the Sunday pulpit along with the repetition of the elementary Christian truths taken from the Symbol and the Our Father.¹⁹ The crest of the Middle Ages, and the appearance of the mendicant Orders,

pel is still marked; Brightman, 158, 1. 5.

Regarding the sermon among the West Syrians, see Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 98.

Among the Greeks the sermon was still zealously practiced during Byzantine times; see A. Ehrhard in K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (2nd ed.; Munich, 1897), 160 f.

¹⁴ Cf. *Vita Cæsarii*, I, 54 (MGH, *Scriptores rer. Merov.*, III, 478 f.).

¹⁵ C. 2 (Mansi, VIII, 727): *placuit ut non solum in civitatibus sed etiam in omnibus parochiis verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem*.

¹⁶ *Expositio ant. lit. gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 15 f.); cf. Duchesne, 197.

¹⁷ Tours, can. 17 (Mansi, XIV, 85); similarly Reims, can. 15 (Mansi, XIV, 78). Cf. H. v. Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter* (Tübingen, 1921), 654. Here also the reference to remnants preserved in the Old French and Old Slovenian languages.

¹⁸ A. Manser, "Homiliar," LThK, V, 128 f.; E. Hosp., "Il sermonario di Alano di Farfa" (*Eph. liturg.*, 1936), 375 f.; Kunze, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung*, 147-159.

¹⁹ H. v. Schubert, 652-654.

brought a new blossoming, if not of the homily, then surely of the sermon in general.

Although it would be an exaggeration to say that all church preaching should be limited to the framework of the Mass or perhaps even the homily,²⁰ still there was from olden times a definite and restrictive pattern for the spiritual talk that followed on the reading, a pattern exacted by the circumstances in which it appeared. The talk was to be about the word of God that had been read from the Sacred Scriptures, it was not to stifle it but to apply it to the present day. Therefore the talk is basically a *homily*—the application of the Scripture just read.²¹ To this day, in the ordination of the Lector, his office is still designated as: *legere ei qui prædicat*.²² This neither is nor was the spot to unfold the entire preaching of the Church. The homily was the living word of the Church taken up into the liturgy as proof of the higher world in which it lives and into which it enters after being renewed by the sacred mysteries.²³

Hence also the trend to make visible the hierarchical structure of the Church in the person of the homilist. Hence, too, the guarding as much as possible of the liturgical structure even in its outward appearance. As a rule the Bishop talks from his *cathedra*,²⁴ and, as an expression of his authority, he is seated,²⁵ or else standing on the steps that lead to the *cathedra*.²⁶

²⁰ Cf. the extensive and detailed explanation of the "liturgical sermonette" in Parsch, *Volksliturgie*, 423-441; according to Parsch not only Christian instruction (catechetics) but also evening sermons lie outside the compass of the Mass.

²¹ Not necessarily only the Gospel. What Augustine, for instance, as a rule explains in his homilies is "a text of Scripture, usually taken from one of the three lessons"; Roetzer, 109.

²² The *Pontificale Romanum* selects this wording in preference to the other: *legere ea quæ prædicat*. This last reading, which appears to presume preaching on the part of the lector himself, is indeed to be found in the Roman Pontifical of the 12th century and in that of the 13th (Andrieu, I, 125; II, 330), but the earliest evidence of the formula in Cod. 14 of Vendôme (first half of the 11th century; see Andrieu, *Les ordines Romani*, I, 351 f.) gives us the reading: *legere ei qui prædicat*; see de Puniet, *Das Römische Pontifikale*, I, 283. Only this latter reading is taken into account. True, de Puniet, I, 139, does raise a doubt, referring to Isidore, *De off. eccl.*, II, 11,

where there is mention of *lectores qui verbum Dei prædicant*, but it is to be noted that *prædicare* at that time meant not only "preaching" but also "solemn reading"; see IV Synod of Toledo (633), can. 17 (Mansi, X, 624). Similarly even *Ordo Rom.* III, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 972 A): *prædicante eo* [sc. *diacono*] *evangelium*.

²³ That the sermon in the liturgy is not an instruction but an initiation, an introduction into the *mysterium*, is stressed by J. Hartog, *The Sacrifice of the Church* (Barrn, 1939), 23 f., 26 ff.

²⁴ Eisenhofer, I, 382 f.; Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, I (1929), 61.

²⁵ Thus, e.g., Augustine (Roetzer, 111 f.). This corresponds to the archeological findings; H. Leclercq, "Chaire épiscopale," DACL, III, 19-75. Following the custom in the synagogue, our Lord himself spoke while seated (Luke 4: 20).

Regarding the symbolism of this sitting, see Th. Klauser, *Die Cathedra im Totenkult* (LF, IX; Münster, 1927), 11; 179 ff.

²⁶ Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8 (CSEL, XL, 2, p. 611, l. 18; Roetzer, 112).

A preacher like Chrysostom of course mounts the ambo for the convenience of his audience.²⁷ According to a rule of the Egyptian Church, the bishop—but not the priest—holds the Gospel book in his hand.²⁸

The revival of the sermon during the height of the Middle Ages involved a separation from the liturgy, and also a departure from its homiletic character. It leaves the confines of the Mass in the form of a mission sermon of the new Orders.²⁹ Even the stand of the preacher is moved into the body of the church, though it takes with it the old name: in French, for example, it takes the name of the *cathedra* (*chaire*; cf. the German *Predigtstuhl*), and in German the name is derived from the ambo as an extension of the chancel (*Kanzel*), but the English word “pulpit” is a mere descriptive term (from Lt. *pulpitum*, a platform or scaffold).³⁰ Its site on the Gospel side still shows its connection with the reading of the Gospel.³¹ On the other hand, the very high pulpit towering over the heads of the listeners is apparently the result of the impassioned oratorical form of the sermon, a condition that also contributed to the fact that now the preacher generally speaks standing.³²

Although the teacher was seated, the audience (according to the prevailing custom of the ancient Church) was obliged to hear the lecture while standing. Augustine felt that such a rule was quite a strain during long delivery³³ and therefore he praised the custom followed in other places, *in quibusdam ecclesiis transmarinis*, where the people were seated.³⁴ Cæsarius of Arles permitted the more feeble people to sit during the sermon or the readings, though they probably used the floor for this.³⁵ Only the clerics were provided quite generally with seats in those early days.³⁶ The faithful helped themselves with canes on which to lean.³⁷ Only in modern times in

²⁷ Eisenhofer, I, 383.

²⁸ *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 273).

²⁹ Honorius of Augustodunum and Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215), however, mention the sermon in the course of the Mass. Eisenhofer, II, 120.

³⁰ G. Gietmann, “Pulpit,” CE, XII: 563-5.

³¹ However there is no prescription to this effect.

³² It might be remarked in this connection that nowadays the “meditations” which are preached at a retreat—suited to the tone of a simple *διύλα* (“conversation”)—are often given while seated.

The *Cæremoniale episcoporum*, II, 8, 48, even today presumes that the bishop preaches while seated, whether from the throne (if it is turned to the people) or from the faldstool which is set on the *suppeditancum* of the altar. Likewise the

priest, too, might preach, sitting at the Gospel-side of the altar; see Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 6, 6 (I, 247 f.). But we must remark that pacing up and down while preaching is often determined and affected by the antics customary in profane speaking.

³³ Augustine, *De catech. rud.*, I, 13, 19 (PL, XL, 325).

³⁴ In the earliest times seats in church are often mentioned; see H. Achelis, *Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1912), II, 61, note 4.

³⁵ Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.*, 78, 1 (Morin, 309; PL, XXXIX, 2319). Cf. *supra*, p. 240.

³⁶ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 4 (PL, LXXVIII, 939). Cf. *supra*, p. 70.

³⁷ *Supra*, p. 448.

our countries did the laity obtain pews, perhaps copying the Protestant churches.³⁸

As a simple homily, the address of the celebrant could follow upon the reading of the Gospel without any further intermediary or any special prayer-introduction. The preacher addressed the people at the beginning and end of his sermon with the usual greeting³⁹ and began his delivery. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, however, it was the practice for the preacher to begin with an *Ave Maria* while everybody knelt.⁴⁰ The custom is possibly traceable to the mendicant preachers. It is prescribed in the *Cæremoniale episcoporum*⁴¹ and seems to have been in use for a long time within the Mass.⁴² Alongside of the *Ave*, however, the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* or the Lord's Prayer was also permitted.⁴³

Together with the prayer-introduction in this or that form, there was often also a special song to introduce the sermon, taken over from the independent sermon and adapted here to the sermon that followed the readings at Mass. The patterns that thus arise remind us of the preparatory prayers or songs which precede the readings in the oriental liturgies.⁴⁴ And contrariwise, the independent Sunday parochial sermon at times had a very rich prayer ending, the basis of which was borrowed for its connection with the Mass or more precisely (as we shall see), taken from the old "Prayer of the Faithful."

8. The Credo

On Sundays and on certain feast days the last lesson (or the homily, as the case may be) is followed by the *Credo* as a sort of re-enforced echo. Although it is but a supplement on these days, still it gets such a performance at solemn service that both in duration and in musical splendor it

³⁸ Eisenhofer, I, 379 f.; cf. H. Bergner, "Ausstattung, kirchliche," *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1909), I, 811-813.

³⁹ Illustrations from Chrysostom, see Brightman, 470, 476 f. Notice there, 470, l. 37, the doxological ending which was a fixed rule in the ancient Christian sermon as in prayer.

Compare the custom in German-speaking lands, of starting and ending the sermon with "*Gelobt sei Jesus Christus*" (Praised by Jesus Christ). Or the practice of making the sign of the Cross with the Trinitarian formula before and after the talk.

⁴⁰ *Ordo Rom. XV* (c. 1400), n. 43 (PL, LXXVIII, 1295 A).

⁴¹ I, 22, 3.

⁴² In France the *Ave* was inserted after the exordium of the sermon; J. Mabillon in the note to *Ordo Rom. XV*, n. 43 (PL, LXXVIII, 1295). J. M. Cavalieri, *Commentaria*, V (1764), 32, still stresses the obligation of this prayer.

⁴³ Thus Jerome Dungersheim in a writing of his which appeared ab. 1514, *De arte prædicandi*; see R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879), 232.

⁴⁴ *Supra*, p. 406 f.

In the later Middle Ages a song (*Ruf* or *Leis*) was sung at the end of the sermon. Regarding German hymns before and after the sermon, see W. Bäumker, *Zur Geschichte der Tonkunst* (Freiburg, 1881), 133.

often surpasses all the other portions of the Mass. It is precisely in this role of the *Credo* at the high Mass that a contrast is marked out—despite its import, the *Credo* offers the great masters of music only a simple and rather unpoetic verbal text. In addition, this text is stylized as the profession of an individual (*Credo, Confiteor*), exactly like other professions of faith. All the more reason to ask, why this formula of profession of faith secured the singular honor of being used at the celebration of Mass.

Our symbol was not composed just for the Mass. It first appears in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451) as the profession of “the 150 holy fathers who were assembled in Constantinople.”¹ As time passed the symbol was taken as a compilation summing up the belief proclaimed at the preceding councils of Nicea (325) and Constantinople (381); this is borne out by the current name of Nicene or Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. Not that its wording was immediately formulated by these councils. The symbol drawn up at Nicea,² which concludes with the words *Et in Spiritum Sanctum*—only an anathema follows—does not coincide exactly with our *Credo* even in the foregoing parts. In the acts of the Council of Constantinople no symbol whatever was handed down and in the interval till Chalcedon there is never a reference to any such profession of faith drawn up there.³ The only matter ascribed to the synod at Constantinople is the expansion of the statement regarding the Holy Ghost.⁴

In the Niceno-Constantinopolitan symbol we have the draft of a profession which, of all the various forms in use in the episcopal cities of the East, gained the widest acceptance, particularly after the approval accorded it at the Council of Chalcedon.⁵ We can track this draft even a little distance back into the fourth century. We discover it, almost complete, about 374 in Epiphanius,⁶ and, in a slightly simpler form, about 350 in Cyril of

¹ Mansi, VI, 957 and again VII, 112 (only two linguistic variants). A different text is offered in the critical edition of E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecum.*, II, 1, 2 (Berlin, 1933), 128, where, among others, the phrases *ὡς ἐκ πατρὸς, καὶ παθόντα, κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς* and the *ἀγίαν* before the word Church—all these are missing. According to Schwartz it was the insertion of these phrases and words that produced the new formulation of the symbol undertaken by Chalcedon; the older text he thinks can be traced to the Council of Constantinople; see E. Schwartz, “Das Nicenum und das Constantinopolitanum auf der Synode von Chalkedon,” *Zeitschrift f. d. neuest. Wissenschaft*, XXV (1926), 38-88. Opposed to both these hypotheses is J. Lebon, “Les anciens symboles dans la définition de Chalcédoine,” *Revue d'hist.*

eccl., XXXII (1936), 809-876. Cf. also B. Capelle, “Le Credo,” *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 171-184.

² Denzinger-Umberg, n. 54.

³ Lebon, 847 ff. The only name ever used for the creed was “the confession of Nicea,” but in various church provinces this creed was enlarged by various additions (Lebon, 837 ff.). One such expanded version was proposed to the Council of 451 by the representatives of the imperial court as the confession “of the 150 holy Fathers” (855 ff.).

⁴ Lebon, 860, 870.

⁵ A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole* (3rd. ed., Breslau, 1897); H. Lietzmann, *Symbole der alten Kirche* (4th ed.; *Kleine Texte*, 17-18; Berlin, 1935).

⁶ Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, c. 118 (Lietzmann, *Symbole*, 19 f.).

Jerusalem, who explained it to his candidates for Baptism.⁷ We may therefore see in this basic text of the Niceno-Constantinopolitanum the ancient baptismal symbol of Jerusalem.⁸ Our Mass *Credo* thus had originally the same purpose which our Roman "Apostles' Creed" had, the same purpose which it still serves at present, namely, as a profession of faith before Baptism. That is the reason why even in its original form the Mass Creed, like the Apostles', is set in the singular: *Credo*.

In the two texts mentioned we clearly have the typical instances of the basic form of the profession of faith in West and East. And these in turn give us an inkling of the common design underlying both. In both cases the content of our belief falls into three sections, comprising our belief in God the Creator, in Christ our Lord, and in the goods of salvation. And what is more to the point in a baptismal profession, these three sections are linked with the naming of the three divine Persons. Further, in both of these main forms the second section is enlarged through the inclusion of a more detailed profession of Christ. A peculiarity of the oriental type is that its structure was influenced not only by the command to baptize (Matt. 28:19) but also by a second scripture text, Eph. 4:4, which emphasizes the praise of unity: "one body and one spirit . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." This is the apparent clue to the stressing of oneness in this symbol: *Credo in unum Deum . . . in unum Dominum . . . in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam . . . Confiteor unum baptismum*.⁹ With a certain pride the contrast is drawn between the division caused by error and the oneness of God and the oneness of his revelation in Christ, Church and Sacrament.

The design of the *Credo* will probably be rendered clearer in the following abstract, in which the texts of the older drafts are also indicated:

CREDO IN UNUM DEUM, PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM, FACTOREM CÆLI ET TERRÆ,
VISIBILIVM OMNIUM ET INVISIBILIVM.

ET IN UNUM DOMINUM JESUM CHRISTUM, FILIVM DEI UNIGENITUM
ET EX PATRE NATUM ANTE OMNIA SÆCULA,

*Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero,
genitum non factum,
consubstantialiẽ Patri,*

PER QUEM OMNIA FACTA SUNT.

*Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de cœlis et
incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine et HOMO FACTUS EST.*

CRUCIFIXUS etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est.

⁷ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, VII-XVIII (Lietzmann, *Symbole*, 19).

⁸ F. Kattenbusch, *Das Apolostische Symbol* (Leipzig, 1894), I, 233-244.

⁹ The Pauline expression "one Spirit" is

wanting in the wording of our symbol, but it is found in its antecedent, the symbol of Jerusalem: εἰς ἓν ἄγριον πνεῦμα (Lietzmann, *Symbole*, 19) as well as in the recension which is used in the Syrian liturgy (Hanssens, III, 298).

Et RESURREXIT TERTIA DIE secundum Scripturas, ET ASCENDIT IN CŒLUM, SEDET AD DEXTERAM PATRIS ET ITERUM VENTURUS EST CUM GLORIA IUDICARE VIVOS ET MORTUOS, CUIUS REGNI NON ERIT FINIS.

ET IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM, dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur, QUI LOCUTUS EST PER PROPHETAS.

ET UNAM SANCTAM CATHOLICAM et apostolicam ECCLESIAM.

Confiteor UNUM BAPTISMA IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM.

Et exspecto RESURRECTIONEM mortuorum ET VITAM venturi sæculi. Amen.¹⁰

The character of this symbol is distinguished by one trait—its theological clarity. While in our Apostles' Creed the faith is asserted simply and forthrightly, in this by contrast we have a theological and polemical profession aimed at giving orthodoxy a clear exposition.¹¹ Still, after comparing this with other oriental forms of the symbol, we come to recognize the fact that but a few of the phrases are the result of the struggles of the fourth century. In the christological section these are the words *Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum, consubstantialiem Patri*, words with which the Council of Nicea had countered the heresy of Arius.¹² All the other statements circumscribing the divinity of Christ are found in the baptismal confessions, and even where they are wanting in that of Jerusalem, they are contained in the more ancient one of Eusebius of Cæsarea (d. 340), who for his part was never suspected of having gone too far in any opposition to the Arians.¹³ But in contrast to this, all the older baptismal professions contained only one assertion regarding the Holy Ghost: *Qui locutus est per prophetas*. Everything else was occasioned by the struggle against the Macedonians who drew the conclusions inherent in the Arian doctrine of the Logos and denied also the divinity of the Holy Ghost. Still the more complete profession regarding the Holy Ghost in its present-day wording appeared (as we can see above), in the symbol of St. Epiphanius even before the solemn condemnation of this heresy which took place at the Council of Constantinople (381).¹⁴

Even aside from these additions which were first incorporated in opposition to heresy,¹⁵ there still remains in this Mass *Credo*, compared with

¹⁰ The text as found in Epiphanius is printed in small capitals; the parts already attested by Cyril of Jerusalem are in italics.

No account is taken of those additions in Epiphanius or Cyril which have not survived in the received version.

¹¹ Capelle, *Le Credo*, 173.

¹² Denzinger-Umberg, n. 54.

¹³ Lietzmann, *Symbole*, 18; in Eusebius also the phrase: *Deum de Deo*.

¹⁴ Macedonius was already condemned in 360 at a synod in Constantinople.

¹⁵ The form which is basic to all oriental symbols is reconstructed by H. Lietzmann as follows: "I believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty, the Creator of everything visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was born from the Father before all eons, through whom all was made, who for our salvation's sake

the extreme terseness of our Apostles' Creed, a notable wealth of statement which serves not so much to oppose heresy as rather to unfold the contents of our faith. In the very first assertion about "God the Creator of heaven and earth," the creation is described by a second double phrase "of all things visible and invisible."

But in this basic text one point is given special prominence, the divinity of Christ. In its kerygma of Christ, our Apostles' Creed also goes into detail regarding the mystery of the person of our Lord whom it introduces as the only-begotten Son of God; He was born of the Virgin Mary, conceived by the Holy Ghost. But these assertions refer immediately to His human nature, even if its wonderful origin suggests His godhead. The oriental *Credo*, however, adverts at once expressly to the eternal divinity of the Logos: "Born of the Father before all ages, God of God, light of light, through whom all things were made." Only the last phrase is taken word for word from St. John (1:3), but in the rest we can detect the tone of his language.¹⁶ The additions which the Nicene Creed here embodies, expressing with inexorable lucidity the uncreated divinity of Christ and His essential unity with the Father, dovetail easily with the rest even stylistically, despite the unavoidable abstractness of the ideas. They round out the profession of faith into a tiny hymn.

The additional assertions which describe the entrance of the Logos into the world and His assumption of a human nature from the Virgin wind up the picture of the mysterious person of the Redeemer. One significant feature is the prominence given here to the work of salvation: "for us men and for our salvation came down down from heaven." Rightly does this article become the center and turning point of the whole creed. In His mercy God wanted it that way, and so the inconceivable became a reality. We therefore fall upon our knees at the words *Et incarnatus est*, in awe of the mystery.¹⁷ Some of the grandest creations of ecclesiastical music have

became man, suffered and rose again on the third day and ascended into the heavens and will come again in majesty to judge the living and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost." H. Lietzmann, "Apostolikum," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2nd ed.,) (1927), I, 445.

¹⁶ For the expression $\phi\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \phi\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ cf. Justin, *Dial.*, c. 61 (PG, VI, 616 A).

¹⁷ This genuflection is mentioned as being done by many, in Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), *De canonum observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 141 f.), but it is opposed by him as a novelty. However it is already mentioned in Durandus, IV, 25, 10. Reference to it also occurs in the Statutes of the Carthusians: Martène, I, 4, XXV

(I, 632 C); with them, however, even today, the celebrant himself here only kisses the altar: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 18.

A decision of Peter of Cluny (d. 1156) calls the genuflection at the singing of the words *et homo factus est* a custom which *longo iam usu* is observed almost everywhere (PL, CLXXXIX, 1027). As a matter of fact it is assumed in the *Liber usuum* Θ . *Cist.*, c. 56 (PL, CLXVI, 1431). The Premonstratensians, too, followed the practice already towards the end of the 12th century (Lefèvre, 21). In this case the genuflection was later lengthened out up to the words *et sepultus est*, as is still done at present (Waefelghem, 121, note O). This use of a genu-

here made the devout offering of their greatest endeavor, in the effort to help us conceive the meaning of that tremendous descent of the Son of God from heaven to bring peace to earth.

After the mystery of the person of the God-man is thus sketched out, the *Credo* turns to His work, which is again clearly designated in two steps: first the lowly path of pain and the cross and the grave (with a stressing of *pro nobis*), then the victorious surge of His Resurrection "according to the Scriptures," which even in the Old Testament had announced the concluding triumph of the Messiah,¹⁸ His return to the glory of His Father, His judgment, and His kingdom without end, as these were already foretold in the message of the angel.¹⁹

The third section of the symbol surveys the fruit which has become ours as a result of the work of redemption. In various texts of the ancient Church the first thing mentioned in this connection is the Holy Ghost, who is poured out over the believing congregation.²⁰ This concept is likewise to be supposed in the basic form of our symbol. That He had already spoken through the prophets²¹ was the start of His activity. Its completion is the bestowal of the new life, as is added in the later supplement to the older text of the symbol.²² This supplement also takes into account His divinity; He is the Lord.²³ He proceeds from the Father and from the Son.²⁴ Right-

flection therefore obviously originated as early as the 11th century.

¹⁸ The expression *secundum Scripturas*, as well as the words that follow, *qui locutus est per prophetas*, corresponds to the era of the Apologists of the 2-3rd century who were very much concerned to show the agreement between the acts of our Saviour and the prophecies of the Old Testament. Cf. J. Creyghton, *Credo* (Hertogenbosch, 1941), 25-27.

¹⁹ Luke 1: 33.

²⁰ Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 178 f.

²¹ This characterization of the Holy Ghost recurs frequently even in the 2nd century, especially in Irenæus, e.g. *Epid.*, c. 42; J. Brinktrine, "Beiträge zur Entstehung und Geschichte des Credo," *Eph. liturg.*, XLII (1928), 48-58.

²² The expression *ζωοποιός* goes back to John 6: 63; 1 Cor. 15: 45; 2 Cor. 3: 6. It is found early in Egypt (Brinktrine, "Beiträge," 52 f.) and also in Syria. Here is the wording at the bottom of the newly-discovered Catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428): *Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν* (the Church follows);

A. Rücker, *Ritus baptismi et missæ quem descripsit Theodorus ep. Mopsuestenus* (Münster, 1933), 43 f.

²³ The Greek word *κύριον* which corresponds to the Latin *Dominum* seems to be meant as an adjective, like the preceding *ζωοποιόν*. It would then mean something like "divine". Brinktrine, "Beiträge," 51, explains the insertion of the words as resting on the formula *Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς κύριος*. But cf. the phrase in the *Athanasianum*: *Dominus Pater, dominus Filius, dominus Spiritus Sanctus*.

²⁴ The *Filioque*, which corresponds to a theological confession already discussed in Augustine, was incorporated into the symbol in Spanish territories in the 5th or 6th century. Still there were Latin versions which did not contain this addition, and they were widely circulated. Even Leo III (d. 816) disapproved (for disciplinary reasons) its insertion. The Greeks opposed it since Photius (869), claiming it to be heretical. Since the 11th century, however, it had a firm place in the Latin text of the *Credo*. E. Krebs, "Filioque," *LThK*, III, 1039 f.

fully is He given in the doxology the same adoration and the same honor as the other two.²⁸ The series of predication seems to have been dictated mainly by certain formal considerations, as the Greek text indicates more clearly.²⁹

After the mention of the Holy Ghost there follows in nearly all the creeds—and here, too—the mention of the Church which is inspired and vitalized by His activity. It is one, as God is one, and as Christ is one. This one Church, to which we pledge ourselves, is holy, because it is filled by the Holy Ghost³⁰; it is catholic, because it stands open to all peoples³¹; it is apostolic, because it rests on the foundation of the Apostles.³² The Church transfers its own life to its children by means of the sacraments. Baptism, mentioned in the creed, stands for all the others which are based on it. In fact Confirmation and the Eucharist are linked with it. Its wonderful efficacy in taking away sin was mentioned by our Lord Himself amongst the basic elements of the glad tidings.³³ A prospect of our final transformation to the likeness of the Risen One in the resurrection from the dead and in the life of eons to come—with this the creed concludes. The outpouring of the Spirit, holy Church, sacrament, glorious resurrection—that is the way by which the new creation and the new creature reach their perfection.

This symbol was in use at Constantinople as a baptismal creed formula. Here on Good Friday it was also pronounced at public worship while the bishop catechized the candidates for Baptism.³⁴ The same historian who

According to W. M. Peitz, *Das vorexphesinische Symbol der Papstkanzlei* (Rome, 1939), 46-50, a formula of the confession of the Roman Church which is preserved in the *Liber diurnus* (PL, CV, 57 f.) must have contained the *Filioque* even before 400 (57 A).

It might be noted that Greek Catholics need not insert the phrase in their traditional liturgical symbol.

²⁸ The συνδοξαζόμενον obviously goes back above all to a form of the doxology which gained ground since the middle of the 4th century: (Christus) μεθ' οὗ σοι ἡ δόξα σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, by which the older δι' οὗ... ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι was supplanted. It was directed against the heresy of the Arians and the Macedonians. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 158 f., 162 ff.

²⁹ First three adjectives, τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, then the fuller statements. Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 113.

²⁹ This connection is visibly intimated in the older form of the Roman symbol: Καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν. Lietzmann, *Symbol*, 10. "Holy" is here the only qualifying word for Church, a word for which there is also other very early evidence.

³⁰ F. Kattenbusch, *Das Apolostische Symbol* (Leipzig, 1900), II, 922 ff.

³¹ This attribute of the Church is first found in Egypt at the start of the 4th century, apparently confined in the beginning to congregations founded by the Apostles. Brinktrine, "Beiträge," 56.

³² Luke 24: 47; cf. Acts 2: 38; 10: 43; 13: 38; 26: 18.

³³ Thus still today in the Byzantine liturgy. At Rome too, from the time of the Byzantine ascendancy on, the Niceno-Constantinopolitanum was for a long time used at the Easter baptismal rites, and provision was made for its being recited in both Latin and Greek. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 301.

mentions this³² also records that Timotheus, the Patriarch of this city (511-517), a man whose thinking was tainted with Monophysitism, was the first to order the symbol recited at every Mass. He did this in order to put his Catholic predecessors to shame and to emphasize his own zeal for the truth.³³ This example was soon aped everywhere in the Orient. Thus the symbol attained a place in every Mass in all the oriental liturgies.³⁴ Usually it was the Niceno-Constantinopolitan that was thus taken up,³⁵ but not without a number of rather significant variants.³⁶ However, it is not placed right after the Gospel,³⁷ but only after the Prayer of the Faithful and the Great Entry, either before or after the kiss of peace—a location that makes it less a conclusion to the fore-Mass than rather a foundation and start for the sacrifice.³⁸ Since the symbol was restricted by the *disciplina arcani*, it is not by chance that the dismissal of the catechumens (the formula for which has retained its ancient place in most rites of the East) had to precede.³⁹

The symbol is, as a rule, spoken by the people—thus in the Egyptian liturgies and mostly also in the Byzantine.⁴⁰ Or it is spoken by a representative of the people.⁴¹ But it is never said by the priest,⁴² and it is never sung.⁴³ In most of the oriental liturgies—but not in all⁴⁴—the communion

³² Theodorus Lector, *Hist. eccl. Fragm.*, II, 32 (PG, LXXXVI, 201).

³³ The account that, a generation earlier, Petrus Fullo (476-488), Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, had given such an order, is also found in the same historian's book (II, 48; PG, LXXXVI, 209), but appears to be a later interpolation and without historical value; Capelle, *Le Credo*, 174 f. Still it must be observed that Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 3, 7 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 305 f.), talks about the use of the symbol at Mass; it must therefore have been current in Syria at latest about 515.

³⁴ Hanssens, III, 293-308.

³⁵ One exception is the East Syrian liturgy which uses an ancient Syrian baptismal symbol, the same as that attested by Theodore of Mopsuestia (cf. note 22 above). Also in the Ethiopian Mass a special symbol is used in part. Hanssens, III, 295 f.

³⁶ Hanssens, III, 297-299.

³⁷ Outside the later Armenian liturgy, which is influenced by the Roman; Hanssens, III, 303.

³⁸ The same place was occupied, it seems by the so-called *Mystagogia*, a symbol-

like outline of the teachings of faith with special emphasis on the Easter mystery. It is handed down in a somewhat different version in Egyptian and Syrian sources, among them the *Testamentum Domini* (I, 28), and was to be said on the highest feast-days after the departure of the catechumens *ante oblationem, ante sanctam liturgiam*. Text with parallels in Quasten, *Monument.*, 242-249.

³⁹ In the Byzantine Mass the symbol was preceded in addition by a special warning: *Τὰς θύρας, τὰς θύρας!* Brightman, 383.

⁴⁰ Brightman, 162, 226, 383.

⁴¹ Some of the editions of the Byzantine liturgy assign the symbol to the lector. Thus also it is said by a lector in the Byzantine-Slavic liturgy of the uniat Ukrainians. At the court of the Byzantine Patriarchs the Great Logothet was the chief of the laity permitted to recite the symbol during the liturgy. K. Lübeck, *Die Christlichen Kirchen des Orients* (Kempten, 1911), 65.

⁴² Outside the Syrian liturgies. Hanssens, III, 294.

⁴³ Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 174.

⁴⁴ Except, that is, in the Byzantine and the Jacobite liturgies. Hanssens, III, 297 f.

of all the faithful is given expression by means of the plural form: we believe, we profess. It is also usually heralded by a call from the deacon.

In the same century in which the Niceno-Constantinopolitanum was for the first time admitted into the Mass in the Orient, it appears also in a similar employ in Spain, a portion of whose coastline was under Byzantine domination. When in 589 King Reccared and his Visigoths renounced Arianism, they made their profession of faith in this creed and it was then ordered said by all the people at every Mass right before the *Pater noster* so that, before the Body and Blood of the Lord were received, the hearts of all might be purified by faith.⁴⁶ Thus the symbol here shares in the function of the *Pater noster* as a prayer of preparation for Communion; this was the position it also held, in passing, in the Byzantine Mass,⁴⁷ and still holds today in the rite of Communion for the sick.

Two centuries later the creed also makes an appearance in France, just about the time that a reaction was setting in against the last offshoot of christological error, the Adoptionism of the Spanish bishops Elipandus and Felix who had been condemned at various synods since 792. It must have been about this time that Charlemagne introduced the symbol in his palace chapel at Aachen.⁴⁸ Various indications point to the theory that the custom came to the Irish from the Spaniards, and was by them carried to the Anglo-Saxons and so, through Alcuin, the custom reached Aachen.⁴⁹ In Aachen the symbol was sung after the Gospel. Charlemagne obtained the consent of Pope Leo III to his innovation, perhaps with the subsequent restriction to leave out the *Filioque*. But the custom took long to spread. Of the Carolingian sources of the ninth century a few mention it, others appear to know nothing about it.⁵⁰ Not till the next century did it become general in the North. When the emperor Henry II came to Rome in 1014 he was surprised that at Rome the *Credo* was lacking in the Mass. The Roman clerics explained to him that the Roman Church had never been

⁴⁶ C. 2 (Mansi, IX, 993).

This place also in the present Mozarabic Mass of the *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 556 f.). The priest here sings: *Fidem quam corde credimus, ore autem dicamus*, and lifts the Body of the Lord aloft so that it can be seen by all the people. Then the choir begins: *Credimus in unum Deum*. The text shows several variants from ours.

⁴⁷ The pertinent decree of Emperor Justin II (d. 578) is transmitted to us by John of Biclaro, *Chron.* (PL, LXXII, 863 B); cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 153, note 64.

⁴⁸ Capelle, *Le Credo*, 178 f. But a new translation was used, one which probably

stems from Paulinus of Aquileia. It is more careful than that in the *Missale mixtum*; B. Capelle, "L'origine anti-adoptionniste de notre texte du symbole de la messe," *Recherches de théol. ancienne et médiévale* (1929), I, 7-20. Regarding textual variants see Fiala, 221.

⁴⁹ B. Capelle, "Alcuin et l'histoire du symbole de la messe," *Recherches de théol. ancienne et médiévale* (1934), VI, 249-260. Remaining doubts indicated by Th. Klauser, *JL*, XIV (1938), 453 f.

⁵⁰ The illustrations in Capelle, *Le Credo*, 180 f. What Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, CXIV, 947), says about the spread of the *Credo* is, to say the least, inexact; Capelle, 178.

disturbed by error and therefore had no reason to profess the *Credo* so often. However the pope, Benedict VIII, gave in to the emperor's importunings.⁶⁰ Still an instruction must have issued from Rome, restricting the *Credo* to Sundays and to those feasts of which mention is made in the symbol.⁶¹ As such the feasts of our Lord from Christmas to Pentecost are named, those of the Blessed Virgin, of the Apostles,⁶² of All Saints and the Dedication of a Church.⁶³ The principle of selection, namely, *quorum in symbolo fit mentio*,⁶⁴ recurs regularly in the liturgical commentators of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁶⁵ Gradually, however, other regulations were adopted till, with Burchard of Strassburg, the present-day rule came into being, according to which only the feasts of martyrs, virgins and confessors are without a *Credo*.⁶⁶ Of the confessors, the Doctors of the Church—whose number, before Pius V, was restricted to the "Four great Doctors" (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great)—took a place next to the Apostles as outstanding heralds of the faith to whom a *Credo* was due. And even the feast days of the other saints had the creed when they were celebrated with special solemnity. The *Credo* was thus conceived simply as a means of enhancing the festivity.⁶⁷

Our *Credo* was therefore originally a profession of faith at Baptism; one vestige of this, in the draft of the creed as we know it, is the singular in the formula: *credo*. Just as before Baptism, so here, too, it is the individual

⁶⁰ As an immediate witness we have Abbot Berno of Reichenau, *De quibusdam rebus ad missæ officium spectantibus*, c. 2 (PL, CXLII, 1060 f.): The pope ordered *ut ad publicam missam illud decantarent*. Many have thought that the *Credo* must have belonged to the Mass much earlier; among them Mabillon; more recently F. Probst, *Die abendländische Messe* (Münster, 1896), 129; Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 103; cf. also Fortescue, *The Mass*, 288. But this is a misunderstanding; Capelle, *Le Credo*, 180 and note 25. *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 972), cannot be considered as evidence since this *Ordo* is not Roman.

However, the *Credo* does seem to have been in use at Beneventum in the 8th century. From here it went to Aachen; this is the opinion of R. J. Hesbert, "L'Antiphonale missarum de l'ancien rit bénéventain," *Eph. liturg.*, LII (1938), 36-40.

⁶¹ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 46 (PL, CLI, 1011 f.), and contemporaneously in the Missal of St. Thierry (11th century); Capelle, 181 f.

⁶² Because of the *apostolica Ecclesia*; Durandus, IV, 25, 13.

⁶³ All Saints' was accounted a feast of dedication and therefore of the church; Durandus, *loc. cit.*

A very extensive list is presented in the Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 202).

⁶⁴ John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 40 (PL, CCII, 49).

⁶⁵ In some details the interpretations were at variance, thus in regard to the Evangelists. Some wanted to allow John the Baptist a *Credo* because he was "more than a prophet" (cf.: *qui locutus est per prophetas*). For the angels the words *creatores coeli* were made to do, for Mary Magdalen the fact that she was *apostola apostolorum*; Durandus, IV, 25, 13. Cf. also Radulph de Rivo, *De can. observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 141).

⁶⁶ Capelle, *Le Credo*, 183.

⁶⁷ Thus today three titles are taken into account as reason for the *Credo*, namely *mysterium*, *doctrina*, *solemnitas*. Gihl, 529-533. For details see Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, I, 11 (I, 111-118).

who professes his faith. But it is also a profession influenced by the war against the christological heresies. Because of these its statements were augmented, and it was set up as a barrier against them even in the celebration of Mass, first of all in those lands which had become the battleground. By the subsequent restriction to certain days—days which show a certain internal relation to the contents of the symbol—a middle way was found between the early almost belligerent affirmation of the right belief and the calm inwardness of prayer to almighty God—a solution which in a certain sense bespeaks the peace which the Roman Church has continued to maintain, ever vigilant for the purity of faith, yet never permitting the movement of prayer and worship to be disturbed by loud protests against heresy. Thus the creed, the profession of faith, is simply the conclusion of the reading service, the joyous “yes” of the faithful to the message they have received. Even when viewed in its systematic setting, the creed is an organic extension of the line begun in the readings. Just as the sermon is joined to the lessons on certain occasions to further the teaching of God’s word through His Church, so on appointed days the catechetical and theological formulation of that teaching is likewise annexed. And so the profession of faith forms a solemn entrance-gate to the Mass of the Faithful.

The *Credo* was introduced into the Mass as the avowal of the whole believing congregation. Necessarily, then, it ought to be spoken by the whole congregation. In the East this was as a general rule always maintained, and at the start also in Spain. In France, too, the same idea was kept in mind—the priest intoned the creed⁵⁸ while standing at the center of the altar⁵⁹; and the people carried it through to the end. Bishop Herard of Tours, in 858, lists the *credulitas* along with *Sanctus* and *Kyrie* as texts to be sung devoutly by all.⁶⁰ More unequivocal is a decree of Bishop Walter of Orleans, of the year 871.⁶¹ The Mass commentators of the period also ascribe the *Credo* to the people,⁶² and even at a much later time it con-

⁵⁸ This intonation takes the place of the invitation which is elsewhere customary; see note 45 above. The accompanying gesture, spreading, lifting and folding the hands, is exacted (as for the *Gloria*) in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 238). Cf. Durandus, IV, 25, 4, who also mentions the sign of the Cross at the close.

⁵⁹ While, according to the Roman rite, the *Credo* is recited by the priest in its entirety at the center of the altar, in the Dominican rite the priest returns to the Gospel side after intoning the creed and continues it there. But the *Et incarnatus est*, like the start, is said at the

center; *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 18. This movement seems to be a late medieval custom, since the Dominican Missal of the 13th century in Legg, *Tracts*, 77, and the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 238) do not contain it.

⁶⁰ See *supra*, p. 343, note 53.

⁶¹ *Ut Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto et Credo in unum Deum apud omnes in missa decantetur*. Martène, I, 4, 5, 10 (I, 383 A).

⁶² Amalar, *Expositio* of 813-14, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 163 (= Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 152): *Postquam Christus locutus est populo suo fas est ut dulcius et intentius profiteatur credulitatem*

tinued in many places to be entrusted to them.⁶⁴

When one considers how much trouble must have been taken during the era of the Carolingian reform to teach the people to recite the simple Apostles' Creed in the vernacular, it is easy to imagine what results were achieved with the much longer—and still Latin!—*Credo* in the Mass. A practicable way out—a solution which agrees with that followed sometimes in the Orient—was to have the faithful recite the symbol they knew. This seems to have been tried in northern France during the twelfth century,⁶⁵ but whether or not the vernacular was used is not certain.⁶⁶ At any rate the attempt was not very widespread at that time, though nowadays the practice is again being introduced in many places in the dialogue Mass.

The difficulty of having the people perform the *Credo* was all the greater when—contrary to the practice usual in the Orient—the words were to be sung.⁶⁷ True, *Credo*-songs played a conspicuous role in vernacular singing,⁶⁸ but right now we are concerned with the Latin text of the symbol.

suam. . . Sicque convenit populum post evangelium, quia Christi verba audivit, intentionem credulitatis suae præclaro ore proferre. The same in *Ecloga* (PL, CV, 1323); cf. also *Expositio 'Missa pro multis'*, ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 36.

⁶⁴ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 82, 1. 14): *Ab universis sc. clero et populo communiter decantetur.*

In France it is still occasionally sung by all the people, a special melody being used in this case.

⁶⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, CLXII, 550 B): *Post evangelium proficitur Ecclesia fidem suam cantando symbolum Apostolicum.* Still the term *Apostolicum* is not unambiguous. In the *Missa Illyrica* it stands for our Mass creed; Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 505 D); cf. Ebner, 80, note. But it is striking that the Apostle's Creed is actually marked with neum signs in certain MSS. (St. Gall, Rheinau, Winchester); it is therefore intended for singing, but the words are in Greek, with Latin letters; Wagner, I, 102, note 5. It therefore belongs obviously in the series of Greek Mass chants which were mentioned *supra*, p. 91, note 79.

⁶⁶ As is often done in the Orient; see Raes, *Introductio*, 215, 218.

⁶⁷ This cannot be concluded from the oc-

casional use of the word *cantare*, but it does seem inherent in Amalar's *dulcius* (cf. note 62 above), and more especially in the phrase of Walafrid Strabo (*De exord.*, c. 22; see note 49 above) who is patently trying to explain an existing practice by the hypothesis that the Greeks had brought our symbol in *cantilena dulcedinem*.

⁶⁸ For Germany Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272) mentions with praise the practice he found in several places where the people joined the *Credo* in *unum* by singing a German song which he cites as follows: *Ich gloube an den Vater, ich gloube an den Sun miner frouwen sant Marien, und an den Heiligen Geist. Kyrieleys.* Berthold von Regensburg, *Predigten*, ed. Pfeiffer, I, 498.

The pre-Reformation hymn, "Wir glauben all' an einem Gott", must have had the same purpose. W. Bäumker, *Das kath. deutsche Kirchenlied*, I (Freiburg, 1886), 683-688. Here we must also mention the report that the people sang *Kyrie eleison* while the clergy said the *Credo*; Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 19 (PL, CLXXII, 550); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 113); Durandus, IV, 25, 14. This probably refers to *Credo*-songs which used *Kyrie eleison* as a refrain—in other words, simply *leis*, as they were called.

It is not surprising to find that even in the tenth century the performance of the *Credo* was turned over to the clergy who formed the choir at high Mass. This transfer was especially easy since the *Credo* was at that time apparently considered a substitute for the sermon.⁶⁶ But the choir was then retained even independently of this.⁶⁷

Even so the chant at first remained in the simplest forms of a syllabic recitation. In addition, in many churches objection was raised to performing the *Credo* in two choruses, since everyone had to profess the entire creed.⁶⁸ In contrast to the other chants of the Ordinary the manuscripts and even the early printed copies seldom contain more than a single tune, the ancient recitative.⁶⁹ The Gregorian melodies remained generally plain; the melodies included in the present *Graduale Vaticanum* show this clearly. How different, once the *Credo* was set to polyphony. Often it became the show-piece amongst the chants of the Ordinary. In fact, because of its broad presentation and because of the musical unfolding of its inexhaustible contents, it has attained such an importance in the full course of the Mass that it leaves the eucharistic prayer (which, in its design, is much akin to it) quite in shadow. For the sacerdotal eucharistic prayer has much the same aim: to survey, in the form of a thanksgiving, the achievements of the divine plan of salvation which we grasp by faith. So true is this that words like *prædicatio*, *contestatio* and even ἐξομολόγησις appear as names for this prayer,⁷⁰ names which could only be applied to a profession of faith; just as, contrariwise, the profession of faith itself is sometimes designated an εὐχαριστία.⁷¹ And so true is this, that the older formulations of the eucharistic prayer are distinguished in little from a profession of faith.⁷² Because the text of the prayer of thanksgiving is kept plain and simple in the Roman Mass, the *Credo* has taken on an even

⁶⁶ *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 992): *Sin autem episcopus prædicare noluerit, alta voce incipiat canere: 'Credo in unum Deum,' et ita omnis chorus incipiens 'Patrem omnipotentem ad finem usque perducatur.*

⁶⁷ Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 19 (PL, CLXXII, 550 C): *clerus.*

For Rome: *Ordo Rom. XI* (City of Rome, circa 1140), n. 20 (PL, LXXVIII, 1033): *basilicarii* = clergy of the particular basilica; Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 52 (PL, CCXVII, 830: at the papal high Mass the *subdiacones*, who are distinguished from the *cantores* (= *schola*).

⁷⁰ De Moléon, 167. At Sens, for similar reasons, the organ was excluded (*ibid.*). This is expressly ordered in 1583 by the

Synod of Bordeaux (Hardouin, X, 1340 D).

The same is reported of other churches in Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 217 f.

⁷¹ Wagner, I, 105.

⁷² Cf. *infra*.

⁷³ Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 3, 7 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 305 f.).

⁷⁴ On the intrinsic relationship between the creed and the eucharistic prayer, F. Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte* (Tübingen, 1870), 47 f., 208 f., was the first to remark (giving examples from Novatian, *De Trinitate*, c. 8); see also Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol*, II, 347-353. Further references in Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 194, note 5. Most impressively is this relationship seen in the *Eucharistia* of Hippolytus of Rome; see *supra*, p. 28 f.

greater importance. In the reawakening of all those concepts of our faith which center on Christ's life-work, in that reawakening with which every celebration of the Eucharist must begin, that reawakening which is the prime purpose of the whole reading service, that reawakening to which the anamnesis after the consecration recurs in a short and hurried word—in that reawakening the *Credo* has become a main element.

On the other hand, in tracing this tremendous growth of the *Credo* we encounter—very early, at that—the phenomena that manifest fatigue, the attempts to counterbalance the musical expansion by cutting down the text.⁷⁶ It is an abuse that is to be found frequently enough even today where small choirs try to emulate bigger and more capable groups; in fact, it is an abuse that is almost unavoidable when small choruses pretend to do a many-voiced *Credo* that is beyond their power. But it is a practice that the Congregation of Sacred Rites has repeatedly condemned.⁷⁸ In any case the plain recitation of the creed by the whole congregation, as is done in the dialogue Mass, is far more in harmony with the original design of the *Credo* and with its place in the plan of the Mass-liturgy, far more in harmony than such and similar residua of a musical culture that is past.

9. The Dismissals

With the *Credo*, which we have for the moment surveyed, we have strictly speaking gone out of the sphere of the Mass of the Catechumens; for the symbol is a hallowed formula, matter only for the faithful. However, it got its place at a time when there was no longer a question of the *disciplina arcani*, and one merely felt its close, intimate connection with the Gospel. But now, as we return to that early period during which there still existed a sharp boundary between the Mass of the Catechumens and the Mass of the Faithful, we must direct our attention to those forms which were attached to that boundary-line, and of which several remnants still exist.

It was always self-evident and (thanks be to God) still is for the most part even today, that a Christian instruction, a catechesis and a common reading from the Bible are concluded with a prayer. Therefore prayer had also to follow the readings and the instructions of the fore-Mass. And all the less could people forego a special prayer when the fore-Mass was felt to be an independent entity. Actually the prayer of the entire congregation at this spot we find already attested in the oldest accounts. The prayer that was supposed to be said here, however, coincided with the dismissal

⁷⁶ Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 105, tells of one late medieval MS. of St. Gall (Cod. 546) in which several *Credo* melodies close with *et homo factus est. Amen*,

while another skips from *et homo factus est* to *Confiteor unum baptisma*.

⁷⁸ The decrees in Eisenhofer, II, 126. Especially SRC 3827 ad II.

of those whose presence at the further course of the holy sacrifice did not seem permissible. For the instructional service did not form a part of the introduction into the Christian world of faith for the catechumens alone; heretics as well as pagans were admitted as guests in the hope that many would in this way find the path to the faith.¹ After the instructional service, however, they had to leave the congregation. The celebration of the Eucharist was the exclusive privilege of the children of the house. This conception was not a result of the *disciplina arcana*, which first came into existence in the third century and was in full force for only a comparatively short time²; rather it was the simple expression of a sound Christian feeling, that at least the most sacred possession of the Church ought not be presented to the eyes and ears of all. This conception did not lose ground till the beginning of modern times, as a result of the conditions of a divided Christendom.³

Then the question arose, whether these participants of the fore-Mass who were not of the same class as the rest, should be given a part in the community prayer, or whether they were to be dismissed beforehand. When the catechumens had their usual instruction this had to be concluded with a prayer, according to a third-century law. But a prayer said together with the faithful—that was to be avoided.⁴ Their common prayer would be looked upon as a strange, coarse and debasing admixture in the prayer of the Church—an idea which somehow continued effectual even later on.⁵ Nevertheless several solutions were possible. These participants could be let go after the readings without prayer or any further ado, or they could be permitted to say a certain prayer right at the beginning of the series of community prayers that followed, or they could be allowed to stay at least till that part of the prayer of the Church⁶ where, according to an estab-

¹ This reason explicit in the Council of Valence (524), can. 1 (Mansi, VIII, 620); cf. also p. 443 *supra*. The most famous example is Augustine, who listened to St. Ambrose while he was still only an inquirer.

² J. P. Kirsch, "Arkandisziplin," LThK, I, 652 f.; O. Perler, "Arkandisziplin," RAC, I (1943), 667-676.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 234.

The same reasons are behind the antagonistic reactions of rectors of churches towards photographers at solemn church functions.

⁴ Hippolytus of Rome, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 29).

⁵ See the arrangement in the liturgy which Chrysostom explains: even when prayer is said for the catechumens, only the faithful are invited, for the catechumens themselves are still ἀλλότριτοι; only at the

last petitions of the deacon are they also invited to rise and, presumably, to answer with Κύριε ἐλέησον; Chrysostom, *In II Cor. hom.*, 2, 5 (PG, LXI, 399-404). When, on the contrary, prayer was said for the ἐνεργοῦμενοι, this latter invitation was omitted; for it was not fitting (οὐ θέμις), that they should pray at the assembly of the brethren. *De incompr. Dei nat. hom.*, 3, 7 (PG, XLVIII, 727).

In a similar vein Hippolytus of Rome stresses the fact that the kiss which follows the prayer should not be exchanged with catechumens, "for their kiss is not yet pure." (Dix, 29)

⁶ Some few liturgical monuments show that the presence of the catechumens was permitted during all of the General Prayer of the church; see the ecclesiastical *Canones* of Sahidic transmission, c. 64 f. (Brightman, 462, 1. 6; cf. 461,

lished procedure, the faithful would pray for them and their own act of prayer could then be inserted here.

The first solution, a rather cold one, seems to have been employed in early times.⁷

In the prime of the catechumenate at Antioch,⁸ the second solution was taken as a basis. It was so arranged that when the readings and sermon were over, the people were summoned to pray for those who had to leave, that is, to add their *κύριε ἐλέησον* to the series of supplications which the deacon pronounced for them and during which these persons lay stretched on the floor. Then they were summoned to rise and bow for the blessing which the bishop in solemn prayer bestowed on them. Only then were they asked to leave. During St. Chrysostom's time an independent prayer-act of this sort was devoted to the catechumens, the energumens⁹ and the public penitents.¹⁰ The Apostolic Constitutions (belonging to the same area) inserted before the public penitents, as a particular class, the candidates for Baptism who were undergoing their last preparation (*φωτιζόμενοι*).¹¹ Each one of these groups, when it had received the blessing of the celebrant, in the manner previously stated, was summoned by a call from the deacon

1. 22), the *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 273 f.) and also the present East Syrian liturgy (Brightman, 267). The old Gallican Mass might also belong to this class; see note 24 below. The simple presence of a repeated warning before the start of the Eucharistic prayer (cf. *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 2) would naturally be no proof that catechumens were actually allowed to remain till this moment.

⁷ This is the explanation given by Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 104, for Justin's silence.

⁸ For Egypt compare the *Euchologion* of Serapion, n. 3 f. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 51 f.), where the prayer for the catechumens is preceded only by a prayer closing the homily.

⁹ Cf. *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 7, 2 (Funk, I, 480 f.; Quasten, *Mon.*, 202): *ἐνεργούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων*, possessed in the widest sense, obviously including specified sicknesses which were thought to be due to Satan's special influence; cf. the paraphrase in Chrysostom, *De incompr. Dei nat hom.*, 4, 4 (PG, XLVIII, 733); he called them *δαμονώντας καὶ μόντα τῇ πονερᾷ κατεχομένους*. Regarding the judgment of epilepsy in Christian antiquity and the exclusion of epileptics and possessed from oblation and Communion,

see the studies of F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, IV (1934), 95-137.

¹⁰ Brightman, 471 f., 477 f.

¹¹ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 6-9 (Funk, I, 478-488; Quasten, *Mon.*, 199-206). Here the first thing is the call to each group for (silent) prayer: *Εὐξασθε οἱ κατηχοούμενοι*, but the *κύριε ἐλέησον* is here said by the faithful for them. After the oration of benediction by the bishop, the invitation is given each time: *Προέλθετε οἱ κατηχοούμενοι* etc. Besides the four classes named, and preceding them, the same document also mentions the *ἀκροούμενοι*. The first call of the deacon reads as follows: *Μή τις τῶν ἀκροουμένων, μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων* (VIII, 6, 2; cf. 12, 2). The *ἀκροούμενοι* receive no special act of prayer. They are the non-obligatory audience whose presence was merely tolerated. But that the term had a particular meaning—this despite the remark of Funk, I, 478 f.—can be gathered from the fact that in the organization of the classes of penitents in the Orient the second stage of the full ecclesiastical penitence (i.e. that after the *πρόσκλησις*) in the promotion passed to the degree of the *ἀκροούμενοι*. E. Schwartz, *Bussstufen und Katechumenatsklassen* (Strassburg, 1911), 37 ff.

to leave: (Προέλθετε οἱ κατηχούμενοι, Ἀπολύεσθε οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ. After all these had been dismissed the doors were closed¹² and the formal Prayer of the Faithful in the narrower sense followed.

However, in the majority of the liturgies with which we are familiar, the third solution was chosen, namely the insertion of a procedure like the above in the place where prayers were usually said for these respective groups.¹³ Moreover, outside the Syrian ambit,¹⁴ only catechumens and penitents were taken into consideration already at an earlier period,¹⁵ and in many provinces of the church, even of the East,¹⁶ and almost commonly in the West, only the catechumens came under consideration, since as a rule public penitents (who after all were baptized) were permitted to remain during the sacrifice.¹⁷ True, they were only allowed to remain there as mute spectators, and not till at the end of Mass was a blessing (at least for a time) devoted to them.

The rite of this dismissal was of a form similar to the one at Antioch, although it did not always possess such solemn pageantry as there. It was essential that a blessing with prayer be imparted to the group concerned; this was often done by the celebrant's laying his hands on each one individually.¹⁸ With this was conjoined the deacon's cry for dismissal: Go,

¹² Brightman, 316, 1. 7; 478; 1. 6; 531, 1.3.

¹³ Cf. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 106 f.

¹⁴ For Syria there is evidence in Chrysostom (p. 476 *supra*), as well as in Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 3, § 6 f. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 301 ff.) and later in Jacob of Edessa (see note 18 below), of a dismissal of catechumens, energumens and penitents.

¹⁵ Thus in Asia Minor, according to a decree of the Council of Laodicea (4th century); Brightman, 518.

¹⁶ Only a dismissal of catechumens is attested by the *Euchologion* of Serapion, n. 3 f. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 51 f.) and in the Pilgrimage of Aethria, c. 24 ff. (CSEL, XXXIX, 71 ff.).

¹⁷ H. Koch, "Die Büsserentlassung in der alten abendländischen Kirche," *Theol. Quartalschr.*, LXXXII (1900), 481-534; Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 7 f.

There is one exception to take into account, namely can. 29 of Epaon (517; Mansi, VIII, 562), according to which penitents were to leave with the catechumens.

It is possible, too, that the prayer for penitents which the Spanish *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 307 A) indicates

before the Offertory at the ferial Masses of Lent might be the remnant of such a dismissal of penitents; cf. Borella (see note 22 below), 85, 89. Regarding the formula transmitted by St. Gregory the Great: *Si quis non communicat, det locum*, which most (e.g. Batiffol, Borella) interpret as prime evidence for the exclusion of penitents at the start of the sacrifice even at Rome, cf. below, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 8.

¹⁸ Cf. Council of Laodicea, can. 19 (Brightman, 518, 1. 34): After prayer has been offered for them, the catechumens go to the celebrant ὑπὸ χεῖρα.

Jacob of Edessa depicts the same rite, but notes that about that time, 703, it was already a thing of the past (in Brightman, 490): "[After the prayer over the catechumens] the deacon calls loudly: 'Go, catechumens,' that is, they should present themselves under the hands of the bishop or presbyter, receive the laying-on of hands and depart." The same procedure here for the energumens and penitents. Because of this regular laying-on of hands, which under no circumstance could take place within the Mass, it is said in the Orient of a certain

catechumens! In this consisted the *missa catechumenorum*.¹⁹

With the disappearance of the catechumenate the corresponding dismissals had naturally to be omitted or at least contracted. In the Byzantine Mass alone not only is the cry of dismissal retained—and this is a four-fold phrase!²⁰—but even the prayer for the catechumens (as a second prayer after the Gospel) is still continued today. In the West and particularly in the sphere of the Roman liturgy, as we shall see more in detail, even the prayer of the congregation in this place has been sharply curtailed. In Rome it had completely disappeared, even in an early period, perhaps at a time when there were still catechumens. So the prayer for them, too, was dropped in the ordinary service.²¹

Elsewhere corresponding forms survived somewhat longer.²² As a matter of fact a formal dismissal of the catechumens right after the reading service, in which the celebrating bishop had a share, is reported in Milan, Gaul, Spain and North Africa.²³ The *Expositio* of the Gallican liturgy (a work of the seventh century) still makes particular mention of a prayer for the people, and of one for the catechumens after the readings and the sermon. Both prayers were performed by “Levites” and priests; that is, in form of a litany-like alternating prayer and a collect following. The deacon’s voice directed the catechumens and finally called upon them to go.²⁴ The

group of penitents that they are *sub manus impositione*; cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinische Bussriten*, 308 and in the index s.v. “Handauflegung.”

¹⁹ For the expression see Jungmann, *Ge-wordene Liturgie*, 38; cf. *supra*, p. 261, note 1.

²⁰ Ὅσοι κατηχοῦμενοι προέλθετε· οἱ κατηχοῦμενοι προέλθετε· ὅσοι κατηχοῦμενοι προέλθετε· μῆτις τῶν κατηχομένων! Brightman, 375.

Before the *Credo* the call of the deacon resounds once more: τὰς θύρας, τὰς θύρας! Brightman, 383, 1. 3. Other liturgies also have a call of dismissal. In the Armenian liturgy the penitents are also named. See the survey in Hanssens, III, 265 f.

²¹ That at the beginning of the prayer which follows the readings a prayer was spoken for the catechumens, is clear from the testimony of Felix II (483-492), *Ep.*, 7, al. 13 (PL, LVIII, 925 C; Thiel, 263) who decrees as a penance for certain clerics who had done wrong by rebaptizing: *nec orationi non modo fidelium sed ne catechumenorum (quidem) omnimodis interesse*. This *oratio catechumenorum* therefore must at that time have

been arranged within the framework of the Mass somewhat differently than in today’s Good Friday prayers.

²² P. Borella, “La ‘missa’ o ‘dimissio catechumenorum’ nelle liturgie occidentali,” *Eph. liturg.*, LIII (1939), 60-110.

²³ Borella, 63-67.

²⁴ *Expositio ant. lit. gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 16 f.): *Caticuminum ergo diaconus ideo calmat iuxta antiquum Ecclesiæ ritum ut tam Judæi quam hæretici vel pagani instructi . . . audirent consilium Veteris et Novi Testamenti, postea deprecarent pro illis levitæ, diceret sacerdos collectam post precem, exirent postea foris*. An *ostiarium* then had the duty of seeing *ne quis retardaretur in templo*. The author makes it clear that in his day the rite was little more than a mystery.

The doubt that hinders some from recognizing here a second prayer besides the preceding *pro populo* (Borella, 88 f.) is not right at all. In the Orient, too, as seen above, pp. 475, 477, there was a previous prayer of the Church which was definitely not the “Prayer of the Faithful” in the narrowest sense.

Upper-Italian churches had a similar rite for dismissing the catechumens with prayer. It was employed with certain individual acts of preparation for Baptism. That it was also used at the end of Mass we know to be true only about Milan, where the twelfth-century documents still prescribe the rite for the Sundays in Lent.²⁵

Even in the various acts of preparation for Baptism, Rome did not have any such solemn dismissal. The scrutinies which the candidates for Baptism had to undergo during the course of Lent did indeed contain exorcisms, layings-on of hands, and priestly blessings. But even (for instance) after the solemn sharing of Gospel, symbol and Our Father, in the great scrutiny of the *aurium apertio*, the conclusion did not contain any further blessing, but simply the cry of the deacon: *Catechumeni recedant. Si quis catechumenus est recedat. Omnes catechumeni exeant foras*.²⁶ This manner of dismissal was used in cathedrals along with the complete rite of the scrutinies until the very end of the Middle Ages²⁷; within the Mass on the days during Lent it occurred at first before the Gospel²⁸ then, from the great scrutiny on, after it, but only on the few occasions which were kept for this.²⁹ For it seems that according to Roman regulations the catechumens, as a closed group, did not appear regularly at the usual divine service even in more ancient times. Formulas similar to the previously mentioned Roman ones were also used in other churches in requesting withdrawal.³⁰

A somewhat enlarged cry for dismissal was customary on solemn occasions in various parts of Italy. It was used not only on Holy Saturday before the consecration of the baptismal water, but also (at least in Milan, it would seem) within the Mass, namely, when the bishop confided the *Credo* to the candidates for Baptism, after the Gospel on the evening before Palm Sunday.³¹ In this case it is meant for the sacred text of the symbol which came under the *disciplina arcani*. The six-fold cry of the deacon, which was solemnly sung like our *Ite missa est*³² and the individual phrases of which were repeated by a second deacon or a subdeacon, was as follows:

²⁵ Borella, 90 ff.; cf. 71. The candidates for Baptism receive the following call for silent prayer: *Orate competentes, cervicem flectite!* Then they were to stand upright and again bow for the blessing. Finally the deacon cries out: *Procedant competentes!* and acolytes repeat the call. M. Magistretti, *Manuale Ambrosianum* (Milan, 1904), II, 123 f.

²⁶ *Ordo Rom. VII*, n. 6; (PL, LXXXVIII, 998 f.) and the parallels.

²⁷ Eisenhofer, II, 255; see the examples in Martène, I, 1, 12 (I, 89 ff.).

²⁸ Cf. p. 443, *supra*.

²⁹ The Roman basic text of the older

Sacramentarium Gelasianum (6th century) presupposes only three scrutinies, on the 3rd, 4th and 5th Sundays of Lent; the Frankish recension reckons seven. The great scrutiny was still held at Bamberg as late as 1631. Eisenhofer, II, 250-255.

³⁰ Borella, 96 f.

Isidore, *Etymol.*, VI, 19 (PL, LXXXII, 252) reports the formula: *Si quis catechumenus remansit, exeat foras*. It was used before the beginning of the sacrifice.

³¹ Borella, 104.

³² Editions of the traditional melodies are noted in Borella, 107, note 166.

Si quis catechumenus est, procedat!
Si quis hæreticus est, procedat!
Si quis Judæus est, procedat!
Si quis paganus est, procedat!
Si quis Arianus est, procedat!
*Cuius cura non est, procedat!*³³

Considering the wide circulation of this last formula, from Milan and Aquileia to Beneventum and Bari, it is not difficult to conclude that Rome was, if not the point of origin, at least a point of intersection. Still the formula must have gone out of use here quite early, because Roman documents make no mention of it.

10. The General Prayer of the Church

Just as the readings of the fore-Mass were everywhere the most excellent form of the reading service, so the prayer which followed upon it—apart from the *eucharistia*—was from ancient times regarded as the most excellent prayer, *the* prayer, simply, of the Church. Its importance became clear already in the earliest accounts. After the sermon by the bishop (here is the description of Sunday service as given by Justin) “we all stand up and recite prayers.”¹ These prayers of the assembled brethren are the first in which the neophyte takes part. In them prayer is said “for ourselves, for the neophyte, and for all others everywhere.”² Prayer “after the delivery of the homily” is a common term in the third and fourth century in Egypt.³ Later on we meet the prayer after the readings in all the liturgies of the East. In the West it is plainly indicated by Hippolytus⁴; besides, Cyprian clearly refers to it when he speaks of the *Communis oratio*.⁵ In Augustine’s time a large number of sermons ended with the

³³ Borella, 98 ff. First published by J. M. Tommasi; see Tommasi-Vezzosi, *Opp.*, VII, 9 ff.

When at Milan and elsewhere on the occasion mentioned this formula was used to dismiss those catechumens who were not yet *competentes*, these latter had to have a special dismissal within the Mass itself, after the *traditio symboli*. This was done after a prayer of benediction, the formula being a repeated and somewhat varied *Competentes secedant*. Borella, 103 f.

Ibid., 103; 105 f. are found vastly enlarged variants of the formula of dismissal given above, among them one from Aquileia of nine members which

were spoken by priest and deacon together; each time there followed a response from the choir which affirmed: *Nec quis Arianus est*, etc.

¹ Justin, *Apol.* I, 67.

² *Ibid.*, 65.

³ *Euchologion* of Serapion, n. 2. Further citations in Quasten, *Mon.*, 50, note 2.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 393, note 14.

⁵ Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 8 (CSEL, III, 271). Cf. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon*, 13. Further information from Cyprian in Fortescue, *The Mass*, 45.

The expression *communis oratio* for the prayer under consideration is certain in Augustine, *Ep.*, 55, 18, 34 (CSEL, XXXIV, 209; cf. Roetzer, 115).

formula: *Conversi ad Dominum*,⁸ that is to say, common prayer followed upon the sermon, and during it, as was always customary, the congregation turned towards the East.⁷ In the beginning this prayer was antiphonally recited by celebrant and congregation, a practice that remained in the Roman liturgy and partly in the Egyptian. The bishop led, by first inviting to prayer; then recited his own portion and the congregation answered.⁸ Then as time went on, the deacon, who at first only announced short directions, began to take a more prominent place in most liturgies.⁹ By the end of the fourth century he took over the invitation to prayer, the announcing of the special intentions which combined into a litany (*ektene*¹⁰ or *synapte*,)¹¹ and to which the congregation answered with the *Kyrie eleison* or some other similar invocation; only then did the celebrant start to pray.¹²

In the Roman liturgy, in which the older and simpler form was preserved, this general prayer is still in use once a year, on Good Friday. Even in the eighth century this practice was still customary also at least on the Wednesday of Holy Week.¹³ It is a well-grounded hypothesis that in these Good Friday prayers, whose echo goes back to the first century,¹⁴ we have

⁸ See the passages in Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 331, note 4 f.

Further illustrations from Augustine for the prayer at this part of the Mass in Roetzer, 113-115.

⁷ Dölger, 331-333. Standing turned towards the sun is also accentuated in the Apostolic Constitutions, II, 57, 14 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 184 along with the notes). In so doing the hands were raised and stretched out in the attitude of prayer; Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 100.

⁸ Baumstark, 100 f. Here you will find many details regarding the development which we can only briefly hint at in the following sketch.

⁹ In Rome and Egypt: *Flectamus genua. Levate*, insofar as these calls come under consideration; cf. *supra*, p. 367 f. This gradually increasing prominence given to the deacon is evidenced, so Baumstark thinks, *loc. cit.*, in the *Aetheria Peregrinatio*, c. 24, where the deacon appears as leader in prayer only at Vespers, but not yet at Mass.

¹⁰ From *ἐκτενής* = "extended, stretched out," with the undertone: intent, earnest.

¹¹ *συνάπτη* = joined, united.

¹² Cf. *supra*, p. 366 f.

¹³ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 28 (PL, LXXVIII, 950). The *orationes sollemnes*, as they

are here called, are at any rate on this day also separated from the Mass which follows some hours later, just as on Good Friday they are disjoined from the following rite by a pause; the fore-Mass is therefore treated as an independent unit.

¹⁴ Clement I, *Ad Corinth.*, c. 59-61: "We beseech thee, O Lord, be our helper and provide for us; save those of us who are in tribulation; take pity on the oppressed, raise up those that have fallen, reveal thyself to those who beg, heal the sick, lead those of thy people who have gone astray once more into the right path. Feed the hungry, deliver those in prison, bring health to the sick, and comfort to the faint-hearted. Let all peoples recognize that thou art the only God and that Jesus Christ is thy servant and that we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture. . . . Yea, Lord, make thy face to shine upon us for our well-being and our peace, so that we may be protected by thy strong hand and guarded against every sin by thy mighty arm, and save us from those who hate us groundlessly. Give unity and peace to us and to all who dwell on earth, as thou didst give them to our fathers when they called upon thee devoutly with faith and sincerity. Let us be obedient to thy all-

the general prayer of the Roman Church in the exact wording in which it was performed after the readings and the homily in the Roman congregation at their regular services since the third century.¹⁶ The petitions that are here offered in nine parts: for the church, for the pope, for the assembled clergy, for the ruler, for the catechumens, for all who are in straits and in danger, for the heretics and schismatics, for the Jews and for the heathens, show up, except for the last two mentioned, and for occasional different groupings, in the general church prayer of other liturgies.

Still in the eastern liturgies, and especially in the litanies introduced by the deacon, which correspond to the invitations to prayer in the Roman Good Friday prayers, numerous other petitions are mentioned, and here they are answered by a supplication of the people. Peace on earth, prosperity in the field, the country or the city or the monastery, the sick, the poor, widows and orphans, travelers, benefactors of the poor and of the Church, eternal rest for the dead, forgiveness for sinners, an untroubled life, a Christian death—these are the intentions recommended to prayer. In the Egyptian liturgies the proper rising of the Nile and beneficial rains are not forgotten. The respective prayers of the celebrant are mostly kept

dominant and powerful name and to our rulers and princes on earth. . . . Grant them, O Lord, health, concord, peace and stability, that they may exercise unhindered the authority with which thou hast entrusted them . . . so that they may piously exercise in peace and meekness the authority which thou hast granted them, and may participate in thy grace. . . . Who alone hast power to give these and more good things, thee we praise through the high priest and protector of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and majesty to thee now and from generation to generation, forever and ever. Amen."

It might be noted that the identification of the Good Friday prayers with the ancient general prayer, proposed by Msgr. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* 172-173, was disputed by E. Bishop, "Kyrie eleison," *Downside Review*, XVIII (1899), 294-303, but Bishop's view is hardly sustained.

¹⁶ For the great antiquity of the Good Friday orations preserved today and already extant in the oldest sacramentaries, Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 20 f., refers to the naming of *confessores* after the series of clerics: the prayer belongs to the period of persecution, when those

who suffered for the faith were given the honors and rights of clerics; cf. Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 18 f.).

From the 5th century we have the evidence of the *Indiculus*, which is transmitted to us as an appendix to a letter of Celestine I on the Pelagian heresy, and which is traced back to Prosper of Aquitaine (M. Cappuyns, *Revue Bénédict.*, 1929, 156-170). Here, in c. 11 (PL, L, 535; Denziger-Umbert, *Enchiridion*, n. 139) which contains the famous sentence: *ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*, to bolster an argument for the necessity of grace, reference is made to the prayer of the Church (*obsecrationes sacerdotales*), which was handed down from the Apostles and is in use throughout the world: the bishops pray therein *tota secum Ecclesia congemiscente* for unbelievers, idolaters, Jews, heretics, schismatics, penitents, catechumens. Echoes of the traditional text are not recognizable in this reference, as in the mention of the prayer for the Jews: *ablato cordis velamine*. Felix II (483-492) likewise testifies to the existence of such a prayer (*supra*, p. 478, note 21); here, however, the *oratio catechumenorum* must have stood right at the beginning.

Cf. Kennedy, 29-32.

on more general terms. They follow the pattern of invocations spoken by deacon and people, but bunch several of them together and thus give the course of the prayer its divisions. Usually three such parts are noticed. In Egypt the ending of the general prayer said after the dismissal of the catechumens, "the Prayer of the Faithful"—the only portion that has survived—still retains the name of "the three," αἱ τρεῖς; in it prayer is offered for the peace of the Church, for the bishop and clergy, for the entire Church and for the worshippers present.¹⁶ Opposed to this, the Byzantine liturgy distinguishes only a first and a second prayer of the faithful, the contents of which very early underwent quite a process of change.¹⁷

In the other eastern liturgies, the retrogressive evolution ended up with only one such prayer form, made up of the diaconal litany and the celebrant's prayer,¹⁸ similar in structure to the type handed down from older times, though with richer developments.¹⁹ Finally, the East also has the one instance to prove that almost the last trace of the former general prayer of the Church has disappeared.²⁰

This is also the case in our Roman Mass as we know it since the sixth century. After the Gospel or the *Credo*, it is true, the priest addresses himself to the congregation with the usual greeting, and adds the invitation to pray: *Oremus*. But he himself then reads out of the missal the text of the offertory which the choir immediately begins. Nor is any form of prayer anywhere indicated for the congregation.²¹ In the oldest sacramentaries and *ordos*, which hand down this isolated invocation, no other prayer follows except the *oratio super oblata*, our *secretæ*. There is nothing to keep us from recognizing in the secret the corresponding prayer of the priest. For the *oratio super oblata* was at that time spoken, as we shall see, in a loud voice just like the other orations. Likewise it is patterned as a prayer

¹⁶ Brightman, 121 f., 160 f., 223 ff.

"Three prayers" of the faithful were appointed by the Synod of Laodicea, can. 19, of which the first was spoken διὰ σιωπῆς, the second and third διὰ προσηνῆσεως, that is, in the second and third, but not in the first, the deacon was to "call out" to the people the individual prayers in the manner of the *ektenes*. Brightman, 519 f.

The North-African liturgy of Augustine also appoints the prayer in three members: for the unbelievers, for the catechumens, for the faithful; Roetzer, 113-115.

¹⁷ Brightman, 316 f., 375 f. The prayers of the celebrant in the 9th century have both times as object the worthy service at the altar; the related short synapte of the deacon, on the other hand, prays in

a general way for "protection, help, mercy and shelter." One is forced to conclude that in the homogeneous εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς, which follows (Brightman, 319 f., 380 f.), in reality εὐχὴ πιστῶν γ' is to be found, all the more since the litany expressly enters as a continuation of what precedes: πληρώσωμεν τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν.

¹⁸ Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 38-40) and Armenian liturgy (*ibid.*, 428-430).

¹⁹ Liturgy of the West Syrian Jacobites (Brightman, 80 f.); cf. Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 107.

²⁰ *Const. Ap.* VIII, 10 f.

²¹ The silent prayers of the Offertory do not come into consideration as an explanation of the isolated *Oremus*, since they are all much more recent.

said in the name of the congregation, just as the other orations are, and therefore it requires, no less than these, an introductory invitation to pray and a greeting. Both these elements are present at the offertory, only separated from the oration by a pause. But even the pause involves nothing surprising. It is a time for the prayer by the people, though not announced by a *Flectamus genua*, since in the stricter compass of the sacrifice a bending of the knee, according to ancient modes, is not to be thought of.²² That is the explanation for the lone *Oremus*.

The only thing standing in the way of our recognizing in this formula the ancient concluding oration of the faithful is that in content the prayer is simply and indubitably an *oratio super oblata*. But this need not surprise us. For even in the Byzantine liturgy we noted the same process of change, indeed in two instances at least, namely, in the "first" and the "second" prayer of the faithful. But while here prior to the dismissal of the catechumens a first section of the general prayer of the Church remained unshortened, viz., the fervent *ektene* with the corresponding prayer of the priest, nothing corresponding to it was kept in the Roman liturgy. This almost complete disregard of the Roman Mass for the general prayer of the Church ties in with the fact in its place some substitution was or would be made: in the intercessory prayers that meanwhile found entrance within the canon, and also in the *Kyrie*-litany which begins to emerge at the start of the Mass simultaneously with the disappearance of the prayer of the Church.²³ Probably the general prayer of the Church no longer had (if it ever had) the same extent in connection with the sacrifice which it showed when it was the conclusion of an independent prayer service. And therefore very probably the offertory procession was inserted a long time ago in the pause after the last *Oremus*,²⁴ and correspondingly also the content of the oration was newly devised. What preceded was at last naturally dropped.²⁵

Nevertheless there are traces still to be found of the foregoing prayer of the Church. With a certain regularity the Gelasian Sacramentary—and partly also the Leonine—has an addition to the present-day pattern of one oration (our collect) preceding the *oratio super oblata* (our secret); instead we find not one but two, both having the same form and both of a similar general character. Several conjectures have been made about this twofold prayer.²⁶ We will be nearest to the truth if we assume that the sec-

²² See *supra*, p. 368.

²³ See *supra*, p. 336 ff.

²⁴ The consciousness of this still survives in Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 114 B): While among the Greeks prayer follows at this spot, amongst us the *oblato* of the people precedes (*præcedit*).

The intervention of a different rite in a prayer-pause is repeated elsewhere,

e.g., in the ordination liturgy in regard to the laying-on of hands.

²⁵ In some instances the *Oremus* was omitted; it is missing in the Wolfenbüttel MS. of *Ordo Rom. I* (Stapper, 22) and in *Ordo Rom. III*, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 980).

²⁶ According to Baumstark, *Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten* (JL, 1927), 6 f., and *Missale Romanum*, 29, these two

ond oration was to be said after the Gospel, and if we see in it a parallel with the *oratio super sindonem*, which follows the Gospel in the Milanese Mass.²⁷ Even in the earlier Roman liturgy we occasionally find examples of an *oratio post evangelium*,²⁸ innovations such as could arise at a time which no longer coupled the secret with the *Oremus*, but which had a living realization that a real closing prayer should follow the readings. Still such an intermediary oration did not survive. The secret in the Roman Missal remained the only formula in which, in place of the former general prayer of the Church between readings and sacrifice, the priest takes up the prayer according to the style and language of the orations. And when in it the *preces populi* are often explicitly mentioned alongside of the *oblaciones* which are presented to God, we can see here the traces of the prayer of the faithful which formed a lower level over which was laid the thought of the offertory.

Besides all this we still have to dwell on a special evolution of the old prayer of the faithful, a development in the territory of the early Gallican liturgy, within the frame of the Roman Mass, though not in the Roman Missal. Gallican traditions here proved very tenacious.

In the year 517 a council of Lyons mentions the *oratio plebis*.²⁹ What this was we learn more precisely when the exposition of the Gallican Mass in the seventh century speaks of *preces* after the homily which the Levites

orations correspond to the two pre-Gospel readings. Similarly P. Alfonso, *L'Euchologia romana antica* (Subiaco, 1931), 131, 135. But notice that the instances which come to mind of two orations preceding the two pre-Gospel readings in the present-day *Missale Romanum*, among them those on the Ember Wednesdays, do not represent the original arrangement and plan; Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio" (ZkTh, 1936), 520 f.

²⁷ Thus, among others, Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary* (1894), p. LXXIV, note 1; A. Wilmart in his new edition of E. Bishop, *Le génie de Rit Romain* (Paris, 1920).

In the Milanese liturgy each Mass has, besides the orations corresponding to our collect, secret and post-communion, a proper oration *super sindonem*; it is preceded, as is the *oratio super oblata* (= secret) by the *Dominus vobiscum*. The designation *super sindonem* is derived from the moment in which it is said; cf. the "prayer of the chalice-cover" in the West-Syrian anaphoras, which Jacob of Edessa considers as developing from the

third member of the prayer of the faithful; Hanssens, III, 332 f. Regarding the function of the *oratio super sindonem* there is little clarity; see Borella (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 94, who rejects the opinion that it is in reality the closing prayer of the dismissal of the catechumens, and rightly believes it is a development from the *oratio fidelium*.

A different view is taken by V. L. Kennedy: "The two collects of the Gelasian," *Miscellanea Mohlberg* (1948), I, 183-188.

²⁸ In the Mass book fragments from lower Italy edited by A. Dold (see *supra*, p. 395, note 16) the Mass formularies regularly have, between Gospel and Offertory, an *oratio post evangelium*; see Dold, p. XXX f. It is obviously of secondary development; cf. the remarks on this in ZkTh, LIX (1935), 320.

Within the *Ordo Missæ* in a mid-Italian sacramentary of the 11th century there is an *oratio post evangelium*, but its contents have taken over the thoughts regarding the oblation and remind one of the *apologia*; Ebner, 298.

²⁹ Can. 6 (Mansi, VIII, 370).

solemnly recited for the people and in which the priests made intercession for the sins of the people.³⁰ There is reference here apparently to a single litany spoken by the deacon or deacons with a collect following *post pre- cem*. Under this name, the contemporary Gothic Missal also actually contained a corresponding formula for the priest for Christmas and Easter services.³¹ Likewise examples of the litany of the people are preserved in certain texts in which the Gallican material has been fitted to the Roman: in the Irish Stowe Missal,³² where each of the petitions is followed, after the Gallican manner, by the people's response, *Oremus te, Domine, exaudi et miserere* or *præsta, Domine, præsta*,³³ and in the Freiburg Pontifical of the ninth century,³⁴ where the schema of the litany of All Saints forms the groundwork.

When in the eighth century the Frankish Church turned to using the Roman liturgy and found in the newly received forms no palpable traces of the erstwhile general prayer of the Church, there must have been some repercussions also here in Frankish territory in regard to this prayer. For what now appear are either remnants of an old tradition or even products obviously created in an untimely attempt to achieve new forms.

It was a matter of preserving old relics in those various cases in which, after the readings and the sermon, we find the people repeating the *Kyrie eleison*. But the meaning of this isolated *Kyrie eleison*, still found today in the Milanese liturgy,³⁵ was unclear already in the height of the Middle Ages. The people repeated the cry of *Kyrie*, not only after the clergy had recited the symbol but even during its recitation, and it was explained as signifying among other things a praise of God for the faith received.³⁶ Then here and there the *Kyrie* turned into a *Leis*, the German hymn which is

³⁰ *Expositio* (ed. Quasten, 16): *Preces vero psallere levitas pro populo ab origine libri Mosiaci duxit exordium ut . . . levitæ pro populo deprecantur et sacerdotes prostrati ante Dominum pro peccatis populi intercedant*. There follows the prayer act for the catechumens; see *supra*, p. 478 f.

³¹ Muratori, II, 520.

The intercessions are emphasized to some extent only in the Christmas formula. Notice that in the Gallican Mass the reading of the names still follows, along with a pertinent *collectio post nomina*, in which most often prayers are said expressly for the living and for the dead. For the Gallican formulas from the Leofric Missal, see note 39 below.

³² Warner (HBS, 32), 6 f. That the litany here stands before the Gospel is naturally something secondary. A parallel case is to be seen in the Abyssinian Mass where the

initial portion of the general prayer of the Church today likewise precedes the Gospel; Brightman, 216, 1. 31; cf. 210 f. and resp. 150 f.

³³ Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 12 f.

³⁴ Metzger, *Zwei karolingische Pontifikalien vom Oberrhein*, p. 68*-70*. The introductory rubric says: *tempore ieiunii aut in aliis statutis diebus recitantur quando missa celebratur*. Within the Mass at this time the only spot that could be considered is after the readings.

³⁵ *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), p. 167: After the reading of the Gospel there follows *Dominus vobiscum* and three times *Kyrie eleison*. Thus already in the oldest sources of the Milan liturgy.

³⁶ Durandus, IV, 25, 14.

Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 19 (PL, CLXXII, 550 C), interprets as a promise to observe the teaching of the Gospel the *Kyrie eleison* which the people

to be found in many places since the twelfth century at the close of the sermon.³⁷ But alongside of all this, new forms sprang up, the basic pattern of which is seen in Regino of Prüm (d. 915). On Sundays and feast days after the sermon the priest is to recommend to the faithful a general prayer for various needs: for the rulers, for the heads of the churches, for peace, against plagues, for the sick, and for the departed. The people were to recite quietly an Our Father each time, while the priest recited the corresponding Latin oration.³⁸ The votive Masses of the Gelasian Sacramentary offered the priest a sufficient supply of such orations. Other orations survived from the Gallican liturgy, as the Leofric Missal indicates.³⁹

In many French-speaking dioceses the tradition of Regino has been preserved to this day with remarkable purity in the so-called *prières du prône*. Their wording, while keeping to the basic structure, varies in different places. A form very widespread today has the following outline⁴⁰: After

sing at the same time that the clergy say the *Credo*; cf. *supra*, p. 472, note 67. The fact that this *Kyrie* accompanies the creed (*symbolo cantato ante et dum cantatur*) is also attested by Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 4 (PL, CCXIII, 113 D).

³⁷ Cf. A. Linsenmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland* (Munich, 1886), 142 f.

³⁸ Regino of Prüm, *De syno. causis*, c. 190 (PL, CXXXII, 224 f.): . . . *in quibus singillatim precibus plebs orationem Dominicam sub silentio dicat, sacerdos vero orationes ad hoc pertinentes per singulas admonitiones sollempniter explicat. Post hæc sacra celebratur oblatio*. Regino's careful wording hardly confirms the theory maintained by H. v. Schubert, *Kirchengeschichte des Frühmittelalters* (Tübingen, 1921), 654, that the entire intercessory prayer was said in German. Regino obviously has in mind a plan similar to the Roman arrangement for Good Friday. Certainly the silent *Vater-unser* corresponds to the pause (then still customary) after the *Flectamus genua* (see *supra*, p. 369 f.). The oration that followed would be in Latin. But one can not maintain this for the preceding *admonitio*; see the conditions in the French and English tradition, note 43 f. below.

³⁹ F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford, 1883), 207 f. In this Mass book

(9-10th century), from either Lotharingia or the Rhine, there is, outside a Mass formulary and without any special designation (being thrown in among various formularies), a remarkable group of four orations of which the third, by its closing formula, betrays the Gallican origin which would otherwise be recognized from the vocabulary and its temper. The titles of the individual formulas indicate the contents only imperfectly: *Oratio pro familiaris* (a prayer for benefactors, relatives, for those recommended to our prayers, *vel qui nobis eleemosinarum suarum redditus erogaverunt*), *Oratio pro omni populo catholico* (for the king and his family, for believers and unbelievers), *Oratio generalis pro omni populo* (for all princes and leaders, for the clergy and the monasteries, for married people and children, for sinners, for the poor and oppressed, for all our departed *quorum nomina tu scis*), *Oratio in agenda mortuorum* (for the deceased *quorum et quarum nomina commendata sunt nobis*, with several further specifications).

⁴⁰ According to the text in G. Lefebvre, O.S.B., *Missel-Vespéral romain* (Lophem-lez-Bruges, 1923), 77-79. Here, to correspond to actual use, there is reference to the text of the "prône" between Gospel and *Credo* in the *Ordo Missæ* (p. 100).

The word "prône" is translated in many modern Latin texts as *pronaos*, ante-chamber, but this is incorrect. The word

an introductory reference to the Sunday and feast-day offering, there is mention first of a list of prayer intentions: for Church and clergy, for secular rulers, for benefactors, for the soldiers of the parish, for the sick and for sinners. Here follows a *Pater* and *Ave* recited in common, or—what must have been the original—Psalm 122, a silent *Pater noster* and, after the corresponding versicles, the Latin oration.⁴ Then follows a second invitation to prayer, this time for the departed. Psalm 129 is recited, the *Requiem æternam*, and again the corresponding oration.⁴ Then follow the announcements for the coming week.

A formula prescribed for a church in Paris shortly before 1300 shows exactly the same design.⁴ A similar order was probably in use in northern France as early as the eleventh century, because it is already found, though somewhat more developed, in England after the Norman conquest,⁴ where-

derives from *præconium*; cf. A. Gastoué, *Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, 12 (1927), 243. The "Announcements" continue to play a great role in the *prône*; cf. the chapter "Du prosne" in G. Grimaud, *La liturgie sacrée* (Paris, 1678), II, 52-58; de Moléon, 418 f.

⁴ The oration for the 22nd Sunday after Pentecost (*Deus noster refugium*) is used.

⁴ *Deus venia largitor*. In both cases only the invitation to prayer is in the vernacular, as this already seems to be assumed in Regino of Prüm.

The same arrangement is found as a *formula pronai singulis Dominicis legenda* in the *Ritualet Parisiense* (Paris, 1839), 433-441, but with a greater extension of the invitation and of the intentions of the first part.

At the present time, when the liturgical movement in France has grown apace, attention has been drawn to this venerable piece of liturgical tradition; cf., e.g., *Etudes de Pastorale liturgique* (Paris, 1944), 279 (G. Chevrot); Pastoral-liturgical Congress of St. Flour: *La Maison-Dieu*, IV (1945), 39 f. (A. M. Roguet and H. Ch. Chery).

⁴ The prayer for the living is introduced by a formula of 18 members, each beginning: *Nous prions Dieu pour*; thereupon follows Ps. 122, with *Kyrie*, *Pater*, versicles and threefold oration. After a later invitation in the vernacular there follows a prayer for the dead, *Pater*

noster, and Ps. 129 (obviously a secondary re-arrangement) with versicle and two orations. A. Gastoué, "Les prières du prône à Paris au 14^e siècle," *Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* (1927), XII, 240-249.

⁴ Manuscript evidence apparently starts only in 1405; see the four texts (bidding prayer, n. II-V) which are reprinted in Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 64-80. They start with the Latin formula: *Deprecemur Deum Patrem omnipotentem pro pace* (or *pro statu*) *et stabilitate sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ (et pro pace terræ)*. Then in three of the four pieces (the fourth, p. 74, shows a condensed, secondary form) there follows a threefold prayer-act: the English exhortation to pray closes each time with the invitation, a *Pater* and an *Ave* (in the second member in two instances: five *Aves*). At the end of the first member, for spiritual and secular authorities, for benefactors of the Church, etc. (remarkable is the naming of those who build roads and bridges, as well as pregnant women), Ps. 66, and after the *Kyrie*, *Pater noster* and several versicles, three orations. At the end of the second member, begging for the intercession of the Mother of God (and in part other intentions), a Marian hymn and after several versicles a Marian oration. At the end of the third member, again for the dead, Ps. 129, and after *Kyrie*, *Pater noster* and versicle the oration *Fidelium*.

as a British text of the "bidding prayer" just prior to the conquest shows a different form.⁴⁵

On German soil, on the contrary, no such well-adorned form was able to unfold. Of course one can still see a trace of the forms of the older traditions in a German formula of the twelfth century in which a long drawn-out invitation to prayer is divided into two parts: for the living and for the dead, and closes both times with the command to raise a "cry."⁴⁶ But for the rest the practice we find from this time on,⁴⁷ is that the priest mentions a fairly long list of prayer intention after the sermon, which usually begin with the temporal and spiritual rulers, but outside of that follows no strict order. Selection, grouping and wording are much interchanged. Even in the same diocese differing practices occur.⁴⁸ The participation of the laity was limited to a high degree and tended gradually to disappear entirely. Maybe in the beginning there was a *Kyrie eleison* by the parish after each part. Nevertheless we meet such a chant usually at the end of the entire list.⁴⁹ But this too faded out.⁵⁰ Towards the end of the Middle Ages we note the practice of inviting the faithful to recite an *Ave*,⁵¹ or a *Pater* and *Ave* after each part.⁵² Later a single *Pater* and *Ave* was recited

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 62 f. The Old English text has four sections, each section closes simply with the exhortation to say the "Our Father." Worthy of note is the emphasis put on the mention of godfather and godmother. In the fourth section, for the dead, the naming of names is presupposed.

The Bede-rolls in English churches contained the list of petitions and the names of those for whom prayer was asked. Details on giving out the bidding-prayers in English cathedrals and parish churches in D. Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, i, chap. 7 (in the edition cited, vol. 2, p. 292); also A. Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England*, 222 ff.

⁴⁶ Linsenmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt*, 143, 145, 146. The term *Ruf* probably refers to songs in the vernacular which developed out of the *Kyrie-eleison*; see *supra*, p. 342 f. and also 472, note 67.

⁴⁷ Honorius Augustod. *Speculum Ecclesiae* (PL, CLXXII, 827-830), produces 13 members, of which each closes with an *Amen* that was probably spoken by the leader. The "Homiliary of the Bishop of Prague" ed. by F. Hecht (Prague, 1863), p. 17, presents a much shorter series which is not so clearly divided. The text in both instances is Latin.

⁴⁸ Cf. the examples from Regensburg mentioned in note 52 below. A more care-

ful study would note distinction in type and typical form-elements. One recurrent introduction is, e.g., this one from the Regensburg *Obsequiale* of 1570 (Beck, 354): "... help me diligently to invoke and pray God the almighty."

⁴⁹ Honorius Augustod., *Speculum Eccl.* (PL, CLXXII, 830): After the preacher has announced the intentions for prayer, he exhorts the faithful: *Nunc, carissimi, corda vestra et manus ad Deum levate, ut pro his omnibus dignetur vos clementer exaudire. . . . Eia nunc preces vestras alta voce ferte ad coelum et cantate in laude Dei: Kyrie eleison.*

⁵⁰ In the homiliary mentioned in note 47 above, the list of intentions is introduced with a formula much like the close of that of Honorius: *Modo, fratres, cum timore Dei levate corda et manus et invocate. . . .* But no mention is made of any formula by which the people could answer. Hecht, 17

⁵¹ According to one MS. from St. Florian about 1480, the petitions were announced in 21 sections, each followed by an *Ave*. K. Eder, *Das Land ob der Enns vor der Glaubensspaltung* (Linz, 1933), 249 f.

⁵² In the "Announcement" from Brandenburg, of 1380, ed. by A. Schönfelder

at the end,⁵³ or once more all noticeable prayer activity of the faithful drops out.⁵⁴

In these circumstances it was indeed a step forward when St. Peter Canisius in 1556-57 wrapped the long list of the current prayer intentions into one single all-embracing and theologically excellent prayer, and began to spread this around. He found sympathy almost everywhere for this idea.⁵⁵ His composition prevails to this day as the "general prayer" of the German dioceses; more than this, it has in many places taken the spot in the divine service which belonged to the ancient general prayer: after the sermon, where Sunday after Sunday it is said by the entire congregation in chorus,⁵⁶ and in places, in fact, it has for a long time been said within the Mass itself.⁵⁷

11. Further Adjuncts to the Sermon

Alongside the General Prayer of the Church, other texts in the course of time were also adjoined to the end of the sermon, but no particular order of succession was ever made standard for them. Some of these have come and gone like the wind, others have at least left a permanent mark. The chief of these additions are the announcements, the formulas for popular catechesis, and the *culpa* or *Offene Schuld* ("open confession").¹

(*Liturg. Zeitschrift*, 1929), 58-62, the *Pater* and *Ave* are expected in six places in the 14-sectional prayers.

Likewise in the "Announcement for Sundays in Parish Churches," written about 1500 at Regensburg (Beck, 274 ff.) a *Pater* and *Ave* are appointed in six of the sections: for spiritual and secular authority, for all believers, especially the sick and oppressed, for each one's wants, for all deceased priests, for all deceased faithful, for deceased members.

The Regensburg *Obsequiale* of 1570 (Beck, 354) has a shorter formula of petition, chiefly prayer for the peace of Christendom and for spiritual and secular authority, and only twice are *Pater* and *Ave* recited.

Practices of this sort have not gone out of use entirely. The announcements in many churches begin or end with a recommendation of the souls of the sick and dead of the parish to the prayers of the congregation.

⁵³ Thus, after a long list of intentions, according to the Basle parish priest John Ulrich Surgent, *Manuale curatorum*

predicandi prebens modum (Strassburg, 1508), fol. 78-79.

⁵⁴ Thus in the plan which R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879), 224 f., presents as the usual phraseology.

⁵⁵ P. F. Saft, "Das 'Allgemeine Gebet' des h. Petrus Kanisius im Wandel der Zeiten," *Zeitschrift f. Ascese u. Mystik*, XIII (1938), 215-223, with a presentation of five different recensions. The original form, published by Canisius in 1560, was still in use in the diocese of Brixen in 1900.

⁵⁶ Thus, e.g., in my own parish of Tauber in Pustertal. From such public use it spread also to private use at night prayer.

⁵⁷ An important attempt to reconstruct the general prayer of the Church along the lines of the Litany, taking into account variations for various feasts and seasons and various needs, is found in the plans projected by J. Guldén, "Fürbittgebete": *Parochia*, ed. by K. Borgmann, 387-408.

¹ R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, 221 ff. The development was in the direction of order and

First of all, the end of the sermon was always considered a good spot—though not the only one—to make the announcements to the people, telling them of the future plans for worship or of other matters of interest to the congregation. Pope Leo the Great (to cite one example) at the end of his Embertide sermon always reminded his hearers of the fast days during the coming Ember week and invited them to attend the vigil on the eve of the next Sunday.² The practice during the late Middle Ages was much the same, detailed explanation being given of the sanctoral calendar for the week following.³ Indeed the custom is still maintained to a great extent at the present.⁴

Secondly, this spot right after the homily, or perhaps even in its place, was usually selected for a modest form of popular catechesis, in accordance with the decrees of Charlemagne. The heart of this catechetical instruction consisted of the Our Father and the Apostles' Creed.⁵ These formulas had to be explained or at least recited with the people.⁶ Often in the course of the Middle Ages the prescription was inculcated anew.⁷ Later, from the

design, so that the many different formulae and prayer activities were gradually reduced to this list (and this order): Announcements, creed, *culpa* (with granting of indulgence), recommendations for prayer, Our Father and Hail Mary. Cruel, 222-225; Linsenmayer, 140 f. Already by the 12th century the creed and *culpa* had been reduced to a single formula. For a different order see note 9 below.

² Leo the Great, *Serm.*, 12, 13 (PL, LIV, 172 f.), *et al.*

Augustine, at the end of his sermon (*Sermo* 3) announces the anniversary of the consecration of the old bishop which would occur the following day and invites all to the basilica of Faustus (Roetzer, 112 f.; further examples here).

Cf. in the later *Gelasianum* (Mohlberg, n. 1460 f.) the formula of the *denuntiatio natalicii unius martyris*.

In an earlier period these announcements took place at Rome just before the Communion of the faithful, therefore before the non-communicants had departed; see below, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 8.

³ See two formulas from Regensburg in Beck, 274, 353. One from Brandenburg (1380) in A. Schönfelder, "Die 'Verkündigung' im mittelalterlichen Gottesdienst," *Liturg. Zeitschrift*, 1 (1929), 58-62.

Cf. Cruel, 227-230, regarding a custom very extended in the 15th century: the village priest would free himself from the duty of preaching a real sermon by making a little announcement about the feast of the saint, filling it out with examples from the legends.

⁴ Cf. F. Schubert, "Die 'Verkündigung'," *Theologie u. Glaube*, XXIV (1932), 736-750, who bemoans the present-day style of announcements, curt as a telegram, and suggests a return to an earlier sacral type especially for the announcements regarding feasts and festal seasons.

⁵ The directions appeared in various capitularies and in episcopal synodal writings; see also Synod of Frankfurt (794), c. 33 (MGH, Cp. I, 77).

P. Göbl, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom Verfall des Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Kempten, 1880), 78 f., 82-84.

⁶ Such an explanation is connected with the Our Father, but not with the symbol in Honorius Augustod., *Speculum Eccl.* (PL, CLXXII, 819-824); likewise in the contemporaneous homiliary of the Bishop of Prague (Hecht, 60 f.).

⁷ Göbl, 82-97.

K. Schrems, *Die religiöse Volks- und Jugendunterweisung in der Diözese Regensburg vom Ausgang des 15. Jh. bis gegen Ende des 18. Jh.* (Munich, 1929),

thirteenth century on, the Ave Maria and the Ten Commandments were added to the materials for catechism,⁸ besides the seven sacraments, and at least several times a year other lists or enumerations, as built up in the systematic instruction of the later Middle Ages,⁹ and finally "Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity"¹⁰ with other allied formulas.

Insofar as prayer-texts were concerned, the saying of these formulas was on the borderline between an impressive repetition and real praying. General prayer and popular catechesis were therefore often intermixed and combined. Here, too, French tradition has maintained a fixed arrangement with clear limits right down to the present.¹¹

Sometime after the year 1000 another act of purification put in an appearance, connected loosely either with the Prayer of the Church or with the catechetical texts. This act, which was to precede all further prayer and the start of the sacrifice itself, was called the "Open Confession" (*Offene Schuld*). It is an expanded *Confiteor* said in the vernacular. The German texts for this are amongst the most ancient monuments of the German language.¹² At first (since the ninth century) they served patently

24 ff., *et al.* (see the Index). Examples from Silesia (13-15th century) in J. Klapper, "Religiöse Volkskunde im gesamtschlesischen Raum," *Volk und Volkstum*, I (Munich, 1936), 75, note 2.

⁸ Thus, e.g., in the formulary of Pastor Surgant, *Manuale*, fol. 79-83. Surgant had in view the prescriptions of the Synod of Basle, 1503; Göbl, 95 f.

⁹ The Regensburg "Announcement" follows up the prayer intentions already mentioned (p. 489, note 62) with Our Father, Hail Mary and creed; then, within the framework of the *culpa*, as possible objects of sin, there follows the enumeration of the Ten Commandments, the nine ways of sharing the sins of others, the eight beautitudes, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven sacraments, the seven deadly sins, the six works of mercy, the five senses, the four sins "crying to heaven for vengeance," the six sins against the Holy Ghost. The same schema in the Brandenburg "Announcement" of 1380, ed. by Schönfelder (*Liturg. Zeitschrift*, 1929), 61 f. Other examples in J. Geffcken, *Der Bilder-catechismus des 15. Jh. und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther* (Leipzig, 1855), 21 f.

¹⁰ For private prayer there are formulas of the theological virtues already in the *Manuale catholicorum* of St. Peter Canisius (1587); see A. Schrott, "Das Gebetbuch" (*ZkTh*, 1937), 215.

By the 17th and 18th centuries they already play a great part in catechisms; J. Hofinger, *Geschichte des Katechismus in Österreich von Canisius bis zur Gegenwart* (Innsbruck, 1937), 195 f, with note; 232 f.

Benedict XIII and Benedict XIV granted indulgences for their use; F. Beringer, *Die Ablässe*, (14th ed., Paderborn, 1915), I, 167 f. In the bull "Etsi tamen" (Feb. 7, 1742) Benedict XIV prescribed them—the acts of the three theological virtues, plus an act of contrition—*intra missarum sollempnia*.

¹¹ Twice a year the *prières du prône* are replaced by the reading of a prescribed section of Christian doctrine.

According to the *Rituale Parisiense* of 1839 (*supra*, p. 488, note 42), the reading of this epitome of doctrine should follow the *prône*.

¹² The more ancient texts, traceable to the 10th century, marked "Beichten" (Confessions) in E. v. Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1916), 309-364.

for the sacramental confession of individuals.¹³ But just as the profession of faith in its original singular form was transferred from the baptismal rite into public worship, so now the formula of acknowledging our sin was transferred from the sacrament of Penance. In this instance, however, the complete sacramental rite was originally united with the formula, at least in a limited way, even at Holy Mass. For after the tenth century it became customary to include all the faithful congregated in church in the rite of the reconciliation of penitents on Holy Thursday. And soon this grew into the practice of granting a similar benefit to the faithful also on other days. Already by the middle of the eleventh century it was the custom in Rhenish churches for the preacher after every sermon¹⁴ to make the faithful raise their hands and confess their faults. Then they pronounced over them the then customary formula of sacramental absolution, a variant of our *Indulgentiam*¹⁵—to which the *Misereatur* was soon prefixed.¹⁶

Of course it was well-known even then that this type of general absolution, without a special individual confession, was not in itself enough for mortal sins; in fact this was inculcated very emphatically.¹⁷ But the practice was so highly treasured that it continued for long even after the sacramental character was denied it (in the period of Scholasticism),¹⁸ and it was no longer performed with sacramental intent.¹⁹ It is even practiced today to some extent,²⁰ but usually only at the end of the Sunday sermon preached outside Mass.

But it is also retained in the solemn pontifical Mass, in the course of which our rite was already taken for granted as a fixed constituent as early

¹³ Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 180.

¹⁴ A German collection of sermons from the 12th century is satisfied with Communion days: *si sit festivitas quod ad corpus Domini aliqui accedere velint*. Linsemayer, 144.

¹⁵ Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 275-295 (General absolutions), especially 279 ff.

¹⁶ In the examples of Steinmeyer, 345-349, it is possible to visualize the following reconstruction: act of faith (creed), followed by a confession of guilt, both in the vernacular. Then *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam*. Then, again in the vernacular, a series of intentions for prayer. Cf. Steinmeyer, 357-361; Also the *Confiteor* and the *allocutio* which follows (a freely worded form of absolution) in the homiliary of the Bishop of Prague (Hecht, 60).

¹⁷ Honorius Augustod., *Speculum Eccl.* (RL, CLXXII; 826 f.; cf. 829 B).

¹⁸ In the Regensburg "Announcement" (*supra*, 489, note 52), at the end of the *culpa* the preacher grants the absolution (*Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam*), then he imposes a penance, to be said during Mass, five *Paters* and seven *Aves*. Beck, 277-281. Similarly at Ingolstadt; see Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 214 f. Pastor Surgent (LXXXV) indicates the same order, but remarks that other preachers (whose practice he opposes) give out the penance before the *Misereatur*.

¹⁹ *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam* are designated as mere blessings in Ph. Hartmann, *Repertorium rituum* (11th ed., Paderborn, 1908), 402.

²⁰ In the Diocese of Brixen even today the *Offene Schuld* after the Sunday sermon as well as in the introduction to service for the dead, is always concluded with *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam*. The

as the twelfth century,²¹ and is still, in a way, taken for granted even today. At present it is merely a substitute for the sacramental absolution after the announcement of the indulgences,²² and the formula of blessing is superadded to that of absolution.²³

What we have here in substance is an attempt—only halfway successful—to find for the faithful here at the start of the sacrifice a counterpart to that preparation and purification which was provided for the celebrant and his assistants at the beginning of the fore-Mass in the *Confiteor* and the prayers accompanying it. Thus an idea which had once been realized in the primitive Church²⁴ once more strove to take tangible shape.

opinion of some Protestant historians that this form of absolution—which they surmise is a substitute for private confession—reaches back to the time of Charlemagne, cannot be sustained; Jungmann, *Die Lateinischen Bussriten*, 291, note 198.

²¹ Even in Rome itself; see the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 82): After the homily *confessio a diacono fit populo. Et episcopus dicit: Misereatur vestri. Cf. Ordo Rom. XI*, n. 20 (PL, LXXVIII, 1033 C): *benedicit*.

²² In the late Middle Ages there was undoubtedly at this spot an announcement of the granting of an indulgence to all those present at the sermon; this was a widespread custom even for the ordinary service; see Linsenmayer, 148 f.

²³ *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 30: after the homily the deacon sings the *Confiteor*; the preacher (see II, 8, 50 and II, 8, 80, the *presbyter assistens*) announces the indulgence of 40 days; the bishop pronounces the absolution, turning to the people: *Precibus et meritis B. M. semper virginis . . . misereatur vestri . . .* then the *Indulgentiam*; finally, with mitre on his

head, the blessing: *Et benedictio Dei omnipotentis. . .*

The same rite already in the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, 639); but the addition of the blessing was here still left to the discretion of the bishop (*si velit*). Similarly, with even more exact rubrics, in the Pontifical of Castellani (1520): Martène, I, 4, 5, 8 (I, 381); cf. also *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 53; 72 (PL, LXXVIII, 1294 D).

In the *Cærem. episc.*, I, 25, 2, when the rite is first described, the *Indulgentiam* is omitted, thus emphasizing the character of blessing. According to *Cærem. episc.*, II, 8, 80, it is also permissible to unite this rite, now simply described as the granting of an indulgence, with the blessing at the end of Mass, the solution most frequently employed nowadays.

The change of the original character of a general absolution has a parallel in the case of the dying, the general absolution being replaced by the granting of a papal blessing to which is attached a plenary indulgence; cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 294 f.

²⁴ *Supra*, p. 51.

END OF VOLUME ONE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Abbreviations | V |
| PART IV. The Mass Ceremonies in Detail—The Sacrifice | |
| 1. The Offertory | 1 |
| 1. The Offertory Procession of the Faithful..... | 1 |
| 2. The Offertory Chant..... | 26 |
| 3. The Matter for the Sacrifice..... | 31 |
| 4. Laying the Offerings on the Altar. The Accompanying Prayers | 41 |
| 5. The Incensation..... | 70 |
| 6. The Washing of the Hands..... | 76 |
| 7. Orate Fratres | 82 |
| 8. The Secret..... | 90 |
| 9. The Oblation Rites as a Unit..... | 97 |
| 2. The Canon Actionis | 101 |
| 1. The Canon Actionis or the Eucharistic Prayer as a Whole... | 101 |
| 2. The Introductory Dialogue..... | 110 |
| 3. The Preface..... | 115 |
| 4. Sanctus and Benedictus..... | 128 |
| 5. Various Practices during the Canon..... | 138 |
| 6. Te Igitur. The Plea for Acceptance..... | 147 |
| 7. General Intercessory Prayer..... | 152 |
| 8. The Memento of the Living..... | 159 |
| 9. Communicantes | 170 |
| 10. Hanc igitur | 179 |
| 11. Quam oblationem | 187 |
| 12. The Consecration. The Account of Institution..... | 194 |
| 13. The Consecration. The Accompanying Actions..... | 202 |
| 14. Unde et Memores..... | 218 |
| 15. Supra quæ and Supplices..... | 226 |
| 16. The Memento of the Dead..... | 237 |
| 17. Nobis quoque..... | 248 |
| 18. Concluding Doxologies..... | 259 |
| 3. The Communion Cycle | 275 |
| 1. The Beginnings of a Communion Cycle..... | 275 |
| 2. Pater noster..... | 277 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3. Preparatory Activities in other Liturgies..... | 294 |
| 4. The Fraction..... | 303 |
| 5. The Commingling..... | 311 |
| 6. Pax Domini and the Kiss of Peace..... | 321 |
| 7. Agnus Dei..... | 332 |
| 8. Concluding Rites before the Communion..... | 340 |
| 9. Communion of the Priest. Preparatory Prayers..... | 343 |
| 10. Communion of the Priest. Ritual Procedure..... | 351 |
| 11. Communion of the Faithful. Frequency..... | 359 |
| 12. Communion of the Faithful. Preparatory Prayers..... | 367 |
| 13. Communion of the Faithful. Ritual Shape..... | 374 |
| 14. The Communion Chant..... | 391 |
| 15. Silent Prayers after the Reception..... | 400 |
| 16. Reservation. Ablutions..... | 406 |
| 17. The Post-Communion..... | 419 |
| 4. Close of the Mass | 427 |
| 1. The Oratio super Populum..... | 427 |
| 2. The Dismissal..... | 432 |
| 3. Leaving the Altar..... | 437 |
| 4. The Closing Blessing of the Priest..... | 439 |
| 5. The Last Gospel..... | 447 |
| 6. Final Blessings Sanctioned by Particular Law..... | 451 |
| 7. The Prayers of Leo XIII..... | 455 |
| 8. Recession | 459 |

Index

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| A. Sources | 465 |
| B. Names, Things, Formulas..... | 477 |

Part IV

THE MASS CEREMONIES IN DETAIL THE SACRIFICE

I. The Offertory

1. The Offertory Procession of the Faithful

WHEN THE LESSONS HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED WITH THE PRAYER of those assembled, and when all who are not fully competent members of the congregation have departed, it is possible to proceed to the main event in the celebration, the renewal of Christ's institution. The Master had inaugurated the eucharistic mystery under the tokens of bread and wine—bread, such as was to be found on the table of the Last Supper, and the cup which stood before Him, these He took and changed into the heavenly gift. Bread and wine must therefore be ready at hand when the celebration of the Mass is to begin.

This readying of bread and wine need not, of course, be a ritual action. It might be taken care of, some way or other, by anyone before the beginning of the ceremonies. In the most ancient accounts, in fact, we find no traces of a special stressing of this preparatory activity. As long as the Eucharist was joined to the fraternal meal there was scarcely any occasion for such special stress, because the gifts were already on the table. Even in Justin's description the matter is recounted simply and impersonally: bread is brought in, and wine and water. No particular formalities are observed, no symbolism introduced into the movement. This ties in with the strict aloofness which the nascent Church in the first two centuries showed towards material matters, preferring to emphasize, in opposition to pagan and Jewish sacrificial customs, the spiritual character of Christian cult.¹ Passing over the earthly bread and wine, the Church's attention focused on the spiritual, not to say heavenly, gift which proceeds from her *Eucharistia*, and on the thanksgiving which pours out heavenward from the hearts of men—a worship which is indeed “in spirit and in truth.”

But near the end of the second century we begin to see a trend away from this severe attitude. To oppose the repudiation of matter, which was a doctrine of the growing Hellenistic Gnosis, it was necessary to stress the value of the earthly creation, even in divine worship. The peril then no

¹ See Vol. I, p. 26 f.

longer lay in the materialism of heathen sacrificial practices, but in the spiritualism of a doctrine that hovered just on the borderline of Christianity.

So the Eucharist also appeared in a new light. The heavenly gift had an earthly origin; it was from the “firstlings of creation” that it proceeded. In Irenæus, as we saw, this point was emphasized for the first time. The approach towards God, this movement in which the Lord’s body and blood was offered up, begins to include the presentation of material gifts which were thus drawn into the liturgical activity. In Tertullian we see the faithful bringing their gifts, and their action is described as an *offerre* directed to God.² Similarly, in Hippolytus of Rome not only are the bread and wine (brought in by the deacons before the *eucharistia* of the bishop) called *oblatio*,³ but the consecrated gifts are designated *oblatio sanctæ Ecclesiæ*.⁴ In another place, describing the liturgy of Baptism, we see that the faithful—at least the newly baptized—“offer up” their gifts for the Eucharist.⁵

By the time we reach Cyprian it has already become a general rule that the faithful should present gifts at the eucharistic solemnity. This is evident from Cyprian’s scolding a rich woman for her lack of charity: *dominicum celebrare te credis . . . quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quæ*

² Tertullian, *De exhort. cast.*, c. 11 (CSEL LXX, 146 f.): [he is addressing a man who had married a second time, in reference to his first wife] . . . *pro qua oblationes annuas reddis. Stabis ergo ad Dominum cum tot uxoribus, quot in oratione commemoras? Et offeres pro duabus, et commendabis illas duas per sacerdotem . . . et ascendet sacrificium tuum libera fronte?* Cf. for this Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 294 f.

³ Dix, 6: *illi [sc. episcopo] vero offerant diacones oblationem*. The word *offerant* does not here mean an oblation to almighty God.

⁴ Dix, 9. Cf. *supra*, I, 29.

Also in a prayer at the consecration of a bishop, there is a plea that the newly consecrated may προσφέρειν σοι τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἀγίας σου Ἐκκλησίας (Dix, 5).

⁵ These should “bring along no other vessel but that for the Eucharist; for it is fitting for each then to bring his gift (προσφορά).” Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 32; cf. Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, 579: “. . . for it is fitting for what has been worthily accomplished then to offer up.” We are dealing here with a text to be derived from divergent oriental trans-

lations). Besides, the terms *oblatio* and *offerre* or their oriental equivalents are often used in the “Apostolic Tradition” in a wider sense. The agape as a unit is called *oblatio*. Likewise within the plan of the agape the blessing of the cup by the individuals is designated as *offerre* (Dix, 46: *calicem singuli offerant*), and also the blessing of the bread at the beginning by the presiding cleric seems to be identified with an *offerre* (Dix, 48: all should receive the *benedictio* from his hands; cf. Dix, 46: *qui offert* should remember the host). Obviously the word is used here to signify that these objects are hallowed by the prayer of benediction and so in a way dedicated to God. It is possible, too, that in addition an offering was actually put into words, as in the following case: When the first-fruits are brought to the bishop (again the word *offerre*, προσερχεῖν) is used to express the idea; incidentally there is no connection here with the celebration of the Eucharist), the latter should offer them up (*offerre*) and for this purpose a formula is submitted: *Gratias tibi agimus, Deus, et offerimus tibi primitias fructuum . . .* (Dix, 53 f.; also preserved in Greek: προσφέρομεν). But this *offerre* also has ref-

*partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit sumis.*⁶ Apparently, then, the individual worshiper was bound not only to contribute to the community poor box (*corban*) but also to make an offering for the altar, and from Cyprian's words it is quite clear that this offering was nothing more nor less than the bread and wine of the sacrifice.

The evolution must have been such that the offerings which had always been made for the needs of the Church and the poor were gradually drawn more closely into the liturgical pattern. The tie-in with the eucharistic celebration was all the easier since it had been customary to think of every gift to the Church and the poor as a gift to God, or even to designate it as an offering, an oblation.⁷ Thus, such gifts of Christian charity were joined to the offering of the Eucharist.⁸ It was, then, but a step to connect the offering made by the faithful with the ritual preparation of the gifts for the eucharistic sacrifice—a step which would be taken naturally in an age which was liturgically alive.⁹ Thus we find in almost all the liturgies

erence to the blessing of the fruit, as the continuation of the text shows: *Benedicuntur quidem fructus, id est . . .* (the enumeration follows; Dix, 54). Furthermore the fact that these firstlings are brought to the bishop already implies a certain hallowing of the gifts, just as in the offering of bread and wine before the eucharistic prayer, so that even this *offerre* acquires a religious coloring.

Cf. J. Coppens, *Les prières de l'offertoire* (Cours et Conférences, VI; Louvain, 1928), 189-192; but the author does not pursue the connection between blessing and oblation.

⁶Cyprian, *De opere et eleemos.*, c. 15 (CSEL, III, 384). The same idea later in Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.* 13 (Morin, 63; PL, XXXIX, 2238). A detailed evaluation of the many references to the oblation in Cæsarius is presented in a work (still in manuscript) on Cæsarius as a liturgico-historical source, written by Dr. Karl Berg (Salzburg); I was able to look into and utilize this work.

The actual offertory procession is attested by the beginning of the 4th century by the synods of Elvira and Nicea; see *infra*, p. 20, note 108.

⁷ Phil. 4:18. Cf. E. Peterson, *Apostel und Zeuge Christi* (Freiburg, 1940), 38 f.: The Church gets support not in the form of taxes but in the form of a gift to God, "a sacrifice that breathes out fragrance."

In *Hermas*, *Pastor*, Simul. V, 3, 8, an

alms combined with fasting is called a *θυσια* and a *λειτουργια* pleasing to God.

The word *operari* (*opus*, *operatio*), which in the language of pagan worship was used in the sense of *sacris operari* = *sacrificari*, and from which comes the German word *opfern*, "to offer (up)" (the word must have been borrowed already at the beginning of the period of Roman missionizing, some time in the sixth century, as the sound-shaft indicates), was employed in the Latin of the Christians since Tertullian's time for the Christian work of mercy; cf. the title of Cyprian's tract cited in the previous note. However, *offerre* (*oblatio*)—whence the Old English *offrian* > *offer*—was also used in the same sense. Both expressions are found together in Tertullian, *De idolol.*, c. 22 (CSEL, XX, 55). But it must be admitted that with regard to *operari* the basic meaning of *opus bonum* had a distinct influence; H. Janssens, *Kultur und Sprache. Zur Geschichte der alten Kirche im Spiegel der Sprachentwicklung von Tertullian bis Cyprian* (Nijmegen, 1938), 217-224; cf. 104-110.

⁸ Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.*, IV, 31, 5 (Harvey, II, 209); cf. Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 28 (CSEL, XX, 198 f.); *Ad uxor.*, II, 8 (CSEL, LXX, 124).

From a later period, Augustine, *Enchiridion*, c. 110 (PL, XL, 283): For the dead *sacrificia sive altaris sive quaruncumque eleemosynarum* were offered up.

⁹ G. P. Wetter, *Altchristliche Liturgien, II. Das christliche Opfer* (Forschungen zur

since the fourth century an offering (in some form or other) of gifts directed towards the Eucharist. As a passing custom it was practically universal in the Church. In the Orient, it is true, only fragmentary vestiges have survived.¹⁰ There the connection with the gift-offering at Mass was not very close. At any rate this holds true of the Antiochene-Byzantine area.

The offerings could be made, for instance, before the beginning of the service, being placed in a side-room specially designated for this pur-

Religion u. Literatur des A. und N. T., N. F., 17; Göttingen, 1922), turns the whole process of development topsy-turvy. Without further proof Wetter considers the offering of natural gifts made to God directly—his material is gathered in the main from the offertory prayers of early medieval texts—as a remnant from the customs of the primitive Church, where the faithful brought contributions for the agape connected with the Eucharist. From this offering, which (according to him) was conceived as a sacrifice in the full sense of the word, the idea of an offering was taken over into the Eucharist. Cf. the critical examination of the question by J. Coppens, "L'offrande des fidèles dans la liturgie eucharistique ancienne," *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1927), 99-123, along with the same author's continuation of the study, "Les prières de l'offertoire et le rite de l'offrande," *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1927), 185-196; A. Arnold, *Der Ursprung des christlichen Abendmahles*, 84-100, who describes Wetter's wild methods thoroughly (p. 95 ff.); still his reliance on Wetter's results within the limitation presented, p. 100, is not sufficiently well founded.

¹⁰ So far there has been no comprehensive investigation of the offering of gifts by the faithful in the Orient. An enumeration of the sources to be considered in Hanssens, III, 279-282, who is himself inclined to think that in the Orient there was no offertory procession of the faithful, at least in the narrower sense of a presentation of bread and wine at the start of each individual celebration. E. Bishop, in his addendum to Connelly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 116 f., is less negative in his judgment.—In Egypt an offering of gifts by the people, related in some way to the Eucharist, must have persisted for a long

time. The eucharistic prayer of Serapion includes a plea for the offerers (Quasten, *Mon.*, 64). In the 6th century the term εὐχαριστήριον here meant an offering (of the people) for the dead; see E. Peterson, "Die alexandrinische Liturgie bei Kosmas Indikopleustes," *Eph. liturg.*, 46 (1932), 66-74.—There is evidence that among the Copts the practice of the faithful bringing bread and wine for the Eucharist to church continued into modern times; J. Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service* (London, 1908), 133; Cl. Kopp, *Glaube und Sakramente der koptischen Kirche* (Orientalia christiana, 75; Rome, 1932), 120.

As regards Syria, the Testamentum Domini in the 5th century furnishes evidence of offerings by the faithful; a special room was set aside for them (I, 19; see the following note); candidates for Baptism were not to bring anything along *præter unum panem ad eucharistiam* (II, 8; Rahmani, 127); the bread of the catechumens was not to be accepted (I, 23; Rahmani, 37). Cf. further Jacob of Batnā (James of Sarugh, d. 521), *Poem on the Mass for the Dead* (BKV, 6 [1919], 305-315); he speaks about bread and wine which the faithful carry in procession to the altar.

Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 17 (PG, LXXXII, 1236 CD) tells of the offertory procession of the Emperor Theodosius, who for this purpose entered the sanctuary; true, this took place in Milan, but it presupposes a similar custom in Constantinople (ὡς περ ἐν ὡθεί). Similarly Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.*, 43, 52 (PG, XXXVI, 564 A), tells of an offering of gifts by the Emperor Valens (but see the critical remarks of Bishop, *op. cit.*, 116, and also the defense by Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 123, note 3). Cf. also the Trullan Synod (692), c. 69 (Mansi, XI, 973).

pose.¹¹ Thence the things necessary for the Eucharist were transferred to the altar at the beginning of the sacrifice. The ceremonial accompanying this transfer, first seen in the work of pseudo-Dionysius,¹² expanded gradually into the Great Entrance which takes the place of our offertory and is a climax in the Byzantine liturgy. Preceded by torches and incense, the deacon and priest carry the host and the chalice, reverently covered, from the *prothesis*¹³ through the nave of the church and back into the sanctuary. Meanwhile, in the procession the King of all, surrounded by hosts of angels unseen, is greeted and honored in song.¹⁴ Similar forms of a ceremonial transfer of the sacrificial gifts are to be found in other liturgies of this cycle, or at least they can be reconstructed from the vestiges that remain.¹⁵

In the Gallo-Frankish Church the same had been in use for a long time in a fully-developed form.¹⁶ Obviously, with an elaborate form such as this, an offering on the part of the people within the Mass itself was entirely out of the question. But this does not mean that they made no offering at all. By no means.

For it is precisely from the Gallic Church of this period that we have clear evidence of the part the people took in this, among other things a directive of the National Council of Macon (585), in which the offering of the faithful—consisting of bread and wine—is re-emphasized, with

¹¹ Thus the direction in the Testamentum Domini, I, 19 (Rahmani, 23; Quasten, *Mon.*, 237): *Diaconicon sit a dextera ingressus qui a dexteris est, ut eucharistiae sive oblationes quae offeruntur possint cerni*. This *diaconicon* corresponds to one of the two *παστορόρια* mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions, II, 57 (Quasten, 181), although here the rooms have already been transferred to the vicinity of the sanctuary.

¹² Ps.-Dionysius, *Ecccl. hierarch.*, III, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 294).

¹³ The Prothesis, that is, the place for the preparation of the oblation gifts, is at present generally found next to the sanctuary or else is a table actually in the sanctuary, to the north of the altar. Brightman, 586.

¹⁴ The Patriarch Eutychius (d. 565), *De Pasch.*, c. 8 (PG, LXXXVI, 2400 f.), had already expressed doubts about this proleptic veneration of bread and wine; others after him did the same. Hanssens, III, 286-289. It is possible to suggest that this veneration was originally directed to Christ as represented by the consecrated priest; but the sources give no hint of such a thing. A different explanation in Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 284 f.

¹⁵ Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*,

112; Hanssens, III, 272-277; 285-293.—In the Syrian area the thought that Christ thus makes His entry in order to suffer or to be offered up (*προέρχεται σαρχισθῆναι*) puts in an early appearance; Hanssens, III, 291 f.

Only in Egypt was there question here rather of a procession around the altar; this took place at the start of the fore-Mass and therefore did not necessarily involve a special place distinct from the altar for the preparation of the gifts; cf. Hanssens, III, 31-33.

¹⁶ The oldest account comes from Gregory of Tours, *De gloria mart.*, c. 86 (PL, LXXI, 781 f.). The offertory procession is next mentioned in the *Expositio* of the ancient Gallican Mass (ed. Quasten, 17 f.). It is also found in the pseudo-Roman Mass of the 8th century, see *Capitulare eccl. ord.* and its monastic parallels (Silva-Tarouca, 206): After the reading the offerings are carried by the priest and the deacon in turret-shaped vessels (called *turres*) and in the chalice from the *sacrarium* to the altar. Here the offerings are called *oblationes*, whereas the sources mentioned previously speak proleptically of the body of the Lord. During the transfer to the altar

special reference to the fact that the usage was traditional.¹⁷ The faithful made their offering before the beginning of the service in the place set aside for this purpose.¹⁸ Similar arrangements must be presupposed in the Orient, too, wherever there is mention of offerings by the people.¹⁹

In the ancient Milanese²⁰ and Roman liturgies, and probably also in the North African, the offering of the faithful was very closely bound up with the eucharistic sacrifice. From the last of these, the North African liturgy, we get our oldest accounts of the offering of the faithful, and the customs connected with it are quite fully expounded, especially in St. Augustine.²¹ In Africa it was possible to bring one's offerings to the altar day after day, as Monica was wont to do.²² The priest himself received what was offered by the people, and in turn he offered these things to God.²³ Thus the offering and the oblation of the gifts was built into the very structure of the Mass. This is also certified by the report of the singing of psalms which was introduced at this time *ante oblationem* as well as at the communion.²⁴

How the offertory was conducted at the papal stationary service in seventh century Rome, we know in fullest detail.²⁵ Here the gifts were not

the so-called *sonus* was sung. For an explanation of the data, in part previously misunderstood, see Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 37-42.

¹⁷ Can. 4 (Mansi, IX, 951): . . . *Propterea decernimus ut omnibus dominicis diebus altaris oblatio ab omnibus viris et mulieribus offeratur, tam panis quam vini*.—Cf. Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 13 (Morin, 63; PL, XXXIX, 2238): *Oblationes quæ in altario consecrentur offerte. Erubescere debet homo idoneus, si de aliena oblatione communicaverit*.

¹⁸ Nickl, 36 ff. For this Nickl cites a story in Gregory of Tours, *De gloria confess.*, c. 65 (PL, LXXI, 875 C): For a whole year a widow had Mass said daily for her deceased husband and each time offered for this purpose a sixth of the best wine; however, the subdeacon who accepted the gifts cheated her, substituting cheap wine and keeping the good for himself, until one day the lady unexpectedly communicated and so discovered the fraud. It would hardly have been possible to perpetrate such a deception except in the *sacrarium*, a room apart, from which the oblation would be carried to the altar.

¹⁹ For Syria cf. *supra*, note 11. The side-room which was designated for the reception of the offerings of the faithful has become general throughout the Orient since the second half of the 6th century; Baum-

stark, *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 109 f. ²⁰ Ambrose, *In ps.* 118, prol. 2 (CSEL, LXII, 4); cf. *infra*, p. 20, note 112.

²¹ Clear evidence of the gifts of the faithful on the altar is given by Optatus of Mileve, *Contra Parmen.*, VI, 1 (CSEL, XXVI, 142): The Donatists overturned altars *in quibus et vota populi et membra Christi portata sunt*. Victor of Vita, *Hist. pers. Afric.*, II, 51 (CSEL, VII, 44), tells of one individual instance of this.

²² Augustine, *Confessiones*, 5, 9 (CSEL, XXXIII, 104); cf. *Ep.*, 111, 8: The ladies and virgins who had fallen into the hands of the barbarians could no longer *ferre oblationem ad altare Dei vel invenire ibi sacerdotem, per quem offerant Deo* (CSEL, XXXIV, 655). The first phrase must refer to the offertory procession (*ferre oblationem*) at a public celebration, the second to a votive Mass requested privately; cf. *supra*, I, 219 f.

²³ Augustine, *Enarr. in ps.*, 129, 7 (PL, XXXVII, 1701).—Cf. also Roetzer, 116.

²⁴ See *infra*, p. 26.

²⁵ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 13-15 (PL, LXXXVIII, 943 f.). Cf. the later revision of this text in *Ordo Rom. III*, n. 12-14 (PL, LXXXVIII, 980 f.). A dissertation studying this text and its bearing on modern practice, G. J. Booth, *The Offertory Procession in the Ordo Romanus Primus* (Washington, 1948), contributes little of

brought by the people to the altar, but were collected by the celebrant and his retinue. After the Gospel the pope and his assistants first approached the nobility and received from them, according to their rank, their offerings of bread, while the archdeacon who followed accepted the wine (which was presented in special flasks or cruets²⁶ and poured it into a large chalice which was held by a subdeacon who, in turn, emptied this into a still larger vessel (*scyphus*). In the same manner the pope handed the breads to a subdeacon accompanying him, who laid them in a large cloth (perhaps a linen sack) held by two acolytes. One of the bishops, assisted by a deacon, then took over and continued to collect the offerings. Meanwhile, the pope left the men's side, and moved to the *confessio* where on feast days he received the offerings of the higher court officials; then he proceeded to the women's side to receive the gifts of the ladies of the nobility. It was then the duty of the archdeacon to prepare the bread offerings on the altar, with the help of subdeacons who handed him the breads which had been collected. He laid out as much as seemed to be needed for the Communion of the people. After this was done the pope himself took up the bread gifts of the assisting clergy and laid on the altar his own offering, which consisted of two breads²⁷ which the *subdiaconus oblationarius*²⁸ had brought along. For the chalice, only the offering presented by the pope himself and his group was used, or perhaps a little was taken out of the large vessel containing the wine offered by the people, and this was poured into the *calix sanctus*.²⁹ After the water, offered by the singing-boys, was commingled with the wine, the chalice was placed on the altar, to the right of the bread offered by the pope.

The general outlines of this oblation rite are still to be discerned some five hundred years later.³⁰

Of the many gifts which were thus gathered, we can readily understand that only a small portion could be used for the altar. What was done with the rest? Where, first of all, was it kept during the service? Amongst the gold and silver objects which the Lateran basilica acquired from Con-

value, but reprints the pertinent passages. —Note that there is no documentary evidence of an "offertory procession" at Rome. See V. L. Kennedy, "The Offertory Rite," (*Orate Fratres*, 12 [1937-8], 193-198), 198.

²⁶ Drawing of *amulæ* in Beissel, *Bilder*, 317 f. These are special little flasks, ornamented with religious pictures, made for this particular purpose.

²⁷ Regarding the number two, cf. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1130 D): *unam [oblationem] pro se et alteram pro diacono*.

²⁸ Regarding this office, see Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, II, 246.

²⁹ In pouring the wine from the larger vessel into the sacred chalice a special colander or strainer was used. Thus, *inter alia*, the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, 460); a more detailed description in *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 992).—This *colatorium*—also called *colum*, *sia* ("strainer") or *cochlear* (from its ladle shape)—is mentioned in general as long as the practice of the people offering wine continued. Further details regarding the liturgical strainer in Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 448-454. Illustration of a *colatorium* in Beissel, 318.

³⁰ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 82): As soon as the offertory chant is started the

stantine, the *Liber pontificalis* lists *altaria septem ex argento purissimo*.³¹ There was but one altar in any one church, as we know full well. These, then, must have been tables to hold the offertory gifts. The fact that they were seven coincides with the fact that there were seven deacons who were called upon "to bestow their care upon tables" as once the deacons did in Jerusalem.³² On these tables, which were set up somewhere in the forepart of the basilica,³³ the gifts of bread and wine were laid as an oblation to God.³⁴ Then, in so far as the needs of the clergy did not require them, they were set aside primarily for the poor, whose care was amongst the chief duties of the deacons.³⁵

bishop goes *ad accipiendam oblationem in consueto loco, mansionario ante eum procedente*. No further details are given regarding this acceptance of the offering, but immediately afterwards the paten prepared *cum hostia* is handed to the bishop at the altar.—However, the rite must have disappeared within the next few decades, for no mention is made of it in the commentary of Innocent III. True, offerings are mentioned for Christmas in *Ordo Rom.* XIV and XV, but they no longer disturb the course of the papal Mass; cf. *infra*, note 35.

³¹ Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 172.

³² Acts 6: 2.—In accordance with this number seven for the deacons—which was also retained in other episcopal cities—Rome was divided into seven regions for the care of the poor. If further assistance was required, it was ready at hand in the institution of subdeacons.

³³ Th. Klauser, "Die konstantinischen Altäre in der Lateranbasilika," *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 43 (1935), 179-186, gives it as his opinion that there is a connection between this and the origin of the transepts in the Constantinian basilicas. Room had to be made for setting up each table. Cf., on the other hand, J. P. Kirsch, "Das Querschiff in den strömischen christlichen Basiliken des Altertums," *Pisciculi*, F. J. Dölger *dargeboten* (Münster, 1939), 148-156.

³⁴ This harmonizes with the fact that the formulas of the *oratio super oblata* in the *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, as well as in our own missal, for that matter, repeatedly mention a plurality of altars on which the offerings of the people are laid: *tua, Domine, muneribus altaria cumulamur* (Muratori, I, 324). On the other hand, in the

formulas of the post-communion the *mensa* is referred to exclusively in the singular. Klauser, 185 f.

³⁵ Here again we see the close connection between the notion of alms and the offering; cf. *supra*, p. 2. — With the disappearance, *resp.* the transformation, of the offerings in the Middle Ages this meaning seems to have vanished; the thought of the poor recedes completely into the shade; cf. Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 468 b (register). From the *Ordo ecclesiae Lateranensis* (Fischer, 141, 1. 2) we learn that in the twelfth century at the start of the night office on the titular feast June 24) a liberal drink (*defertur potus honorifice et sufficienter*) was to be served *de oblatione altaris maioris* to the assisting clergy, to be handed to them by those *qui oblationem altaris custodiunt* (*ibid.*, 140, 1. 3). Now the offerings were connected with a particular place, a particular altar, and a distinction was made between those which were to go *sub altari* and those which were to go *desuper* (Fischer, 52, 95 f.); the distribution to the clergy was made according to this distinction.—Even a late *Ordo* like that of Petrus Amelii (d. 1403) = *Ordo Rom.* XV., n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 1278 D) contains this regulation for the papal service: *quidquid offertur sive ad manus papæ vel pedes vel super altare, capellanorum commensalium est, excepto pane et vino, quod acolythorum est, et quidquid venit per totam missam super altare*. Cf. *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 70 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 1184, 1187). Therefore, besides the gifts which the pope receives in person, there are those gifts which may be laid down anywhere in the church during the further course of the Mass—the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer,

In other churches of the West,³⁶ and more especially in the Roman liturgy after it was transplanted to Frankish countries, the oblation³⁷ was metamorphosed into an offertory procession of the faithful. After the *Credo* a line was formed, which wended its way to the altar. First came the men, then the women; the priests and deacons joined in after them, with the archdeacon bringing up the rear. Frankish interpreters compared the procession to the parade of the multitude that went out to meet and acclaim our Lord on Palm Sunday.³⁸

Here, too, bread and wine form the offertory gift of the faithful.³⁹ The English Synod of Cealchythe (Chelsea, 787) stresses the prescription that the offering should be bread, not cake.⁴⁰ As a rule the bread was carried to the altar in a little white cloth;⁴¹ but mention is made also of woven baskets.⁴² The celebrant and his assistants went down to meet the offerers at the spot dictated by custom.⁴³ We learn that the gifts were placed on a large paten carried by an acolyte.⁴⁴ But even when they were offered up at the altar they were no longer set down on the altar itself, but *post altare*.⁴⁵ For even when they still consisted of bread and wine, they were no longer intended for consecration.⁴⁶ The reception of Communion had sunk to such

95 f.) also mentions offerings made during Rogation processions; to all appearances such offerings were laid principally on the mensa of a side altar. All these offerings apparently fell under the designation *ad pedes*; cf. Acts 4: 35, 37; 5: 2; Durandus, IV, 30, 38. The offerings of bread and wine, which had lost their importance, fell to the lot of the acolytes.

³⁶ For Aquileia cf. *infra*, p. 10.

³⁷ Here it was insisted on from the start; see Synod of Mainz (813), can. 44 (Mansi, XIV, 74).

³⁸ Amalar, *Expositio* of 813-814 (Gerbert, *Monumenta*, II, 152 f.); *Expositio "Missa pro multis,"* ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 36 f.; *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1128 B, 129 D). This analogy to Palm Sunday recurs in later commentators, for example Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 26 (PL, CLXXII, 553), and Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 114 B, 116 A).

³⁹ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1129 D).

⁴⁰ Can. 10 (Mansi, XII, 942).

⁴¹ *Expositio "Missa pro multis,"* ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 38; *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1324); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973): *cum fanonibus candidis*. Similarly in the monasteries: *Udalrici Consuetud. Clun.*, III, 12 (PL, CIL,

756 A).

⁴² Christian of Stablo, *In Matth.* (after 865), c. 35 (PL, CVI, 1393 A).

⁴³ According to Herard of Tours, *Capitula* (from the year 858), c. 82 (Hardouin, V, 455), laics were not permitted to enter the sanctuary and the offerings therefore had to be received *foris septa*. Similarly the collection of capitularies of Benedictus Levita (dated about 850), I, 371 (PL, XCVII, 750); and so also, at an earlier date, the II Synod of Braga (563), can. 13 (Mansi, IX, 778).—On the other hand, Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), *Capitulaire*, I, c. 6 (PL, CV, 193 f.), excludes only women from the sanctuary. For this praxis there is also later evidence: Martène, I, 4, 6, 7 (I, 387 f.); cf. I, 3, 9, 8-10 (I, 341-344).—At present wherever the offertory procession is customary, no distinction, so far as I know, is made for women.

⁴⁴ *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 C): *patena*. This *patena* was apparently a large plate. Such plates were still in use in France up to very recent times; Corblet, II, 229.

⁴⁵ Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, 62 (PL, CXXXII, 204).

⁴⁶ They were turned over to the *custos ecclesiae* [the sexton] *ad observandum*; so *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 993 A). Cf. *supra*, note 35.—A portion of

a minimum that the bread offered by the faithful was superfluous. Besides, usually only unleavened bread was used for the altar, and this was generally procured in some other way; "in the years to follow, special regulations were made regarding its preparation."⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the offertory procession survived for quite some time, or rather, to put it more correctly, an outgrowth and development of it now put in an appearance almost everywhere.

Granting the principle that, besides the Eucharist, material gifts also could be presented to God, it was not long before the offerings consisted of objects other than bread and wine.⁴⁸ From the era of Constantine we have the mosaic from the floor of the large double church excavated at Aquileia; here is the representation of an offertory procession in which men and women are bringing not only bread and wine, but also grapes, flowers, and a bird.⁴⁹ For that reason, it became necessary from early times to make regulations specifying in what manner these offerings could be made. A synod of Hippo in 393 says categorically: "At the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ nothing is to be offered except bread and wine mixed with water."⁵⁰ About the same time the Apostolic Canons stipulate: "When a bishop or priest, contrary to the institutions of the Lord about the sacrifice at the altar, offers up something else: honey or milk, or, in place of [the right kind], wine turned to vinegar, or fowl, or any type of beast or vegetable, in opposition to the mandate, he should be deposed. Aside from ears of wheat and grapes in season and oil for the lamps and incense, nothing should be brought to the altar at the time of the sacrifice. All other fruits should (as firstlings) be sent to the bishop or the priests at their home and not to the altar; it is clear that the bishop and priests distribute these too among the deacons and the other clergy."⁵¹ These ordinances were repeated and expanded also in the West during the ensuing centuries.⁵² Amongst the objects meriting the honor of being

the bread was blessed and distributed after the service; see the pertinent visitation questions in Regino, I, inquis. 61 (PL, CXXXII, 190 A): *Si de oblationibus, quæ a populo offeruntur, die dominico et in diebus festis expleta missa eulogias plebi tribuat.*—More details regarding the eulogiæ, *infra*, p. 452.

⁴⁷ *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 f.), still makes reference to bread offered by the faithful (cf. the argument for washing the hands, which follows), but on the altar is placed only what is needed from the offerings of the clerics and from the *oblata a nullo immolata* (ibid.).

⁴⁸ In the charters we find the obligation of supplying the *annona missalis* for the house of God. Examples since the 13th century

in K. J. Merk, *Abriss einer liturgiegeschichtlichen Darstellung des Mess-Stipendiums* (Stuttgart, 1928), 12, note 23.

⁴⁹ See *supra* 2 f.

⁵⁰ See the account in *JL*, 2 (1922), 156 f.; illustration in Righetti, *Manuale*, II, 29.

⁵¹ Can. 23 (Mansi, III, 922); an exception continues to be made for milk and honey at the Easter Baptism Mass (cf. *supra*, I, 15) and for the *primitiæ* of grapes and grain.—The distinction which Augustine, *Ep.* 149, 16 (CSFL, 44, 362) makes appears to correspond to this: *voventur autem omnia, quæ offeruntur Deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio.*

⁵² *Canones Apostolorum*, 2 - 4 = *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 47, 2-4 (Funk, I, 564).

⁵³ They are still found in Regino of Prüm,

allowed to be brought to the altar, there appear, in addition to the oil for the lamps,⁶⁴ especially wax and candles.⁶⁵ Even at the present time, during the Mass of ordination, the newly ordained bring the bishop a lighted candle, which is presented to him.

Next we hear that in many churches *pretiosa ecclesiae utensilia* destined for the church were laid on the altar at the offertory procession on great feasts.⁶⁶ Even the transfer of immovable property was often executed by handing over a deed or voucher at the offertory.⁶⁷ From the eleventh century on, the offering of money began to come to the fore.⁶⁸ Peter Damian tells, as something still out of the ordinary, that two prominent ladies offered goldpieces at his Mass.⁶⁹ But more and more the offering of bread and wine was made by the clerics alone,⁷⁰ and in monastic churches by

De synod. causis, I, 63-65 (PL, CXXXII, 204), and therefore they cannot be looked upon here as simply an expression of contemporary praxis, as Netzer, 226, considers them.

⁶⁴ At Rome even the oil which was consecrated on Maundy Thursday was taken from the offerings; *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, ed. Lietzmann, n. 77, 4: *levantur de ampullis quae offerunt populi*.

⁶⁵ Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.* 13 (Morin, 13; PL, XXXIX, 2238), makes mention of wax and oil, but without stressing the point that they were conveyed to the altar.—On an Exultet roll from Gaeta there is a miniature which goes back to a much earlier design that illustrated the Exultet text in the earlier Gelasianum; it presents an offertory procession in which one of the front figures hands a small bottle of wine to the deacon who carries the chalice, while the other figure offers the bishop two rings of wax, apparently for the Easter candle; Th. Klauser, "Eine rätselhafte Exultetillustration aus Gaeta," *Corolla, L. Curtius zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Stuttgart, 1937), 168-176 (with illustration; also in L. A. Winter-swyll, *Gestaltungswandel der Caritas* [Freiburg, 1939], 12-13). Klauser refers to an Exultet text in a Florence missal (10th c.) which includes a petition for the offerer: *cereum, Domine, quod tibi offert famulus tuus ille*; Ebner, 27.—A loaf and a candle also appear as the customary offering in the twelfth century in the legend of the buried miner who was saved from death by the weekly Mass at which his wife made an offering; Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 8f. The legend, in turn,

was a leading factor in the production of a change in the offertory gifts. Cf. also the section on candles and wax as offerings in E. Wohlhaupter, *Die Kerze im Recht* (Forschungen zum deutschen Recht, IV, 1 [Weimar, 1940]), 29-35.—The offering of bread and a candle was so much a part of English parochial practice that it was revived in the time of Queen Mary; see Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England*, 158.

⁶⁶ John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 41 (PL, CCII, 50 D). According to a decree of the Congregation of Rites published on Jan. 26, 1658, it is still permitted to take up *oblaciones intortitorium et calicis* at the offertory: *Decreta auth.*, SRC, n. 1052.

⁶⁷ Martène, I, 4, 6, 2 (I, 385 C).—One Christmas, after presenting a precious chalice at the midnight Mass, Emperor Henry II made a further gift at the high Mass when, during the offertory, he laid on the altar a gift certificate for the property of Erwitte; *Vita* of Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn (d. 1036), n. 182 (MGH, *Scriptores*, XI, 149).—Regarding this practice of making gifts by laying them on the altar, and the forms observed in so doing, see Bona, II, 8, 8 (703-706).

⁶⁸ Merk, *Abriss*, 92 f.; *ibid.*, 11, note 22, a charter from Vendôme dated 1046-49, in which someone transfers his own private church and along with it *nummorum etiam offerende medietatem*.—In Spain money offerings played a part already in the 7th century; see *infra*, p. 16.

⁶⁹ Petrus Damiani, *Ep.*, V, 13 (PL, CXLIV, 359 D): *byzantecos obtulerunt*.

⁷⁰ Thus Ivo of Chartres, *De conven.* (PL, CLXII, 550 C): *hostiam* [later identified

the monks.⁶¹ Only in unusual circumstances was the presentation of the bread and wine by lay people continued, as, for instance, at the coronation of Kings,⁶² or at the consecration of virgins,⁶³ perhaps also on certain great feasts⁶⁴ and, in some instances, at the burial services for the

as bread and wine for the consecration] *accipit a ministris et diversi generis oblationem a populo*.—The Mass-ordo of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 248 A) generally mentions only the *oblationes offerentium presbyterorum et diaconorum*.

⁶¹ Gradually this was restricted to a procession with the hosts. With a gold or silver spoon the sacristan lifted the hosts one by one from a large plate and handed them to each monk, who received them in a little cloth. A second sacristan poured wine into each one's cup. Priest-monks were permitted to pour the wine themselves into the large altar chalice. Whatever was not needed for the consecration was set aside as eulogia and distributed later in the refectory. William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 84; II, 30 (PL, CL, 1011, 1014 f., 1083 f.), and the analogous ordinances in other monasteries; see St. Hilpisch, "Der Opfergang in den Benediktinerklöstern des Mittelalters," *Studien u. Mitteilungen z. Geschichte des Benediktinerordens*, 59 (1941-2), 86-95, esp. 91 f.—In many Franciscan convents similar practices existed as late as the 18th century. In St. Vaast near Arras at the conventual Mass each day bread on a paten and wine in a chalice were offered by the superior in the name of the community. After the *Oremus* he was greeted by the celebrant with a *Pax tecum, reverende Pater* as he approached the altar with these offerings, kissed the maniple which was held out to him, and placed the bread on the altar paten and poured the wine into the altar chalice. Elsewhere, as at Cluny, only the communicants, each in turn, placed a host on the priest's paten; Hilpisch, 94 f. Cf. also de Moléon, 149, 239; Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 252 f.

⁶² Cod. Ratoldi (10th cent.; PL, LXXVIII, 260 C).—E. S. Dewick, *The coronation book of Charles V of France* (HBS, 16; London, 1899), 43: *debet offerre panem unum, vinum in urceo argenteo, tresdecim bisantos aureos*.—W. Maskell, *Monumenta ritualia ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, III, (London,

1847), 42: The king offers bread and wine, and then *marcam auri* (a late Middle Age direction).—According to the 12th century *Ordo* for the coronation of the emperor (*Ordo C*) the emperor offers at the throne of the pope *panem simul et cereos et aurum, singillatim vero imperator vinum, imperatrix aquam, de quibus debet ea die fieri sacrificium*; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland*, I, 178; cf. 215. According to *Ordo D* which was in use since the 13th century and goes back to Innocent III, the emperor offers only *aurum quantum sibi placuerit*; Eichmann, I, 264; cf. 285; II, 273 f. This last arrangement is also prescribed in the *Pontificale Romanum I, De bened. et cor. regis*.

⁶³ So in England even around 1500: Each of the virgins had her hands covered with a cloth. In the right she carried a paten with a host and in the left a cruet with wine for the altar. She slipped the host onto the paten which the deacon held, the cruet she handed to the bishop, whose hand she kissed. The wine was put into a chalice and administered after the Communion. W. Maskell, *Monumenta*, II (London, 1846), 326 f.—The same rite was used for the dedication of oblate boys, in the customs of the Piedmontese monastery of Fruttuaria (11th c.): Albers, *Consuetudines*, IV, 154. The precedents for this usage are already in St. Benedict's Rule, ch. 59.—The *Pontificale Romanum I, De bened. et consecr. virginum*, recognizes only the offering of a burning candle.

⁶⁴ Regarding the offering of bread and wine at a papal Mass, cf. *supra*, note 30. According to the *Ordinarium* of Nantes of the year 1263 *luminarii* were offered at the first Mass on Christmas, bread at the second and money at the third; E. Martène, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiæ disciplina* (Lyons, 1706), 90. Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 30, 40, mentions an offering of bread by the people on Christmas.—There is a comparatively late reference to an unrestricted offering of bread and wine in the cession of a church to the monastery

dead.⁶⁵ So, since the twelfth century, in explaining the offertory, the enumeration of offerings usually begins with gold: Some offer gold, like the Wise Men from the East, others silver, like the widow in the Temple, still others *de alia substantia*; only after that are bread and wine mentioned⁶⁶ as gifts of the clerics, who have always formed the last in the ranks of offerers. In later writings, there is no mention at all of bread and wine in this connection. Only at an episcopal consecration does the Roman liturgy still contain a vestige of this practice: the newly consecrated bishop presents two altar breads, two small casks of wine, and two candles.⁶⁷ And at a papal Mass, on the occasion of a solemn canonization, an offering is made of two breads, two barrels of wine and water, five

of St. Denis in the year 1180; the former owner hands over, amongst others, *omnia ad altare pertinentia cum offerenda panis et vini, lini, canapi et candelae*; Merk, *Abriss*, 13, note 27; cf. 87, note 11. A contemporary record from Tours mentions *panis, vinum, denarius, candela* as the usual offertory materials.

⁶⁵ In Champagne even as late as the first half of the 19th century it was still a custom at a burial service for the next of kin to offer up a loaf on a serviette, and wine in a special flagon, along with a candle; by 1860-70 instead of wine only an empty canister and money were presented. The rest of the ladies offered bread and candle, the men money. This information comes from the youthful memories of A. Loisy, as recorded in Wetter, *Altchristliche Liturgien*, II (*supra*, note 9) 77 f.—The same custom is reported in the beginning of the 18th century in Orleans: de Moléon, 215 f.; there is also the example of a parish where on All Souls Day 50 to 60 ladies took part in his offertory procession; *ibid.*; cf. also 239, 408, 409, 410.—De Moléon, 173, 187, 427, also describes another procession, still current at that time in certain cathedrals, where the canons at a solemn service for the dead formed a procession with paten and chalice. Corblet, I, 225, witnesses to the custom, still in vogue in Normandy in his day (1885), where the respective family at a service for the dead presented a flask of wine and a loaf of bread which were then offered up by two altar boys at the offertory.—Regarding the offering of bread or meal which in present-day Bavarian parishes is deposited on the altar-rail before a funeral Mass, and also regarding the custom of

alms bread, cf. V. Thalhoffer-L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, II (Freiburg, 1912), 121, note 3. I have been told about a Regensburg country parish where a tin cup is placed on the tumba and formerly a loaf of bread was set beside it (L. Schlosser, 1931). Another account comes to me from Kæssen in the Lower Inn valley; here it is still the custom at solemn funeral services to set up a pan of meal and three tin pitchers which are filled after the Mass with gifts for the priest (P. Werner).—The rapport with the Mass is less close in other accounts of an offering of bread for the poor after a funeral service; such practices were customary even in our own century in places like my native South Tyrol.

⁶⁶ Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 27 (PL, CLXXII, 553); cf. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, III, 5 (PL, CCXIII, 115); Durandus, IV, 30, 34. Another enumeration of the Mass offerings usual in the 12th century reads: *Panis, vinum, denarius et candela*; Martène, I, 4, 6, 6 (I, 387A).

⁶⁷ *Pontificale Rom.*, De consecr. ep.; similarly at the Blessing of an Abbot. Likewise in the Roman Pontifical of the 13th century and (also at the consecration of cardinal priests and deacons) in that of the 12th century; Andrieu, II, 349, 364 f.; I, 137, 151 f.—Even at present at the cathedral of Lyons the first two priests on each side of the choir bring bread and wine to the altar on the ferias of Lent; J. Baudot, *Le Missel Romain* (Paris, 1912), 101. Cf. de Moléon, 246. As late as 1700 the canons of Angers still conducted an offertory procession; *ibid.*, 89.

candles, and three cages containing pigeons, turtle-doves, and other birds.⁶⁸

Shortly after this it was pointed out that clerics do not generally have an obligation to make an offering.⁶⁹ Other means had long since been devised of procuring the elements of bread and wine, while in the offertory procession the chief concern was a domestic one, to obtain support for the clergy. This offering served, as they said, *ut inde sibi victum habeant sacerdotes*.⁷⁰ And since money gradually superseded almost all other gifts, and since many objects were already excluded from the offertory proper because of the holiness of the place, there was soon no distinction at all, in intent and disposition, between free-will offerings and those made according to strict ecclesiastical prescription. And inversely, the latter offerings were all the more consciously drawn into the offertory procession and all the more plainly considered as gifts made to God. Even the presentation of the tithes was designated as an *offerre*.⁷¹ Under the concept of oblation were listed all the products of rural industry and all objects of ecclesiastical and domestic use; and in regard to all of these, in so far as it was practicable, an effort was made to integrate them, in some way, with the offertory procession.⁷²

Besides, one of the features of the older Gallican rite recurs again—offering up all sorts of things for the altar *before* the services. Because of the richness of such gifts, it so happened that—especially when the churches were privately owned—the landlord would lay hands on the offerings and even demand the majority for himself, claiming that he was already taking care of the church and its priests. As early as 572 the Synod of Braga had ordained that no bishop was to consecrate a church which

⁶⁸ J. Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 54-56. The first evidence of this offertory procession at a canonization is in 1391; see Th. Klauser, "Die Liturgie der Heiligsprechung," *Heilige Überlieferung* (Münster, 1938), 212-233; esp. 223 ff. The allegorical intent in the choice of the gifts is explained in H. Chirat, "Psomia diaphora," *Mélanges E. Podedard* (Lyons, 1945), 121-126.

⁶⁹ *Ordo Rom.* VI (10th c.), n. 9 (PL, LXXXVIII, 993 A; Hittorp, 8): *quos non tam patrum instituta iubent quam proprium arbitrium immolare suadet*. John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 41 (PL, CCII, 59): *Clerici enim non offerunt nisi in exequiis mortuorum et in nova celebratione sacerdotis. Nam inhumatum videretur, si ii offerre tenerentur, qui ex oblationibus vivunt aliorum*.—Durandus, IV, 30, 36, appends to the exceptions: *et in quibusdam principibus sollempnitatibus*, and extends the exemption to *monachi*.

⁷⁰ John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 17 (PL,

CCII, 30). In the same sense Durandus, IV, 30, 9, distinguishes between *donum* and *sacrificium*; he says: *donum dicitur quicquid auro vel argento vel qualibet alia specie offertur*, while *sacrificium* is what serves for the consecration.

⁷¹ G. Schreiber, *Untersuchungen zum Sprachgebrauch des mittelalterlichen Oblationswesens* (Wörthshofen, 1913), 19 f. Schreiber tells about a spiritualizing that set in regarding the discharge of tithes.

⁷² At a First Mass in the diocese of Eichstätt during the 15th century it was customary for all the people to take part in an offertory procession in which they presented not only money and natural products but also all sorts of household goods like cooking utensils and bedding as an endowment for the new priest; J. B. Götz, *Die Primizianten des Bistums Eichstätt aus den Jahren 1493-1557* (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 63; Münster, 1934), 18.—In certain parishes in the lower Alpine region of Bavaria it

some landlord had built in order to snatch half the oblations.⁷³ The struggle against these and similar claims went on for centuries.⁷⁴ It even affected the altar oblation proper, which was now grounded on a much wider basis and whose ecclesiastical disposition, in its more ancient modest range, had hardly been imperiled.⁷⁵

In the interval during which the ancient offering of bread and wine was being displaced by the other objects at the offertory procession—the ninth and the tenth centuries—the effort was made to establish a strict distinction between the former offering and the latter. Only bread and wine are to be offered up according to the traditional form at the offertory of the Mass, while candles and the rest are to be presented before Mass or be-

was customary on specified feast days, right down to modern times, to make offerings of flax and sheaves of wheat in church, while other products were brought to the churchyard. In one parish on Martinmas (Nov. 11) every farmer “offered” a goose, later (till 1903) a hen; the animals were kept in a cage near the cemetery during the church services and afterwards were auctioned off for the benefit of the parish treasury. G. Rückert, “Alte kirchliche Opfergebräuche im westlichen bayerischen Voralpenland,” *Volk und Volkstum*, I (1936), 263-269.—We hear of similar practices at present among Slovenes of Carinthia. In the Gail valley at a wedding service natural products are offered, like the wine which is blessed and handed to the married couple. At St. Jacob in Neuhaus there is a special room next to the sacristy where on Sundays the offertory gifts which are presented before Mass are kept; after services they are auctioned off by the church treasurer. Few are the Sundays on which nothing—lambs, shoats or fowl—is forthcoming. In some churches where these customs prevail the offerer walks around the altar to symbolize that his gift is made to God. (From a notation by a former pupil of mine, chaplain Christian Srienc.).

⁷³ Can. 6 (Mansi, IX, 840); cf. III Synod of Toledo (589), c. 19 (*ibid.*, 998).

⁷⁴ Jonas of Orleans (d. 843), *De inst. laicali*, II, 19 (PL, CVI, 204 f.); Synod of Ingelheim (948), can. 8 (Mansi, XVIII, 421); *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 10 (Friedberg, I, 1296).—In the course of a transfer of churches to monasteries and bishops, as we ascertain from source docu-

ments (deeds and charters) since the 9th century, the rights ceded often included the *oblaciones*, *offerentiae* or *offerendae* (the last especially is a regular designation for altar offerings; see Schreiber, *Untersuchungen*, 24 ff.; cf. French “of-frande”), frequently with the stipulation that a specified number of the clergymen who went with the transfer must be retained. Examples in Merk, *Abriss*, 48 ff.; G. Schreiber, “Mittelalterliche Segnungen und Abgaben” (*Zeitschrift d. Savigny-Stiftung*, 63 [1943], 191-299), 245 f., 280 f., 283, 289 note. (= Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 247 f., etc.; see *ibid.*, 467 f., Index s.v. “Oblationen”).—Exact settlements between the canonesses and the priest-canons who worked in the church are continued, e.g., in the *Liber ordinarius* of the caputular church of Essen (14th c.), ed. by F. Arens (Paderborn, 1908), 126-128; cf. 200-204.

⁷⁵ In the *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 31 (Funk, I, 532 f.) there is a clue to how the “Blessing” left over at the mysteries (τὰς περισσευούσας ἐν τοῖς μυστικοῖς εὐλογίαις) was to be distributed among the ranks of the clergy. Manifestly bread and wine are meant. Further instances from the Orient in Funk, *loc. cit.*—Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, IV, 55 (PL, LXXVII, 417 B), tells about a priest to whom someone wanted to give *duas oblationem coronas*, which are thereafter labeled *panis sanctus*. Cf. also *supra*, p. 8, note 34.—The allotment to bishop, clergy, church buildings and the poor—frequently mentioned since the 5th century—refers to the distribution of the church revenues as a whole, and not directly to the altar offerings.

fore the Gospel.⁷⁶ As a matter of fact, the ensuing years witness a great deal of hesitancy regarding the proper place for this remodeled offertory procession. In Bavarian country parishes an offertory procession before the Gospel has survived right down to the present.⁷⁷ An offertory procession at the *Kyrie eleison* was also a common practice which continued⁷⁸ for a long time.⁷⁹ In Spain it was customary, even in earlier times, to offer money at the Communion procession,⁸⁰ a custom which also existed elsewhere or was formed anew.⁸¹ And again there was repeated occasion for sharp prohibitions against simoniacal dealings.⁸² Later, in Spain, we meet with an offertory procession inserted between the priest's offering of bread and wine and the washing of his hands. This is done in the Mozarabic liturgy,⁸³ and even in the Roman liturgy this addition is admitted to a certain

⁷⁶ Hincmar of Reims, *Capitula*, I, c. 16 (PL, CXXV, 777 f.). Similarly Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis, inquis.* 72 f. (PL, CXXXII, 190 C).

⁷⁷ Thalhofer-Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, II, 121, note 3. Besides this offertory procession right after the collects, there is generally a second one at funeral services, after the Gospel. At both money is offered.—This dual procession at services for the dead also in Ingolstadt in the 16th century; Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 83, 113 f., 118, note 1. The same custom also obtained at that time in Biberach; Schreiber *Untersuchungen*, 15, note 1, following A. Schiller (Freiburg Diocesan Archives, 1887).

⁷⁸ So according to a commentary in a 15th century Stuttgart MS.; Franz, *Die Messe*, 704 f.

⁷⁹ It was still mentioned in 1909 as a contemporary custom at a wedding Mass; L. von Hörmann, *Tiroler Volksleben* (Stuttgart, 1909), 371. But I myself have had no acquaintance with the practice.

⁸⁰ Isidore of Seville, *Ep. ad Leudefredum*, n. 12 (PL, LXXXIII, 896).—Synod of Merida (666), can. 14 (Mansi, XI, 83): *communicationis tempore a fidelibus pecuniam novimus poni*. Cf. the remarks of A. Lesley regarding the *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 537 f.).

⁸¹ E. G. about 1400 in Rome: *Ordo Rom.* XV, n. 85 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1332 C). In the memoranda of the Mainz parish priest Florentius Diel (1491-1518), ed. by F. Falk, (*Erläuterungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, IV, 3

[Freiburg, 1904], 15, 46), it is opposed as an abuse: The faithful ought not to lay the money on the Communion cloth.

⁸² Synod of Trullo (692), can. 23 (Mansi, XI, 953); synod of Worcester (1240), can. 29 (Mansi, XXIII, 536): *parochianos suos, cum communicant, offerre compellunt, propter quod simul communicant et offerunt, per quod venalis videtur . . . hostia pretiosa*. Further examples in Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter*, 136 f.—What led to this practice was the desire, quite understandable, to lessen the disturbance caused by the repeated comings and goings, by combining the offertory and Communion processions.—There is a possible connection between the fact that even in modern times the traditional offertory processions are conducted after the Communion, and the ordinance of Joseph II, of June 24, 1785, which sought to do away with the commotion caused by the offertory procession during Mass. This ordinance placed the procession before Mass, and enjoined only money and no burning candles; *K.k. Verordnungen welche über Gegenstände in Materis publico-ecclesiasticis 1784 u. 1785 sind erlassen worden* (Augsburg, 1786), 22.—Regarding the custom in Vorarlberg, see L. Jochum, "Religiöses und kirchliches Brauchtum in Vorarlberg," *Montfort*, 1 (Bregenz, 1946), 263 ff., especially 271.

⁸³ *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 537). According to the rubric for the first Sunday of Advent, the incensing of the altar and the *Adiuvate me fratres* also come before the procession.

extent.⁸⁴ The author of the *Micrologus* denounces this arrangement as inverted.⁸⁵ As a rule, the offertory, even in its new dress, assumes its old place after the *Oremus*, while the *offertorium* is being sung, its gladsome tone spurring one on to joyful giving.⁸⁶ It is presupposed as taking place in this spot in the Mass *ordo* of Burchard of Strassburg, printed in 1502,⁸⁷ and here, too, it is to be found wherever the old custom still survives.⁸⁸

Burchard's *ordo*, which always notes the rubrics with great exactness, also describes the rite for the priest in these circumstances. After he has read the offertory from the missal, he goes to the Epistle side, takes the maniple from his arm and extends it to each of the offerers to be kissed, at the same time blessing them with a special formula.⁸⁹ The same rite is presupposed in Spanish Mass books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁹⁰ In Spain the rite is an ancient tradition,⁹¹ and here, too, it has survived to this day, with the exception of the blessing which had to be sacrificed in 1881 as the result of a decree of the Congregation of Sacred Rites.⁹² The main outlines of the rite are also to be found elsewhere up to

⁸⁴ For France see the numerous instances from the 11th to the 18th centuries in Lebrun, I, 254 f.—For England see the instruction regarding Mass in the Vernon MS. (about 1375), in Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 142.—The rubric in the 1547 Missal of Vich also seems to assert the same; Ferreres, 121.

⁸⁵ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 10 (PL, CLI, 983 C).

⁸⁶ Alexander of Hales, *Summa theol.*, p. IV, 10, 5, 2, and following him William of Melitona, *Opusculum super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 327.

⁸⁷ Legg, *Tracts*, 149.

⁸⁸ For Spain see Ferreres, 121 f.—B. Gavanti, too, thinks it appropriate that the offertory procession which is sometimes performed at present should be inserted here; Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 5 (I, 260).—As a matter of fact, however, the procession which is still in vogue in country churches often begins a bit later, and then, if there are many offerers, it frequently lasts during the whole Mass, with just a short break at the consecration.

⁸⁹ Legg, *Tracts*, 149: *dicto offertorio, si sint volentes offerre, celebrans accedit ad cornu epistolæ, ubi stans detecto capite, latere suo sinistro altari verso, deponit manipulum de brachio sinistro, et accipiens illud in manum dextram porrigit summitatem eius singulis offerentibus osculandum dicens singulis: Acceptabile sit sacrificium tuum omnipotenti Deo, vel:*

Centuplum accipias et vitam æternam possideas. Also in Franz, *Die Messe*, 614, note 1. — According to two Mass books from the neighborhood of Monte Cassino (11-12th cent.), after the priest has taken up the *oblaciones singulorum*, he recites the words: *Suscipe s. Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offert famulus tuus, et præsta ut in conspectum tuum tibi placens ascendat*; Ebner, 309, 340; cf. 346. The same formula, and probably for the same purpose, found already in the first half of the 11th century in the *Missa Illyrica* and the missal of Troyes: Martène, I, 4, IV; VI (I, 508 D, 532 C), and at the other end still occurs in the Missal of St. Lambrecht (Köck, 120), written in 1336.—The blessing: *Acceptabilis sit omnipotenti Deo oblatio tua*, appears also in the *Missa Illyrica*, but is said by the bishop when he receives the *oblata* for the Eucharist, and similarly by the deacon; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 508); cf. Mass *ordo* of Séz (PL, LXXXVIII, 248 A).

⁹⁰ Ferreres, 120 f.

⁹¹ Cf. *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 529 A): The priest says to each: *Centuplum accipias et vitam æternam possideas in regno Dei. Amen.*

⁹² Decision of Dec. 30, 1881; *Decreta auth.* SRC, n. 3535, 1. Still the blessing has not disappeared entirely; see Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II), 362.—Either the maniple or the stole or

very recent times.⁶³ In many places, instead of the maniple or the stole,⁶⁴ the offerer (after handing over his gift)⁶⁵ kissed the hand of the celebrant,⁶⁶ or, in other places, the corporal⁶⁷ or even an extended paten.⁶⁸ Sometimes the offerer accompanied his gift with a word of blessing.⁶⁹ According to a Mass *ordo* of the fifteenth century the priest was finally to bless the peo-

(before 1881) a particle of the True Cross was presented to be kissed. In the diocese of Urgel the blessing was worded: *Oblatio tua accepta sit Deo*. After renewed representations the kissing of the stole was permitted also at a funeral Mass: June 15, 1883; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3579. Ferreres, 121 f.—Cf. G. Martinez de Antóñana, *Manual de liturgia sagrada*, I (5th ed., Madrid, 1938), 496 f.; here is a rubric book that takes the offertory procession into consideration.

⁶³ In Vorarlberg the priest stood at the epistle side during the offertory procession. However, only a vestige was left of the older practice of presenting the maniple to be kissed: as each gift was offered the priest merely waved his maniple and pronounced a blessing, e.g., *Pax tecum*; Jochum (see *supra*, note 82), 272.—In St. Gall nearby a synod of 1690 determined that only the men should kiss the maniple, while it was laid on the heads of the women. K. Steiger, *JL*, 2 (1922), 176. Cf. the note following.

⁶⁴ Ferreres, 121 f. Each of the canonesses at the capitular church in Essen, upon handing the oblation to the priest (who came to the choir with a whole retinue of assistants according to a fixed order), kiss his stole; Arens, *The Liber ordinarius*, 18, 200 f.—According to the parish book of Biberach, about 1530, ed. by A. Schilling, *Freiburger Diözesanarchiv*, 1887, the priest presented the stole to the nobles to be kissed, but merely placed it on the heads of others; Schreiber, *Untersuchungen*, 15 note 1.

⁶⁵ The references are to offerings made *ad altare*, *ad librum*, *ad stolam*, *ad manum*; Merk, *Abriss*, 33 f.; cf. 34, note 4, an Obendorf Mass foundation of 1474: "the offering is thus placed on the altar or given and laid in his [the chaplain's] hand or book."—John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 41 (PL, CCII, 50 D), objects to the priest's holding a *pyxis* or something of the sort in his hand, on the ground that it could

easily give the impression of avariciousness.—Durandus, IV, 30, 38, pretends to know that except at Masses for the dead the pope always received *ad manum* only the oblation of bread, while all else was laid *ad pedes*; cf. *supra*, note 35. So, too, the oblations which were offered *ad manum episcopi* were accepted by the subdeacon because the bishop was not supposed to busy himself with his own hands in worldly matters.

⁶⁶ Durandus, IV, 30, 35.

⁶⁷ According to a report from Lübeck dated about 1350: P. Browe, *Hist. Jahrbuch*, 49 (1929), 481.

⁶⁸ The custom was forbidden by Pius V; likewise in Milan it was prohibited by the provincial synod of 1574. At Rouen, however, it was continued at least for great feasts; de Moléon, 366. In Belgium kissing the paten, at Masses for the dead, continued to be practiced even to the present; Kramp, *op. cit.*, 358.—C. M. Merati proposes a crucifix or some other image in place of the paten; Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, XXI (I, 263).—In Upper Silesia it is (or was) the custom to kiss the foot of a large crucifix while marching around the altar (which was generally part of the offertory procession); A. Stasch, S.J., 1947.

⁶⁹ In the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 508 B) the offerer says the words: *Tibi Domino creatori meo offero hostiam pro remissione omnium peccatorum meorum et cunctorum fidelium tuorum vivorum ac defunctorum*. Two other formulas which voice a special intention, *ibid.* It stands to reason that phrases such as these would be expected generally only from the clergy. In the Mass *ordo* of Séz (PL, LXXVII, 248 A) it is actually designated only for the priest and deacon; similarly in later MSS. in Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 598) and in Ebner, *Quellen*, 346. Also in the missal of Troyes (about 1050), where a second formula follows: *Hanc oblationem, clementissime Pater, defero ad manus sacer-*

ple with the words: *Centuplum accipiat et vitam æternam possideatis, in nomine Patris . . .*¹⁰⁰

A very festive rite of offertory procession is still in use at the solemn papal Mass which is celebrated on the occasion of a canonization. The offerers step up to the pope's throne in three groups, each led by a cardinal. In each group two noblemen precede the cardinal and two other people follow—the four gift-bearers. The gifts borne by the nobles, two heavy candles, two breads, two cruets of wine and water, are handed to the Holy Father by the respective cardinal; in doing so he kisses the pope's hand and stole, and his Holiness in turn blesses the gifts and turns them over to his master of ceremonies. The other gifts (candles, cages with birds) are handed over by the bearers to the cardinal procurator; the latter holds them out to the pope for his blessing.¹⁰¹

However, the general attitude of the later Roman liturgy towards the offertory procession, the attitude of reserve and even avoidance, has led to the very singular result that the celebrant as a rule takes no notice of the procession even when it still occurs.¹⁰² This conduct is to be found even earlier in the declining years of the Middle Ages.¹⁰³ In such cases the people brought their gifts and laid them in a plate or box standing near the altar. In other instances two places were set apart—perhaps for two different purposes—one on the Gospel side, the other on the Epistle; the faithful presented part of their gift at the first location, circled the altar (where this was possible), and then made their second offering at the second place.¹⁰⁴

Since the third century, then, it very quickly became a fixed rule that the faithful should offer their gifts at a common eucharistic celebration, but because of the close connection with the performance of the sacred mystery it was from the very start recognized as a right restricted to those who were full members of the Church, just like the reception of the Sacrament. In the Syrian Didascalia there is a long discussion outlining the duty of the bishops and deacons to watch out from whom they accept a

dotis tui, ut offerat eam tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti pro cunctis peccatis meis et pro totius populi delictis. Amen. Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 532 C).—The Sacramentary of Fonte Avellana (PL, CLI, 886), which could not have been written much before 1325, still introduces the first formula with the rubric: *Quando quis offert oblationem presbytero dicat.*

¹⁰⁰ Pontifical of Noyons: V. Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux*, I (Paris, 1937), 170.

¹⁰¹ Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 55 f. Cf. *supra*, p. 13—A similarly solemn cortege accompanied the king of France when he made his offering on coronation day; see Corblet, I, 223.

¹⁰² But even as cautious a rubricist as B. Gavanti thinks that the present rubrics do not require so narrow an interpretation; where it is the custom the priest could present his hand to be kissed (except at Masses for the dead); therefore he could at least pause. But Gavanti debars the practice sometimes seen at First Masses where the neo-priest was wont *circuire ecclesiam ad oblationem*. Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 5 q. (I, 260 f.).

¹⁰³ This was understood, of course, when the procession started at the beginning of Mass; see *supra*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁴ Thus often in Alpine countries; see, e.g., the account in the *Korrespondenzblatt*

gift;¹⁰⁶ the gifts of all who openly lived in sin were to be refused, whether they were the unchaste or thieves or usurers or even Roman officials who had stained their hands with blood. Similar regulations recur more than once in the ensuing years in both the East and the West.¹⁰⁶ At the beginning of the sixth century the *Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua*, which stem from the neighborhood of Arles, insist that nothing is to be accepted from dissenting brethren, whether in *sacrario* or in *gazophylacio*.¹⁰⁷ Penitents, too, were deprived of this right,¹⁰⁸ and it was not restored to them until their reconciliation.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, the gifts of those Christians who lived at enmity were refused.¹¹⁰ As late as the fifteenth century a preacher, Gottschalk Hollen, made principles of this sort his own.¹¹¹

On the other hand, the congregation was expected to make an offering every Sunday,¹¹² and the wish for even a daily oblation found utterance.¹¹³ In monasteries, after the reform of Benedict of Aniane (d. 821), a daily offering was actually incorporated into the order of service.¹¹⁴ But

für den katholischen Klerus, 54 (Vienna, 1935), 73.

¹⁰⁶ *Didascalia*, IV, 5-8 (Funk, I, 222-228). To be sure, the chief argument proposed for prompting such action is that the widows supported by the donations could pray for obdurate sinners. But at the same time the gifts were also, at least in theory, linked with the altar; cf. IV, 7, 1, 3; IV, 5, 1, and the heading over the last of these passages in the parallel Greek text of the *Apostolic Const.*: "With what care the Sunday contributions are to be received" (Funô, 222).

¹⁰⁷ See a whole series of references in Funk, 224, note on IV, 6, 1; Bona, II, 8, 5 (693 f.); Corblet, I, 218 f.

¹⁰⁸ Can. 93, al. 49 (PL, LVI, 834): *Oblationes discordantium fratrum neque in sacrario neque in gazophylacio recipiantur*. Those gifts which were destined for the altar were deposited in the *sacrarium*.

¹⁰⁹ Council of Nicea (325), can. 11 (Mansi, II, 673); Felix III, *Ep.* 7, al. 13 (PL, LVIII, 926 A; Thiel, 263).—The possessed (in a wide sense) were also excluded: Council of Elvira, can. 29 (Mansi, II, 10). Cf. Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 4 (1933), 110-137.

¹¹⁰ Cf. in the Spanish *Liber ordinum* (Férotin, 98) the prayer at the reconciliation: *ut liceat deinceps sacrificia laudum per manus sacerdotum tuorum sincera mente offerre et ad cibum mensae tuae caelestis accedere*.

¹¹¹ XI Synod of Toledo (675), can. 4

(Mansi, XI, 139). On the other hand, Gregory the Great, *Ep.* VI, 43 (PL, LXXVII, 831 B), mentions his admonition to a bishop that he should not accept a gift from an opponent of his merely on account of a dispute. ¹¹² Franz, 22.

¹¹³ Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitulaire*, I, c. 24 (PL, CV, 198): *Concurrendum est* [on Sunday] *etiam cum oblationibus ad missarum sollempnia*. — Benedictus Levita, *Capitularium collectio* (9th c.), I, 371 (PL, XCVII, 750): *Et hoc populo nuntietur, quod per omnes dies dominicos oblationes Deo offerant et ut ipsa oblatio foris septa altaris recipiatur*. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 170 (PL, XCVII, 768). As a matter of fact, in the 8th and 9th centuries even neo-converts were expected to participate in the offertory procession; see Pirminius, *Scarapsus*, c. 30 (G. Jecker, *Die Heimat des hl. Firman* [Münster, 1927] 69); J. M. Heer, *Ein karolingischer Missionskatechismus* (Freiburg, 1911), 81, 94.

¹¹⁴ Benedictus Levita, *Capitularium Collectio*, II, 170 (PL, XCVII, 768). In such cases the regulations had in mind principally the offerings of those for whose intention the Mass was being celebrated; cf. *infra*, p. 22 f. The German Queen Mathilda (d. 968) had such an offertory procession every day: *quotidie sacerdoti ad Missam praesentare oblationem panis et vini*; *Vita*, c. 19 (MGH, SS, IV, 296).

¹¹⁵ *Capitula monachorum ad Augiam directa* (Albers, *Consuetudines*, III, 105; cf. p. XX): *sunt equidem cottidie sex per*

the Sunday offering was an ancient custom, and is still kept up here and there even at the present.¹¹⁶

After the change from natural goods to money had set in, and the obvious symbolism of the offering of bread and wine had given way before more practical economic considerations, the Sunday oblation seems to have lost favor. In fact it could be pointed out that the necessary income of the Church was assured for the most part by fixed possessions and by taxes which were definitely prescribed. Still, it did seem right that the symbolic activity of the offertory procession should be kept up, at least within modest limits. The Roman reform synod of 1059 deplored the neglect of the oblations (understood here in a somewhat wider sense) and threatened the refusal of Communion.¹¹⁶ In 1078 Pope Gregory VII reaffirmed the old obligation: *ut omnis Christianus procuret ad missarum sollemnia aliquid Deo offerre*,¹¹⁷ pointing to Exodus 23:15 and ancient

brevem deputati fratres sacram offerentes oblationem. Further evidence for the zeal with which the oblation was made in these circles is found in the rules for recluses of Grimlaich, *Reg.* (9th c.), c. 16 (PL, CIII, 594 B): The cell of the anchorite should be so designed that the priest can receive the oblation through the window. Under the influence of Cluny a custom grew up, lasting into the 12th and 13th centuries, that at the early Mass on ferial days all should make an offering, and at the principal Mass each half of the choir alternately; of those who made the offering at the principal Mass a certain number were allowed to go to Communion. On feast days the superior alone made the offering. *Consuetudines monasteriorum Germ.*, n. 33; 43 (Albers, V, 28; 47); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, II, 30 (PL, CL, 1083); cf. Hilpisch, "Der Opfergang" (*Studien u. Mitteilungen*, 1941-42), 88 ff. More detailed regulations determining when one, when two, or when half of the brethren or all (as on All Souls) should make the offering, found in the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (11th c.): Albers, I, see register, p. LVI. At Masses for the dead it was everywhere customary for all the monks to take part in the offertory procession, probably to intensify the power of the intercession; Hilpisch, 90; 93. At a private Mass, according to William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017), the server or someone else, *si iste non vult communicare*, should make the offering. In all these cases it is commonly the offering of hosts and

wine that is meant; cf. *supra*, note 61.

¹¹⁶ Through my own occasional inquiries I have found that the Sunday offertory procession, in which the whole congregation takes part, is still customary along the northern borders of the Alps, especially in many parishes of Vorarlberg and Upper Bavaria, but also in the vicinity of Schneidemühl. The proceeds belong to the church. In certain country parishes in the neighborhood of Freising (and likewise, I am told, in both the German and the Polish parts of Upper Silesia) an offertory procession is also customary on weekdays; one of the members of the family for which the Mass is being celebrated starts the procession, the others follow, in the order and degree of relationship.—I have also heard of such processions being held on Sundays about twice a month in the rural parishes of the diocese of Zips in Slovakia, but here they are for a special purpose or under the auspices of a particular society (the Rosary confraternity) whose members march around the altar with burning candles.—Kramp, *op. cit.*, 361, gives accounts of Sunday offertory processions in Spanish dioceses; in some places there the practice has undergone a certain change, in that only the village or city officials take part each Sunday. A similar custom of having the superiors represent the community was to be found here and there in monasteries and convents even in modern times; Hilpisch, 93 f.

¹¹⁶ Can. 6 (Mansi, XIX, 908 f.).

¹¹⁷ Can. 12 (Mansi, XX, 510). Schreiber,

tradition as his endorsement.¹¹⁸ But no special day was mentioned. Actually, since the eleventh century it had become more and more customary to hold the offertory procession on certain specified feast days, and even to regard it as obligatory on such days. The number of these days fluctuated at first.¹¹⁹ In the later Middle Ages they were usually the greater feasts, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, to which was added All Saints¹²⁰ or the Assumption, or the feast of the dedication of the church, or the church's patronal feast. In the many source documents in which arrangements are made for the proper carrying out of the offering, frequent reference is therefore made to the offering of the *quattuor* or *quinque festivitates*, of the four-time offering or simply the *quattuor offertoria*.¹²¹ Even in the course of the Catholic Reform during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an effort was made to retain these offertory processions or to revive them.¹²² But they seem to have disappeared more completely, even, than the old Sunday offerings.¹²³ Why these efforts at restoration miscarried is not easy to understand; the main reason, perhaps, lay in the opposition to feast day offertory processions which had become entangled in the financial overgrowths of the late Middle Ages, an opposition which, after the Council of Trent, outweighed the desire to restore the ancient symbolical rite.¹²⁴

Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, 306-322, offers a commentary on this legislation.

¹¹⁸ This rule found also in the *Corpus Juris Canonici, Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 69 (Friedburg, I, 1312 f.)—Durandus, IV, 30, 32 f., stresses the obligation with great emphasis, citing many Old Testament passages.—As many later synods pointed out in more detail, the obligation embraced all those who had reached the *anni discretionis* or who had completed their 14th year or who had received their First Communion; Merk, *Abriss*, 6, note 14.

¹¹⁹ Examples since the 11th century with three to seven feast days, in Merk, *Abriss*, 18 ff.—*Ibid.*, 14 (with note 28), a statement of Bishop Manasses of Troyes, of the year 1185, which takes for granted that the Sunday oblations are still held in many churches.

¹²⁰ The obligation is already restricted to these four days in John Belet (d. about 1165), *Explicatio*, c. 17 (PL, CCII, 30).

¹²¹ Schreiber, *Untersuchungen*, 7; 12 f.; 38; Merk, *Abriss*, 18-21. A larger number of feast days is still mentioned in 1364 in an enactment of the bishop of Ermland, in Merk, 104 f.

¹²² Synod of Arras (1570), *Statuta prædec.* 9 (Hartzheim, VIII, 255 f.). The synod

makes a reference to the wording of those secret prayers which commend to God the *oblaciones populi*. Cf., *inter alia*, also the synod of Cologne, 1549 (Hartzheim, VI, 557), and even Constance, 1609 (*ibid.*, VIII, 912 f.).

¹²³ E. Martène, around 1700, still knows of offertory processions being held on certain days in French churches here and there, but they were, in part at least, restricted either to communicants or to the clergy; Martène, I, 4, 6, 9 (I, 388 f.). Cf. Corblet, I, 222-225.—A well-known instance of the offertory procession is that which still survives at the cathedral of Milan, in a manner stately if somewhat formal: two men and two women from the *Scuola di Sant' Ambrogio*, dressed in special attire, march to the entrance of the choir, holding in their right hand wafers or hosts, in their left a caster of wine; the celebrant accepts both. Righetti, *Manuale*, III, 253. Similarly in the 12th century, but then the men went up to the altar; M. Magistretti, *Beroldus* (Milan, 1894), 52.

¹²⁴ Cf. Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des römischen Meszbuches" (*Liturg. Zeitschrift*, 1939), 59.—In the Age of Enlightenment, too, the only things

But in addition to the prescribed processions of the great feast days, the Middle Ages introduced numerous free-will oblations on those occasions when certain specific groups gathered at the Mass: at funeral Masses and the succeeding memorial Masses for the dead, at weddings, at the departure of pilgrims, and the anniversary feasts of guilds and fraternities.¹²⁵ It is precisely on such occasions that the offertory procession is often retained in country places right down to the present.¹²⁶ Of even greater import were the oblations at Votive Masses which an individual or a family ordered to be celebrated for special intentions: for the sick, for friends, for a good harvest, in honor of a saint, in manifold dangers.¹²⁷ Generally the persons concerned made an offering, as the *secreta* and the special *Hanc igitur* formulas in many cases indicate. Besides, the faithful who might be present could always bring their oblation to the altar and thus join more closely in the sacrifice. In this way arose the *oblaciones cotidianæ fidelium* of which medieval documents make mention.¹²⁸

But then it was here precisely that the close connection between participation and presentation broke down—between a sharing in the sacri-

that seemed to be noticed in the offertory procession were the abuses; see Vierbach, 228-233; cf. *supra*, note 82.

¹²⁵ At the beginning of the 16th century, for example, it was the custom in Ingolstadt for the members of the Hatmakers' Guild, along with their wives and servants, to form an offertory procession on the feast of St. Barbara, their patron. At academic services it was the duty of the rector of the university to see that all the prominent members of the university, the doctors, licentiates, masters and noble students, took part in the offertory procession; if they were absent he had to impose a fine of two groats. Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 115 ff., 168.

¹²⁶ Even in the dominion of Joseph II, who forbade processions precisely of this type (in the ordinance cited *supra*, note 82). Unfortunately there is no survey of present-day usages. Some instances are found in J. Kram, "Meszgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit" (*StZ*, 1926, II), 216; 219; *idem*, "Meszgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*ibid.*, 1927, II), 357 g.; 261 f. The offertory procession at services for the dead seems to be customary wherever German is the native tongue; it also exists in Holland, Belgium and Spain.—At weddings it still survives in the eastern portion of Germany, especially in upper

Silesia; R. Adamsky, in *Seelsorger*, 6 (Vienna, 1929-30), 381. Likewise in Vorarlberg, where the whole bridal party marches around the altar; Jochum (see *supra*, note 82), 266. It is also found among the Carinthian Slovenes, where the groomsmen takes the lead (according to Srien; see *supra*, note 72). In some places, as in my own native parish of Taufers in South Tyrol, it is a traditional custom to celebrate the feasts of the various trades unions with an offertory procession; the head of the union leads the procession; the offering represents the annual contribution to the church.—Elsewhere, too, the designation of a particular person to head the procession appears to be part of the offertory procession rite; cf. L. A. Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1936), 96, where we read the following regarding a present-day custom: "In Swabia at the Herd-Mass which is celebrated before the cattle are driven out to pasture, the whole congregation parades around the altar with the herd's boy in the lead."

¹²⁷ Examples from the 14th century in Merk, 28 f., with notes 55, 56; 108.—For modern times see the account regarding Freising, *supra*, note 115.

¹²⁸ Merk, 22 f. According to Schreiber, *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters*, 307, they

fice and the offering of gifts during that sacrifice. Just as had long been the case in regard to foundations whereby, through the gift of a larger sum, the repeated celebration of Mass was guaranteed for a period of time,¹²⁹ so now, even for individual Masses, the custom grew of quietly handing the priest a gift beforehand,¹³⁰ without thereby prejudicing the right of other offerers. The latter could still, as ever, take part at the regular offertory procession or even, for their part, secure a special share in the Mass by their own private gifts.¹³¹ At the same time, however, the Mass stipend properly so-called makes its appearance—an honorarium paid in advance to obligate the priest to celebrate exclusively for the intention of the donor.¹³² For this negotiation the ordinary term employed was *comparatio missæ, missam comparare*.¹³³ But the system of stipends was not adopted wholeheartedly at once, for as long as the notions were not made clear and precise enough, scrupulous hesitation and opposition were not wanting.¹³⁴

were also called *oblaciones peculiares* to distinguish them from the *oblaciones communes* of Sundays and feasts.

¹²⁹ Examples of large Mass-foundations since the 11th century in Merk, 37 ff. Further discussion in Bridgett, 123-140. Early examples of the establishment of Mass-foundations in E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), 368.

¹³⁰ This is the *occulte offerre*, the *denarius secretalis*. Examples from the 14th century in Merk, 35 f. The same procedure is presupposed even earlier in two documents of 1176 and 1268 which treat of gifts *pro missis* which are donated in the church *vel extra*; Merk 40 f.; notes 15, 16.

¹³¹ These latter represent the *recommenda-tiones missæ* which make an appearance since the 12th century; to these *recommenda-tiones* was frequently coupled an obligation for the priest to make mention of the name in the *Memento* or to insert a special oration. Merk, 45 f., 74, 88 f.

¹³² It would be difficult to set an exact date for the first appearance of the Mass stipend. If a money gift is the essential in the notion of a stipend, then that essential can be discovered already in such cases as that mentioned by St. Augustine (*supra*, note 22), cases that must have been duplicated long before. Further, there is the account found in Epiphanius, *Adv. hæres.*, XXX, 6 (PG, XLI, 413), where someone gives the bishop who had just baptized him a sum of money with the request: *πρόσφερε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ*. — However,

the Mass stipend grew enormously in importance near the end of the Middle Ages, when the number of priests increased, and with them the number of private Masses; cf. *supra*, I, 223 ff. Thus it became possible more and more for an individual to secure the celebration of Mass for his own intention by handing the priest a present.—So far no one has written a satisfactory history of the development of the Mass stipend system. As an introduction see Merk, *Abriss*, especially his summary, p. 91 ff. This book, which is so valuable for the documentary materials it supplies, is not always trustworthy in its historical exposition or its conclusions. A wealth of material is also gathered in Fr. de Berlemdis, *De oblationibus ad altare* (Venice, 1743).

¹³³ Evidence since the 13th century in Merk; see the index under *comparatio*. But the word *comparare* in the Latin of the period had also the meaning "to buy."—The technical word in German at the time was "*Messe vrüemen*" (that is, *frumen* or *frommen*), which signifies nothing more than to engage or order; the word does not seem to have been given the meaning "to acquire an advantage or gain" (Merk, 96); cf. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, IV, 1 (1878), 246 f.; J. B. Schoepf, *Tirolisches Idiotikon* (Innsbruck, 1866), 157.

¹³⁴ At Würzburg in 1342 a Magister Konrad Heger, who had impugned the "*Messe frumen*" as simoniacal, was forced to

At the Council of Trent, where one of the chief concerns was the removal of abuses regarding ecclesiastical monetary matters, this question of stipends came to the fore. But in the end the Council did nothing more than issue a general admonition to the bishops,¹³⁵ and this in turn was amplified by subsequent canonical legislation. In this later amplification the rift between gift and oblation was obviously made even wider, for according to more recent decisions it is no longer forbidden to accept a stipend from non-Catholics, even from heathens who can in no wise become offerers of the oblation of the Church.¹³⁶ Of course this does not prevent at least the stipend of the faithful—viewed in the light of ecclesiastical tradition—from continuing to be the gift to God which, like the bread and wine, is directed immediately to the sacrifice of the New Covenant. The priest accepts it with the obligation (*ratione rei detentæ*) of consummating the sacrifice for the benefit of the donor, and with the right to use for his own support whatever money is not required for the expense of celebration.¹³⁷ The faithful, however, were always to be aware of the priesthood that is theirs through baptism and confirmation, and were therefore to regard their offering of the stipend as only the start of their participation in the sacrifice, much as the Christians of an earlier era did when they not only brought their gifts to the altar but also continued to follow the celebration and partook of the Body of the Lord as a return gift.¹³⁸

The ancient offering of the faithful survives also in another metamorphosis, the offertory collection.¹³⁹ There is no reason why this should

swear *quod actus "messefrumen" seu misse comparatio ex sui natura est oblatio . . . item quod . . . non est "messekaufen" seu misse emptio*, and so was allowed. The text in Merk, 98-100.—Others opposed Mass stipends without calling their lawfulness into question; thus Heinrich von Pflummern of Biberach (d. 1531); L. A. Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1936), 211. The Society of Jesus originally accepted no Mass stipends; *Constitutiones S.J.*, VI, 2, 7 (Institutum S.J., II [Florence, 1893], 96).—The Franciscans were even stricter; from the start they did not permit even *oblaciones manuales*; Salimbene, *Chronik* (MGH, SS, 32, p. 422; 425).

¹³⁵ *Conc. Trid.*, sessio XXII, decretum de observandis: in particular the bishops were to severely forbid *importunas atque illiberales eleemosynarum exactiones potius quam postulationes*.

¹³⁶ Roman decisions in this sense since 1848, in Hanssens, *Institutiones*, II, 64 f. Hanssens considers that from the 16th

century on there came into being a new concept of the Mass stipend, by virtue of which the donor of the stipend is no longer necessarily a *missæ oblator*.—Still it seems to me we are doing justice to the facts if, with M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of the Faith*, II (transl., Archpriest Jos. Carroll; London & New York, 1950), 292 f., we view these decisions as treating certain borderline cases where the Mass stipend in its true concept as a contractual engagement is not under consideration at all, but simply an alms which is accepted and in view of which a promise is made to offer the sacrifice for the intentions expressed.

¹³⁷ M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith and Human Opinion* (London, 1934), 81-197; 221-223. Other discussions of stipends can be found in the works of the canonists; e.g. Ch. F. Keller, *Mass Stipends* (Catholic University dissertation 27, Washington, 1925).

¹³⁸ Cf. *supra*, 2 f. and note 17 f.

¹³⁹ In Germany the so-called *Klingelbeutel*

not be permitted to serve a more than merely utilitarian purpose, no reason why it should not be given a deeper spirit and a more vivid form than it ordinarily presents—a spirit, by harking back to the living roots of this contribution which is primarily intended as a gift to God and which is destined for the earthly recipient only through and over the altar; a form, by confining the collection to the time of the offertory and clothing the activity with dignified and appropriate ceremonial.¹⁰ Even though this is a collection and not an offertory procession, the basic idea of a genuine oblation is not excluded any more than it was at the rite in vogue in the station services of the city of Rome.

2. The Offertory Chant

The entrance of the clergy at the start of Mass was made to the accompaniment of the introit sung by the *schola cantorum*. It was then but a natural application of the same principle that suggested that the “procession” of the people at the offertory and communion—both interruptions during the audible part of the Mass—should be enlivened and enriched by psalmodic song.

That this was the meaning and purpose of the offertory chant was well understood all during the Middle Ages. The chanting was called by the same name that was given to the presentation of the oblation gifts: *offertorium*,¹ *offerenda*.² Even in the Middle Ages the commentators stressed

or offertory basket is passed around only on certain occasions to receive the voluntary money contributions of the faithful, but in North America (the United States and Canada particularly) the collection is part and parcel of every Sunday and feast-day Mass, since the needs of the church are provided for almost exclusively in this fashion.—Regarding the criticisms leveled against the use of the collection basket in the era of the Enlightenment, see Vierbach, 232 f.

¹⁰One Paris pastor has the servers take up a collection on twelve collection plates which they then hold in their hands on either side of the altar during the recitation of the *secret*. G. Chevrot, “Restauration de la Grand’ messe dans une paroisse de Paris,” *Etudes de Pastorale liturgique* (*Lex orandi*, I; Paris, 1944), 269–292, esp. 286 f. A discussion by Jos P. Donovan, C.M., of a similar ceremony in one of the U. S. churches, in *Homiletic & Pastoral Review*, 47 (1946), 221–222. A private response of the SRC outlawing two other such American innovations is printed in G. J. Booth, *The Offertory Rite*

in the *Ordo Romanus Primus* (Washington, 1948), 48.

¹The name *offertorium* for the chant appears regularly even in the earliest MSS. of the Mass chant books, so that it goes back at least to the 17th century; see Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*. The full title, *antiphona ad offertorium*, is less frequent; cf. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 107, 121; III, 418. In the first place the word *offertorium* designated the rite of *offerre*, that is, the presentation of the offertory gifts by people and clergy; thus in the description of the course of the Mass in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 1) and in the *Ordo Romanus* I, n. 16 (PL, LXXVIII, 944); cf. the paraphrase in the Maundy Thursday rite in the older Gelasianum, I, 39 (Wilson, 67): *Post hac offert plebs*. Transferred to the chant, the term appears first in Isidore of Seville, *De eccl. off.*, I, 14 (PL, LXXXIII, 751): *De offertoriis*.

²Thus in the MS redacted by G. M. Tommasi (Tommasi-Vezzosi, V, 3 ff.); see also Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL,

this connection: the chant (they said in substance) should signify the jubilation of heart with which the faithful proffer their gifts, for (as they quoted) "God loves the cheerful giver."³

When all the gifts had been presented, a signal was given the singers to conclude their chanting.⁴ And whenever the *oratio super oblata* was not immediately pronounced aloud—as had been customary in the early Middle Ages—complete quiet set in, a conscious silence which foreshadowed the beginning of the priestly activity of oblation,⁵ although only preparatory actions immediately followed—actions like washing the hands, incensing, silent prayer. This silence was also made the object of special commentary and explanation.⁶ Not till the turn of the medieval epoch, when an understanding of this silence vanished, and when in addition—as the result of the disappearance of even the feast-day procession—the chant was reduced to the antiphon as we have it at present, only then did the masters of polyphony turn their attention on greater feasts to this song—in contrast to introit and communion—and by their art they lengthened and extended it to cover the other rites which are at present comprehended under the term offertory; thus the offertory song became a connecting link with the preface.

The earliest accounts of an offertory chant come from North Africa. It seems to have been introduced there in the time of St. Augustine, first at Carthage, later at Hippo through Augustine's own efforts. In a review of his own literary activity the saint mentions that he wrote a work, now lost, taking issue with a certain Hilarius who had opposed the practice, then recently introduced, of singing psalms during the offering of the gifts and at the communion.⁷ At Rome, too, the practice must have gained an entry very early, perhaps about the same time.⁸ Nevertheless, on Holy Saturday the offertory chant is missing, as are the other chants of the *schola*, for this Mass retains the features of a more ancient usage. How-

CV, 1126 D); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1251 D) Pontificale of Poitiers: Martène, 4, 22, 5 (III, 300 C).—The expression appears principally in the French area and then as a designation of the offertory procession; cf. Schreiber, *Untersuchungen*, 21 ff. It survives in the French word "offrande," offering, offertory procession.

³ II Cor. 9: 7.—Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 53 (PL, CCXVII, 831); Durandus, IV, 27, 5.—Cf. *supra*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 15 (PL, LXXVIII, 944); cf. *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973), where the signal is given before the *Orate*.

⁵ It is significant that in William of Melitona, *Opusculum*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph.*

liturg., 1939), 327, the offertory procession and the offertory chant, being purely preparatory, are still attached to the first part of the Mass; see *supra*, I, 114.

⁶ Innocent III, *op. cit.*, II, 54 (PL, CCXVII, 831): *De silentio post offertorium*.—Cf. *supra*, I, 108 ff.

⁷ Augustine, *Retractiones*, II, 37 (CSEL, 36, 144): *ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmorum libro sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribueretur populo, quod fuisset oblatum*.

⁸ But J. Brinktrine, "De origine offertorii in missa Romana," *Eph. liturg.*, 40 (1926), 15-20; *idem.*, *Die hl. Messe*, 125 f., thinks differently. However, the grounds alleged by Brinktrine for a late origin of the Roman offertorium (8th c.), especially the

ever, to all appearances Rome had but a modest store of offertory chants even in the sixth century, as we can gauge from the Milanese Mass, which has preserved its antique form to the present, and in which the offertory chants give every indication of having been borrowed from Rome. In the Roman Mass itself, however, this modest store was later richly augmented by Gregory the Great and his successors.⁹

At first the offertory chant probably had the same antiphonal design as the chant at the introit: the *schola*, divided into two choirs, sang a psalm alternately, with an antiphon as prelude.¹⁰ The psalm varied from celebration to celebration, taking into account, as far as possible, the church year with its festivals and seasons.

It is a striking fact that at a very early period the antiphonal performance of the offertory was abandoned and a responsorial style substituted for it. Even the ancient substructure of Roman offertories preserved at Milan, as mentioned above, had this responsorial design. Among these, for instance, is the offertory which the present Roman Missal assigns to the eleventh Sunday after Pentecost (also used on Ash Wednesday); in the oldest sources it has the following form:

Exaltabo te, Domine, quoniam suscepisti me, nec delectasti inimicos meos super me. [Refrain:] Domine clamavi ad te et sanasti me.

V. *Domine abstraxisti ab inferis animam meam, salvasti me a descendentibus in lacum. [Refrain:] Domine clamavi ad te et sanasti me.*

V. *Ego autem dixi in mea abundantia: non movebor in æternum. Domine in voluntate tua præstitisti decori meo virtutem. [Refrain:] Domine, clamavi [ad te et sanasti me].*¹¹

Here, just as in the chants interpolated before the Gospel, a refrain is repeated several times.¹² In line with this, the verse (as found in the oldest manuscripts with neums) is treated as a solo and consequently provided

recurrence of the same text in various formularies, rather support an earlier introduction.

⁹ O. Heiming, "Vorgregorianisch-römische Offertorien in der mailändischen Liturgie," *Liturg. Leben*, 5 (1938), 152-159.

¹⁰ The designation that occasionally appears in the sources, *antiphona ad offertorium* (see note 1 above), points to this.

¹¹ Antiphonary of Compiègne (Hesbert, n. 37 b; cf. n. 183).—The words in brackets are filled out in conformity with Heiming, 156. To justify this expansion we point to the fact that only the second half of the first verse is repeated at the end.—The Milanese liturgy employs this offertory chant, using the verse and the refrain on one Sunday, the second verse and the

refrain on another Sunday; the refrain in each case is set to the same melody. Heiming, 156.—The responsorial character of the offertories is marked with special clarity in the MS of Compiègne: Hesbert, n. 3 ff.

¹² In the offertories, even in the oldest texts, there is still another notable repetition that appears: within the text itself individual words or phrases are sung twice, three times or more, and they are sometimes so written even in MSS without neums. Thus in the antiphonary of Senlis the fourth verse of the 21st Sunday after Pentecost begins: *Quoniam, quoniam, quoniam non revertetur*; Hesbert, n. 196 a. There is no explanation for this exceptional usage. The Vatican *Graduale* has retained the texts thus shaped as long as they are traditional. Wagner, I, 109-111.

with the greatest melodic richness.¹³ A few of the manuscripts devoted to the solo chants therefore contain the verse of the offertory while merely indicating the texts that pertain to the choir, namely, the initial section and the refrain.¹⁴ Apparently the *Gloria Patri* was not appended to these verses.

And now we may well ask how this remarkable development came about. It is almost certain that the main consideration was to give the offertory chant a certain lengthiness, in view (obviously) of the people's procession. True, this extra length could also have been achieved by having the psalm sung antiphonally right down to the end, and then repeating the antiphon which stands at the start. Perhaps the responsorial form was chosen to make it easier for the singers to take part in the offertory procession.¹⁵ Besides, the main point in singing at all was not so much to render the text of a complete psalm, but rather to achieve a festive mood, which could be done more readily by musical means. This resulted, therefore, in a shortening of the psalm, along with a corresponding compensation both by the enrichment of the melody of the verse sung as a solo, and by the repetition of the antiphon or a part thereof, after the manner of a refrain. This refrain could, of course, have been turned over to the people, but by this time there was obviously little interest in such participation of the people in responsorial chanting, at least in the greater station services. We already noted in the history of the intervenient chants how early the art of the special singers preponderated even in responsorial song.¹⁶ So the refrain at the offertory was from the very start reserved to the singing choir.

It is in this responsorial form that the offertory chant regularly appears in the choral books of the early Middle Ages. The number of psalm verses fluctuates between one and four.¹⁷ That is patently more than in the other Mass chants. The extension must be explained, as already indicated, by the length of the offertory procession.¹⁸ Whereas at the introit only a single group, the clergy, wended through the church, and whereas the reception of Communion, for which the communion chant was intended, had become since the close of the ancient era nearly everywhere a rare and slight affair, the whole congregation continued to take part in the offertory procession Sunday after Sunday till at least the year 1000. Not till the eleventh century was there any noticeable drop in the regularity of this procession; after that it was gradually limited to the greater festivals. And, as a matter of fact, it is in the eleventh century that the offertory verses begin to disappear from many manuscripts. By the following century this omission has become a general rule, although exceptions are to

¹³ Wagner, I, 108. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Thus Wagner, I, 108. However, for the procedure in this offertory rite cf. *supra*, I, 71-72. ¹⁶ *Supra*, I, 425 f.

¹⁷ For particulars see Wagner, I, 111.

¹⁸ For this connection see, about 1080, *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, I, 6 (PL, CIL, 652): the *præcentor* should intone one verse or all of them, as he sees fit, *maxime propter offerentes*.

be found till the very end of the Middle Ages.¹⁹ The portion which had originally been the antiphon was considered sufficient. In the Missal of Pius V only the Mass for the Dead retained a verse, and with it a refrain: *Hostias et preces* and *Quam olim Abraham*; this fits in once again with the fact that it was precisely at the Requiem that the offertory procession continued in use. On the other hand, the Milanese Mass has retained the offertory verse even to the present, and similarly the Mozarabic Mass.²⁰

As already pointed out, the offertory was always performed by a choral group.²¹ And because their singing prevented the choristers from personally taking part in the offertory procession, their place was taken by one of the members; at Rome it was the *archiparaphonista* whose duty it was to offer the water.²² Since in the churches of the later Middle Ages the singing choir usually represented a part of the clerical choir, it was really only a nominal difference when sometimes the *clerus*²³ was mentioned and sometimes the *chorus*.²⁴ A reminiscence of the fact that the offertory was a chant sung by the choir survived in some of the Mass *ordos* of the Middle Ages where the texts were appointed to be recited at the high Mass, not only by the celebrant alone, but by the deacon and subdeacon along with him.²⁵

As for the texts of the offertory, they are taken as a rule from Holy Scripture; for the most part, in fact, from the Psalms, as the psalmodic origin of the chant would naturally imply. One would expect that the texts chosen would be expressive of the idea of oblation and so suggest the meaning of the offertory procession. But actually this is only the exceptional case: examples of this sort are found in the offertory of the Dedication of a Church: *Domine Deus, in simplicitate cordis mei lætus obtuli universa*; on Epiphany: *Reges Tharsis et insulæ munera offerent*; on Pentecost: . . . *tibi offerent reges munera*; on Corpus Christi: *Sacerdotes Domini incensum et panes offerunt Deo*. The offertory of the Mass for the Dead also belongs to this class; notice the verse: *Hostias et preces tibi Domine laudis offerimus*.²⁶ But most of the texts have a very general character or dwell on the theme of the feast being celebrated. This is true

¹⁹ Wagner, I, 112.—*Ibid.*, 112, note 2, citing two MSS from the 15-16th centuries which still have offertory verses for the Christmas Mass; cf. *supra*, p. 22. The Sarum missal of the last years of the Middle Ages still presents two verses for the offertory in several Masses, but according to an adjoining rubric only one verse was then used on week-days in Advent and after Septuagesima; Ferreres, 118.—Even Durandus, IV, 27, 4, for his part, has this to say of the verses: *hodie plerisque locis omittuntur*.

²⁰ Here the chant is called *sacrificium*: *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 536 A).

²¹ *Supra*, p. 28.

²² *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 14 (PL, LXXVIII, 944); Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1131 C); Ps.-Alcuin, *De div. off.* (PL, CI, 1246 A).

²³ Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33 (PL, CVII, 322).

²⁴ *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 992 C); Durandus, IV, 27, 3.

²⁵ *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 92; Mass-ordo of York (ab. 1425): Simmons, 98; so also in the present rite of the Dominicans: *Missale O.P.* (1889), 27; see also the apparatus in Volk, *loc. cit.*

²⁶ Because of the language it uses to de-

also of the verses which once were appended here; they regularly belonged to the same psalm or the same scriptural text as the initial verse. As a matter of fact, a reference to what was happening at the offertory procession was superfluous so long as the practice itself was alive. The chief purpose then was not, as it is in our present-day Mass chants, to explain what was already plain enough in itself; the chief thing was to give it a religious dedication.

3. The Matter for the Sacrifice

The vicissitudes which befell the offertory procession were dependent, to a large extent, on the requirements regarding the condition of the elements for the sacrifice. There can be little doubt that the bread used by Christ our Lord at the Last Supper was the unleavened bread prescribed for the paschal meal, a bread made of fine wheat flour. But the very way the accounts read readily indicates that no importance was attached to the particular paschal practice of using unleavened bread;

scribe the state of the souls departed, this offertory has been the object of much discussion; see the survey of the main solutions in Gühr, 542 f. New attempts are to be found also in *Eph. liturg.*, 50 (1936), 140-147; in the *Theol. prakt. Quartalschrift*, 91 (1938), 335-337.—One thing is sure, namely, that ideas of the hereafter are depicted here which have not had the benefit of thorough theological clarification and which, in particular, fail to distinguish plainly between hell and purgatory. Things are said about the deliverance of the departed that could easily be understood to refer to deliverance from hell. To come to details, critics point out, with disapproval, that the offertory presents the ancient and yet Christian picture of the passage of the soul through the skyey realm where the good and the bad angels battle for it; J. Stiglmayr, "Das Offertorium in der Requiemesse und der Seelendurchgang," *Der Katholik*, 93 (1913), I, 248-255. That St. Michael plays a role in this struggle is an inference from biblical data. St. Michael frequently appears in Coptic sepulchre art; he weighs the merits of the dead, and is also the one who leads them to light (cf. *signifer sanctus Michael repræsentet eas in lucem*

sanctam). A Coptic grave inscription of the year 409 prays for rest for the soul of a deceased person διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ σωταῖω τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ.

—Cf. also, from the article by H. Leclercq, "Anges," *DACL*, I, 2080-2161, the section on "Les Anges psychagogues" and "Les Anges psychopompes," esp. col. 2137 ff.—Our offertory originated in Gallic territory. Various elements of the text appear here in the 8th to 10th centuries; see R. Po-devijn, "Het Offertorium der Doodenmis," *Tijdschrift voor Liturgie*, 2 (1920), 338-349; 3 (1921), 249-252; reviewed in *JL*, 2 (1922), 147. Cf. the additional bibliographical references in *JL*, 15 (1941), 364.—For the phrase *de profundo lacu*, etc., cf. H. Rahner, "Antenna crucis," II (*ZkTh*, 1942), 98, plus note 77; 113, note 175. Franz, *Die Messe*, 222, draws upon medieval representations of purgatory as a means of clarification.—Among the matters proposed as *abusus missæ* at the Council of Trent, our offertory was one of the things pointed out as requiring alteration: *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Goerres, VIII, 917. A detailed interpretation of this offertory, reconciling the wording with Catholic dogma, in Eisenhofer, II, 138 f. A study of the whole matter, *swn-*

what our Lord took into his hands is simply called *ἄρτος*, a word which could designate not only the unleavened bread used at the paschal feast but also the leavened kind which was otherwise in use among Jews as well as pagans.¹ The latter kind was therefore from earliest times considered at least licit for the Eucharist. Thus it was all the less difficult for the faithful to be able to make an offering of the bread for the altar; they just took bread from their domestic supply and brought it for divine service.² Both literary accounts and pictorial illustrations show us that the shape of the eucharistic bread did not differ from the shape of bread used for domestic purposes.³ The only distinction, if distinction it was, consisted in this, that the finest and best formed loaves were selected, as was only natural. In two mosaics at Ravenna, in which the eucharistic altar is shown, the bread appears in the form of a chaplet or crown, that is, twisted like a braid and then wound into a circlet about four inches across.⁴ This is the *corona* referred to by St. Gregory the Great;⁵ being an out-

marizing all the above, is found in B. M. Serpelli, *L'offertorio della Messa dei defunti* (Rome, 1946); see the review in *Eph. liturg.*, 61 (1947), 245-252.

¹ Gossens, *Les origines*, 117. — Present usage requires bread made of wheaten flour, and therefore flour ground from rye, oats, barley or maize—though these are all classified as grain (*frumentum*)—is invalid. R. Butin, "The Bread of the Bible," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, 59 (1918), 113-125, concludes that nothing definite can be deduced from the scriptural narratives of the Last Supper, for although *ἄρτος* was generally used in classical Greek for wheaten bread, it is probably here only a translation of the Hebrew *lehem* (or rather the Aramaic *lahma*), which referred to any kind of bread. An uninterrupted tradition, however, has always favored wheaten bread.

² Cf. the accounts *supra*, p. 2 ff. Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, IV, 4 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 158), is quite unmistakable when he puts these words upon his hearer's lips: *meus panis est usitatus*, that is, the bread I have received in Communion is the bread I am accustomed to use every day.—It is recounted of the Egyptian monk and Monophysite bishop, Peter the Iberian (d. 487), that for the Eucharist he had a bakery produce loaves that were beautiful and white and fit for the sacrifice, and very small in circumference; these he let harden—they were therefore leavened bread—and thus he used them from time to time

as he celebrated the holy sacrifice. Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 33 ff.; further references, *ibid.*, 34 ff.—The story in John the Deacon, *Vita s. Gregorii*, II, 41 (PL, LXXV, 103), about the lady who recognized in the particle given her at Communion the same bread she had herself baked and brought along, and who thereupon laughed and received a reprimand for so doing, is probably only a legend of the 9th century, as the formula for distribution shows (see *infra*).

In the West the XVI Synod of Toledo (693) demanded that the host-bread be prepared specially; can. 6 (Mansi, XII, 73 f.).

³ Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 1-46: "Heathen and Christian bread stamp with religious symbols," esp. 33 ff. R. M. Wooley, *The Bread of the Eucharist* (Alcuin Club Tracts, 10; London, 1913).

⁴ San Vitale: illustration in Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, plate 6; Sant' Apollinare in Classe: illustration in Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), plate 10.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 15, note 75.—The *Liber pontificalis* (under Zephyrinus: Duchesne, I, 139), mentions the *corona consecrata* that is distributed for Communion. In the *Ordo* of St. Amand (9th c.), too, the host is once referred to as *corona*; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 461.—The host-breads on the ivory tablet in Frankfort are also in the form of a crown; illustration, DACL,

standing product of the baker's skill, it is known to us since the third century.⁶ Or sometimes the center hole of the crown was filled in, and so the bread had the form of a disk.⁷ Perhaps the form most frequently used was a round loaf divided into four parts by a cross-notch (*panis quadratus*, *panis decussatus*);⁸ its form easily lent itself to a Christian explanation, and so was even considered indispensable,⁹ although the shape had been developed merely for a very practical reason—easier breaking—and for precisely this reason had been in common use even in pre-Christian culture.¹⁰ Along with this there was a practice, already known in ancient times, of stamping the bread with a symbol or inscription. A breadstamp from the fourth or fifth century shows a superimposed XP symbol;¹¹ however, there is no proof that a bread so inscribed was intended precisely for the Eucharist. Still, in the years that followed, many of the Oriental rites formed the practice of using just such stamps or irons, although their use for leavened bread (which was less firm) was not a matter of course.¹² In most of these instances the stamp consisted of a repetition of the Cross in various patterns. In the eucharistic stamp of the Byzantine rite the somewhat larger round bread is impressed with a square which is divided into four fields by the Cross, and on these are distributed the symbols of the inscription: 'Ι (ἡσούς) Χ (ριστός) νιχζ.

In the West, various ordinances appeared from the ninth century on, all demanding the exclusive use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist.¹³ A growing solicitude for the Blessed Sacrament and a desire to employ only

III, 2476-77; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, plate 6.

⁶ Dölger, 37, note 152.

⁷ Thus one of the two loaves in the representation of the altar at Sant' Apollinare; a cross is depicted in the center. Cf. *supra*, note 4.

⁸ A. de Waal, "Hostie," in Kraus, *Realencyclopädie*, I (Freiburg, 1882), 672. The shape and size were about like those of a hot-cross bun.

⁹ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, I, 11 (PL, LXXVII, 212).

¹⁰ Dölger, 39-43. In one ancient representation of the Last Supper is seen a loaf divided into three sections by three ray-like gashes starting at the center (*panis trifidus*), the type which Paulinus of Nola describes as usual in his neighborhood, and which he interprets in terms of the Trinity; Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 44 f.; 6 (1940), 67.

¹¹ Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 17-20, with plate 9.—Similarly a bread stamp of the 6th century from Carthage, which bears, in addition, the inscription:

Hic est flos campi et lilium; H. Leclercq, *DACL*, V, 1367.

¹² Dölger, 21-29, along with the illustrations on plate 3-8.—The host-breads of the Orientals, excepting perhaps the East Syrians, are somewhat larger than our own large hosts and, because of the yeast, thicker, about the thickness of a finger (except in the Byzantine rite); Hanssens, II, 174-178. Thus they can always be broken.

¹³ Alcuin, *Ep.* 69 (*alias* 90; PL, C, 289): *panis, qui corpus Christi consecratur, absque fermento ullius alterius infectionis debet esse mundissimus*. However, the point directly insisted on here is that there be no admixture (*fermentum*) of salt.—Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 31 (PL, CVII, 318 D): *panem infermentatum*.—The oft-cited quotation from Venerable Bede is not relevant; for this and other supposed references see J. R. Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre an der Wende der christlichen Spätantike*, 21-36. Nevertheless Geiselmann grants that the use of unleavened bread was recognized towards

the best and whitest bread," along with various scriptural considerations¹⁴—all favored this development.¹⁵ Still, the new custom did not come into exclusive vogue until the middle of the eleventh century.¹⁶ Particularly in Rome it was not universally accepted till after the general infiltration of various usages from the North. In the Orient there were few objections to this usage during olden times.¹⁷ Not till the discussions that led to the schism of 1054 did it become one of the chief objections against the Latins.¹⁸ At the Council of Florence (1439), however, it was definitely established that the Sacrament could be confected *in azymo sive fermentato pane*.¹⁹ Therefore, as we well know, the various groups of Orientals who are united with Rome continue to use the type of bread traditional among them.

Reverence for the Blessed Sacrament, however, soon took a new turn both in the East and in the West, namely, in the effort to remove the bread destined for the altar farther and farther from the sphere of the merely profane. In the Orient the making of the breads was committed

the end of the 8th century. A. Michel, *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, 36 (1936), 119 f., assigns a substantially greater antiquity for unleavened bread in the West.

¹⁴ Cf. XVI Synod of Toledo (693), can. 6 (Mansi, XII, 73 f.); cf. also note 2, *supra*, the example of Peter the Iberian.

¹⁵ Contributing factors included, besides the consideration of our Lord's own example at the Last Supper, the interpretation of leaven as an ignoble admixture (esp. I Cor. 5: 7 f.). In addition, the early Middle Ages grew increasingly conscious of the importance of Old Testament prescriptions (Lev. 2: 4, 11; 6: 16 f., etc.; cf. also Mal. 1: 11).

¹⁶ F. Cabrol, "Azymes," *DACL*, I, 3254-3260.—The opinion put forward by J. Mabillon, *Dissertatio de pane eucharistico* (Paris, 1674; = PL, CXLIII, 1219-1278), in his answer to the Jesuit J. Sirmond, *Disquisitio de azymo* (Paris, 1651), namely, that in the West it was always the practice to use only unleavened bread, is no longer tenable.

¹⁷ J. Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre*, 38 ff.—The three little breads twisted into the form of a crown which are seen lying before the celebrant on the ivory tablet in the Frankfurt municipal library (9-10th century; cf. *supra*, note 5), obviously represent leavened bread.

¹⁸ A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarius*, II

(Paderborn, 1930), 112 ff., especially 117 f., 122.—The Armenians used unleavened bread as early as the 6th century, and both dissidents and Catholics have continued to adhere to the practice. However, the Council of Trullo (692), which occupied itself repeatedly with the peculiarities of the Armenians, makes no mention of this; Hanssens, II, 156 f. Among the Syrians, too, unleavened bread appears to have received the preference already in the 5th century; this practice is strictly followed by the Maronites at present; it has certainly been the custom since the plenary synod of 1736, but whether as an uninterrupted tradition from olden times is uncertain. For the rest, however, leavened bread became the rule in the Orient; Hanssens, II, 134 ff. For a thorough discussion of all the prescriptions and controversies in the oriental rites, see *ibid.*, II, 121-217. For the East Syrians (Chaldeans), see D. de Vries, *Sakramenten-theologie bei den Nestorianern* (Ortitalia Christ. anan. 133; Rome, 1947), 193 ff.

¹⁹ The ἄζυμα are properly ἀψυχα and imply a denial of Christ's soul; they are a relapse into the Old Testament; Christ Himself used only leavened bread. Therefore a Eucharist with unleavened bread is invalid. Geiselmann, 42 ff. Later the criticism again became less severe.

²⁰ Denzinger-Umberg, n. 693.

as a rule only to clerics; in any case—according to present practice—women are excluded. The baking is done in a church building to the accompaniment of prayer, and as far as possible on the day of the celebration itself.²¹ Among the East Syrians there is a special rite, divided into two parts: the preparation of the dough, and the baking, both encircled with many prayers and psalms; this rite is considered a portion of the Mass-liturgy.²² Among the Abyssinians each church has for the same purpose a little side building called *beth-lechem* ("House of Bread"), from which three freshly-baked breads are borne to the altar in solemn procession at the beginning of service.²³

In the West, too, the making of bread was for a time given a liturgical form, particularly within the ambit of the Cluniac reform movement. According to the customs of the monastery of Hirsau in the Black Forest (eleventh century), the wheat had to be selected kernel for kernel; the mill on which it was to be ground had to be cleaned, then hung about with curtains; the monk who supervised the milling had to don alb and humeral. The same vesture was worn by the four monks to whom the baking of the hosts was confided; at least three of these monks were to be in deacon's orders or even higher rank. While working they were to keep strict silence, so that their breath might not touch the bread.²⁴ According to the instructions in other monasteries, on the other hand, the monks were to combine their work with the singing of psalms according to a precise plan.²⁵ It might be added that such a solemn act did not take place every day, but only a few times in the year.²⁶ Recalling the instructions regarding the Old Testament bread of proposition,²⁷ the desire was expressed that even outside the monasteries only the priest should prepare and bake the host;²⁸ in France this order was in many instances faithfully

²¹ Hanssens, II, 206-217.

²² *Ibid.*, II, 208 f.; Brightman, 247-249.

²³ Hanssens, II, 210 f. For the Mass itself only one of the three breads is selected.

²⁴ Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 53 (Herrgott, *Vetus disciplina monastica*, 249); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, II, 32 (PL, CL, 1086 f.). Cf. Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, III, 13 (PL, CIL, 757 f.), and the description of the Evesham customs in Bridgett, *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, 76-77.

²⁵ *Consuetudines of Fruttuaria* (11th c.; Albers, *Consuetudines*, IV, 138); Lanfranc (d. 1089), *Decreta pro O.S.B.*, c. 6 (PL, CL, 488 f.). Further references in Corblet, I, 176 f.

²⁶ William of Hirsau, *Const.*, II, 32 (PL, CL, 1087 A): there was no regulation *quot vicibus in anno*; cf. Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 53 (Herrgott, 249): especially

before Christmas and Easter.

²⁷ I Par. 9: 32.

²⁸ Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, CCXIII, 119 A). Even the accompanying *melodia psalmorum* is mentioned as a general regulation; Humbert of Silva Candida, *Adv. Græcorum calumnias*, n. 21 (PL, CXLIII, 946; C. Will, *Acta et scripta de controversiis ecclesiæ græcæ et latinæ s. XI* [Leipzig, 1861], 104).—Already in the canons of Theodore of Canterbury, II, 7, 4 (Finsterwalder, 322), it is expressly stated that according to Roman practice—it was different with the Greeks—the host-bread was not allowed to be prepared by women. In Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), *Capitulare*, I, c. 5 (PL, CV, 193), the preparation is reserved to priests or at least clerics: *Panes, quos Deo in sacrificium offertis, aut a vobis aut a vestris pueris coram vobis nitide ac studiose fiant*.

followed even as late as the eighteenth century.²⁹ Elsewhere, at an earlier period, it was thought sufficient if there was some guarantee that the pertinent ecclesiastical prescriptions were fully carried out by the persons entrusted with the operation.³⁰ As a result, the preparation of the hosts was done mostly in the houses of religious, more especially in convents of women.

The drift away from selecting the bread destined for the altar just from the gifts of the faithful, and towards providing for it carefully in some other way is to be noticed occasionally even at an early period.³¹ But with the substitution of unleavened bread the exclusion of the faithful became a matter of course. At first the thin disks of the unleavened wheat bread were made in a larger size and were brought thus to the altar where they were broken up for the Communion of the people.³² But since this Communion came under consideration almost only on the greatest feast days, it soon became the practice, even in the twelfth century, to shape the priest's host in the more modest size it has today, *in modum denarii*.³³ This form was then retained even on Communion days, and in order to avoid breaking up the species the custom grew of preparing the "particles"³⁴ for the Communion of the faithful ahead of time. And since the thin cakes from which the hosts were cut had to be baked in a metal form, the altar-bread irons,³⁵ it was not hard to impress at least the large hosts with some sort of decorative stamp. At first this was simply the traditional Cross; soon this became the figure of the Crucified or some other image of Christ,³⁶ and since there was never any general regulation in this re-

²⁹ Eisenhofer, II, 132; Corblet, I, 177 f.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Cf. *supra*, note 14. Venantius Fortunatus recounts how the holy queen Radegundis (d. 587) baked host-bread every year during Lent and distributed it to the churches: *Vita*, n. 16 (MGH, *Scriptores Merov.*, II, 369 f.).—Further data in Merk, *Abrisz*, 3, note 7.

³² Humbert of Silva Candida (d. 1061), *Adv. Græcorum calumnias*, n. 33 (PL, CXLIII, 952 B): *tenues oblatas ex similia præparatas integras et sanas sacris altari-bus nos quoque superponimus, et ex ipsis post consecrationem fractis cum populo communicamus*. Cf. *ibid.*, n. 32 (951 B). This explains Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, III, 12 (PL, CIL, 755 D), where he tells us how even on Sundays when quite a few went to Communion, only five *hostiæ* were placed on the altar. Even as late as 1140 it was customary at the Lateran basilica to consecrate *integræ oblatæ*, which were then broken; *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 48, 11. 2, 21).

³³ Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 35; 66 (PL, CLXXII, 555; 564).—Ernulf of Rochester (d. 1124), *Ep. ad Lambertum* (d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, 2nd ed. III, 471): *in forma nummi*.—Cf. F. de Berlandis, *De oblationibus ad altare* (Venice, 1743), 22 f.

³⁴ Similar designations were, of course, as ancient as Christianity itself; see E. Peterson, "Μερίς. Hostienpartikel und Opferanteil," *Eph. liturg.*, 61 (1947), 3-12; Chr. Mohrmann, *Vigilie christianæ*, 1 (1947), 247 f.

³⁵ First mentioned in the *Miracula s. Wandregisili* (9th c.), n. 53; J. Braun, "Hostieneisen," *LThK*, V, 157. Also in Bishop Idilefons (c. 845), *Revelatio* (PL, CVI, 889). The Latin term for this mold is *ferrum* or *ferramentum*; the older English term was "bult" or "singing-iron" (the latter a name never satisfactorily explained).

³⁶ Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 35 (PL, CLXXII, 555): *imago Domini cum litteris*.

gard, many other representations made their appearance in later years, not to mention various inscriptions and legends which are found quite early.³⁷

The term we now employ for the wafers destined for the Eucharist is the proleptic expression "hosts."³⁸ The word *hostia* was originally used only for a living thing, the sacrificial victim that was "slaughtered" (*hostio* = *ferio*, I strike, I kill). It could therefore be understood in the first instance only of Christ, who had become for us a *hostia* (cf. Eph. 5:2), a sacrificial Lamb. More ancient is the use of the word *oblata* for the bread offered up.³⁹ In other liturgies, too, we find for the still unconsecrated elements a similar use of names which signify the offering, the sacrifice.⁴⁰ The exact parallel to the transfer of meaning which we have in the word "host" is found in the Byzantine liturgy where the piece of bread selected in the *proskomide* and destined for the consecration is called "Lamb."⁴¹

In regard to the second element, the wine, there are also a number of questions that had to find their solution in the course of history. But only in small part do they concern the constitution of the wine itself. In the Orient, red wine was preferred, and occasionally this was also the case in the West since thus any accidental confusion with the water was more surely avoided.⁴² But there was at no time any regulation that was uni-

³⁷ Cf. Ildefons, *Revelatio* (PL, CVI, 883 f., 888 f.).—These marks include the IHC or the Alpha-Omega, and the like.

³⁸ Instances of *hostia* in this sense since the 13th century in Du Cange-Favre, IV, 243 f. Examples from the 11th century on, in Ebner, 296, 298, 300, etc. Further references in Eisenhofer, II, 130. Perhaps we ought to cite in this connection Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, Præfatio altera (PL, CV, 990 B): *sacerdos componit hostiam in altari*.—On the other hand, cf. the more ancient meaning of the word in our canon of the Mass, where it embraces also the body and blood of Christ: *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam*.

³⁹ See e.g., *supra*, note 32. But even in *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 13-15 (PL, LXXVIII, 943 f.), the words *oblato* and *oblata* are already used. Cf. also XVI Synod of Toledo (693), can. 6 (Mansi, XII, 74 A): not large loaves of bread, *sed modica tantum oblata* are to be brought to the altar.—The medieval English terms, used down to the Reformation, were derived from these: "oblete," from Latin *oblata*; and "obley" ("oble" or "uble"), from the French *oublie* and the low Latin *oblea*.

⁴⁰ Brightman, 571 f.

⁴¹ Brightman, 571: ἀμύβας. The Copts, too, call the host "Lamb," Arabic *alhamal*. The designation appears in the Egyptian area in the *Canones Basilii*, c. 98 (Riedel, 275 f.), where the paschal lamb is introduced as a figure of the stainlessness of the offertory bread.—Among the Syrians the host is called "the first-born"; Brightman, 571 f. Because of the marks stamped on the bread, the host was also named "seal"; thus among the Greeks (σφραγίς) and the West Syrians. The consecrated host is called by the Syrians "(glowing coal)." The same expression (ἀνθραξ) in the region of Antioch as early as the fourth century; J. E. Eschenbach, *Die Auffassung der Stelle Is. 6: 6, 7 bei den Kirchenvätern und ihre Verwendung in der Liturgie* (Würzburger theol. Preisaufgabe: Würzburg, 1927), esp. 34 ff.—The designation μαργαρίτης, *margaritha*, "pearl" is also used in the same sense by Syrians and Greeks, and in the Byzantine liturgy, especially for the consecrated particles distributed to the faithful; Brightman, 585, s.v. "Pearl." The designation is traceable to early Christian tradition; Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 46, note 3.

⁴² A Paris synodal decree (ab. 1210) found

versally obligatory. When, later on, the use of the purificator became general, that is, since the sixteenth century, white wine has been commonly preferred because it leaves fewer traces in the linen.⁴³

In some few districts of the Orient where wine is hard to get—especially among the Copts and Abyssinians—a substitute was and is created by softening dried grapes (raisins, that is) in water and then pressing them out; this process is permitted even among Catholics, with the proviso that at least the start of fermentation is awaited.⁴⁴

Much more profound were the discussions regarding the mixture of the wine. According to ancient rule some water must be mingled with the wine. This was not, indeed, a native Palestinian custom, but a Greek practice which was observed in Palestine in Christ's time.⁴⁵ As early as the second century this admixture for the Eucharist is expressly mentioned.⁴⁶ Later, under pressure of Gnostic circles that rejected all wine-drinking, there was a trend here and there to replace the wine entirely by water.⁴⁷ In one of his detailed writings Cyprian repudiated such a procedure which was practiced by some ignorant people, declaring it contrary to the institution of Jesus.⁴⁸ On the other hand, it was he who emphasized the symbolic sense of the commingling. Just as the wine receives the water

among the *Præcepta synodalia* of Bishop Odo, n. 28 (Mansi, XXII, 682 E); Synod of Clermont (1268), c. 6 (*ibid.*, XXIII, 1190 E). Cf. also Corblet, I, 200 f.—William de Waddington is quoted as saying "E le vin vermeil ou blanc"; see *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, F. J. Furnivall, ed. (EETS, OS, 119 [1901], 7301.—There can be no doubt that tradition has always required a grape wine (*vinum de vite*).⁴⁹ So the I Provincial Synod of Milan (1565), II, 5 (Hardouin, X, 650 f.); the synods of Ameria (1595) and Majorca (1639), in Corblet, I, 200.

⁴⁴ Hanssens, II, 217 f.—The Council of Winchester, 1076, under Lanfranc, took the precaution to legislate lest through ignorance priests should attempt to celebrate either with water alone, or with beer as a substitute for wine: *Quod sacrificium de cerevisia, vel sola aqua non fiat; sed solum modo aqua vino mixto* (Mansi, XX, 459).

⁴⁵ Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 613 f.; cf. 61 f., 72; G. Beer, *Pesachim* (Giessen, 1912), 71 f., 106.—The dilution of wine with water is specially noted at the Passover supper, so there is no doubt that our Lord actually used a mixed chalice. Origen alone seems to deny this, for symbolic

reasons; *Hom. in Jerem.*, 12, 2 (PG, XIII, 380-381).—Although the Gospels do not expressly mention this mixing of water and wine, the oriental anaphoras in their account of the institution as a rule do; see *infra*.

⁴⁶ Justin, *Apol.*, I, 65; 67 (*supra*, I, 22 f); Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.*, V, 1; 2 (Harvey, II, 316; 319 f); Inscription of Abercius (Quasten, *Mon.*, 24): *κέρασμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου*.

⁴⁷ The material is gathered in A. Harnack, *Brod und Wasser* (TU, 7, 2, [Leipzig, 1891], p. 115-144).—Among the heretical sects using only water were the Ebionites mentioned by Irenæus (see note 49 below) and the Aquarii mentioned by Augustine (PL, XLII, 42). A eucharist with water appears in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (2nd cent.), and still survives in certain monkish circles in the 5th century (Theodoret, *Hæreticarum fabularum comp.*, I, 20). For an answer to Harnack's thesis that in the early Church water and wine were both considered as equally licit, see C. Ruch, "Messe," II, 6: DThC, X, 947-955.

⁴⁸ Cyprian, *Ep.*, 63, ad Cæcilium (CSEL, 3, 701-717).

in itself, so has Christ taken to Himself us and our sins. Therefore, the mixing of the water with the wine symbolizes the intimate union of the faithful with Him to whom they have bound themselves in faith; and this union is so firm that nothing can sever it, just as the water can no longer be separated from the wine. From this, Cyprian concludes: "When someone offers only wine, then the blood of Christ begins to exist without us; but when it is only water, then the people begin to exist without Christ."⁴⁰ These words were often repeated and extended all through the Middle Ages.⁴¹ Along with this symbolism, another made an early appearance—the reference to the blood and water which flowed from Christ's side on Calvary.⁴² But in the foreground was always the symbolism of Christ's union with His Church. This was intensified by the statement in the Apocalypse (17:15), that in the water the peoples are represented.⁴³ The jubilant nations, who are represented by the singers, offer it up. As a picture of the people who still need expiation, it is blessed, while the wine as a rule is not.⁴⁴ In the course of the Middle Ages the little ceremony was made the basis for theological reflections: the commingling of the water shows pointedly that in the Mass not only is Christ offered up, but the Church too; still this can be done only by the priest who is not separated from the Church.⁴⁵ Precisely because of this symbolism, wherein he perceived the handiwork of God being belittled by human admixture, Luther declared the commingling of the water unfitting inasmuch as it was indicative of our oneness with Christ.⁴⁶ Therefore the Council of Trent explicitly defended the practice and threatened its rejection with an anathema.⁴⁷

In the Orient, too, there were some stubborn battles over the droplet of water. Behind the reference to the blood and water from Christ's side,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, n. 13 (CSEL, 3, 711). A symbolism tending in this direction is already hinted at in Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, V, 3 (Harvey, II, 316): The Ebionites, who do not believe in Christ's divinity, "reject the mixture of the heavenly wine and prefer to be only earthly water, by not admitting God into the admixture with themselves."—Cf. also Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.*, II, 2 (PG, VIII, 409 f.).

⁴¹ See the references in F. Holböck, *Der eucharistische und der mystische Leib Christi*, 200 f.

⁴² John 19: 35. This last connection is found already in Ambrose, *De sacr.*, V, 1, 4 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 164). Ambrose makes an additional reference to the water which came from the rock that was Christ (I Cor. 10. 4). Both concepts also in Eusebius Gallicanus (5th c.), *Hom.*, 16 (PL, LXVII, 1055 A; ascribed to Cæsa-

rius, but cf. ed. Morin, 925: *Magnitudo*). —Only the symbolism of blood and water is stressed in the Carolingian examination questions, *Loca episcopi*, in Franz, 343, note 1; further references in Holböck, 201 f.

⁴³ According to various early scholastic authors the water which flowed along with the blood from Christ's side also refers to the people whom Christ had redeemed; Holböck, 202.—Cf. also the Council of Trent, sess. XXII, c. 7.

⁴⁴ For exceptions, see *infra*, p. 65 ff.

⁴⁵ Lepin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la messe*, 96 f., 142 f.

⁴⁶ M. Luther, *Formula missæ et communionis*, n. 16 (Kleine Texte, 36, p. 15).

⁴⁷ *Concilium Tridentinum*, sess. XXII, c. 7 (Denzinger-Umberg, n. 945); can. 9 (n. 956).

which was also the usual conception here, the Orientals found a theological symbolism that took a somewhat different turn. Matching the acuteness of the christological strife in the Orient, the wine and water were made to represent the divine and human natures in Christ. The Armenians, whose ranks were penetrated by a radical Monophysitism (which taught that after the Incarnation there could be question of only one nature in Christ, namely, the divine), eliminated the admixture of water as early as the sixth century, at any rate surely before 632. In spite of some waverings, they held to their position, even though, in their repeated efforts to unite with Byzantium and with Rome, this point always formed a block.⁵⁷

The exclusion of leaven, too, was given a similar theological signification by the Armenians. "The Chalcedonian error of the two natures" and the practice of "tainting [the Sacrament] by the fermenting of the bread and by [the admixture of] water" are occasionally mentioned in Armenian sources in one and the same breath.⁵⁸ Because of this theological background the Catholic Armenians have taken up the use of water with the wine.

In the Roman liturgy of today the water that is added is only a small amount in comparison with the wine, but in the liturgies of the Orient it forms, and has formed, a goodly portion of the contents of the chalice.⁵⁹ Amongst the Syrian Jacobites it has been the practice from olden times to add an equal quantity of water to the wine,⁶⁰ and this practice corresponds to what was customary in the surroundings of the nascent Church.⁶¹ But in the Occident, too, there is the instance of the synod of Tribur (895), which required that the chalice contain two-thirds wine and one-third water,⁶² and even in the thirteenth century it was considered sufficient to insist that more wine be taken than water.⁶³ But after that there is a definite shrinking of the minimum required by the symbolism, and at the

⁵⁷ Hanssens, II, 250-271. Even as late as the 14th century, this Monophysite argument is much in evidence among the Armenians; Hanssens, II, 261. The Armenian use of undiluted wine was formally condemned at the Trullanum (692), can. 32 (Mansi, XI, 956 f.). The dissident Armenians are the only group of ancient Christians who do not use the "mixed chalice"; Catholics, of course, follow the Roman usage.

⁵⁸ So the Armenian historian Stephen Asoghik (ab. 1025), who thus describes the principal object of an Armenian synod of the year 726; Hanssens, II, 163.

⁵⁹ Hanssens, II, 242-250.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 244, 248.—This regulation, which already appears in a West-Syrian source

in 538, is repeated in a Nestorian ruling about 900; the latter, however, declares that even up to three-fourths water is still permissible; *ibid.*, 248 f.

⁶¹ Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, IV, 58; 614. With Sharon wine it was the rule to take one-third wine and two-thirds water.

⁶² Can. 19 (Mansi, XVIII, 142). A similar rule was in force at Rouen even in 1700; de Moléon, 366.

⁶³ Durandus, IV, 30, 21. Still even William of Melitona (d. 1260), *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 328, following his somewhat earlier Franciscan model, demands that the water be added only *in modica quantitate*, because (he says) we are as nothing in comparison with Christ.

same time the spoon appears, to make it easier to avoid exceeding the minimum.⁹⁴

4. Laying the Offerings on the Altar. The Accompanying Prayers

When the offerings of bread and wine are ready as required, there is still the problem of fitting them into a richly developed liturgy, there is still the question of how and by whom they are to be deposited on the altar, how they are to be disposed there, and particularly whether and how, in these moments before the ancient traditional *Eucharistia*, they are to be drawn by word and gesture into the sacrificial action.

The older Roman liturgy provided only for the well-regulated external activity,¹ and for the single prayer, the *oratio super oblata*, which, however, was said in the name of the whole assembly in a loud voice. When transferred to Frankish territory the external action was soon modified in several ways (principally by being coupled with the offertory procession, which itself was altered through the years), and was enriched by other preparatory acts, like the incensation and the washing of the hands. In addition, each step of the activity was joined by a significant word, spoken by the *liturgus* not aloud, but only softly to himself. Even the prayer itself acquired further addition. This showed the same half-private character and tried especially to connect individual desires with the offering. Moreover, all this liturgical growth in the Frankish realm was not regulated from one appointed center, but emanated rather from different points and criss-crossed in the most diverse ways over all the lands of Christendom. As a result the Mass books of the later Middle Ages contain at the oblation a veritable jungle of new prayers and texts. The diversity and multiplicity of these formulas and their grouping is so great that a

⁹⁴ *Ordo Rom.* XV, n. 81 (PL, LXXVIII, 1325 D): *post aqua benedictionem ponit cum cochleari tres guttas aqua*. The *tres guttae* were already required at the Synod of Brixen in 1318; see J. Baur, "Die Brixner von 1318" (in the *Festschrift zur Feier des 200 jährigen Bestandes des Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, Vienna, 1949). Cf. *Cod. Iur. Can.*, can. 814: *modicissima aqua*. This formulation appears first in the *Decretum pro Armenis* (Denzinger-Umberg, n. 698).—The little spoon (*cochlear*)—and with it obviously the idea of a small amount of water, which underlies its use—appears towards the end of the 13th century in northern France; Braun, *Des christliche Altargarät*, 446 f.

The spoon is not mentioned in the Roman missal, but its use was approved by the SRC, Feb. 6, 1858 (n. 3064 ad 4). It is commonly used in Spain and Ireland; but elsewhere, e.g., Italy, is even at present entirely unknown.

¹ *Supra*, I, 71-2.—For a better understanding of this chapter, it is necessary to distinguish two purposes in the offertory ceremonies: (1) the provision of the elements of bread and wine, and (2) a ritual presentation of these elements at the sacrifice, arranging them on the altar and commending them to God. Cf. Alan Clark, "The Function of the Offertory Rite in the Mass," *Eph. liturg.*, 64 (1950), 309-344.

classification appears well-nigh impossible.³ Nevertheless, if we want to get a closer understanding of the form of the oblation rite as it appears in the Roman Missal—comparatively scant though it be—we may not by-pass this jungle entirely.

The point of view which prevails today, in which the worth and importance of the *Eucharistia* is once more discovered and which is swayed but little by the novel medieval customs, makes it appear that the *offertorium* grew out of the fact that the offertory procession had vanished in the course of the Middle Ages and the vacancy which thus arose had to be filled out by these ceremonies and prayers. Besides, according to this conception, these prayers are ascribed in the first instance to the private Masses which were then coming to the fore, and which seemed to be especially adapted to such an enrichment. These are the two assertions that are repeated even by great authorities;⁴ but these opinions are in urgent need of investigation. We shall therefore try to follow, in rough outline at least, the development of the forms from their beginnings.

The first thing we notice—right within the framework of the old Roman oblation scheme—is the quiet praying of the celebrant, even before he says the *secreta*. The eighth-century Frankish recensions of the *ordo* of John the Arch-chanter prescribe that at a solemn high Mass, after the offerings of the faithful and the clergy have been arranged on the altar, the celebrant take his own offering in hand and lifts hands and eyes to God in silent prayer.⁵ This is also indicated in the other Roman *ordines*. The fact that the celebrant turned to the surrounding clergy to ask for their prayers is also mentioned here.⁶

The first brief wording of such an offering prayer is presented in the Sacramentary of Amiens. The heart of this prayer appears to be the humble offering of the gifts already prepared, which are designated as offerings of the faithful⁷ and therefore presuppose an offertory procession.

³ Eisenhofer, II, 141.

⁴ Eisenhofer, II, 139. The derivation from private Mass, in Batiffol, *Leçons*, 21; 144. The void left by the disappearance of the procession, in Fortescue, 305.

⁵ *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 198): *Ipse vero pontifex novissime suas proprias duas [oblationes] accipiens in manus sua[s], elevans [read: elevatis] oculis et manibus cum ipsis ad calum, orat ad Deum secreta, et completa oratione ponit eas super altare*. Thereupon the arch-deacon arranges the chalice, and the bishop, bowing low, pronounces the *oratio super oblata*.—Similarly the parallel monastic text of the *Breviarium* (ibid.), where the same rite is repeated with the chalice: *similiter offerat et vinum*.

⁶ *Breviarium* (loc. cit.): *Tunc vero sacerdos dextera lavaque aliis sacerdotibus postulat pro se orare*.—As the bad Latin reveals, these sources bring us back before the Carolingian reform, in the middle of the 8th century (Silva-Tarouca, 180 f.; but see M. Andrieu's new study, which dates the *Breviarium* and the *Capitulare* towards the end of the 8th century).

⁷ The two-part prayer reads: *Hanc oblationem, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, placatus accipe, et omnium offerentium et eorum, pro quibus tibi offertur, peccata indulge. Et in spiritu humilitatis . . . Domine Deus* (Dan. 3: 39 f., nearly as at present). Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, 39 f. The whole *Mass-ordo* edited by the same author, *Eph. liturg.*, 1927, 441.—The

The next thing we specially note in these more ancient oblation prayers and the practices connected with them, is that about the year 1000 they have grown tremendously, and that they are especially extended at the start of the oblation, before the chalice is brought to the altar. They have an essentially intercessory character; the offering is done "for" (*pro*) certain specified purposes and persons. This is evidently the consequence of recollections of the Gallican liturgy.⁷ The trend can be traced even in Amalar. In his explanation of the *offerenda* he cites Old Testament requirements and then names a series of requests *pro quibus offerre debeamus sacrificia*:⁸ for the fulfillment of vows which were made in affliction, for the expiation of our sins, for the royal house, for the ecclesiastical estates, for peace. His younger contemporary, Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), feels compelled to combat the opinion that a special offering and a special petition must be made for each intention, and that it was not possible to beg *una petitione pro multis*.⁹ Along with this another factor, reverence for certain mysteries of faith, found expression both in the prayers themselves¹⁰ and in the manner in which the oblations were distributed on the altar. Indeed we encounter this trend about the same time in the East as well as in the West. While in the older Roman *ordines* little importance was attached to the manner of composing the oblations on the altar,¹¹ in the Carolingian territory we hear of two crosses which the priest is to build *de oblata* and place next to the chalice.¹² Even as late as 1100 some missals from the orbit of Monte Cassino demand that the oblations be arranged *in modum crucis*.¹³ In Spain, around 845, a Bishop Ildefons gives even more detailed directions: whereas on ordinary days only one bread is laid out, on Sundays five breads are to be taken and arranged crosswise; on Christmas and some other feast days seventeen breads, of which five are to form a cross, the other twelve a circle around the chalice; on Easter and Whitsunday forty-five breads, for which a combined cross-

first formula (*Hanc . . . indulge. Per.*) is also found later similarly employed: Lero-quais, I, 126; 155, 211; II, 25; 34 f.

⁷ Cf. the texts below for the Memento of the Living.

⁸ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1127).

⁹ Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, CXIV, 948). Regino of Prüm, *De synod. causis*, I, inquis. 73 (PL, CXXXII, 190), also insists that only one *oblata* be offered for all intentions.

¹⁰ See *infra*, p. 46 ff.

¹¹ The *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 14) PL, LXXVIII, 944), merely says of the archdeacon: *componit altare*. Only the *Ordo* of St. Amand directs him to take the *oblata* and

form three or five *ordines* on the altar (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 460).—In the mosaic of San Vitale in Ravenna two breads are placed symmetrically to the right and left of the chalice; Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, plate 6. Likewise in the mosaic of Sant' Apollinare, where Melchisedech, represented as the celebrant, holds a third bread in his hands; Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*. 1 (1929), table 10. ¹² Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33, additio (PL, CVII, 324 D). Illustrations in the Stuttgarter Bilder-Psalter (Stuttgart illuminated psalter) of the 9th century; Fiala, 190.

¹³ Ebner, 309; Fiala, 203. Clearly there is question here of hosts for the Communion of the monks.

form is sketched.¹⁴ Even in the eleventh century the Trier *Liber officiorum* takes a stand against those who insist that, for the sake of the number three, three *oblatae* are always to be consecrated.¹⁵ Besides a regard for the Communion of the faithful, such efforts indicate also the tendency to give symbolical expression to certain offertory-motifs or at least to give prominence to symbolic numbers.¹⁶

If we turn our glance to the contemporaneous development of the Byzantine Mass, we find that it has gone even a step farther in the same direction. In its arrangement of the bread-oblation there are at work not only the effort to indicate symbolically certain mysteries of faith, but also the most important petitions. While the other oriental liturgies have no further prescriptions in this matter, and even on Communion days merely use and consecrate a correspondingly larger bread,¹⁷ in the Byzantine Mass it has gradually become a rule since about the year 1000 that in the *proskomide* five breads are to be laid out, of which, however, only certain particles are to be selected for the altar and there to be arranged in a fixed manner. From the first bread the "Lamb" is cut; from the second, a particle (the "All-holy") in honor of the Blessed Virgin; from the third nine particles in honor of specified saints who are named; from the fourth, an arbitrary number for the living who are to be recommended

¹⁴ Ildefons, *Revelatio* (PL, CVI, 883-890; also in Martène, I, 4, 6, 10 [I, 389]). Similar directions in Irish sources, but apparently only since the 11th century; see the references in K. Burdach, *Der Gral* (Stuttgart, 1938), 206.—This formation of certain figures is also found in the Old Spanish Mass (as we will see later) at the *fractio*, even at an earlier date.

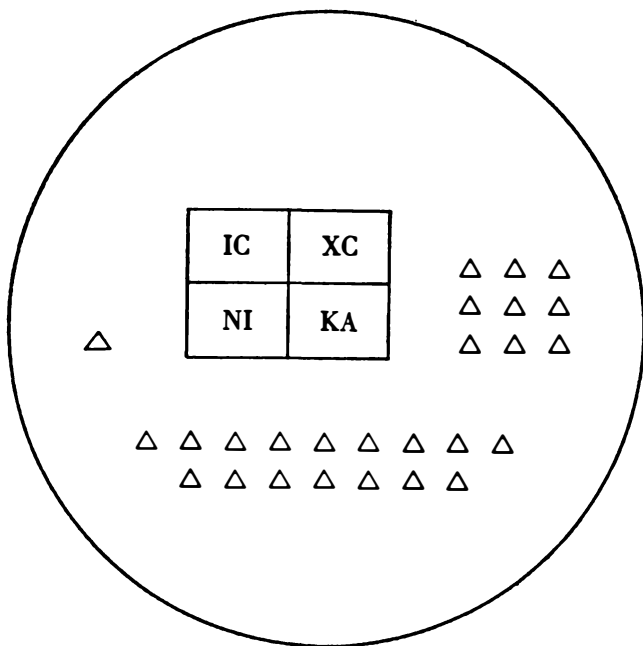
¹⁵ Franz, 374.—This use of the number three is traditional; cf. the mosaic of Sant' Apollinare (*supra*, note 11). According to *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 48 (PL, LXXVIII, 958), the archdeacon hands *oblatae tres* to each of the cardinal priests who concelebrate with the pope on great feasts.—Since the late Middle Ages it has been the practice at solemn papal Mass to bring three hosts to the altar, of which two, however, are immediately consumed by the *episcopus sacrista*, just as he also tastes the wine and water; *facit probam*, as the *Ordo Rom.* XV (about 1400), n. 81 (PL, LXXVIII, 1325 D), puts it; cf. Martène, I, 4, XXXVII (I, 681 E). This is what we today call the *præ gustatio*, a survival from those perilous days when poison played a part in public life. Cf. Martène, I, 4, 6, 14 (I, 391 f.); Brink-

trine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 19 f. Details regarding this darksome background in Corblet, I, 381.—Provision is still made for the *præ gustatio* in the *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 60 f.; cf. II, 8, 11; I, 11. In Narbonne, about 1700, it was still observed day after day; de Moléon, 255.

¹⁶ At any rate, odd numbers still play a role (cf. *supra*, I, 387). According to the *Canones Basilii*, c. 99 (Riedel, 277), there should be one bread or three; according to the *Ordo* of the Lateran basilica (Fischer, 81), one or three or five. At Cluny there were, as a rule, three or five *oblatae*; in making the prescribed crosses, etc., the priest was to use the center one; Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 718 B); cf. I, 6, 8 (652 f.); III, 12 (755 f.).

¹⁷ Hanssens, II, 185. It is only among the Armenians, the Maronites and the Malabar Christians that special smaller breads are added for the Communion of the faithful.—In former years there were many discussions in the various rites regarding the number of the host-breads, and different odd numbers were decided upon. But the practical viewpoint proved an obstacle. One West Syrian bishop in early times

to God; and from the fifth, similarly, a number for the dead.¹⁸ These all have their proper position and arrangement on the *discos*, the large paten on which they are carried to the altar and on which they remain lying to the left of the chalice. The portions cut from the first three breads form a



row in the middle of which lies the “Lamb,” the portions for the living form a second row, those for the dead a third.¹⁹

Amongst the Russians it is—or was—possible for the faithful also to contribute a particle to the second or third row, a portion of the bread

directed the deacon to add one loaf for every ten communicants. Hanssens, II, 196-200.

¹⁸ Brightman, 356-359; Hanssens, II, 182-185; *ibid.*, 185-196, the historical presentation of the practice. The typikon of the Empress Irene (about 1100) orders that seven breads are to be used; of these the fourth is offered for the emperor, the fifth for the deceased monks, the sixth for the dead of the imperial family, the seventh for the living of that family. Hanssens, II, 188 f.

¹⁹ This sketch patterned after Mercenier-Paris, *La prière des églises de rite byzantin*, I, 216.—In the dissident churches these particles are not consecrated with the “Lamb,” but as a rule are put into the chalice before the Communion of the people and, thus moistened with the Precious Blood, are removed by means of the little spoon and given in Communion; Hanssens, II, 200-206. The particles of host-breads that remain are dispensed to the faithful after Mass as *antidoron*. Among the uniate Ruthenians the regulations regarding the

they had presented before Mass being used for this purpose; thus they would be drawn closer to the sacrifice.

In the Occident such a symbolic commemoration for stipulated intentions was never carried through. But for that very reason these latter have stretched to greater proportions in the prayers. Around the same year 1000 we see the bishop at a solemn high Mass stepping to the altar after the offertory procession of the people and clerics, and pronouncing a whole series, more or less long, of offertory prayers in which the most important requests are set forth. And all are formed according to one scheme that plainly displays Gallican features, though previously there were some tentative efforts to model them more or less strictly on the pattern of prayer in the Roman canon.²⁰ They begin with the phrase *Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offero pro . . .*; then the request is named and continued with an *ut*-clause; the conclusion can be either Gallican or Roman.²¹ The formula is met as early as the ninth century in Northern France, either as a single prayer²² or as a series of prayers in multiple variation.²³ In the Mass *ordines* of the succeeding years it appears in use for the most diverse purposes; for the celebrant himself, for the congregation and its benefactors, for the King and the Christian people,

particles have more recently been greatly modified; *ibid.*, 183 f.

²⁰ See *supra*, note 6, the formula *Hanc oblationem*. It is obviously modeled on the *Hanc igitur oblationem* of the canon, which is meant for the naming of intentions. The same formula in the 11th century in the sacramentaries of Limoges (Leroquais, I, 155) and Moissac (Martène, I, 4, VIII [I, 539 A]); in Limoges still as principal oblation prayer in the Missal of 1438: Martène, I, 4, 6, 16 (I, 393 D). The formula is also in the Mozarabic *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 536 C). — Other echoes of the canon formularies are to be seen in the terms of address, e.g., *clementissime Pater*: Sacramentary of Angers (10th c.): Leroquais, I, 71.—For the present-day *Suscipe sancte Pater*, see *infra*, p. 57.

²¹ Besides the Roman *Per Christum* the Gallican *Qui vivis* is often found, and occasionally also *Per te Jesu Christe* (thus in a Dominican missal of the 13th century: Sölch, 77, note 152) and *Quod ipse præstare dignetur* (missal of Fécamp: Martène, I, 4, XXVI f. [I, 637; 640]). For the Gallican origin of these closing formulas, see Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 84 f., 88, 105, note, 43 f.):—The address, *sancta Trinitas*, is also Gallic. It

is totally unknown in the older Roman *liturgy*. *Ibid.*, 80, 91, 109; cf. 193 ff.

²² As a *memoria Imperatoris* in the Sacramentary of Sens (L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires* [Paris, 1886], 107): *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus pro Imperatore nostro illo et sua venerabili prole et statu regni Francorum, pro omni populo christiano et pro elemosinariis nostris et pro his qui nostri memoriam in suis continuis orationibus habent, ut hic veniam recipiant peccatorum et in futuro præmia consequi mereantur æterna*.—In the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald (ed. Felician Ninguarda, Ingolstadt, 1583, p. 112 f.) it is turned, with only tiny modifications, into a prayer for laymen, *Oratio quando offertis ad missam pro propriis peccatis et pro animabus amicorum*. It begins: *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas atque indivisa unitas, hanc oblationem quam tibi offero per manus sacerdotis tui, pro me . . . ut . . .*; then follows Psalm 115: 12 f., slightly altered, and the continuation as a prayer for the dead.—Further examples in sacramentaries of the 9th and 10th centuries in Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, 52; 59; 63; 71; 76.

²³ Two sacramentaries of S. Thierry near Reims (second half of the 9th and end of the 10th century; see Leroquais, I, 21 f.,

for various persons amongst the living, for the sick, for the dead. At the top is usually the formula which has been retained till now and which, in imitation of the canon of the Mass, presents as the first intention of the offertory the remembrance of the mystery of redemption,²⁴ with which is linked the commemoration of the saints.²⁵

In some Mass books since the eleventh century as many as thirteen formulas of this type are found one after the other.²⁶ They were appointed to be said by the celebrant when, after the offertory procession,²⁷ the

91 f.) agree in having the present-day formula (*in memoriam*) along with three others: for the king, for the priest himself, and for the dead; Martène, 1, 4, IX; X (I, 545; 548 f.). So, too, the Sacramentary of S. Amand (end of the 9th c.): Leroquais, I, 56; similarly that of Corbie (without the formula for the priest): *ibid.*, 27.—The Sacramentary of Amiens, which originated in the second half of the 9th century, contains the prayer cited in note 6 above, followed by *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, with five divergent clauses (the four already mentioned, plus a formula for the Christian people); Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 441 f.—Various later versions are brought together in F. Cabrol, "Diptyques: XII," *DACL*, IV, 1081-1083.

²⁴ Sometimes a phrase is added that implies a kind of apology for having included so many intentions: *Suscipe, sancte Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam offero imprimis, ut iustum est, in memoriam . . .* Thus, e.g., in the Mass-ordo of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 248 B).

²⁵ Related in content to this formula is the last oblation formula which is found in the Stowe missal (ed. Werner [HBS, 32], 9), inserted by Moelcaich (9th cent.) immediately before the *Sursum corda*. It reads: *Grata sit tibi hæc oblatio plebis tuæ, quam tibi offerimus in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et in commemorationem beatorum apostolorum tuorum ac martyrum tuorum et confessorum, quorum hic reliquias specialiter recolimus n. et eorum quorum festivitas hodie celebratur et pro animabus . . . et penitentium nostrorum, cunctis proficiant ad salutem. P. D.*

²⁶ Thirteen formulas in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 509 f.).—The missal of St. Lawrence in Liège (Martène, 1, 4, XV [I, 590 f.]) has seven; the Mass-

ordo of Gregorienmünster (*ibid.*, XVI [I, 598 f.]) has six; an 11th century missal from S. Denis (*ibid.*, V [I, 524 f.]) has four; likewise the missal of Troyes (*ibid.*, VI [I, 533]) of the same period, and the Mass formularly originating in Séz (PL, LXXVII, 248).—For the most part, therefore, these are all Mass books from the so-called Séz group (*supra*, I, 93 f.).—Italian examples from the 11th century in Ebner, 171; 304 f., 337 f. Several formulas having the same content but with a different form of address in a Milanese Mass-ordo of the 11th century: *Codex sacramentorum Bergomensis* (Solemes, 1900), p. 91, note 1.

²⁷ A series of Mass-ordos, all of this period but of different provenience, plainly indicates that there was an offertory procession in which at least the clergy participated; thus in the Missa Illyrica (Martène, 1, 4, IV [I, 508 B]) a rubric precedes: *Tunc convertat se suscipere oblationes presbyterorum aliorumque*. After receiving the offering of bread properly so called, he recites this series of oblation prayers.—Similarly (but without *aliorumque*) the Mass formularly of Séz: PL, LXXVIII, 248 A; missal of Monte Cassino (11-12th c.): Ebner, 309, cf. *ibid.*, 346; missal of St. Lambrecht (1336): Köck, 120.—Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 10 f. (PL, CLI, 983 f.) is equally clear; he mentions first the procession, then the arrangement of the gifts on the altar, then the prayers *Veni sanctificator* and *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* which are to be said *composita autem oblatione in altari*.—It is possible that the older arrangement was for the celebrant to say these prayers when the altar was being readied after the procession of the people and before he received the gifts of the clerics; cf. *Ordo*

bread-oblation had been arranged on the altar by the deacon,²⁸ and very likely after his own oblation was added,²⁹ but before the chalice was brought to the altar.

But soon other influences began to be felt, influences that resulted from the transformation of the offertory procession. The offertory procession survived above all at the great feast day high Masses which the rubrics of the Mass books usually spoke of, but the offerings made at it were no longer brought to the altar. The bread-oblation consisted mostly of just the thin host which the priest himself offered as his own gift. Therefore, before starting these prayers the celebrant had to await this gift. And in view of its smallness, it is quite understandable that he would also wait till the chalice was prepared; this, as we shall see in a moment, was usually handed to the celebrant along with the paten. The series of offertory prayers therefore moves back to a later position. In fact there must even have been some question whether the prayers were not actually to be postponed till after all the other preparatory activities, which had meanwhile often gained a place in this spot—the hand-washing, the incensation—and so inserted immediately before the petition for prayer (*Orate fratres*) which had long since found a secure place; it would thus serve as the last personal concurrence in the official priestly act, the sacrificial work of the canon of the Mass, which was then usually thought of as starting with the *secreta*.³⁰

About the same time another trend was to be noticed, a trend towards limiting the number of these prayers. Bernold of Constance (d. 1100) appears as advocate for this limitation, praising, as he does, those who were content with a single formula in which they commended to God both living and dead.³¹ The formula which he means, and which he suggests the priest should say *inclinatus ante altare*, follows the traditional type:

Rom. II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973 B): orat . . . et suscipit oblatas de manu presbyterorum.

²⁸ Mass formulary of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 248 C): *Tunc puro corde offert Domino oblatas altari superpositas dicens.*

²⁹ In the Missa Illyrica the rubric before this series of prayers states that these are to be spoken *cum oblationes offeruntur*; however, the whole series is introduced between the first and the second formulas with which the bishop offers up the oblation which he holds in his hands: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 508 E-510 E). Both the Mass-ordo of Troyes and that of Gregorienmünster presupposes that at least at the start the celebrant holds in his hands and lifts up his own bread oblation: *ibid.*, i, 4, VI, XVI (I, 532 C; 598 B). Cf. *supra*, note 26. Elsewhere a bow was prescribed,

and this implies that the celebrant's gift already lay on the altar.

³⁰ See *infra*, p. 82 f. — Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 105 ff.—An indication that a certain need was felt for preparatory prayers is the fact that here and there we come across the prayer *Aperi Domine os meum* which at present is found, slightly modified, at the beginning of the breviary. Sacramentary of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 526 B); Spanish missals of the 15th century: Ferreres, 130.

³¹ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 11 (PL, CLI, 984): *Quæ utique oratio a diligentioribus ordinis et comprobata consuetudinis observatoribus tam pro defunctis quam pro vivis sola frequentatur.*—Amalar, too, had already taken a stand against the multiplication of prayers; see *supra*, I, 385.

Suscipe sancta Trinitas. It is the prayer we still recite with bowed head just before the *Orate fratres*,³² therefore at the later spot as indicated above; formerly this prayer was found at the very top of the list of formulas.

In this place, just before the *Orate fratres*, and said by itself in this bowed attitude,³³ the prayer is to be found even in an earlier period,³⁴ and in Italy itself,³⁵ as a component part of the Roman offertory plan there developing.³⁶ Not till later does it appear at the same place in various countries outside Italy.³⁷

In contrast to the present-day wording, the formula regularly showed two expansions, particularly in the older texts. The list of redemptive mysteries commemorated—a list transferred from the canon: Passion, Resurrection, Ascension—was usually enlarged to read: *in memoriam in-*

³² Bernold, *loc. cit.*, quotes merely the introductory words (and preceding them, the *Veni sanctificator*, which was not presented as an offertory prayer). But he gives the full text later, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992 f.): *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi et in honorem sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, sancti Petri et sancti Pauli et istorum atque omnium sanctorum tuorum, ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem, et illi pro nobis dignentur intercedere, quorum memoriam agimus in terris. Per Christum*. William of Hirsau (d. 1091), Const., I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017), also suggests that the same invariable formula, *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, be always used. The inclusion of the dead, as Bernold recommends, was expressly inserted, among others, in the version which was used in the ancient Cistercian rite: . . . *ut eam acceptare digneris pro nobis peccatoribus et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum*. Bona, II, 9, 2 (710 f.). Cf. also *infra*, note 42.

³³ The parallel formula for the dead remained connected with it the longest. Thus it is found before the *Orate fratres* in the Sacramentary of Modena (after 1174): Muratori, I, 92; in a missal from lower Italy about 1200: Ebner, 322; in two Hungarian Mass books, one about 1195, the other the 13th century: Radó, 43 (n. 17); 62.—Both formulas are found in their original place before the offering of the chalice in the Sacramentary of Limoges (11th c.): Leroquais, I, 155. This pair of formulas

is still found in Franciscan Mass books in the 15th century: Martène, i, 4, XXVI ff. (I, 637; 640; 644); cf. *ibid.*, 1, 4, 6, 16 (I, 393 A). Still it seems that the second formula was used only in Masses for the dead.—A third formula for the living survived in a Salzburg missal about 1200: Köck, 124.—The Milan oblation rite has retained to the present day two formulas of our *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* type for ordinary days, and three for Sundays and feasts; they are recited with arms outstretched. Preceding these is another formula of the same kind, but with a modified form of address; this prayer is said bowed and follows at once after the double offering. *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 168.

³⁴ The oldest example appears to be the “ninth or tenth century” supplement in the St. Gall. MS. 348 of the Frankish *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, ed. Mohlberg, p. 247; cf. XCIX.

³⁵ Examples from the 11-13th century in Italian books, especially in the region of Monte Cassino, in Ebner, 298; 301; 310; 322; 326; 337; Fiala, 205 f. Here, it seems, we have an innovation which spread from the North, following the Cluniac reform; cf., for the bowing, the sacramentary from the Cluniac monastery of Moissac (11th c.): Martène, i, 4, VIII (I, 539 A).

³⁶ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 60 (PL, CCXVII, 834 C) does not cite the formula, but notes that the priest says a prayer with bowed head.

³⁷ For Lyons, see Ebner, 326 (Cod. XII, 2); Martène, i, 4, XXXIII (I, 659). For south Germany, Köck, 119 ff.; Beck, 328;

carnationis, nativitatis, passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionis D. n. J. C. The mention of saints was made, as a rule, according to the formula: *et in honore³⁸ sanctorum tuorum, qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi, et eorum quorum hodie festivitas celebratur et quorum nomina hic et reliquæ habentur.³⁹* In one group of texts, however, the first expansion was soon dropped. In the second expansion, other additions were made; here and there even in the eleventh century the name of the Blessed Virgin was added; a little later, and at first outside Rome, the names of the Princes of the Apostles were inserted;⁴⁰ lastly, the Baptist. In place of this comprehensive expansion, however, a simple *istorum* was inserted, especially in the later Mass books.⁴¹

As for the other contents of the formula, there seems to have been but little concern over the *ut*-clause in which the prayer is continued, and this corresponds exactly with its origin as a formula of commemoration. The clause appears to have been appended only to round out the form: May the sacrifice bring honor to the saints, and to us salvation

308; Hoeynck, 373 f.; cf. Martène, 1, 4, XXXII (I, 656).

³⁸ Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 315-317, points out that most medieval texts and even the older editions of the Missal of Pius V have the reading *in honore* in our formula: "in honoring," "on the day when we honor" (similar in meaning to the *in veneratione B.V.M.* of the Marian preface); not *in honorem*, "in honor," "to honor," because in conjunction with the phrase that follows, *ut illis proficiat ad honorem*, such a wording would be essentially tautological. In some churches, in fact, the oration was said only on feast days: *ibid.*, 317. However the Congregation of Rites, on May 25, 1877, decided in favor of *in honorem*: *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3421, 3.

³⁹ Both amplifications already in the oldest texts: Sacramentary of S. Thierry (9-10th cent.): Martène, 1, 4, IX; X (I, 545 B; 548 E).—The present-day wording (without *Johannes Baptista*) appears in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (note 32 *supra*).—Material from many manuscripts is assembled and studied in P. Salmon, O. S. B., "Le 'Suscipe sancta Trinitas' dans l'Ordinaire de la messe," *Cours et Conférences*, VI (Louvain, 1928), 217-227.

⁴⁰ Mass-ordo of Gregorienmünster: Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 598 C). Further references in Salmon, 222; but the *Micro-*

logus (see previous note) is not taken into account.—Some few Mass-books contain a special formula of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* in honor of all the saints, with corresponding expansions: Sacramentary of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 524 f.).

⁴¹ *Supra*, note 32; Salmon, 223. This *istorum* is also found in the Ordo of the papal chapel about 1290; ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 203.—Probably the original idea of this *istorum* was to indicate that the priest should insert saints' names of his own choosing—like the later "N." Cf. the enumeration of various saints in the second part of the *Confiteor* in the Augsburg *Ordinarium*, as found in the commentary "Messe singen oder lesen," which was printed several times since 1481; here we read: . . . *s. Katharinam, istos sanctos et omnes electos Dei*, and the commentator advises what names are to be included. Franz, 751. In cases like this, the older Roman liturgy generally used the word *ille*; see *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 7 (PL, LXXVIII, 940 C), and *infra*, the discussion of the Memento formulas.—In Salmon, *loc. cit.*, a discussion of some purely linguistic variants of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*.—In place of the present *offerimus* the more ancient texts have mostly *offero*. So also the Dominican rite; see Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), 186.

and the efficacy of their intercession. The function of the formula as a substitute for all other versions and as an epitome of all other offertory intentions is thus only imperfectly expressed.⁴³

Elsewhere an oration of the same type, *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, continued to be connected with the presentations of the offerings, while before the *Orate fratres* another prayer appeared, spoken likewise in the bowed posture of these oblation prayers; the prayer is that of Azarias (Dan. 3:39 f.): *In spiritu humilitatis*. This formula appeared quite early as a rival to formulas of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* type.⁴⁴ In the Norman-English liturgy it actually went out and appears there as the concluding oblation prayer just before *Orate fratres*.⁴⁵ This is true likewise in the liturgies of many religious orders,⁴⁶ whereas in the Roman-Italian plan it is found very early, to be sure, but usually it appears as in today's design, immediately after the offering of the chalice.⁴⁷ Thus we have in our present-day arrangement two prayers which, even by the bodily posture

⁴³ Here and there attempts were made to render the formula complete. Thus the Regensburg missal of 1485 inserts: (. . . *ad salutem*) *et omnibus fidelibus defunctis ad requiem* (Beck, 238); similarly the Freising missal of 1520 (Beck, 308) and the Missal of Upsala of 1513 (Yelverton, 15). In the present-day arrangement of the offertory prayers the mention of the dead already occurs in the first oblation prayer. And so Batiffol, *Leçons*, 23, had grounds for thinking the Missal of Pope Pius V could just as well have omitted our formula.

⁴⁴ See *supra*, p. 42, note 6. Further sources, presumably from the 9th to the 11th centuries, in Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 284. That northern France is the point of origin and spread is confirmed by the Sacramentary of S. Denis (middle of the 11th c.); here, too, there is the rubric: *inclinatus ante altare dicat*; Martène, I, 4, V (I, 526 C).

⁴⁵ For Normandy see examples in Martène, I, 4, XXXVI f. (I, 673 C, 678 A); Legg, *Tracts*, 42; 60. For England examples in Legg, *Tracts*, 5; 221; Maskell, 94 f. For Sweden see Yelverton, 15. Likewise in Spain; see Ebner, 342; Ferreres, 130 (n. 520).

⁴⁶ For the Cistercians, see Franz, 587. For the Carthusians, see Legg, *Tracts*, 101; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20. For the Dominicans, Sölch, *Hugo*, 82; Bonni-

well, *op. cit.*, 186. Also in the widespread Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 92.

⁴⁷ A third formula, of like import and purpose, originally destined (to judge from its wording) to be said right after the preparation of the chalice, disappeared in the course of time. It read as follows: *Domine Jesu Christe, qui in cruce passionis tuæ de latere tuo sanguinem et aquam, unde tibi Ecclesiam consecrasses, manare voluisti, suscipe hoc sacrificium altari superpositum et concede, clementissime, ut pro redemptione nostra et etiam totius mundi in conspectum divinæ maiestatis tuæ cum odore suavitatis ascendat. Qui vivis*. In the Missa Illyrica it follows immediately after the chalice is set on the altar: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511 B); so, too, in the Mass-ordo of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 249 A) and in central Italian Mass formularies of the 11th-12th centuries (Ebner, 298; 313; Fiala, 204; Muratori, I, 90 f); also in a Missal of 1336 from St. Lambrecht (Köck, 121). In the Missal of St. Lawrence in Liège it accompanies the raising of the chalice: Martène, I, 4, XV (I, 591 D). But at the same time in some central Italian formularies of the 11th-12th centuries it appears immediately before the *Orate fratres*, in one instance marked as exchangeable with the formula *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* (Ebner, 301) and with the rubric: *Tunc inclinet se sacerdos ante altare et dicat* (*ibid.*, cf. Ebner, 296; 341).

with which they are said, give an indication that they are meant to anticipate the oblation prayers of the canon.⁴⁷

Another point to remark in this connection is that even in the more recent texts where these prayers are employed as accompaniment to the external act of offering, yet the endeavor is made to join the bowed posture with the gesture of offering. With a demeanor that is quite courteous—forms of social intercourse do recur often enough in divine worship—the gifts are presented to the Almighty while *In spiritu humilitatis*⁴⁸ or *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* is said.⁴⁹

Not much later in origin is a second rank of text elements, but these are much more intimately connected with the external rite and essentially directed to the purpose of explaining the visible activity.⁵⁰ We can therefore understand them best if we combine our study of them with an exposition of the outer activity itself.

First of all, the altar has to be readied. At a high Mass even today, immediately before the offertory—or during the *Credo* if there is one—the corporal enclosed in the burse is carried by the deacon to the altar and there spread out, while otherwise the priest carries it to the altar when he comes in, and spreads it out before Mass. This corporal is nowadays reduced to a very modest size; only at a solemn papal Mass does it cover the entire width of the altar, and in this case it is laid out over the altar by a (Cardinal) deacon and the subdeacon at the start of the offering of gifts.⁵¹ This was the practice already in the Roman services of the

⁴⁷ Both formulas as at present in the Mass formulary of the 11th century from Monte Cassino: Ebner, 340 (Cod. C 32); cf. 309 f. But generally the use of both formulas is infrequent in Italy till the *Missale Romanæ Curiae* became common and the Franciscans put in their appearance (cf. Ebner, 314). However, cf. for Lyons, starting only in the 13th century: Ebner, 316; Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 659); for the south German area, Beck, 237 f.; Köck, 122.

⁴⁸ The commentary of William de Gouda which first appeared in 1486, *Expositio mysteriorum missæ*, has this to say: *Elevato igitur calice, parum suspiciens, devote affectans, humili corde pronus, genibus parum flexis, ut ille dignissimus digne aspicere: In spiritu humilitatis*. Quoted in M. Smits van Waesberghe, "Die Misverklaring van Meester Simon van Wenlo" (*Ons geestelijk Erf*, 1941), 303. This refers to the double offering of chalice and paten, as it occurred according to Netherland formularies; cf. *ibid.*, 325-327.

⁴⁹ Camaldolese Sacramentary of the 13th century: *patenam cum oblatis accipit et inclinans se ad altare suppliciter dicit hanc orationem: Suscipe sancta Trinitas*; Ebner, 355.—Similar was the custom in England about the same period: The priest picks up the chalice and the paten, *et inclinato parum elevet calicem, utraque manu offerens Domino sacrificium . . . : Suscipe sancta Trinitas*; Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, 75. As late as 1617 the Cistercian missal orders: *elevatis patena cum pane et calice et genuflectens dicat*; Schneider (Cist.-Chr., 1926), 349.

⁵⁰ The principle that every action should be embellished by an accompanying statement is noticeable, for example, in the penitential discipline as early as the 9th century and becomes more and more operative with time; Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 91 ff., 212 f. The formulas of absolution have their origin here.

⁵¹ Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 18.—In the Roman stationary Masses of the 7th century (see *supra*, I, 71) two deacons

eighth century.⁶² In the Middle Ages this action was frequently accompanied with prayer.⁶³

When the altar is ready, the gifts can be brought to the altar and properly arranged. For this, too, there was a well-balanced plan in the Roman stational services: the archdeacon, assisted by the subdeacons, selects the oblation from amongst the gifts offered by the people and disposes it on the altar; the pope puts the bread-offering of the clerics and his own next to it; the archdeacon then places the chalice beside the bread offering of the pope.⁶⁴ All this without a word being spoken. But such silence was intolerable to the Frankish liturgical concept. In the rite as we find it in the North about the year 1000, a rite developed upon the groundwork of the Roman arrangement as adapted in the Frankish realm, we see how fully this supposed deficiency was provided for. The greatest wealth is supplied in the so-called *Missa Illyrica*,⁶⁵ even if we take no account of the overgrowth of *apologiæ* which we here encounter both at the start of the offering and again in the course of it.⁶⁶

stretched the long corporal over the altar from end to end. The deacon's ritual spreading of the corporal at the *Credo* must be viewed as a trace of that more ample ceremony of the early Middle Ages; see Lebbe, *The Mass: A Historical Commentary* (Westminster, 1949), 54-55.

⁶² *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 12 (PL, LXXVIII, 943); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 PL, LXXVIII, 972 C). Whereas in the early centuries only the altar coverings made of precious stuffs—from which our antependium derives—remained on the altar outside divine service, by the 7th century it was customary to leave cloths made of linen on the altar continually. A trace of the more ancient practice is to be seen even today on Good Friday when the altar cloths are put on the altar only at the start of service. Among these was the *palla corporalis* (so called because it came into contact with the body of Christ), our present-day corporal; it was so folded that after the host-breads and the chalice were set on the altar it could be used as a covering over them. But since the later Middle Ages a special pall for the chalice was prepared. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 184-192; 205-212; Eisenhofer, I, 353-360. In some countries two corporals were—and are—employed, Ferreres, 126, n. 499 f. Even today the Carthusians still use only a corporal folded over the chalice; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20.

⁶³ Central Italian Mass books of the 12th century order the priest to say Ps. 67: 29 f. (*Confirma hoc . . . munera*) and to add: *In tuo conspectu Domine hæc munera nostra sit placita, ut nos tibi placere valeamus*. Per. Ebner, 333; cf. 337, 340; Fiala, 203. Another formula (*Per hoc sacrificium salutare*) in a Florentine missal of the 11th century; Ebner, 300.—The formula *In tuo conspectu* also in the Mass-ordo of the papal chapel about 1290; ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 201; and with the rubric: *Ad corporalia displicanda*, in Spanish Mass-books even of the 15th-16th centuries, Ferreres, 126.

⁶⁴ *Supra*, I, 71-72.—The practice of placing the chalice to the right, the host to the left continued into the later Middle Ages. However, according to the Mass rubrics of the Dominicans proposed by Humbert in 1256 the host was placed in front of the chalice, as is done now in the Roman Mass. See Wm. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (N.Y., 1944), 125 and note 5.

⁶⁵ Cf. *supra*, I, 79; 94.

⁶⁶ Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 508-512); the *apologia*, pp. 506 ff., 509 CD).—*Apologiæ* were also inserted at the hand-washing: *ibid.*, i, 4, V (I, 525 f.).—A prayer in the *apologia* style is already mentioned for this location by Amalar, *De ecl. off.*, III (PL, CV, 1130 C), when he says that the priest, before receiving the gifts of the clergy,

Even at the presentation of the gifts during the offertory procession, each of the donors is to pronounce a little phrase, the recipient responding each time with a counter-phrase.⁶⁷ Then when the deacon accepts from the subdeacon the bread-oblation intended for the celebrating bishop, this act is to be accompanied by a blessing: *Acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo et omnibus sanctis eius sacrificium tuum.*⁶⁸ When he hands it to the bishop, the latter receives it with a similar blessing, and the deacon meanwhile in his turn pronounces a blessing, and with it offers up the gift to God.⁶⁹ Then the bishop himself offers up the gift to God, either with a similar blessing, which comprises approximately the first half of our present-day *Suscipe sancte Pater*,⁷⁰ or with some other suitable formula;⁷¹ and then follows the long series of oblation prayers which were spoken of in a previous paragraph.

Similar is the procedure when this series of prayers is finished and the chalice is brought over to the celebrant.⁷² As a rule this is a chalice already filled, at least with wine.⁷³ The deacon hands it to the celebrant with a

prays *pro suis propriis delictis remissionem, ut dignus sit accedere ad altare et tactum oblatarum.* ⁶⁷ *Supra*, n. 18.

⁶⁸ Later also in amplified form. A Spanish missal of the 15th century appoints for the deacon *ad hostiam ponendam* the prayer: *Grata sit tibi hæc oblatio, quam tibi offerimus pro nostris delictis et Ecclesia tua sancta catholica.* After J. Serra di Vilario: *JL*, 10 (1930), 392.—Cf. Ferreres, p. LX, LXIX, LXXX, CV, CXI, 126, where, however, it is no longer appropriated to the deacon.

⁶⁹ *Suscipe, Domine, sancte Pater, hanc oblationem et hoc sacrificium laudis in honorem nominis tui, ut cum suavitate ascendat ad aures pietatis tuæ. Per. L. c.*, 508 D.

⁷⁰ The bread is therefore reckoned as the oblation of all through whose hands it passed: subdeacon, deacon, bishop. The formula with which the celebrant makes his offering to God is only a personal prayer, not a priestly one; this is plain from the fact that the formula is used, practically unchanged, for the lay people when they make their offering. Thus in a sacramentary from upper Italy, 12th century (Ebner, 306): *Tibi Domino creatori meo*; cf. *supra*, p. 18, note 99. The deacon, too, often uses this formula when he hands the priest the paten with the host; thus in an Italian pontifical of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 312; in the Sacramentary of Modena (before 1174): Muratori, I, 90.

⁷¹ In the Italian pontifical just cited the priest is told to recite Ps. 19: 2-4; see Ebner, 312.

⁷² As a rule, only one chalice was brought to the altar. But there were exceptions, as was to be expected in view of the Communion of the people *sub utraque specie*. Thus at Monte Cassino even in the 11th century there were seven chalices; Martène, I, 4, 6, 11 (I, 390). St. Boniface asked Rome concerning this, but received the answer that it was not seemly *duos vel tres calices in altario ponere*: Gregory II to Boniface (726) (MGH, Ep. Merow. et Karol. ævi, I, 276).—In the Eastern liturgies, too, several chalices on the altar are mentioned: *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 3 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 212, 1. 21); Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 62, 1. 17; 28); East Syrian liturgy (*ibid.*, 295, 1. 18; Greek liturgy of St. Mark (*ibid.*, 124, 1. 8; 134, 1. 10). Cf. Andrieu, *Immixtio et consecratio*, 240-243.

⁷³ It is the deacon who sees to the pouring of the wine; thus, e.g., in the Missal of Troyes (about 050): *Diaconus vergens libamen in calicem dicat: Acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo sacrificium istud*; Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 532 D). Elsewhere the deacon recites the same phrase when he sets the chalice upon the altar; central Italian Mass books of the 11-12th century in Ebner, 328, 337; Fiala, 204; Sacramentary of Besançon (11th c.): Leroquais, I, 139.

prayer composed of several combined psalm verses.⁶⁴ Thereupon the celebrant offers it up with the oblation prayer that is customary today, *Offerimus*,⁶⁵ or with some like formula. Still, even here there are early examples where the celebrant simply accepts the chalice with a psalm verse⁶⁶ or even—as a parallel to the host—with a blessing as a response.⁶⁷

Later on, the procedure was compressed more tightly or more plainly coordinated. After the bread-oblation began to consist mostly of the thin host of the priest (a change which is matched by the change in the size of the paten—now small and flattened), it became more and more the custom for the deacon to bring over the entire offering as a unit:⁶⁸ the chalice with the wine, and lying upon it the paten with the host.⁶⁹ In this more recent, more developed rite, the deacon addresses the celebrant with the psalm verse (49:14): *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua*. The celebrant answers him with a different psalm verse (115:4 [13]): *Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo*.⁷⁰ However,

⁶⁴ *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota. Sit Dominus adiutor tuus, mundum te faciat, et dum oraveris ad eum exaudiat te* (Pss. 49: 14, 27: 7; 90: 15). Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 511 A); Mass-ordo of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 249 A) and certain related Mass arrangements (among others Ebner, 301, 309; Fiala, 203).

⁶⁵ Missa Illyrica, loc. cit.

⁶⁶ With Ps. 115: 3 (12) f. (*Quid retribuam*), which is placed before the *Immola* of the previous note; both Sacramentaries of S. Thierry (9 and 10th c.): Martène, 1, 4, IX f. (I, 545 D, 549 B); Mass-ordo of Gregorienmünster (11th c.), *ibid.*, XVI (I, 599 B).—With Ps. 115: 4 (13) (*Calicem salutaris*): Mass-arrangement of St. Peter's (beginning of 12th c.), Ebner, 333.

⁶⁷ Mass-arrangement of St. Peter's (previous note): *Acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo sacrificium istud*. Cf. *supra*, note 63.

⁶⁸ Otherwise in the Missal of St. Vincent-on-Volturno, wherein (about 1100) the Communion of the whole convent is still presupposed; here the subdeacon carries the chalice in his left hand, and in his right *patenam cum oblatis*; Fiala, 203, 216.—Since about the year 1000 the paten has been the small circular plate it now is, slightly depressed to fit the *cuppa* of the chalice; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 211. Regarding this gradual reduction of the size of the paten, see *infra*, p. 306 ff.

⁶⁹ Among the Cluniacs at a private Mass

this carrying of both chalice and paten (with host) was customary already in the 11th century. William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1015 D; cf. Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 724 B). Medieval allegory, taking up and expanding certain Greek suggestions, looked upon the chalice as a symbol of Christ's tomb, the paten as the stone. Upon it lay the host with the folded corporal—Christ's body and the burial cloths. A popular verse incorporating these ideas is found in Sicard, *Mitræ*, III, 9 (PL, CCXIII, 146). Here too we might mention the designation of the corporal as *sinclon* (Ebner, 328; Fiala, 204).—In the Regensburg missal about 1500 (Beck, 267; cf. 266) the pall is described as the gravestone: *Accipe lapidem et pone super calicem*. Likewise in a Brixen missal printed in 1493, p. 130v: *Hic ponitur lapis super calicem*.—According to the Mass-ordo of Liège (16th c.), the priest should say, while covering the chalice: *In pace factus est locus eius . . .* Smits van Waesberghe (*Ons geestelijk Erf*, 1941), 326. The same phrase in a similar connection in a Hungarian missal of the 14th century: Radó, 68. The same reference to the repose of the grave in the missal of Riga (15th c.): v. Bruiningk, 81. ⁷⁰ *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 239); cf. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), 124; Legg, *Tracts*, 78. This is still done in the present-day Dominican rite, but

other formulas were also in use.⁷¹ Then the priest lifts chalice and paten just as they were handed to him and pronounces a brief oblation for both together. In the Dominican liturgy it is a version of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, short but enriched as to contents;⁷² similarly for the most part in England,⁷³ often also in France, where the same oblation rite had a wide influence.⁷⁴

now the priest's response begins with *Quid retribuam: Missale O.P.* (1889), 18, 27; the deacon's phrase is dropped at a simple Mass; *ibid.*, 18. Similarly in Tongern about 1413; de Coswarem, 126.—According to the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, the deacon's phrase is transferred to the priest, who continues with *Quid retribuam* (Volk, 92). Likewise in a Sacramentary of the 12th century from Camaldoli (Ebner, 296). Consistently, then, the priest says: *Immolo . . . et reddam*; thus in the Rhenish missal (13th c.) described by F. Rödel (*JL*, 1924, 84); cf. missal of Riga: v. Bruiningk, 81.—Without the deacon's phrase frequently in many later Mass arrangements: Martène, 1, 4, 6, 16 (I, 393, B.D.); *ibid.*, 1, 4, XVII; XXXIII (I, 600 E; 659 B); Legg, *Tracts*, 41; 59.—A Premonstratensian missal of 1539 has expanded the formula with reference to the paten: *Panem caelestem et calicem salutaris accipiam*; Waefelghem, 60, note 1.—According to the Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century (and likewise as late as 1514) the priest started the offertory with *In nomine Patris . . . Quid retribuam*; then the oblation prayers followed; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222; cf. *ibid.*, 227. Similarly in the Cistercian rite of the 15th century (Franz, 587) and in the rite of St. Pol-de Léon (Martène, 1, 4, XXXIV [I, 662 E]).

⁷¹ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, CLI, 992): *Cum sacerdos accipit oblationem, dicit: Acceptabile sit omnipotenti Deo sacrificium nostrum*. Likewise the Missal of Fécamp (about 1400): Martène, 1, 4, XXVII (I, 640 B); Augsburg missal of 1386 (Hoeynck, 373); cf. the Styrian missals: Köck, 119; 122; 125. Also in Riga: v. Bruiningk, 81.—According to a Pontifical of the 11-12th century in Naples (Ebner, 312), the priest responds to the *Immola* with the Roman penitential oration: *Præveniat*.—An early collection of short oblation formulas in

the Hungarian Sacramentary of Boldau (about 1195): Radó, 43 (pertinent here especially n. 8; 10, 13, 14).

⁷² *Missale O.P.* (1889), 18 f.; *Suscipe sancte Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offero in memoriam passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et præsta ut in conspectu tuo tibi placens ascendat et meam et omnium fidelium salutem operetur æternam*. Likewise in the Dominican liturgy of the 13th century: Legg, *Tracts*, 78; Sölch, Hugo, 77 f. with note 152; this Dominican *Suscipe* is identical with that of the rite of Hereford; cf. Bonniwell (*supra*, note 70), 187. The Premonstratensians also followed a similar ritus till 1622; Sölch, 78; Waefelghem, 63, note 1.—The shorter form of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* which we saw used for receiving the offerings of the faithful (*supra*, p. 54, note 59), is also employed for this single offering: Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 650 f.); cf. Ebner, 326.

⁷³ Sarum Ordinary (13th c.; Legg, *Tracts*, 220): *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam ego miser et indignus offero in honore tuo et beatæ Mariæ perpetuæ virginis et omnium sanctorum tuorum pro peccatis meis et pro salute vivorum et requie omnium fidelium defunctorum. Qui vivis*. Cf. Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667 A); Maskell, 82 f.; Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 98 f.—The Westminster missal (about 1380), ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 500, has a different formula: *Offerimus tibi, Domine, calicem et hostiam salutaris tuam clementiam deprecantes . . . ascendant. In nomine Patris*.

⁷⁴ *Ordinarium* of Coutances: Legg, *Tracts*, 59; cf. the *Alphabetum sacerdotum*, oft-printed in France (*ibid.*, 41).—The same ritus, but with other oblation prayers, in missals of the 15-16th century in Tours and Limoges: Martène, 1, 4, 6, 16 (I, 393).—The Carthusians retain this single offering rite to this day, but employ as the prayer the words: *In spiritu humilitatis*;

But in other places the oblation rite was soon broken up further. At first, indeed, the paten and host were regularly laid on the chalice. Sometimes a blessing was pronounced over them.⁷⁶ Then, however, the priest took first the paten⁷⁶ and, with an accompanying prayer, offered up the host; only then did he offer up the chalice, unless this was still committed to the deacon to do.⁷⁷

For such a double oblation there were already a number of precedents in the earlier stage of the offertory rite, when the chalice was still handed to the celebrant separately. In the *Missa Illyrica* there is even the beginning of the late Roman formula for the offering of the paten: *Suscipe sancte Pater*,⁷⁸ and the complete formula for the chalice: *Offerimus*,⁷⁹ both enmeshed by other texts.⁸⁰ Still, even this double accompaniment did not seem to have had the import of a real prayer, at least not that of a priestly oration.⁸¹ Especially with the chalice a simple and brief blessing was frequently thought sufficient.⁸² But little by little the details of the later

Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 632 D); Legg, *Tracts*, 100 f.; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20; cf. for the rite, *ibid.*, c. 29, 5-12.

⁷⁶ According to the Pontifical of Durandus, the priest who celebrates Mass in the presence of a bishop, should not only ask the bishop to bless the water, but afterwards should also hold out the chalice and the paten towards him, likewise for a blessing (see *infra*, note 127). Cf. the *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians (13th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 632 D).

⁷⁷ An intermediate form, e.g., in the *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: First an oblation of both elements together, then a short prayer over the paten (Legg, *Tracts*, 41); likewise the *Ordinarium* of Coutances (*ibid.*, 59). Similarly in the Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century (Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222 f.).

⁷⁸ The transition is plainly to be seen in a comparison of the older Sarum rite (13th c.; Legg, *Tracts*, 220 f.) with the later one (14th c.; *ibid.*, 4 f.; even at the start of the 14th century: Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 218, note 8); the separate oblation is found in the latter. However, the change was not effected everywhere in England.—On the other hand, it is found mostly in the later south German arrangements (Beck, 237 f., 307 f.; Hoeynck, 373; Köck, 119-125).—In Italy the double offering is the rule already in the 11th century; Ebner, 300 f., 306, 309, 328, etc.

⁷⁹ For the offering of the bread: *Suscipe, sancta Pater omnipotens æterne Deus, hanc*

immaculatam hostiam, quam ego indignus famulus tuus tibi offero Deo meo vivo et vero, quia te pro æterna salute cunctæ Ecclesiæ tuæ suppliciter exoro. Per. Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 508 E). The same short formula in corrupt form in a Mass-*ordo* from Lower Italy: Ebner, 346.

⁸⁰ The formula appears first as a "9th or 10th century" supplement to the St. Gall Sacramentary MS. 348 under the heading *Offertorium sacri calicis post oblationes oblatarum*. Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, p. 247; cf. XCIX. Here and in other early sources the words *pro nostra et totius mundi salute* are wanting; cf. Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 279.

⁸¹ Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 508 E, 511 A); between the two formulas are found the offertory prayers beginning *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* mentioned above.

⁸² This would explain why, for example, Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 58 (PL, CCXVII, 833 f.), does not make mention of them in his description of the offertory rite, even though the central Italian Mass-plans of the 11th and 12th centuries all present a full series of offertory prayers. They are mostly formulas which in other cases the deacon or even the laity recite; cf. examples *supra*, p. 54.

⁸³ Sackau missal about 1170 (Köck, 120): *Acceptabile sit . . .* Likewise certain English Mass plans: York, about 1425: Simmons, 100; cf. Sarum: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667 B); Maskell, 82.

Roman offertory plan, already present in essentials in the *Missa Illyrica*, became more evident, particularly in Italian Mass *ordines* from the eleventh and twelfth centuries on. The psalm verses that accompanied the handling of the chalice disappear. Alongside a short oblation passage which was often used alone,⁸³ the otherwise infrequent *Suscipe sancte Pater* (in its full form) now appears for the offering of the host.⁸⁴ After the admixture of the water there follows the offering of the chalice with the formula *Offerimus*.⁸⁵ But for a long time it was not a general rule that the celebrant raise paten and chalice above the altar,⁸⁶ although in some scattered in-

⁸³ It is the formula *Tibi, Domine, creatori meo hostiam offero pro remissione omnium peccatorum meorum et cunctorum fidelium tuorum*, which is also recited by the laity (*supra*, p. 18, note 99), or by the deacon or the subdeacon when handing over the chalice (Ebner, 298, 300, 312). Thus in Italy: Ebner, 337; cf. 296, 306, 340; also in southern Germany: Hoeynck, 373; Beck, 266, 307; Köck, 119 to 123; Salzburg printed missals (Hain, 11420 f.).

⁸⁴ Cf. Ebner, 13, 328, 340. The last citation would be the oldest instance (11th century, vicinity of Monte Cassino), but Ebner's annotation ("as now") is true only of the first half of the prayer, up to *vivo et vero*, as an examination of the MS (Rome, Bibl. Vallic. C 32) revealed. The prayer continues: *qua te pro te [!] eterna salute cuncte ecclesie tue suppliciter exoro*. Cf. *supra*, note 78. Otherwise the formula appears but infrequently in Italy till the Minorite missal. But 13th century commentaries on the Mass presuppose it: William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. by Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 327; Durandus, IV, 30, 17.—Eisenhofer, II, 141, reproduces an error when he states that the formula is already found in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald; cf. *supra*, note 22.—The opening phrases in a missal of the 10-11th century from Bobbio (Ebner, 81) reads: *Accipe, quæsumus Domine s. P. o. æ. D., hanc immaculatam hostiam, quam tibi suppliciter offero Deo vivo et vero* . . . Cf. note 78. Echoes (*quam ego indignus famulus tuus offero*) in Frankish sacramentaries of the 10th century. Leroquais, I, 69, 71, 76. The phrases of the second half of the prayer recur often in *apologia*, e.g., in an *oratio ante altare* of a 9th century sacramentary from S. Thierry (also in the sacramentary from

Monte Cassino just mentioned: Ebner, 339): *Deus qui de indignis dignos facis . . . concede propitius ut . . . hostias acceptabiles . . . offeram pietati tuæ pro peccatis et offensionibus meis et innumeris quotidianis excessibus . . . et omnibus circumstantibus . . . cunctisque simul fidelibus christianis* . . . Martène, I, 4, IX (I, 547 B).—To the closing words cf. the conclusion of a *Suscipe* formula in the Sacramentary of S. Denis (middle of the 11th c.): Martène, I, 4, V (I, 525 A): . . . *pro peccatis omnium christianorum tam vivorum quam defunctorum, ut vivis hic ad salutem et remissionem peccatorum et defunctis proficiat ad requiem sempiternam et vitam sempiternam*. The present formula must have originated in France in the early 11th century.

⁸⁵ In most Italian Mass-plans: Ebner, 301, 306, 322, etc. The form prevalent also in Southern Germany, where the *Suscipe sancte Pater* was unknown: Hoeynck, 373; Beck, 238, 267, 307 f.; Köck, 120, 122, 124.—Whereas for the most part only slight variants are to be found, there is a noteworthy prolepsis in a Hamburg missal of the 11th century (Ebner, 200): *Offerimus tibi Domine sanguinem Filii tui deprecantes* . . .

⁸⁶ Until far in the 13th century Italian Mass-plans simply introduce the pertinent oblation prayer with the rubric: *Quando panem et vinum super altare ponit* (Ebner, 326); *Quando offert hostiam super altare*; *Quando ponitur calix super altare* (the papal chapel about 1290; *ibid.*, 347; cf. 296, 306, 322, 328, 337). Cf. Innocent III, *De s. altaris myst.*, II, 58 (PL, 217: 833).—Other Mass-arrangements state: *Cum oblatum accipit*, etc. (Ebner, 340; cf. 298, 300), but in one case a later hand inserted the explanation: *Tenens patenam in mani-*

stances this had been done even in very early times.⁸⁷ Add to these, besides, the invocation of the *sanctificator*, the two prayers, *In spiritu humilitatis* and *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, which were to be said bowed, and were thus somewhat independent.⁸⁸

It is not entirely an accident that the formula for the paten retains the singular number which predominates in these medieval oblation texts, while the formula for the chalice, *Offerimus*, is couched in the plural. For the latter is found not only put in the mouth of the priest,⁸⁹ but instead in that of the deacon, who places the chalice on the altar and accompanies this with these words, which he would then be saying in the celebrant's name.⁹⁰ Soon, however, there is an insistence on the fact that the deacon keeps the chalice with wine, which he has carried to the altar, and offers it up, and then arranges it on the altar, but the conclusion is drawn precisely from the *Offerimus*, that in reality the priest is acting through the deacon and that the priest must therefore pronounce the *Offerimus*⁹¹ or at least say it with the deacon.⁹² This latter arrangement has in a sense persisted, with the deacon touching the chalice and supporting the priest's arm, and pronouncing the words with the priest,⁹³ but it is the priest, and not the deacon, who is now considered the chief offerer of the chalice. Thus, in the present-day solemn Mass, there is still a vestige of that older order in which the deacon was entrusted with the chalice,⁹⁴ that older relationship which is given utterance in the legend where St. Lawrence says to Pope Xystus: *Nunquam sacrificium sine ministro offerre consueveras . . . cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis dispensationem.*⁹⁵

A change which was to be found quite early in the rite of the Roman curia, and was then confirmed by the reform of Pius V, consisted in this, that the preparation of the chalice, or in the first instance at least, the

bus (*ibid.*, 340, note regarding Cod. Vall. F 4), a direction which had already appeared in a Benedictine Mass-book of the 11-12th century (*ibid.*, 309) and similarly in one of the 11th century (*ibid.*, 340: Cod. Vall. C 32).

⁸⁷ *Supra*, p. 42, note 4.

⁸⁸ Among the earliest witnesses to the Roman offertory arrangement, including the *Orate fratres*, are a Minorite missal of the 13th century in Naples (Ebner, 314) and the Mass-ordo of the papal chapel about 1290 (*Ibid.*, 347 f.; ed. Brinktrine, *Eph. liturg.*, 1937, 201-203). Further references in P. Salmon, "Les prières et les rites de l'Offertoire de la messe dans la liturgie romaine au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle," *Eph. liturg.*, 43 (1929) 508-519.

⁸⁹ Cf. *supra*, note 79.

⁹⁰ Italian Mass-plans of the 11-12th century in Ebner, 309, 328; Fiala, 203 f.—By

way of exception the prayer is found in the singular, to be said by the priest alone: *Offero tibi*: Central Italian sacramentary of the 12th century (Ebner, 340); Zips missal of the 14th century (Radó, 71).

⁹¹ *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1164 A).—Likewise a Pressburg Missal of the 15th c.: Jávör, 115.

⁹² Durandus, IV, 30, 17. That Durandus also had in mind the ceremony of priest and deacon together holding up the chalice is excluded by the context.

⁹³ Rit. serv. VIII, 9.—For the first time in 1485 in the Roman pontifical of Patrizio Piccolomini; see de Puniet, *Das römische Pontificale*, I, 185.—The rite is modeled on that at the closing doxology of the canon; see *infra*, p. 267 ff.

⁹⁴ *Supra*, I, 71, 73.

⁹⁵ Ambrose, *De off.*, I, 41 (PL, XVI, 84 f.).

admixture of the water, was transferred to the altar and was thus incorporated into the oblation rite. According to the customs prevalent outside Italy this was all taken care of, as a rule, at some earlier moment, after the Epistle,⁹⁸ or already at the beginning of Mass,⁹⁷ even in Masses celebrated without levites.⁹⁸ But according to the rule that was henceforth followed, the subdeacon at a high Mass, after the *Oremus*, brings up the paten with the host, but along with it only an empty chalice or a chalice containing wine alone,⁹⁹ hands these to the deacon, and then, without special formality, pours (wine and) water into the chalice. The act of conveying the gifts to the altar—an act of some liturgical significance—thus suffers a certain impoverishment, even at a high Mass where, after the disappearance of the offertory procession, it might still have been continued.

The attempt had been made, time and again, to keep, at least at high Mass, the symbolism inherent in the impressive transfer of the gifts. Durandus still mentions the practice of having a subdeacon bring to the altar the paten and chalice along with the corporal, to be followed by two singers, one carrying the host in a little cloth, and a cruet of wine; the other, a cruet of water which the subdeacon uses for mingling with the wine.¹⁰⁰ The usage did not take root. Still, there is an expression of great reverence in the very way chalice and paten have been handled these many centuries. When the gifts were to be carried over to the altar, the cleric whose duty it was to see to this, following an ancient ordinance,

⁹⁸ *Supra*, I, 278, 441 f.—In the use of Sarum, which was common in England before the Reformation, the chalice was prepared between the epistle and the gospel; see J.W. Legg, *Ecclesiological Essays* (London, 1905), 171.

⁹⁷ Before putting on the vestments, e.g., in two Mass-plans from Normandy: Martène, I, 4, XXVI, XXXVI (I, 635 D, 671 D). Before the *Confiteor* in Cologne Mass-arrangements: Smits van Waesberghe, 299. At Paris, and in France generally, the host and chalice were readied at the altar before a low Mass; at a solemn Mass the deacon spread the corporal during the epistle, and the subdeacon prepared the chalice during the gradual and sequence; Legg, *op. cit.*, 106-146. There is a special study of the whole subject: "A Comparative Study of the Time in the Christian Liturgy at Which the Elements Are Prepared and Set on the Holy Table," *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1895, vol. III, p. 78; see Legg, *Tracts*, 239.—In many Mass-arrangements no mention at all is made of this prepara-

tion of the elements, perhaps because it was regarded as outside the bounds of the liturgy proper; thus, e.g., in the otherwise very detailed *Mass-ordo* of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, I, 4, V (I, 518 ff.); also in most English Mass-books.

⁹⁹ According to the Bavarian Benedictine, Bernhard von Waging (d. 1472), some priests poured wine and water into the chalice before Mass, others after the *Confiteor*, still others after the epistle; but he himself recommends doing it right before the offering. Franz, 575. The practice first mentioned is still customary in today's Dominican rite; as soon as the priest reaches the altar, ready for Mass, he uncovers the chalice, pours wine into it and, with a blessing, water, and covers it again. The offertory itself begins with the obligatory lifting of chalice and paten. *Missale O.P.* (1889), 17 f.; cf. *supra*, note 72.

¹⁰⁰ So, e.g., in the *Ordo* of the Lateran basilica (about 1140): Fischer, 81, I, 15; 82 f.

¹⁰⁰ Durandus, IV, 30, 25.—Cf. *Ordinarium* of Laon (about 1300): Martène, I, 4, XX

threw a veil around his shoulders, and touched the sacred vessels only through this medium.¹⁰¹

Another practice on the increase was one prescribing that the deacon, too, when handing the chalice and paten to the priest, do this *mediante mappula*.¹⁰² Even in the most ancient Roman *ordines* when the deacon put the chalice in its place, and likewise when he lifted it aloft at the end of the canon, he used a special cloth for this, the *offertorium*;¹⁰³ and the paten, too, was held by the cleric entrusted with it, by means of a veil—called by such names as *sindo*, *linteum*—until he handed it back before the *fractio*.¹⁰⁴ This concealing of the paten was then transferred to the non-solemn Mass.¹⁰⁵

(I, 608 B).—A faint attempt to render visible the transfer of both elements is found also in the *Liber ordinarius* of the capitular church of Essen (14th c.); here the subdeacon handed the deacon not only the cruets for the chalice but also a pyx with the host for the paten. Arens, 16. In the present-day Dominican rite for high Mass, too, the transfer of the gifts (made during the *Gloria*) is still made in a somewhat visible manner; H. L. Verwilt, *Die Dominikanische Messe* (Düsseldorf, (1948), 13; cf. 15.

¹⁰¹ J. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente* (2nd ed., Freiburg, 1924), 230 f.—The chalice and the paten, too, as soon as they held the wine and the host, were covered with a cloth, out of which grew our present chalice veil; *ibid.*, 213-215. In the late medieval Cistercian rite the deacon removed the *offertorium* which was spread over the chalice, covered his hands with it, and so carried the paten with the host and the chalice with the wine to the altar; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1926), 349.

¹⁰² *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1163 C). In some Mass-arrangements we find *manipulus* instead of *mappula*: Martène, 1, 4, XXIV, XXXVI (I, 628 C, 681 C D); cf. Durandus, IV, 30, 16.—This manner of handling chalice and paten, although so dignified and suitable, does not seem to have had much vogue. Burchard of Strassburg, in his *Mass-ordo*, directs the Mass-server to handle the cruet *manu dextera nuda*; Legg, *Tracts*, 150.—It is interesting to note that the manipule (which is likewise often called a *mappula*), when thus used, was actually reviving its original function.

¹⁰³ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 15 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 944 f.); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 973 f.).—Cf. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, *præfatio altera* (PL, CV, 992 B).

¹⁰⁴ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 17 (PL, LXXVIII, 945 B); *Ordo* of Johannes Archicantor (Silva-Tarouca, 206, 1. 23). This latter work, done by Frankish clerics in an effort to fit together Roman and Gallican customs, presupposes a ceremonial in which the paten serves to bring the bread-oblation to the altar, somewhat in the manner of the Gallic offertory procession. But in the tradition of the city of Rome, incorporated in *Ordo Rom.* I, the paten was not used till the fraction of the species, although it was brought forward already at the start of the canon.—Batiffol, *Legons*, 88, explains the veneration shown the paten by supposing that it bore a consecrated particle (the *sancta*) which was dropped into the chalice before the Communion. But this assumption is not really necessary.

¹⁰⁵ At present, rubrics demand that the paten be slipped part way under the corporal and covered with the purificator. We find this practice of shoving the paten under the corporal mentioned already by Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 10 (PL, CLI, 983 D), and explained, as above, as a vestige of the practice at solemn Mass. But then allegorizing takes over, and the practice is interpreted as representing the disciples of Christ hiding themselves at the beginning of His passion; Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 59 (PL, CCXVII, 834). The realization that not all were unfaithful then seems to have led to the practice of only partially concealing the paten,

There is also an early mention of the kissing of the hand when paten and chalice are handed to the celebrant.¹⁰⁶ The sign of the Cross over the altar, which the celebrant makes with both the paten and the chalice after the oblation is somewhat more recent,¹⁰⁷ but it had its forerunners even in early times.¹⁰⁸

After the preparation of the chalice was thus transferred once more to the altar, texts to accompany this action also begin to come to our notice. It stood to reason, for instance, that in the Roman liturgy as accommodated to Frankish tradition, the admixture of water, whose symbolism had so early and so generally become the object of profound consideration, would not long remain without accompanying words. That type of oblation rite which we first encounter in various scattered points along the northern border of the Carolingian realm, and then in the eleventh century in the Italian sphere affected by the Cluniac movement,¹⁰⁹ presents a definite form for this, one which has been retained more or less in the Roman Mass of the present day. This form is as follows: the water is put into the chalice at the altar itself, either before¹¹⁰ or even after the offering of the chalice;¹¹¹ and meanwhile is said the oration, *Deus qui*

a practice mentioned since the 13th century; Durandus, IV, 30, 29; Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 75. But even at the end of the Middle Ages the practice was not universal; according to the *Ordinarium* of Coutance (1557) the priest places the paten *sub corporalibus aut super altare*: Legg, *Tracts*, 59.

¹⁰⁶ Missal at Monte Cassino (11-12th c.): Ebner, 309.—*Ordo Eccl. Lateran.* (about 1140; Fischer, 82, l. 33, 38), and here also when handling the water cruet.—*Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1163 D).—According to *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 18 (PL, LXXVIII, 945 B) the archdeacon kisses the paten when he receives it after the *Pater noster*.

¹⁰⁷ Mentioned for the paten by Durandus, IV, 30, 17; for the chalice in *Ordo ecclesiæ Lateranensis*: Fischer, 83, l. 2. As a rite performed by the deacon with the chalice, in Benedictine missals of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 309; Fiala, 203.—Where paten and chalice were offered together under one ceremony, the cross was made with both together; Missal of Evreux (about 1400): Martène, I, 4, XXVIII (I, 644 B); cf. a Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century: Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222.

¹⁰⁸ According to Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 58 (PL, CCXVII, 833 f.), the priest makes a sign of the cross over the gifts previous to receiving the paten and the host, the water cruet and the chalice (and likewise the *thuribulum*).—There are isolated instances of a sign of the cross over the host-bread since the 4th century. Augustine, *In Joh. tract.*, 118, 5 (PL, XXXV, 1950); *Canones Basilii*, c. 99 (Riedel, 276).—In St. Ephraem's locality the Marcionites marked a cross with red wine over the eucharistic bread: Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, I (1929), 30 ff.—This signing with the cross was not customary in the older Roman liturgy; nevertheless *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 14 (PL, LXXVIII, 944 B), says of the deacon who is to pour the wine into the chalice: *infundit faciens crucem in calice*—he forms a cross as he pours. Cf. *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVII, 973 B).

¹⁰⁹ *Supra*, p. 47, note 26 ff.; p. 53 ff.

¹¹⁰ Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 510 f.); central Italian Mass-books since the eleventh century: Ebner 300, 347.

¹¹¹ Mass-plan of Séz: (PL, LXXVIII, 249 B); Benedictine Mass-*ordo* of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 309.

humanæ substantiæ,¹¹² an ancient Roman Christmas oration¹¹³ amplified by a reference *per huius aquæ et vini mysterium* and by the solemn invocation of Christ's name before the concluding formula.

Thus the Christmas thought, which hardly ever came under discussion in this connection in the literature of the foregoing centuries, the thought of man's participation in the divinity through the Incarnation of the Son of God,¹¹⁴ suddenly comes into prominence. It is a concept which presupposes and, to some extent, comprises both the oriental interpretation of the admixture rite, the human and divine natures of Christ, and the western interpretation, our own union with Christ.¹¹⁵

Much oftener, however, we come across a very different formula, even in Italian Mass *ordines*. This formula derives from the symbolism of the water-and-blood,¹¹⁶ and outside of Italy it appears, along with the mixing rite connected with it, not in the offertory itself (though there are exceptions,¹¹⁷ but rather right after the Epistle,¹¹⁸ or even at the start of Mass, where it is said by the deacon.¹¹⁹ The reference to the blood and water from

¹¹² In some of the cases mentioned above (note 110, 111), a second formula is introduced.—Noteworthy is the way the commingling formula is accentuated by means of preliminary versicles (*Ostende, Domine exaudi, . . .*), as in Hungarian Mass-books: Radó, 24, 43, 76, 123.

¹¹³ Leonianum (Muratori, I, 467); Gelasianum (Wilson, 5); Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 9, 6).

¹¹⁴ F. Holböck, *Der eucharistische und der mystische Leib Christi*, 203, traces the concept of this oration among early scholastic writers only in Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 158 (PL, CLXXII, 593 B).

¹¹⁵ See *supra*, p. 39.

¹¹⁶ Central Italian Mass-books since the 11th century (Ebner, 298, 300, et al.): *Ex latere Christi sanguis et aqua exisse perhibetur et ideo pariter commiscemus, ut miscricors Deus utrumque ad medelam animarum nostrarum sanctificare dignetur. Per.* Also in the Sacramentary of S. Gatien in Tours (9th c.): Martène, I, 4, VII (I, 535 D). With the variant, *ut tu pius et misericors utrumque sanctificare et benedicere digneris*, about 1290 in the papal chapel: Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 202. Similarly since the 14th century in Hungary *ut Dominus utrumque dignetur benedicere* (Jávor, 114, Radó, 24, 96, 118, 123 et al.): *ut Dominus utrumque dignetur benedicere et in odorem suavitatis accipere*. Still another

modification in the Sacramentary of Boldau about 1195; Radó, 43.—Besides this formula there are also others which, however, regularly have the starting phrases in common with it: *De latere D. n. J. C. exivit sanguis et aqua pariter in remissionem peccatorum*. Martène, I, 4, XXVI (I, 635 D). Or the same with the extension: *sanguis ut redimeret, aqua ut emundaret; ibid.*, XXXVI (I, 671 D). Or else a simple quotation from John 19: 34 b-35 a; *ibid.*, (I, 677 D). Or the same with several amplifications: Ebner, 326, and similarly, but with the opening *In nomine D. n. J. C.* (Lyons, 11th c.): Leroquais, I, 126. Further developed as a petition for a worthy celebration (*et aqua quem pretiosissimum liquorem . . . influi peto in cor meum . . .*) in use in Holland in the 15th century; s. P. Schlager, "Über die Messerkklärung des Franziskaners Wilhelm von Gouda," *Franziskan. Studien*, 6 (1919), 328. Note that only a few typical examples of the numerous variations are reported here.

¹¹⁷ Thus, in the Mass-plan of the Carthusians, where it follows the handing-over of chalice and paten: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 632 D); Legg, *Tracts*, 100; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20.

¹¹⁸ See *supra*, I, 441.

¹¹⁹ See the Mass-plans from Normandy and Cologne cited in note 97 above.

the side of Christ must have been very much a favorite; it did, of course, come within the compass of the ordinary allegorism which explained the Mass in terms of Christ's Passion. The notion was kept alive also by a widely-used oblation formula which was spoken over the chalice instead of one of the other formulas mentioned earlier;¹²⁰ but more especially by the regulation that the chalice was to stand on the altar to the right of the host *quasi sanguinem Domini suscepturus*,¹²¹ an interpretation which is indeed more recent than the custom upon which it is founded,¹²² but which recurs, along with the regulation itself, in nearly all the commentaries on the Mass of the later Middle Ages,¹²³ and was not generally discarded, until the basis for it was removed by the Missal of Pius V.

If the symbolism of the water was thus to be emphasized, at the same time the water was also to be blessed. This is done at the present time by a sign of the Cross which is coupled with the words *per huius aquæ et vini mysterium*, and which is omitted at a Requiem Mass because all formal blessings therein are bestowed only on the dead. In the oldest Roman *ordines*, as we have already seen, the act of pouring the water into the chalice was done in the form of a cross.¹²⁴ In medieval missals this blessing was not infrequently accented even more forcefully. Perhaps it was as much for the sake of this blessing as for a greater emphasis on the symbolism that the addition of the water was reserved to the priest;¹²⁵ at any

¹²⁰ See note 46.

¹²¹ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 10 (PL, CLI, 983 D).

¹²² *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 15 (PL, LXXVII, 944 C): the chalice stands *iuxta oblatam pontificis a dextris*.

¹²³ Durandus, IV, 30, 22 f., makes mention of both arrangements; likewise Radulph de Rivo, *De canonum observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, I, 143). According to the latter the arrangement followed at present was then observed by the *Gallicani*. Actually even Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, præfatio altera (PL, CV, 992 B), notes as a diverging Roman custom: *Calix in latere oblatae in altari componitur, non post tergum*. The Gallican practice was adopted by several religious orders (see note 24 *supra*) and in 1485 also by Rome; Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 278.—According to the *Directorium div. off.* of Ciconiolanus (1539) the priest was to place the chalice *ad sinistram hostiæ*; Legg, *Tracts*, 207.

¹²⁴ *Supra*, note 108.

¹²⁵ The practice of the celebrant himself adding the water is found, among others, in Bonizo of Sutri (d. about 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels [Berlin,

1930], 59); in the *Ordo ecclesiæ Lateranensis* (middle 12th c.), ed. Fischer, 82 f.; Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 58 (PL, CCXVII, 833); Durandus, IV, 30, 18; *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1163 f.). As an argument to justify the usage Innocent III remarks that Christ had shed His own blood for the nations (represented by the water).—A Graz missal from the 15th century expressly declares that the deacon may, indeed, put the wine into the chalice, but not the water; this only the *sacerdos celebrans* is permitted to pour in; Köck, 126 (here also the rubric which also appears elsewhere in isolated instances: *prius effundi debet parum super terram ex ampullis de vino et aqua*). This marked underscoring of the priestly privilege is obviously done in view of an opposite practice, still in use. According to the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 100) it was the Mass-server's duty, even at a low Mass, to put wine and water into the chalice, provided only that he be *in sacris*. According to a Mass-plan of English Carthusians about 1500 (Legg, *Tracts*, 100) it was enough if he was a cleric. This is

rate the mixing of the water had to take place at the altar, with the result that the pouring of the wine was likewise transferred to the altar.¹²⁸

For the blessing itself various formulas were handed down. According to the Pontifical of Durandus, the bishop spoke as follows when he blessed the water at the Mass of his chaplain: *Ab illo benedicatur, cuius spiritus super eam ante mundi exordium ferebatur.*¹²⁹ According to English Mass books, the celebrant said the following over the water: *Ab eo sit benedicta de cuius latere exivit sanguis et aqua. In nomine Patris. . .*¹³⁰ Elsewhere the priest used words analogous to those used at the commingling of the species before Communion: *Fiat commixtio et consecratio vini et aquæ in nomine D. n. J. C., de cuius latere exivit sanguis et aqua,*¹²⁹ or: *Fiat commixtio vini et aquæ pariter in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti,*¹³⁰ or simply—apparently the original way—*In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*¹³¹ Most often such a blessing, coupled with the sign of the Cross, was appended to the formula which was designed to explain the commixture, or it was even combined with it into a single formula.¹³²

The later Middle Ages were a thriving era for blessings. All the products of nature and all the objects of human use were recipients of the Church's benedictions. No wonder, then, that a blessing was bestowed here at the oblation not only on the water, but also on all the other gifts which were destined for so exalted a purpose. Thus we come to a final layer of texts that were built up in the medieval oblation rite, a series of benediction formulas of which one, the *Veni sanctificator*, has secured a permanent place in the Roman Missal. Since for the most part these blessings take the form of an invocation, calling down God's blessing, the power

matched by the present-day arrangement of having the subdeacon at high Mass see to the pouring of the water.

¹²⁸ Only by way of exception was a special formula composed to accompany the pouring of the water. In Spanish Mass-books of the 15th century there is the excerpt from the Psalm (74: 8 f.), *Hunc humiliat . . .*, but it does not appear very apropos. Ferreres, 127 f. (n. 503, 506).

¹²⁹ Martène, 1, 4, XXIII (I, 619 D); Andrieu, III, 645. Still another blessing follows, according to the Pontifical cited; the priest lays the paten with the host on the chalice and turns once again to the bishop with a *Benedicite*; the latter says: *Benedictionis et consecrationis angelus virtute sanctæ Trinitatis descendat super hoc munus.*

¹³⁰ Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 71; cf. Ferreres, 132f. Likewise in the Cologne rite of the 14th century: Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222.

¹²⁹ A 13th century missal from Schlägl (in the diocese of Linz, Austria): Waefelghem, 59, note 3. Likewise in a 14th century missal from Zips (in Slovakia) and in a Breslau missal of 1476: Radó, 71; 163.

¹³⁰ A Seckau missal about 1330 (Köck, 121); the Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century (Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222); Statutes of Tongern, 1413 (de Corswarem, 125 f.); Hungarian missals of the 15th century (Jávor, 114; Sawicki, 148).—Likewise the Augsburg Mass-plan of the close of the 15th century (Franz, 752); the Regensburg missal about 1500 (Beck, 265); a Mass-ordo of the 14-15th century from Toul (Martène, 1, 4, XXXI [I, 650 E]); a Mass-ordo from Rouen (*ibid.*, XXXVII [I, 677 D]).

¹³¹ Missal of the 12th century from St. Peter: Ebner, 333; missal of 1417 from Valencia: Ferreres, 127 (n. 503; cf. n. 505).

¹³² E.g., missal from Toul (note 130

of the divine Spirit, or simply the Holy Ghost, we can also talk of epikletic formulas.¹³³

The simplest form¹³⁴ is the one mentioned in a previous paragraph: the name of the triune God is mentioned at the preparatory action. In the Carthusian rite the priest sets the chalice (with the paten resting upon it) on the altar with the words: *In nomine Patris . . . Amen.*¹³⁵ Or the same trinitarian formula stands at the start of the whole oblation rite,¹³⁶ or is correlated to the various parts of the action;¹³⁷ or, above all, it is tied in with other epikletic formulas,¹³⁸ where, however, as an introductory it is

supra); cf. also the petition for a blessing at the end of the formula *Ex latere: supra*, note 116. Multiple blessings by way of sign of the cross were customary among the ancient Irish monks; cf. Andrieu, *Les ordines*, III, 21; 212 f.; 218 f.

¹³³ However, it would be misleading to talk here precisely of the epiklesis, as Gehr, 569 ff., does, for the formularies are not within the canon, and the blessing is only preparatory in character.

¹³⁴ Insofar as there is question of a text and not of a simple unaccompanied crossing, as was the case about 1100 in the missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 203).

¹³⁵ So according to the *Statuta antiqua* (13th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 632 D); cf. Legg, *Tracts*, 101; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 20. So also Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 78; Maskell, 98. In these cases the words follow *In spiritu humilitatis* and thus correspond exactly to the Roman *Veni sanctificator*.—A similarly independent *In nomine Patris* between *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* and *Orate* in the Lyons monastic missal of 1531: Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 659 D).—In the Mozarabic Mass the priest recites the same trinitarian formula when putting down the paten and the chalice (PL, LXXXV, 536 B C); the recitation of the formula is labeled a *sanctificare* (*ibid.*).

¹³⁶ Breviary of Rouen: Martène, 1, 4, XXXVIII (I, 678 A); Cistercian rite of the 15th century: Franz, 587; Netherlands Mass-plans of the 15-16th century: Smits van Waesberghe (*Ons geestelijk Erf*, 1941), 325, 327.

¹³⁷ In the *Alphabetum sacerdotum* the oblation prayer with which the chalice is raised aloft closes with *in nomine Patris*,

and also the formula with which the host is laid on the altar. Legg, *Tracts*, 41.—In the Cologne missal of 1498 the trinitarian formula is found also at the beginning, before the *Quid retribuam*; Smits van Waesberghe, 327; the development was not so far advanced yet in the 14th century. *Ordo celebrandi*; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 223.—Likewise in the Mass-ordo of S. Pol-de-Léon: Martène, 1, 4, XXXIV (I, 662 f.), where the trinitarian formula also follows the *Veni sanctificator*—therefore it appears four times in all. It also appears four times in the *Ordinarium* of Coutance of 1559: Legg, *Tracts*, 59 ff.—It is also found in four places in the offertory according to the Mass-arrangement at Augsburg in the 15th century, if the blessing of the wine is included: *Benedictio Dei Patris . . . descendat super hanc creaturam* (Franz, 752); in the Augsburg missal of 1386 (Hoeynck, 373) this formula is still absolutely wanting. In a Salzburg missal of the 15th century the trinitarian blessing is found three times during the preliminary arrangement and preparation of chalice and host, and four times during the offertory; Radó, 141.—Cf. also the *In nomine Patris* at the start of the incensation in the Roman oblation-plan of the 13-14th century, in Salmon (*Eph. liturg.*, 1929), 512 f.

¹³⁸ In particular the formula *Sit signatum* (or *Sit benedictum*; see below, note 144) often begins with *In nomine Patris*. Thus already in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 511 C), and in a Central Italian sacramentary of the 11th century: Ebner, 298; cf. 327.—Similarly in the Liège missal of the 16th century: Smits van Waesberghe, 325; cf. *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 92.—The *Veni sanctificator* sometimes concludes with *in nomine Patris*;

often replaced—especially in earlier times—by the formula *In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi*.¹³⁰ After the year 1000 a double formula frequently appears, a double petition for a blessing connected with the action of depositing the bread-oblation and the chalice: *Sanctifica, Domine, hanc oblationem, ut nobis unigeniti Filii tui D. n. J. C. corpus fiat. Qui tecum . . .*, and in relation to the chalice: *Oblatum tibi, Domine, calicem sanctifica, ut nobis Unigeniti tui D. n. J. C. sanguis fiat. Qui tecum . . .*¹⁴⁰ In South-German Mass *ordines* they often appear in a form where the second formula is fashioned more closely on the first: *Sanctifica quæsumus Domine hunc calicem, ut nobis Unigeniti tui sanguis fiat*.¹⁴¹

As a sort of condensation of this double formula there follows in many cases a further formula which often occurs by itself; it begs that the double earthly offering might be exalted into the single holy one: *In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit sacrificium istud immaculatum et a te Deo vivo et vero adunatum et benedictum*. Like the formulas already mentioned, this, too, appears first along the northern rim of the former Carolingian domain,¹⁴² then later chiefly in Italy,¹⁴³ where still another

see English and North-French Mass-plans in Legg, *Tracts*, 5, 42, 60 f., 221.

¹³⁰ Mass-ordo of Séz (PL, LXXVII, 248 B); Central Italian Mass-arrangements since the 11th century: Ebner, 296, 301, 310, 313, 333. The *Ordinarium* of Toul (14-15th c.) combines both formulas: *in nomine Jesu Christi fiat hoc sacrificium a te Deo vivo et vero coadunatum et benedictum in nomine P. et F. et Sp. S.*: Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 651 A).

¹⁴⁰ Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 510 f.). The second formula, *Oblatum . . . fiat*, is found as a supplement of the 9th or 10th century in the Frankish Sacramentarium Gelesianum, ed., Mohlberg, p. 244, where it follows immediately after the *Offerimus* (see *supra*, note 79).—In Central Italian Mass-plans since the 11th century, these formulas, in the versions given, appear only in isolated cases: Ebner, 301; cf. 296; in other instances they are found modified (*ibid.*, 326 f.), or combined into one formula (*ibid.*, 298). Mostly they have disappeared.—In German Mass-plans the two formulas appear more frequently: Mainz (about 1170): Martène, 1, 4, XVII (I, 600 f.); Gregorienmünster (14-15th c.): *ibid.*, XXXII (I, 656); Augsburg Missal of 1386: Hoeynck, 373; Augsburg Mass-plan of the end of the 15th century Franz, 752; Salzburg incunabula of

1492 and 1498: Hain, 11420 f. Cf. the statement of Bernhard of Waging (d. 1472), in Franz, 575.

¹⁴¹ Sacramentary presumably from Regensburg (11th c.): Ebner 7.—Beck, 237 f., 266 f., 307; Köck, 120 f., 125; Radó, 141.—But thus also in the Sacramentary of Modena: Muratori, I, 91, and in a Sacramentary of the 12th century from Camaldoli: Ebner, 296; likewise a Sacramentary from Fonte Avellana (before 1325): PL, CLI, 887.—A different paralleling of the two formulas in the *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 168: *Suscipe, clementissime Pater, hunc panem sanctum, ut fiat Unigeniti tui corpus, in nomine Patris . . . Suscipe, clementissime Pater, hunc calicem, vinum aqua mixtum, ut fiat Unigeniti tui sanguis in nomine Patris. . . .* It is not till the added prayers that the special intentions are expressed.

¹⁴² Mass-ordo of Séz: PL, LXXVIII, 249 B); in France only here and there: Martène, 1, 4, XXXI f. (I, 651 A, 656 C). Nor is it frequent in German countries: Mass-ordo of Gregorienmünster: Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 599 C); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, about 1285: Volk, 92; Liège missals of 1486 and 1499: Smits van Waesberghe, 325; Styrian Mass-books: Köck, 121, 124.

¹⁴³ Ebner, 20, 296, 298, 301, 310, 313, 333.

parallel formula is found as an alternative.¹⁴⁴ Even here, however, neither of the formulas held their ground, but on the contrary were supplanted by a third, which had put in an appearance early in the ninth century in the Irish Stowe Missal¹⁴⁵ and which is still found in the present day *Missale Romanum*, namely, the prayer *Veni sanctificator*, which was but sparsely spread in Italy before the appearance of the *Missale Romanæ Curie*.¹⁴⁶ Whereas in Italian Mass *ordines* it usually stands in the same spot it occupies at present and amid similar surroundings,¹⁴⁷ in German *ordines* it regularly followed the two *Sanctifica* formulas as a sort of recapitulation,¹⁴⁸ thus accentuating its significance as a blessing.¹⁴⁹ But it was also used in these ways. In some few Mass *ordines* the *Veni Sanctificator* introduces the offertory.¹⁵⁰ According to an *ordo* which circulated widely on both sides of the English Channel, it concluded the entire rite, coming

¹⁴⁴ Again it is the formula which makes its initial appearance in the Missa Illyrica [*In nomine P. et F. et Sp. S.*] *sit signatum, ordinatum, sanctificatum et benedictum hoc sacrificium novum*; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511 C). For Italy (11-12th c.) cf. Ebner, 14, 328. In two Central Italian Mass-books of the 11th century (Ebner, 301; cf. 298) the formula is doubled: *benedictum hoc corpus*, for the host; *benedictum hoc sanctum sacrificium*, for the chalice; whereupon there follows *In nomine D. n. J. C. sit sacrificium istud*, to merge the two.—From this arose, in later Italian Mass-plans (12-13th c.; Ebner, 327, 341), another combination formula: [*In nomine Patris . . .*] *sit signatum et benedictum et consecratum hoc corpus et hoc sacrificium*. By *sacrificium*, therefore, the chalice was meant.—In the Freising missal of 1520 this formula is spoken only over the chalice (*Sanctificatum sit hoc libamen*): Beck, 308, 1. 3; cf. the Salzburg missal of 1200: Köck, 123.—Further modifications of the formula: Mass-*ordo* of York about 1425: Simmons, 100; missal of Liège, 16th century, where it forms the opening of the offertory: Smits van Waesberghe, 325.

¹⁴⁵ Warner (HBS, 32), 7: At the unveiling of the chalice (before the gospel) the invocation *Veni, Domine, sanctificator omnipotens, et benedic hoc sacrificium præparatum tibi. Amen.* is recited three times. In the sacramentary of S. Thierry, end of the 10th century: Martène, I, 4, X (I, 548 E), the prayer *Veni, sanctificator, omnipotens æterne Deus, benedic hoc sac-*

rificium præparatum tibi is said after the first of the oblation prayers. In the Missa Illyrica, about 1030: *ibid.*, IV (I, 511), after the incensing . . . *hoc sacrificium tibi præparatum. Qui vivis.*

¹⁴⁶ Ebner, 306, 327, 333, 340, 348.—Sometimes a much expanded version is found, *Veni, sanctificator omnium, Sancte Spiritus, et sanctifica hoc præsens sacrificium ab indignis manibus præparatum et descende in hanc hostiam invisibiliter, sicut in patrum hostias visibiliter descendisti*. Missal at Monte Cassino of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 310; cf. *ibid.*, 328. Missal of St. Vincent-on-Volturno: Fiala, 205. Likewise in a Minorite missal: Ebner, 314; also in the missal of the chapter church of St. Lambrecht, 1336: Köck, 121.—The second half of the prayer goes back to a prayer for the incensation of the gifts in the Missa Illyrica (Martène, 511 D), where the connection with the epiklesis of the canon is patent: *Memores . . . petimus . . . ut ascendant preces . . . et descendat . . .* Obviously some Gallican schema is here belatedly at work; cf. *Missale Gothicum*: Muratori, II, 654; cf. *ibid.*, 548, 699 f., 705; Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 93 ff.

¹⁴⁷ Akin, too, is the position it occupies in most of the Netherlands Mass-plans: Smits van Waesberghe, 326 f.; cf. 301.

¹⁴⁸ The sources as above, note 141. Likewise in the German Mass-plans enumerated in note 140.

¹⁴⁹ The 13th century missal of Schlägl (Waefelghem, 61, note 0) entitles the formula: *Benedictio panis et calicis.*

¹⁵⁰ *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 92);

in just before the *Orate fratres*.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, other formulations of the invocation of heaven's power and grace seldom proved even relatively permanent.¹⁵²

In the territory just indicated, another phenomenon should be recorded because it throws some light on the frame of mind in which this epikletic formula was spoken. Towards the end of the Middle Ages both in Normandy and England—and elsewhere, too—we encounter not only one of the invocation formulas mentioned above, but also the hymn *Veni Creator*.¹⁵³ The wording of the formula *Veni sanctificator* does not neces-

also in the Liège missals of 1486 and 1499: Smits van Waesberghe, 325; Missal of Upsala (1513): Yelverton, 14; Missal of Fécamp (14-15th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXVII (I, 640 B).—In the *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 993), it is the only prayer mentioned for the offertory.

¹⁵¹ Sacramentary of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 526 D); *Ordinarium* of Toul: *ibid.*, XXXI (I, 651); 13th century *Ordinarium* of Sarum: Legg, *Tracts*, 221; cf. *ibid.*, 5, 42, 60 f.; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219.—In the York Mass-plan (Simmons, 100) exactly the same position is occupied by the formula *Sit signatum*, which is therefore regarded as equipollent. Cf. the missal of 1336 of St. Lambrecht, where the *Veni sanctificator* is declared as interchangeable with [*In nomine Patris . . .*] *sit hoc sacrificium* (cf. *supra*, p. 67); Köck, 121.

¹⁵² A formula, *Descendat [hic sanctus] angelus benedictionis et consecrationis super hoc munus*, appears since the 11th century in the French oblation arrangements: Sacramentary of Limoges: Leroquais, I, 155; cf. *ibid.*, 211; Sacramentary of Moissac: Martène, 1, 4, VIII (I, 539 C); *ibid.* also an expanded *Descendat* formula. A three-member *Descendat* formula, which serves as an epiklesis in the *Missale Gothicum vetus* of the 7th century (Muratori, II, 699 f.; cf. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 94 f.), appears in this location since the 11th century: Leroquais, I, 164; II, 25; III, 126.—Cf. the formula for blessing in the *Pontificale* of Durandus, *supra*, note 127; the continuation of the *Veni sanctificator*, *supra*, note 146; the formulas in Martène, 1, 4, 6, 3 (I, 395 D). An 11th century sacramentary of Monza (Ebner,

106) says more simply: *Benedictio Dei P. et F. et Sp. S. descendat super hanc nostram oblationem*. Three *Descendat* (*descende*) formulas are contained in the oblation rite of the Sacramentary of Boldau; Radó, 43.—In Spanish missals an oration for the consecration of an altar, from the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 196), beginning with the word *Descendat*, is placed after the answer to *Orate fratres*, being recited, according to varying forms, either before or after the other *secreta* prayers. Ferreres, 132 f.—In Spain there often appears, instead of *Veni sanctificator*, the formula: *Dextera Dei Patris omnipotentis benedicat hæc dona sua*. Ferreres, 129 (n. 513); Ebner, 342.—In the same position the Milanese Mass presents the formula: *Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris . . . descendat super hanc nostram oblationem . . .*; Missale Ambrosianum (1902), 169. The Augsburg Mass-plan at the end of the 15th century starts the offertory with the invocation of God's blessing upon the wine: *Benedictio Dei Patris . . . descendat super hanc creaturam vini*. Further on, there are two *Veni* formulas. Franz, 752 f.—A missal of the 12th century from Tortosa has a continuation of the *Suscipe sancte Pater* after the first phrase, as follows: . . . *offero, et mittere digneris sanctum angelum tuum de cælis, qui sanctificet corpus et sanguinem istud*; Ferreres, 129 (n. 512).—The Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century has one *Benedicat* formula each for the bread, the wine and the water; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 222.

¹⁵³ For England: *Ordinarium* of Sarum, 14th century (Legg, *Tracts*, 5; not found, however, in MSS. of the 13th or start of the 14th century: Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219); Mass-*ordo* of York, about 1425 (Simmons, 100).—Mass-arrangements of

sarily force us to refer the invocation to the Holy Spirit,¹⁵⁴ and thus to include in the series of offertory prayers and of the Mass prayers in general a form of address alien to them. Still, in view of the fact just noticed, there can hardly be any doubt that the invocation was often so understood in the Middle Ages. In fact, in some instances the address to the Holy Ghost is explicitly included in the *Veni sanctificator*.¹⁵⁵ Notice, finally, that the various texts that accompany the oblation ritual—exclusive of the oblation prayers themselves—do not pretend to have the character or the import of orations and are therefore couched in the freer forms of simple invocations and blessings.

5. The Incensation

After the gifts have been deposited on the altar, there follows at high Mass¹ yet another ceremony, the incensation. Today, and already in the *Missale Romanæ Curiae*, it has been so thoroughly incorporated into the course of the offertory, that, besides the washing of hands, there is still another oblation act to follow, whereas in other places, and according to the original plan, it formed the conclusion, coming immediately before the

Normandy: Legg, *Tracts*, 59 f.; Martène, 1, 4, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXVI, f. (I, 637 E, note b; 644 C; 673 B; 677 E). For sources elsewhere cf. Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 288, note a.—The hymn is inserted generally after the gifts are laid on the altar. Then is added *In spiritu humilitatis* (cf. *supra*, p. 51 f.) and the further epikletic formulas, mostly *Veni sanctificator*.—In a similar role the antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus, reple* appears here and there in the 15-16th century; *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 42; Liège missal of the 16th century: Smits van Waesberghe, 326; a Breslau missal of the year 1476: Radó, 163; the Lyons monastic missal of the year 1531: Martène, 1, 4, XXIII (I, 659 C); cf. the missal of S. Pol de Léon: *ibid.*, XXXIV (I, 663 B), where *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison, Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* precede the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.—In the Westminster missal (about 1380), ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 500 f., *Veni Creator* is followed by the antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus, reple* with the versicle and the oration, *Deus cui omne cor patet*.—Similar invocations are found in the same area at the beginning of Mass; see *supra*, I, 274, 280, 296 f., in the notes.
¹⁵⁴ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 27 f., rightly stresses this point.—In some few instances an ad-

dress to the Holy Spirit is even excluded by the wording of the text; thus, in two Norman texts we find: *Omnipotens Pater, benedic . . . hoc sacrificium*; Martène, 1, 4, XXXVI (I, 673 C); *Domine Deus omnipotens, benedic et sanctifica*; Martène, XXXVI (I, 637 f.).

¹⁵⁵ Two Italian missals of the 11-12th century (Ebner, 310; 328; cf. *supra*, note 146): *Veni sanctificator omnium, Sancte Spiritus*. Another from St. Peter (*ibid.*, 333) has: *Veni Spiritus sanctificator omnium*.—A Sarum ordinarium of the 13th century (Legg, *Tracts*, 221) has: *Veni Sancte Spiritus, benedic . . .*—The Mozarabic *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 113 A) also has: *Veni, Sancte Spiritus sanctificator*. The Augsburg missal of 1386 contains an obvious borrowing from the beginning of the hymn: *Veni creator et sanctificator*; Hoeynck, 373; cf. the somewhat varied formula in the Augsburg arrangement of the end of the 15th century: Franz, 752 f.—According to the commentary of Balthasar of Pforta, which appeared in 1494, it was customary at that time to recite either *Veni invisibilis sanctificator* or the antiphon *O rex gloriæ . . . [mitte promissum Patris in nos Spiritum veritatis]*. Franz, 587.

¹ But cf. *supra*, I, 317, note 1.

Orate fratres.² The incensation at the conclusion of the offertory is first mentioned by Amalar;³ but in a special preface to his work, written about 832 after his trip to Rome, he indicates that this custom of incensation was unknown in Rome.⁴ For that reason it was long contested even in the North,⁵ until the date when it at last found entry into Rome itself.⁶ In Roman usage incense was burned in fixed braziers; in addition, incense was carried about at the entrance procession, at the procession with the Gospel book, and at the recession; but there was no real incensation.⁷ Incensation is therefore a fruit of Carolingian liturgical development. In particular, the incensing at the offertory which we are talking about became far more prominent than the incensations at the beginning of Mass and at the Gospel.⁸ And this prominence has been retained in our current liturgy, as is seen in the fact that it is richest in prayers and that the incensing of persons is most developed.

The outline of the present-day form is already encountered in the eleventh century. The Mass *ordo* of Séz has the incensation of the gifts, of the altar, and of those standing around, along with all the prayers that are customary today,⁹ while several more recent Mass *ordines* are content with one or the other of these formulas.¹⁰ We thus meet here first of all a prayer for the moment the incense is being put into the censer: *Per inter-*

² In this trifling detail of medieval liturgical evolution two separate groups are sharply differentiated. The first arrangement is followed in the Sacramentary of the Abbey of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, I, 4, V (I, 525 f.), and then in Central Italian abbatial churches: Ebner, 296, 301, 310, etc. Cf. also the Benedictine Mass-plans in Köck, 120, 121.—The other arrangement, with the incensation immediately before the *Orate fratres*, is found in the 10th century Sacramentary of S. Thierry: Martène, I, 4, X (I, 549 C); Missa Illyrica: *ibid.*, IV (I, 511); Mass-*ordo* of Séz (PL, LXXVIII, 249). Also later outside of Italy, e.g., in Salzburg: Köck, 124 f.

³ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19, 26 (Hanssens, II, 319).—Cf. Hincmar of Reims, *Capitula* (852), c. 6 (PL, CXXV, 774); *Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 9 (Andrieu, II, 220; PL, LXXVIII, 973 C).

⁴ Amalar, *op. cit.*, *præfatio altera* (PL, CV, 992 B); *Post evangelium non offerunt incensum super altare*.

⁵ As late as the 11th century, by Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 9 (PL, CLI, 983 B).

⁶ The incensation puts in an appearance since the 11th century in Central Italian

abbey churches (note 2, *supra*); at the beginning of the 12th century also in Rome, in St. Peter's (Ebner, 333); is then mentioned by Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 57 f. (PL, CCXVII, 832-834).

⁷ Cf. *supra*, I, 68, 71.

⁸ The *Ordo "Postquam"* for an episcopal Mass, which originated in Germany in the 10th century, puts the incensation of the altar after the offertory: *offerat illud [incensum] altari*, while it mentions a similar action after the Introit as the practice only of some few churches (Andrieu, II, 354; 360; PL, LXXVIII, 990; 993). Regarding the transient development of the incensation after the gospel, see *supra*, I, 451 f.—For the development of these rites see Batiffol, *Leçons*, 153-158. Numerous details regarding the incensation at the offertory in Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 247-264.

⁹ PL, LXXVIII, 249. Also in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511), where the anamnesis-type prayer *Memores* cited above, p. 68, note 146, is added.

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., two sacramentaries of the 13th century in Ebner, 326, 342, both of which have only the *Dirigatur*.

cessionem beati Gabrielis archangeli,¹¹ with a petition to bless the incense and to receive it “for a sweet savor”; a further prayer accompanying the incensation: *Incensum istud*, which continues with the psalm verse, *Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo, Domine*,¹² and finally the formula which is now spoken by the celebrant when he puts the censer back into the hands of the deacon:¹³ *Accendat in nobis Dominus ignem sui amoris et flammam æternæ caritatis*, a prayer which the Mass *ordines* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries appointed to be said by each individual who received the incensation.¹⁴

These words give us a clue to the meaning then attributed to this incensation, a significance similar to what we saw on earlier occasions:¹⁵ the incense is something dedicated to God, something holy, in which, by a sort of communion, we want to be associated. The glowing coal and the smoke arising from it draw the mind to the very highest thing that we can beg of God as answer to our gift-offerings—the fire of divine love. This

¹¹ The allusion to Michael in the present-day version seems somewhat curious. This name does not appear often, and then only in later texts (e.g., Ebner, 327: 13th c.). It is apparently a deliberate substitution for the Gabriel that is found in most medieval texts. Even as late as Sept. 25, 1705, the Congregation of Rites had to insist on using Michael: Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum SRC*, p. 139. It was perhaps Michael's office as defender of the Church that brought about the abandonment of the clear scriptural reference to Gabriel (Luke 1: 11, 18 f.). There is a certain justification for handling the matter so freely in the fact that the angel in the Apoc. 8: 3-4, who stands beside the heavenly altar with the censer of gold in his hand, is without a name and could therefore as well be Michael as anyone else. But cf. the discussion in Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 7, 10 (I, 274 f.); U. Holzmeister, *Eph. liturg.*, 59 (1945), 300 f.—The text cited (*Stetit angelus*; cf. the offertory for Sept. 29) is added to the *Dirigatur* in the Pontifical of Christian I of Mainz (1167-1183; cf. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux*, LL, 25): Martène, I, 4, XVII (I, 601 B).

¹² Already in the 9th-10th century the psalm verse is spoken by the priest: Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252).—In medieval texts as a rule only the one verse, Ps. 140: 2, or even only the half-verse just quoted, is indicated.

This is still the case in the Carthusian rite: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 21; and was true till the 13th century of some of the immediate predecessors of the *Missale Romanum* in Central Italy: Ebner, 310, 333, 342. The full text, Ps. 140: 2-4, in Ebner, 327 (13th c.) likewise in the *Ordo* of Stefaneschi (about 1311), n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1164 C), where, however, the initial verse, *Dirigatur*, is said three times during the triple crossing of the gifts.—The addition of verses 3 and 4 was made not for the sake of the contents but merely as a continuation of the psalm. Nevertheless the celebrating priest had good reason to ask that his lips be hallowed: Gihl, 578 f. ¹³ Thus, already in a Central Italian sacramentary of the 13th century in which the texts at the incensation coincide exactly with the present-day ones: Ebner, 327; cf. 314.

¹⁴ This formula, which is often missing, is preceded in the 11th century by the rubric: *Quando odor incensi porrigitur sacerdoti et fratribus, dicat unusquisque eorum: Accendat*. Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511 E); Mass-ordo of Séz: PL, LXXVIII, 249 C; Camaldolese sacramentary: Ebner, 301 (cf. also 298, 322, where the words appear to be assigned to the incensing cleric). With other formulation also in the Mainz pontifical about 1170 (*supra*, note 11): Martène, I, 4, XVII (I, 601 B): *Cum redolet incensum*.

¹⁵ *Supra*, I, 318, 451-2.

symbolism we may still apply today to the incensing of the participants. The liturgical texts under consideration avoid using the concept of offering, *sacrificium*, *oblatio*, in express reference to the incense. The only thing asked for is that the incense might ascend to God and God's mercy might descend to us. The verses of Psalm 140 present the soaring clouds of incense as an illustration of the prayer which we send up to God. The incense is never designated as a formal sacrifice, not even a simple gift. In earlier times, however, even in the West, less care was expended to stay within such strict limits. Amalar calls the activity an *offerre incensum super altare* and manifestly puts it parallel to the Old Testament offering of incense.¹⁶ Already a century earlier the same thought appears in a letter which announces to St. Boniface a shipment of some incense.¹⁷ In the liturgy itself the idea found expression in the prayers accompanying the incensation in the Sacramentary of St. Denis about the middle of the eleventh century;¹⁸ these prayers, which differ sharply from the usual tradition, beg that God may accept this incense as he accepted the gift of the holy men of the Old Covenant. These are the prayers whose Eastern origin, namely, in the Greek liturgy of St. James, has been recognized for some time.¹⁹ In this Eastern sphere both the use and the religious evaluation of incense were strongly developed very early.²⁰ In the West-Syrian Liturgy mention was made of a three-fold sacrifice completed at each holy Mass—the sacrifice of Melchisedech in the presentation of the bread and wine at the beginning of the celebration, the sacrifice of Aaron in the incensation, and the sacrifice of Christ.²¹

As a matter of fact there is little to reproach in the use of such language as soon as we establish the plain dogma that in the New Testament the one essential sacrifice for the worship of the Church—uniquely essential because God has so ordained it—is the Eucharist.²² We can symbolize our

¹⁶ Lev. 2: 1 f., 15 f. *Supra*, note 4.

¹⁷ Letter of a Roman deacon (742) to Boniface (MGH, Ep. Merow, et Karol. ævi, I, 308): the writer sends him *aliquantum cotzumbri, quod incensum Domino offeratis temporibus matutinis et vespertinis, sive dum missarum celebratis sollempnia, miri odoris atque fragrantia*.

¹⁸ Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 525 f.).—Cf. also the paraphrase added to Ps. 140: 2 in the missal of St. Vincent (about 1100): . . . *et elevatio manuum nostrarum cum oblatione huius incensi sit tibi in sacrificium laudis*. Fiala, 205.

¹⁹ Brightman, p. LIV, 1, 10 ff., indicates the model in the Greek liturgy of St. James (Brightman, 32, 36) for three of the six formulas (namely: *Domine D. n. qui susceperisti; Omnipotens s. D. qui es in sanctis;*

Omnipotens s. D. qui es repletus. Also a fourth prayer, *Suscipe quæsumus Domine*—which reappears in the missal of Troyes: Martène, 1, 4, VI (I, 532 E)—is a translation from the same source, being the second half of the incense prayer after the Great Entrance (Brightman, 41, 1. 16: καὶ πρὸς θεῶν).

²⁰ Cf. E. Fehrenbach, "Encens," DACL, V, 6-11; Achley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 117-130. Here in the Orient there are evidences of the use of incense at the start of Mass, at the Gospel and at the climax of the Mass proper, since the fourth century.

²¹ M. Jugie, "La messe en Orient," DThC, X, 1331. But cf. in a somewhat different sense Raes, *Introductio*, 66 ff.

²² Cf. the pertinent discussions in Brink-

abasement before God both by word and by signs, even by gifts of our own selection, and few gifts are so expressive as the incense which is consumed in the charcoal, and then rises skyward in fragrant clouds. In the West, however, incense prayers of this kind were soon dislodged.²³ Obviously the singleness of the Christian sacrifice—which was not diminished by extending the concept of offering to the bread and wine—ought not to be unnecessarily obscured in the prayer-language of the liturgy.²⁴ Even the symbolic action of lifting the incense up towards God²⁵ before the incensation of the gifts was dropped.²⁶ The use of incense even within the offertory was thus only a complement, not an independent gift to almighty God. Wherefore the first swings of the censer are for the gifts of bread and wine which are incensed three times cross-wise, three times in a circle. It is the fullest expression of blessing and consecration and in this way really a re-enforcement of the *Veni sanctificator*.²⁷ The incense here,

trine, *Die hl. Messe*, 143 ff.; Eisenhofer, II, 148 f.; J. Kramp, *Die Opferanschauungen der römischen Messliturgie*, (2nd ed.; Regensburg, 1924), 253 note.

²³ The first of the incense prayers in the sacramentary of S. Denis—a prayer originating in the East—with the start: *Domine, Deus noster, qui suscepisti munera pueri tui Abel, Noe, Aaron et omnium sanctorum tuorum*, appears also in the sacramentary of Amiens (*supra*, I, 78); further in the sacramentary of Abbot Ratoldus (d. 986) of Corbie (PL, LXXVIII, 243 A), in the sacramentary of Moissac (11th c.): Martène, I, 4, VIII (I, 538 E); in the missal of Troyes (about 1050): *ibid.*, VI (I, 532 D); in two Benedictine missals of the 11th, *resp.* 11-12th century from Fonte Avellana: PL, CLI, 934 C, as well as in a ritual of Soissons (not dated): Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 611 f.). Two sources of the 11th century also in Leroquais, I, 139, 161. I have not been able to locate any later examples. (An exception is the missal of Chalons-sur-Marne, printed 1543, in Martène, I, 4, 7, 1 [I, 394 E]). —The other borrowings from the liturgy of St. James which Brightman, p. LIV, notes, belong to the same monastic range, from the 10th (not 9th) and 11th century on.

²⁴ In the *Exultet* of Holy Saturday the Roman liturgy also displays an exception to the stylistic law of liturgical language: *Suscipe, sancte Pater, incensi huius sacrificium vespertinum quod tibi in hac cerei oblatione . . . reddit Ecclesia*. By *incen-*

sum is here meant the ("lighted") candle.

²⁵ Such a rite is mentioned in the *Ordo* of Card. Stefaneschi (about 1311), n. 53 (PL, LXXVIII, 1164 C): *elevet paulisper in altum*.

²⁶ Akin to this ceremony, although differing in kind, is the use to which the incense is today most frequently put, the incensation of the Eucharist, whereby the censer is swung towards the Blessed Sacrament. But the idea behind the action is not so much to pay homage as to show and symbolize veneration, as is done otherwise in incensing objects and persons. The same is true of the incensation of the cross which follows right after that of the gifts.

²⁷ Even in the oldest rubrics the incensation is arranged in this fashion; e.g., in the *Missa Illyrica*: . . . *Thuribulum super panem et calicem circumducitur*, then: *Circumiens autem altare cum incenso*; and lastly: *odor incensi porrigitur* . . . ; Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 511). The crosses made with the incense over the gifts are also expressly mentioned since the 11th century, either a single cross (Ebner, 298) or a triple cross (*ibid.*, 310, 327, 333). At Cluny about 1080 the ceremony included three crosses and a circle; Udalicus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 717 D.) Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 57 (PL, CCXVII, 832), like other older sources, mentions only the (threefold) encircling of the gifts. Durandus, IV, 31, 1, who here for the most part copies Innocent III, makes note of a threefold crossing and a threefold encircling of the chalice, but

just as the further incensing of the altar and the congregation, is intended to envelop the gifts in the holy atmosphere of prayer which "ascends to Thy countenance like incense clouds"; thus it is intended to symbolically represent and to fortify the primary action at the altar.

In the manner of performing the incensation only a few variations need be mentioned. In some cases the celebrant himself performs only the incensation of the sacrificial gifts and perhaps the altar front, leaving the rest to the deacon, who circles the altar.²⁸ Otherwise, the encircling of the altar is also accented.²⁹ But although it remained as at least a liturgical norm at the consecration of the altar,³⁰ at the offertory it gave way before the actualities of Gothic altar-building, so that as a rule it is now omitted even where structural conditions would allow it.³¹ However, even in the present-day manner of incensing the altar, the original conception is still plainly to be recognized. According to current custom, the incensation of the altar is always followed by the incensation of the celebrant,³² and at the offertory also by the incensation of the choir by the deacon,³³ the manner and exact seriation of which, especially for the various circumstances of a great cathedral, are determined by numerous decrees of the

also acknowledges that some are content with a single circle and a single cross; *ibid.*, 31, 3. For further details see Atchley, 249-254.—During this censuring of the gifts sometimes only *In nomine Patris* . . . is recited; Mass plan of the Carthusians (which also contains a peculiar arrangement for the censuring of the altar): Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 632 E); *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 21. Cf. missal of Fécamp (about 1400): Martène, XXVII (I, 640 C), and *supra* p. 66, note 137 (near the end).

²⁸ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 35 C); Missal of St. Vincent (Fiala, 205; cf. 199); *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 83); Mass-ordo of the Carthusians: Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 632 f.); *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 26, 21. Cf. a missal of the 11-12th century in Ebner, 310. According to the *Rituale* of Soissons: Martène, 1, 4, XXII (I, 612 A), the deacon incenses the priest, the *cornua altaris*, the Eucharist hanging (in a Dove) over the altar, then the other altars, the crucifix and the rood altar, finally the *suc-centor*. While doing so he recites Psalm 140 from the beginning: *Domine clamavi*. The choir is incensed by the *clericulus*.—A detailed norm for the incensation of the choir (by the thurifer) is given in the

Sarum Missal: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667); cf. the Sarum Customary (13th c.); Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 76 f.

²⁹ Cf. *supra*, note 27; Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 511 E); Mass-ordo of Séz: *ibid.*, XIII (I, 578 B); PL, LXXVIII, 249 C.

³⁰ *Pontificale Romanum*, II, *De altaris consecratione*.

³¹ However, a contrary custom was admitted by the Congregation of Rites on Feb. 3, 1877: *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3413.

³² A peculiar usage is offered by the *Liber ordinarius* of the Premonstratensians (12th c.; Lefèvre, 10; Waefelghem, 66 f.): the deacon, after meanwhile incensing the altar, incenses the celebrant when the latter turns for the *Orate*. Likewise later, besides other Benedictine sources (Waefelghem, 67, note 1) the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 93) and even at present the Carthusian rite: Martène, 1, 4, XXV (I, 633 A); *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 29, 13.

³³ According to the English usage of the late Middle Ages the incensation of the choir was provided only on days with a *Credo*, that is, on days of greater rank; Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 77; Sarum Missal: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667 E).

Congregation of Sacred Rites;³⁴ and finally by the incensation of the deacon, of the lower assistants, and of the people by the thurifer.³⁵

6. The Washing of the Hands

After the sacrificial gifts are laid ready on the altar, and after the incensation, if there is any, there follows the washing of the hands. Its meaning today in the spot it occupies is no longer plainly to be seen. Evidently the action, which now consists of nothing more than wetting the fingertips, has some symbolic significance. But even so we would like to know why it takes place just here and now.

It is natural that we handle precious things only with hands that are clean. Or to put it more generally, a person approaches a festive or sacred activity only after he has cleansed himself from the grime of the work-day and besides has donned festive attire. Thus we find in the liturgy, besides the vesting in liturgical garments, also a washing of hands. In Christian antiquity there is repeated evidence of the established custom of washing the hands before giving oneself to prayer.¹ Domestic devotion was also ruled by this law. We are, therefore, not surprised to find a washing of hands expressly mentioned in the liturgy at a very early date. At Jerusalem in the fourth century, the Mass of the Faithful began with the deacon's administering the water to the celebrant and the surrounding presbyters,² and from the very start the symbolic meaning of the act was stressed. Similar was the custom in the Antiochene church.³ We gen-

³⁴ Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 7, 10 (I, 274-282). The *gubernator civitatis* is censed, as well as the *baro dominus in ecclesia parochiali*. Yet even for a large choir no second censer is permitted (281). And both of these rubricists are agreed that scope should be given for any *rationabilis consuetudo*, alleging as a reason: *ad pacem et concordiam tum cleri tum laicorum conservandam* (274, 282). This last remark was prompted by some very unhappy experiences. The acts of the Council of Trent (*Concilium Trid.*, ed. Gœrres, IX, 591 f.) tell of a *magna contentio* that occurred at high Mass on June 29, 1563, between the Spanish and French delegates *in dando thure et pace*.—A detailed arrangement for the choir often even in the Middle Ages, e.g., in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 234, 239 f.); here and in other cases it embraces also the giving of the *pax* and the *aspersio*.

³⁵ Already in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 83) the arrangement is much like the present, only that the *mansionarius* un-

dertakes the incensation also of the choir: *Mansionarius itaque accipiens thuribulum de manu diaconi ei incensum odorandum præbet. Quod postquam fecerit, dat incensum fratribus per chorum, postea dat et populo*. For this *odorare* cf. *supra*, I, 452, note 68.

¹ Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 65; Hauler, 119); *Canones Basili*, c. 28 (Riedel, 246).—Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 13 (CSEL, 20, 188 f.), combats the notion that this washing of the hands was necessary. Cf. for this Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 38-42.

² Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 97 f.).

³ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 11, 12 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 211): a subdeacon hands all the priests the ἀπορρυφίς χειρῶν after the kiss of peace. The same arrangement in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, V (Rücker, 25).—In Ps.-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 2; 3, 10 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 295; 308 f.), the washing of the hands is

erally come upon this same washing of the hands likewise in the oriental liturgies of the following era. As a rule it comes right after the gifts have been carried over to the altar.⁴ The rite received a notable extension in the Ethiopian Mass: after the priest has unveiled the gifts on the altar, he washes his hands but does not dry them at once; instead he turns and sprinkles the water clinging to his fingers towards the people with a threatening word of warning to those unworthy ones who might want to draw nigh to the Lord's table.⁵

There were attempts, too, to extend to the people either the washing itself or at least some token of it that referred admonishingly to the purity of the interior man. In the atrium of the ancient Christian basilica stood the fount or well⁶ which was understood precisely in this sense, and even at the entrance of our own churches there is the holy-water stoup for the people to sprinkle themselves. But since Carolingian times the parish high Mass on Sundays begins with the sprinkling of holy water over the assembled congregation, a custom explained by the very words which are linked with it: *Asperges me Domine hyssopo et mundabor*. The symbolism of purity and purification has obviously been from the very start the guiding factor for the ablutions in the liturgy. This is made clear in the oriental liturgies where the washing of the hands at the prescribed time was never, or hardly anywhere, based on the fact that the offerings were received just previously, for this was done before the beginning of Mass.⁷ It is simply an act of reverence after the Great Entrance, connected with the actual entrance into the sanctuary.

It is significant that even in the Western Mass we find the washing of the hands precisely in that place where the holy circle is entered; and because it is a multiple circle, we encounter this hand-washing at divers points: first when we penetrate the outermost circle, and last when we stand at the very threshold of the innermost sanctuary. Even in the earlier medieval sources a hand-washing before vesting is found as a constituent

placed somewhat later, after the reading of the diptychs; the fact that only the fingertips are washed is enough to indicate the state of perfect purity which is here required.

⁴ Brightman, 82, 62, 1. 32; 226; 271, 1. 13; 432, 1. 29.—This washing of the hands is missing in the Byzantine liturgy. Here there is only a hand-washing before Mass, as in most of the other liturgies. In the East-Syrian Mass of the Nestorians a threefold hand-washing is customary; the third takes place before the fraction. Hanssens, III, 7-11. Cf. also the surveys in Raes, *Introductio*, 72 f., 84 f. In the East-Syrian custom cited by Raes, 97 f., a *thurificatio digitorum* appears to have taken

over the function of the hand-washing before the fraction.

⁵ "If there be any who is pure let him receive of the host, and whoso is not pure let him not receive, that he be not consumed in the fire of the Godhead, whoso hath revenge in his heart and hath an alien mind by reason of unchastity. I am pure from the blood of you and from your sacrilege against the body and blood of Christ: I have nought to do with your reception thereof: I am pure of your error, and your sin will return upon your own head if ye receive not in purity." Liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites (Brightman, 226).

⁶ Beissel, *Bilder*, 254 f.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 4.

of the Mass pattern,⁸ and even today it is still presupposed, though with mitigated importance, in the hand-washing in the sacristy.

However, we come upon some isolated instances of hand-washing immediately before the consecration.⁹ The ring encircling the consecration is the canon. Since the canon has been considered as beginning with the *Te igitur*, there are to be found some cases of a hand-washing just before the *Te igitur*. Originally it was the deacon who washed his hands here,¹⁰ since he would assist in the elevation of the chalice at the end of the canon, or else it was the deacons¹¹ who had to help with the fraction; but towards the end of the Middle Ages this hand-washing had to a great extent become the priest's, especially in German territory.¹²

But the hand-washing that came into special prominence was the more ancient one at the beginning of the sacrifice-Mass in connection with the offertory. This, too, bears first of all a symbolic character. According to the oldest sources, the pope at the Roman stationary service first washed his hands right after the *Oremus*.¹³ Then he received the gifts of the nobility. Returning to his throne, he again washed his hands, and only then did he go to the altar and receive the gifts of the clerics.¹⁴ In other

⁸ *Supra*, I, 277 f.

⁹ In the Milanese Mass: *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 177. The custom is naturally of a later date. Nevertheless it is found in the missal of 1560: Martène, I, 4, III (I, 484 f.). In the older Milanese rite there was only a hand-washing at the beginning of Mass. Originally, it seems, this hand-washing at the vesting was the only one found in the Gallic liturgies. Fortescue, *The Mass*, 311.

¹⁰ Ordinarium of Bayeux (13-14th century): Martène, I, 4, XXIV (I, 629 B).— Elsewhere this washing of hands takes place only after the *Supplices*; thus at Cluny in the 11th century: Udalaricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 719). Durandus, too, knows of this hand-washing of the deacon in this spot as a custom *in nonnullis ecclesiis*: Durandus, IV, 44, 5. Among these churches was that of Sarum, where the subdeacon participated in the hand-washing: Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 79; 82. This last is true also of one Cistercian arrangement, where the hand-washing was placed right after the *Orate fratres*; de Moléon, 233.

¹¹ *Ordo "Postquam"* for a bishop's Mass (10th c.), n. 11 (Andrieu, II, 360; PL, LXXXVIII, 993 B): After the *Sanctus* three acolytes appear with water for the deacons. Even in Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III,

25 (PL, CV, 1143 A), this hand-washing of the deacon is mentioned near the close of the canon, and an allegorical reason—the purifying action of the Passion of Christ—is given for it. In the sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th c.) it appears after the *secreta* (PL, LXXVIII, 243 B; cf. Netzer, 229). This appears to be an ancient Gallic usage.

¹² Franz, 106; 550, 575; 753; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 224; Beck, 268; Köck, 62; Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 330.— This hand-washing, too, took place on the epistle side; Beck, 268.—According to the Cologne *Ordo celebrandi*, the action was accompanied by the words: *Dele Domine omnes iniquitates meas, ut tua mysteria digne possim tractare*; Binterim, *loc. cit.*— This hand-washing already in a 14th century missal from upper Hungary, where the accompanying words were Is. 53: 7 and the *secreta* for Maundy Thursday, *Ipse*; Radó, 68.

¹³ *Ordo* of Johannes Archicantor (Silva-Tarouca, 197 f.); *Ordo* of S. Amand (Duchesne, 459).

¹⁴ *Ordo* of Johannes Archicantor (*loc. cit.*). In the *Ordo* of S. Amand this second washing is for the deacon, not the celebrant. If we follow Andrieu's study of the sources (*Les Ordines Romani*) we must conclude that the first of these hand-washings is

accounts this second washing alone is mentioned,¹⁶ but it takes place before the reception of the clerical oblation and is therefore governed not so much by practical motives, but rather by symbolical ones. It is an expression of reverence at the threshold of the Holy of Holies.¹⁶ The same arrangement is to be found in various localities throughout the entire Middle Ages, insofar as a hand-washing is provided for in the course of the Mass. It is found at the start of the offertory, fixed in such a way that any preoccupation with the gift-offerings can hardly come into consideration as a basis of explanation.¹⁷ This is particularly plain in the rite of the Franciscans, who generally did not permit the oblations of the faithful at Mass;¹⁸ they, too, began the offertory with the washing of the hands.¹⁹

At the same time, however, there also appear various arrangements of the Mass in which the hand-washing is set to follow the offertory procession of the faithful; without detracting from any other symbolic interpretation, they establish the principle that by this hand-washing the priest must cleanse his hands *a tactu communium manuum atque terreno*

Gallican in origin, the second Roman.

¹⁶ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 14 (PL, LXXVIII, 944); *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973). Also in the Gregorian Sacramentary of Ratoldus (10th c., PL, LXXVIII, 243 A), which adapted to Frankish conditions, and which likewise has a hand-washing at the vesting before Mass, with a prayer accompaniment (*ibid.*, 241 A).—Cf. *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 82, 1. 25).

¹⁷ Cf. Cod. Ratoldi (*loc. cit.*): *lavetque manus et sic ingrediatur propitiatorium, et omnis processio offerant sibi oblationem.*—In the East Syrian (Chaldean and Syro-Malabarese) rite the symbols of reverence have been developed with special luxuriance. Here, after washing his hands, the priest leaves the bema (sanctuary) and pausing three times he re-enters the sanctuary, praying the while and making several bows; then he genuflects three times and kisses the altar first in the middle, then at the right and left, and again in the middle. Raes, *Introduction*, 83; cf. Brightman, 271-274.—Cf. the kissing of the altar in this place also in the ancient Roman liturgy, *supra*, I, 71; 314, note 20.

¹⁸ Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 505 E); Sacramentary of S. Denis: *ibid.*, V (I, 523 C); Missal of St. Vincent: Fiala, 202 f.; Italian Mass-books of the 12-

14th century: Ebner, 312, 314, 347; *Liber ordinarius O. Præm.* (Waefelghem, 59; cf. 57 with note 2). In the Scandinavian province of Lund the ablution took place at the start of the offertory, in the province of Nidaros (Trondheim) and of Upsala, before the oration *In spiritu humilitatis*: Eric Segelberg, "De ordine Missæ secundum ritum scandinavicum mediæ ævi," *Eph. liturg.*, 65 (1951), 256.—The symbolical meaning of the ablution was given emphatic expression at Klosterneuburg even as late as the 15th century, for at a high Mass the subdeacon washed his hands before touching the chalice, the deacon before he spread the corporal, and lastly the priest before he took the paten; Schabes, 63.—The deacon's ablution is also mentioned in St. Vincent: Fiala, 202.—Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 304, note a, cites a Mass-*ordo* printed at Antwerp as late as 1570, where the ablution of the hands is placed right at the start of a low Mass. The same peculiarity is found in the commentary of William of Gouda (15th c.; P. Schlager, *Franziskan. Studien*, 6 [1919], 332) and in the Cologne missal of 1506 (Freisen, *Mannale Lincopense*, p. LVIII, note).

¹⁹ *Supra*, p. 24, note 134.

²⁰ William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 328 f., and the further references of the

pane.²⁰ Sometimes it still precedes the arranging of the gifts on the altar,²¹ and in some instances even the incensing is designed to follow.²²

It is easy to understand how the next step would be taken; the incensation would be made to precede, and this would be done *ad maiorem munditiam*.²³ According to one monastic instruction, the priest should now take care not to grasp anything with the fingers that would touch the Body of the Lord.²⁴ This hand-washing often stands side by side with the first more ancient one which is done before the offertory,²⁵ as is still the case in the present-day pontifical rite.²⁶ But in the following years the older one was dropped, and only the more recent one remained.²⁷ In the rite of the Carthusians, however, the hand-washing has retained its position in the more ancient spot.

Since the Frankish era the fundamental symbolic thought of the hand-washing is regularly expressed in the words which accompany it. The *Lavabo*, which is literally a protestation of the Psalmist's innocence, and which becomes in our mouth an expression of a longing for purity and a worthy service at the altar, was associated with this hand-washing at quite an early period, but its earliest association was with the washing done at the vesting. Usually the only portion used was the one verse, Psalm 25:6, or the two verses 6 and 7. Later, the rest of the psalm was

editor (*ibid.*, note 182).—Cf. Ebner, 177, 314.

²⁰ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1130 B). Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cler.*, I, 33, additio (PL, CVII, 324 D); *Ordo Rom.* VI (10th c.), n. 9 (PL, LXXXVIII, 992 D).—In some few Italian Mass-books the ablution follows immediately after the offertory procession: Ebner, 309; 340 (Vall. C 32); cf. Bonizo of Sutri (d. about 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels, 59). Likewise to all appearances in the Netherlands Mass-plans and in the Cologne Mass at the end of the Middle Ages: Smits van Waesberghe, 300; cf. 325 ff.; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 227.

²¹ Thus, *inter alia*, French Mass-plans of the late Middle Ages: Martène, I, 4, XXVI, XXXI, XXXIII, f. (I, 637 D, 651 A, 659 C, 663 B); likewise English Mass-plans: Legg, *Tracts*, 5, 221; Cistercian Mass-plan of the 15th century: Franz, 587. But also earlier the order for the private Mass at Cluny: Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 72 (Herrgott, 264).

²² Sacramentary of the 13th century of Lyons: Ebner, 326; Benedictine missal of the 11-12th century from Central Italy: *ibid.*, 337.

²³ *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1165 A).

²⁴ Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CIL, 717 B); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 84 (PL, CL, 1012 A). The same rule in Durandus, IV, 31, 4, who adds that the priest should close his fingers after the ablution.

²⁵ *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1163 B); the second is mentioned as tolerated, but otherwise not customary in *Ecclesia Romana* (1165 A); cf. *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 71 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1186 f.), and the Mass-*ordo* of the papal court chapel about 1290 (Brinktrine: *Eph. liturg.*, 1937, 201 f.), where in both cases only the first ablution is found. This is still true at Tongeren as late as 1413; de Corswarem, 126.—Both ablutions also in the *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 632 C E).—Pontifical of Durandus, *ibid.*, XXIII (I, 617 C, d); Andrieu, III, 640. Here is the remark that at the second ablution the celebrant washes only *summitates digitorum et labia*. Obviously this goes beyond mere symbolism.—Durandus, V, 28, 1; cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 80.

²⁶ *Cæremoniale episc.*, I, 11, 11.

²⁷ Thus already in the rite of the Carmel-

appended, but this was done without any special consideration of the contents, which have no intimate relation to the washing.²⁸ Medieval arrangements of the Mass often added more appropriate texts to the verses mentioned, both for the hand-washing at the start of Mass²⁹ and for this one here. In the ambit of Monte Cassino, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was added to the *Lavabo* an oration, *Concede mihi, omnipotens Deus, ita manum lavare ut puro corde et corpore possim dominicum corpus et sanguinem tractare*.³⁰ Late Mass ordines in northern France supplement the *Lavabo* with a three-fold *Kyrie eleison* and *Pater noster*.³¹ Often, too, some such complementary oration appears as the only accompanying text.³² All the elements that go to make up a well-arranged ceremonial are thus brought together.³³

How strongly the symbolic sense of the hand-washing is emphasized can be seen in a monastic Mass-*ordo* of Rouen; according to this, the cele-

ites, of the Dominicans (except in the earliest period: Sölch, 81) and formerly of the Cistercians; see the references in Sölch, 80. Only the later ablution, following the model of the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Gurrini, 240), in the Benedictine *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 93.—Late medieval Mass-arrangements in Martène, 1, 4, XX, XXII, XXIV (I, 608 D, 612 B, 629 A). In the later Mass-*ordo* of Gregorinmünster: *ibid.*, XXXII (I, 656 E), the ablution does not occur till after the *Orate*.²⁸ Spanish Mass-books of the late Middle Ages use verses 2-4 for the ablution (Ferrerres, 129); similarly also the present-day *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (1932), c. 26, 18. The Mass-plan of York about 1425 uses only one verse (Simmons, 100). The Dominican missal of 1256 indicated only the first verse; see Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), 125; the present Dominican rite still has only one verse (*Missale O.P.*, 1889, 181).—The complete section as at present was very rare in the Middle Ages; but see the text above. ²⁹ *Supra*, I, 277.

³⁰ Ebner, 309, 340; Fiala, 202. Later in the missal of Toul (14-15th c.) this oration is the sole accompaniment of the ablution at this place; Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 651A).

³¹ Missal of Evreux: Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 644 C); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 41 f.; *Ordinarium* of Coutance: *ibid.*, 60.

³² Missa Illyrica (cf. *supra*, note 17): *Largire sensibus nostris, omnipotens Pater, ut sicut hic exterius abluuntur inquina-*

menta manuum, sic a te mudentur interioris pollutiones mentium et crescat in nobis sanctorum augmentum virtutum. Per.; Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 505 E). Likewise in the sacramentary of S. Denis: *ibid.*, V (I, 523 C), and in Central Italian Mass-plans: Ebner, 337, 347, 356; cf. Ferreres, 129.—Gerhoh of Reichersberg (d. 1169) introduces the oration in his explanation of Psalm 25: 6 (PL, 193, 1165 B). The Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, 640) uses the oration *Largire* at the ablution before the offertory and the *Lavabo* after the incensation when the bishop washes *summitates digitorum et labia*.—An Italian pontifical of the 11-12th century (Ebner, 312) offers the prayer: *Omnipotens semperne Deus, ablue cor nostrum et manus a cunctis sordibus peccatorum, ut templum Spiritus Sancti effici mereamur. Per.*—According to the late medieval order of Sarum, in Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667 E), the celebrant says: *Munda me Domine ab omni inquinamento cordis et corporis nostri, ut possim mundum implere opus sanctum Domini*. Cf. Ferreres, 133 (n. 531); Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 77; Maskell, 92.—According to the commentary of William of Gouda (15th c.) the priest prays: *Amplius lava me sanguine tuo sicut puer in baptismo . . .*; P. Schlager, *Franziskan. Studien*, 6 (1919), 332.

³³ In the Regensburg missal of 1500 (Beck, 261), the priest at the ablution before vesting recites the verse *Lavabo* first as an antiphon, then Psalm 25 in its entirety, again the antiphon, *Kyrie eleison*, etc.,

brants's *Lavabo* is answered by the abbot with the *Misereatur*.³⁴ Thus the hand-washing is turned into a formal act of absolution.

However, the hand-washing is occasionally found even at a later time without any formula,³⁵ and oftener still there is no mention of it whatever in the course of the Mass.³⁶ In the case of late medieval arrangements of non-solemn Mass, the explanation for this lack is to be found in the practical motivation of the hand-washing, since there would be no question of it when there was neither offertory procession nor incensation. In the Missal of Pius V, however, the hand-washing was retained for every Mass, high or low. This shows that the symbolic meaning of the rite still remained in the foreground; only the position it occupies in the Mass is reminiscent of the other and later concept of its purpose as a precaution before handling the sacred Host and chalice during the canon.

7. *Orate Fratres*

One of the few fixed points which recur unchanged in all the medieval oblation rites is a petition found near the end of the rite, a petition by the priest for the prayer of the bystanders. According to the eighth century Roman pontifical rite as adapted to Frankish circumstances, such a ceremony occurred right after the celebrant had added his own gift to the oblation of the faithful and the clergy; he then turned around and, stretching out his arms, asked the other priests to pray for him.¹ No response is indicated. As is the case today, *oratio super oblata* followed, and it is significant that this prayer was here spoken for the first time in a hushed voice, so that it appears to form some sort of unit with the canon.

The petition for prayer thus occurs at the moment when the presentation and arrangement of the gifts is completed, and the priest at the head of the congregation and in its name is about to draw near to God with those gifts. The ceremony has its parallel,² perhaps even its model, in the

Pater noster, *Ave*, some versicles and the oration *Largire*. Cf. above, I, 277, note 9.

³⁴ Martène, I, 4, XXXVII (I, 677 f.).

³⁵ Thus in a Minorite missal, in Ebner, 314.—Elsewhere at the ablation the priest recites the *Veni Creator* (cf. *supra*, I, 274, note 15; 280, note 28): Mass-ordo of Bec: Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 673 B); Westminster missal (about 1380), ed. Legg (HBS, 5), 500; cf. Maskell, 92 f. In Hereford (1502) he adds thereto the oration *U're igne S. Spiritus*: Maskell, 93. — In German Mass-arrangements at the close of the Middle Ages the hand-washing appears after the *Sanctus* without any accompanying prayer: Franz, 753; Bec. 268.

³⁶ Thus in many Italian Mass-plans; see

Ebner, 296, 298 f., 300 f., etc. Also in South German Mass-books: Beck, 307 f.; Köck, 119-ff.

¹ *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 198): *Tunc vero sacerdos dextera lævaque aliis sacerdotibus postulat pro se orare*. Probably this passage is not Roman in origin, for the parallel text in John the Arch-chanter's Capitulare (*ibid.*) has no such sentence.

² In the Greek liturgy of St. Mark we find, in a similar connection, the priest's greeting and then the deacon's summons: Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τῶν προσερχόντων; thereupon an oblation prayer of the priest and the introduction to the anaphora: Brightman, 124.

Eastern liturgies.³ Here, too, the original meaning seems to be the same. For the Western rite we have the early opinion of Amalar to the same effect. It anticipates the *Sursum corda* and endeavors to summon, so to say, all the forces of prayer; for this reason let the priest turn to the people *et precatur ut orent pro illo, quatenus dignus sit universæ plebis oblationem offerre Domino*.⁴ The priest feels very strongly that he is exalted above the people—a matter the early medieval Church was fully conscious of—and even in his sacrificial prayer he realizes he stands alone before God as the people's mediator.⁵

The same idea may be gleaned from the fact that even in the earliest examples where the wording is included—and thence throughout the Middle Ages—the petition for prayer almost always retains a personal character *Orate pro me*.⁶ Instances where this *pro me* is wanting do appear in some of the oldest sources,⁷ but on the other hand the personal note recurs in the most diverse forms: *pro me* or *pro me peccatore*,⁸ also *pro me misero peccatore*,⁹ and *pro me miserrimo peccatore*;¹⁰ or the personal note is even stressed by the phrase: *Obsecro vos, fratres, orate pro me*,¹¹ or by the promise: *Orate pro me, fratres et sorores, et ego orabo pro vobis . . .*,¹²

³ In the West Syrian (Brightman, 83, 1. 2) and in the East Syrian Mass (*ibid.*, 272 f.) there is a traditional custom, common to both and consequently quite ancient, which is closely allied to the western practice. In the first (the Syrian Jacobite) liturgy the priest says: "My brethren and my masters, pray for me that my sacrifice be accepted." In the second (the Nestorian) rite his prayer is longer: "Pray for me, my brethren and my beloved, that I be accounted worthy to offer before our Lord Jesus Christ this sacrifice living and holy for myself and for all the body of the holy Church by the grace of His compassion forever. Amen." And in this latter liturgy there is also a response somewhat similar to our *Suscipiat* (273).

⁴ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1132); cf. Remigius of Auxerre (d. about 908), *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252): *ut iungant preces suas precibus eius et mereatur exaudiri pro salute eorum. Hoc autem dicendum est a sacerdote cum silentio*.

⁵ Cf. *supra*, I, 82 f.

⁶ Simply these words in *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 993 B); with the present-day extension in the sacramentary of the papal chapel about 1290: Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 11937), 203; yet cf. *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 72 (PL, LXXVIII,

1194 A) against n. 53, 71 (1165 B, 1187 B).

⁷ Sacramentary of Amiens (9th c.): *Orate fratres, ut . . .*, Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937, 442. Likewise the two sacramentaries of S. Thierry (9th and 10th c.): Martène, I, 4, IX; X (I, 446 E, 549 D); cf. *ibid.*, XV (I, 592 C). In *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXXVIII, 973 C) the priest says only: *Orate*.

⁸ For the latter see Sacramentary of Lorsch (10th c.): Ebner, 247; Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 512 A). Also in Italian Mass orders since the 11th century: Ebner, 301, 306, 327. Likewise still in the *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (1932), c. 26, 21.

⁹ Martène, I, 4, XIII; XXVII (I, 578 C, 640 E); cf. *ibid.*, XXXII (I, 656 D).

¹⁰ Missal of Fécamp: Martène, I, 4, XXVI (I, 638 A); a Dominican missal of the 13th century: Sölch, 83, note 193.

¹¹ Sacramentary of Moissac: Martène, I, 4, VIII (I, 539 D); further examples, *ibid.*, I, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396); Ferreres, 131 f.; cf. Ebner, 323.—In the Mozarabic liturgy there is a further reinforcement: *Adiuvate me, fratres, in orationibus vestris et orate pro me ad Deum*; *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 537 A).

¹² Missal from S. Pol de Léon: Martène,

or even, in one case, by a formal self-accusation;¹³ or the humility of the petition is underlined by the bodily bearing, the priest crossing his hands over his breast.¹⁴ At any rate the next clause, which is seldom missing,¹⁵ stresses the idea that the aid of prayer is being asked for the priest's own sacrifice, which is likewise the sacrifice of the congregation, so that it might be acceptable. The usual version reads: *ut meum pariter et vestrum sacrificium acceptum sit Deo*.¹⁶

The original conception is finally abandoned when in England and in Normandy, in special formulas for Masses for the Dead, prayer is asked only for the dead.¹⁷

To whom is the petition directed? In the most ancient example cited above it is addressed to the priests standing around. The statements of the succeeding era, beginning with Amalar, mention the people without

1, 4, XXXIV (I, 663 C); similarly *ibid.*, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 A); 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 644 D); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 42; Hugo of St. Cher, *Tractatus* (ed. Sölch, 23); Durandus, IV, 32, 3.

¹³ Missal of Toul: Martène, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 651 C): *Orate fratres pro me peccatore, ut auferat Deus spiritum elationis et superbiam a me, ut pro meis et pro cunctis vestris delictis exorare queam. Per.*

¹⁴ According to a didactic poem on the Mass written in German towards the end of the 12th century: Leitzmann (Kleine Texte, 54), 18, 1. 18.

¹⁵ It is missing in a few older Mass orders: *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (*supra*, note 7); *Ordo Rom.* VI, n. 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 993 B: *Orate pro me*); Ebner, 329, 334. But it is also still wanting today in the Dominican and Carthusian uses.

¹⁶ Thus already in Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252 B). Still the formula seldom recurs without some slight alteration: . . . *sit acceptum in conspectu Domini*: Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 526 D); cf. *ibid.*, XXVI, XXVIII (638 A, 644 D); *in conspectu D. n. J. C.*: Martène, IV (533 C); *sit acceptabile in conspectu divinae pietatis*: Martène, XIII (I, 578 C); . . . *coram Deo acceptum sit sacrificium*: Martène, XXXIV (I, 663 C); *aptum sit Domino Deo nostro sacrificium*: Martène, XXXV (I, 668 A); etc.—The missal of St. Lawrence in Liège: Martène, 1, 4, XV (I, 592 C), offers a choice of this formula or two others, more freely composed: *ut me orantem pro vobis exaudiat Dominus,*

and: Orate fratres pro me peccatore, ne mea peccata obsistant votis vestris. A Mass-ordo of Bec: *ut digne valeam sacrificium offerre Deo*: Martène, XXXVI (I, 673 C); cf. Amalar's formulation, *supra*, p. 83. A Missale of Narbonne (1528) begs prayer *pro statu s. Dei Ecclesiae et pro me misero peccatore, ut omnipotens et misericors Deus placide et benigne sacrificium nostrum humiliter dignetur suscipere.* Martène, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 A).—Or else there is added to *Orate* the words *ad Dominum*—either *ad Dominum Deum Patrem omnipotentem* (Beck, 268), or even: *ad Dominum Jesum Christum, ut . . . placabile fiat* (Ferrerès, 131).—By way of exception we find mention only of *vestrum sacrificium*: Martène, 1, 4, XXXIII (I, 659 DE), or of *nostrum sacrificium*: XVII (I, 601 C).—Striking is the formula in the sacramentary of Amiens (9th c.): *ut vestrum pariter et nostrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat Deo*; Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 442.

¹⁷ Thus the use of Sarum: *Orate fratres* (later version: *et sorores*) *pro fidelibus defunctis*: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 668 B); Legg, *Tracts*, 5, 221; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219. Somewhat expanded in the late medieval missals of Fécamp: Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 638 A), and of Evreux: *ibid.*, XXVIII (I, 644 D). The response is correspondingly changed. The transformation appears to have emanated from Rouen; cf. Martène, 1, 4, XXXVII (I, 678 A): *Orate fratres carissimi, pro me peccatore, ut meum pariter ac vestrum in conspectu Domini acceptum sit sacrificium*

exception. In the second Roman *ordo* (a product of Frankish territory), the bishop first gives the *schola* a signal *ut sileant*; then it continues: *et convertet se ad populum dicens: Orate*.¹⁸ He therefore addresses himself to the whole assembly in a distinctly audible voice. In some isolated instances provision is even made for the priest to prefix a *Dominus vobiscum*.¹⁹ Little, therefore, is lacking to make this address match those addresses which the priest sings at the service. In fact, in the Mozarabic liturgy the corresponding *Adjuvate me fratres* is actually sung.²⁰ In the Roman liturgy, however, it never came to this. The *Dominus vobiscum* was merely spoken softly—the directions for this are remarkably discordant—but then disappeared again.

The further development adhered to the direction that the priest turn *ad populum*; in at least half the cases this is expressly stated.²¹ Before this, he kisses the altar,²² as became the rule later on for all such occasions when the priest turns to the people. But he speaks the words in a subdued voice, as is indicated at various times.²³

The fact that the priest, in turning towards the people here, completes the turn—a procedure differing from that at the *Dominus vobiscum*—²⁴ might incline one to look upon this as a similar stressing of the address to the people, but in reality there is a different explanation.²⁵

That the people, and not merely the clerics, are addressed seems evident from the very form of the address as found in those non-monastic documents of the Middle Ages, outside Italy and Spain, which connect an

apud Deum omnipotentem pro salute et requie tam vivorum quam mortuorum.

¹⁸ *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 9 (PL, LXXVIII, 973 C).

¹⁹ Durandus, IV, 32, 3 (cf. IV, 14, 10): *sub silentio* the priest should say *Dominus vobiscum*, then, *voce aliquantulum elevata*, the petition for prayers. Cf. John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 44 (PL, CCII, 52 B). Two 1417 missals from Valencia exactly as in Durandus: Ferreres, 131. In Germany, too, even as late as 1462, Bernard of Waging makes mention of the practice many have of inserting the *Domine exaudi orationem meam* or the *Dominus vobiscum* before the *Orate pro me fratres*; Franz, 575.

²⁰ *Missale mixtum*: PL, LXXV, 537 A.

²¹ In Italian Mass orders this rubric often reads: *ad circumstantes*—which in this era would not necessarily mean the same thing; Ebner, 301, 306, 314, 334, 341, 346.

²² Cf. *supra*, I, 316, 36.

²³ Remigius of Auxerre (*supra*, note 4); *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 633 A): *dicens in*

silentio; Hugo of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 23): *secreto*.—The present-day rule that the first words be recited *voce aliquantulum elata* and the rest *secreto* (*Missale Rom. Ritus serv.*, VII, 7) appears for the first time in the *Ordo* of John Burchard (Legg, *Tracts*, 152). Further references in Sölch, *Hugo*, 83.

²⁴ Nevertheless this was not the practice in the ancient Cistercian rite; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 6.

²⁵ The real reason is probably that given by Gavanti, namely, that the priest turns to where the book is from which he is to read; cf. Lebrun, *Explicatio*, I, 326, with reference also to the fact that formerly the book frequently stood farther from the center of the altar than it does now. In fact, this is made clear, for instance by the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 240); according to this order the priest during the *secreta* stands between the book and the chalice and not simply in the middle, and therefore here too the priest is expected to make a complete turn (cf. to the

explicit address to the formula; the words *fratres et sorores* appear quite consistently.²⁶ In earlier sources, it is true, the address is usually made to the *fratres* alone,²⁷ and it is quite possible that the word specifies not the entire community of the faithful, as it did in ancient times,²⁸ but only the clergy.

But the unrestricted addition of *sorores* corroborates the belief that the medieval liturgists were in agreement with us in extending the word to include everyone, men and women, in the same way that St. Paul did when he addressed the whole community with the title "brethren."

The present-day wording of the formula used by the priest first appears in Italian Mass *ordines* of the twelfth century and after.²⁹

In the oldest witnesses to our petition for prayer,³⁰ no provision is made

contrary *Liber ordinarius* of Liège, ed. Volk, 93, 1. 19). It is the same already in the 12th century in the *Liber ordinarius* of the Premonstratensians (Lefevre, 11; cf. Waefelghem, 67 with note 2). Cf. also the *Liber usum O. Cist.*, c. 53 (PL, CLXVI, 1424 D). Thus, we have the same situation as today before the last Gospel.—At the present time the rule just given suffers an apparent exception in the case of the *Dominus vobiscum* before the offertory; but here the reading of the offertory text is only secondary; Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 7 (I, 265 f.). Durandus, IV, 14, 11; 32, 3, remarks that the priest in general turns back to the left. The same remark in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 93, 1. 19; cf. 90, 1. 19; 97, 1. 14.—On the other hand, Fortescue, *The Mass*, 214, note, seems to regard the complete turn as the normal and natural one, and he explains the incomplete turn as the result of the priest's not wanting to turn his back on the deacon standing next to him at high Mass—a very questionable explanation, to say the least.

²⁶ Thus in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 512 A), and in the sacramentary of S. Denis: *ibid.*, V (I, 526 D). Common in the Netherlands Mass orders: Smits van Waesberghe, 325-327; also in those of Cologne; *ibid.*, 327; Binterim, IV, 3, p. 223; in the orders of Southern Germany: Beck, 238, 268, 308; Köck, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126; Hoeynck, 374; Franz, 753; in those of England: Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 668 A, B); Legg, *Tracts*, 5; Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219, note 5

(only the oldest Sarum MS, of the 13th century, has only *fratres*); Simmons, 100; Maskell, 98 f.; in Sweden: Yelverton, 15; in Riga: v. Bruiningk, 81. The double address also in some French Mass-orders: Martène, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 B); *ibid.*, i, 4, V; XXVI; XXXIV (I, 526 D, 638 A, 663 C); *Alphabetum sacerdotum*: Legg, *Tracts*, 42. Exceptionally also in Italy: Sacramentary of Modena (before 1174; Muratori, I, 92); and in Hungary: Jávör, 121.

²⁷ Remigius of Auxerre (PL, CI, 1252): *Orate pro me fratres, ut*. Likewise in both sacramentaries of S. Thierry, 9th and 10th centuries: Martène, 1, 4, IX; X (I, 546 f.; 549 D); similarly in the Sacramentary of Arians (*supra*, note 7).—Often they are addressed as *fratres carissimi*: Ebner, 299, 301; Martène, 1, 4, XXVII; XXXVII (I, 640 E, 678 A); also as *beatissimi fratres*: Ebner, 338. The *Ordinarium* of Coutance of 1557 (Legg, *Tracts*, 60) has: *Orate vos fratres mecum unanimes*.

²⁸ Cf., e.g., Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. 9, 2 (CSEL, 2, 12): the pagan objector is surprised that Christians love each other even before they know each other and call each other, without distinction, *fratres et sorores*. Then the Christian answers, c. 31, 8 (*ibid.*, 45): *nos, quod invidetis, fratres vocamus, ut unius Dei parentis homines, ut consortes fidei, ut spei coheredes*.—Cf. Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, c. 39, 8 ff. (CSEL, 69, 93).

²⁹ Ebner, 296, 313, 314, etc.

³⁰ *Supra*, p. 82.

for any answer. Even much later,³¹ right down to the present,³² there are isolated *ordines* where no response follows, just as in the present-day Roman service for Good Friday. The petition is interpreted simply as a request for the prayer of each individual. But already in the Carolingian period, answers of a kind were advised. Amalar heard it said that the people ought to pronounce three verses for the priest, namely verses 3-5 from Psalm 19: *Mittat tibi Dominus auxilium de sancto et de Sion tueatur te. Memor sit omnis sacrificii tui et holocaustum tuum pingue fiat. Tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum et omne consilium tuum confirmet.*³³ These verses, or also the first three verses of the psalm,³⁴ or at least the one or other verse of the same psalm, recur nearly everywhere during the following centuries in the answer to the *Orate fratres*, seldom alone, however,³⁵ but usually in combination with other formulas of intercession, which in their turn often occur all by themselves.

Thus, according to Remigius of Auxerre (d. c. 908), the people can respond with Psalm 19:2-4, or else with the words: *Sit Dominus in corde tuo et in ore tuo et*—in this continuation we have the first evidence of a *Suscipiat*—*suscipiat sacrificium sibi acceptum de ore tuo et de manibus tuis pro nostra omniumque salute. Amen.*³⁶ The Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, written about 870, contains under the inscription *Quid orandum sit ad missam pro sacerdote, quando petit pro se orare*, the words of the angel in Luke 1:35 transformed into a blessing: *Spiritus Sanctus superveniat in te et virtus Altissimi obumbret te;*³⁷ then Psalm 19:4-5, and after that the further prayer: *Da Domine pro nostris peccatis acceptabile et susceptibile fieri sacrificium in conspectu tuo.*³⁸ For the prayer which each is to say,

³¹ Mainz Pontifical, about 1170: Martène, 1, 4, XVII (I, 601 C); cf. *ibid.*, XXXII f, XXXVII (I, 656 D, 659 E, 678 A); Lebrun, I, 328, note d. Thus frequently in later German Mass orders: Beck, 238, 268, 308; Köck, 121, 126; Salzburg incunabula of 1492 and 1498 (Hain, 11420 f.); also in Netherlands Mass-orders: Smits van Waesberghe, 325-327; likewise in Swedish orders: Yelverton (HBS, 57), 15; Freisen, *Manuale Lincopense*, p. XXVI.

³² Dominican rite: Sölch, 84.—Also the Carthusians: A. Degand, "Chartreux," DACL, III, 1056.

³³ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 19 (PL, CV, 1132).

³⁴ Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252 B). According to the Mass-order of York even as late as 1425 (Simmons, 100) and 1517 (Maskell, 100) the *chorus* responded with these verses, Ps. 19: 2-4.

³⁵ The three verses mentioned are found in the missal of Féca.np (14-15th c.): Martène, 1, 4, XXVII (I, 641 A); a second

response is introduced by the word *sive*. Only one verse, Ps. 19: 4, in the missal of Toul: *ibid.*, XXXI (I, 651 C).—According to John Belet, *Explicatio*, c. 44 (PL, CCII, 52 B), Pss. 19, 20 were said in full.

³⁶ Remigius, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252). The same double formula, with *Dominus sit et recipiat sacrificium*, in the contemporary Mass-ordo of Amiens, ed. Le-roquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 442. It also appears later in Italian Mass-plans: Ebner, 310, 313, 346. Somewhat modified, in the later missal of Toulon (about 1400): Martène, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 B).

³⁷ These words form the response in the older missal of Fécamp: Martène, 1, 4, XXVI (I, 638 A); in Beauvais; *ibid.*, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 A); also in two Sarum MSS. of the 14th cent.: Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219, note 7.

³⁸ *Liber preceationum quas Carolus Calvus . . . mandavit*, ed. Fel. Ninguarda, 115.

the Sacramentary of Séez has the initial words: *Orent pro te omnes sancti*,³⁹ and adds, after Psalm 19:4, the phrases: *Exaudiat te Dominus pro nobis orantem*⁴⁰ and *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua*.⁴¹ Elsewhere appears the psalm verse (49-14): *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua*,⁴² or the benediction: *Sancti Spiritus gratia illuminet cor tuum et labia tua*.⁴³ Several Mass *ordines* present a number of these answers, to be chosen at will,⁴⁴ and often the prayer is taken up again after the *Sanctus*.⁴⁵

Aside from the psalm verses, the most widespread were the *Suscipiat* formulas, but these appeared in various versions⁴⁶ and usually as the continuation of some other text which was conjoined.⁴⁷ The version familiar to us, which appeared but seldom outside Italy,⁴⁸ had become the only formula current in Italy since the eleventh century,⁴⁹ and thus reached the *Missale Romanum*.

³⁹ This formula alone forms the response in Italian Mass-books: Ebner, 329, 341. In other cases with various additions; see, e.g., the Rhenish missal described by F. Rödel: *JL*, 4 (1924), 84.

⁴⁰ Thus the response in some Mass-books of Italian monasteries of the 11-12th century: Ebner, 306, 310; cf. 14, 20, 323; Fiala, 206. In the Hungarian sacramentary of Boldau (but with Psalm 19: 3-5; Radó, 43) and in two Seckau missals: Köck, 120, 122. The same with the addition of Ps. 49: 14 (*Immola*) in the Augsburg missal of 1386: Hoeynck.

⁴¹ PL, LXXVIII, 249 D.—Likewise with the addition of Luke 1: 35, Psalm 49: 14 and *Suscipiat* in the Mass-order of Gregorienmünster: Martène, 1, 4, XVI (I, 599 D).—Cf. the Missal of St. Lawrence in Liège: *ibid.*, XV (I, 592 C); sacramentary of Modena: Muratori, I, 92; sacramentary of Boldau: Radó, 43.

⁴² These words are the beginning of the response as provided in the Pontifical of Durandus in the case when a bishop assists at the Mass of his chaplain: Martène, 1, 4, XXIII (I, 619 F); the bishop continues: *ipseque, tuus pius et misericors adiutor, exauditor existat*; Psalm 19: 3-4 and today's *Suscipiat* follows.—Psalm 49: 14 is also found within a long series of formulas in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 512 B), and in the Sacramentary of S. Denis: *ibid.*, V (I, 526 f.).

⁴³ With an added *Suscipiat* formula (*et accipiat . . .*) in the use of Sarum: Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 219; Martène, 1, 4, XXXV

(I, 668 A); cf. Ferreres, 133; Maskell, 100.

⁴⁴ Sacramentary of S. Denis (11th c.): Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 526 f.); William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 329; Durandus, IV, 32, 3.

⁴⁵ See *infra*.—The Sacramentary of Fonte Avellana (before 1325) has the priest himself recite the respective psalms, 24, 50, 89 and 90, after he receives the response to his *Orate fratres* (PL, CLI, 887 B).

⁴⁶ E.g., in the Sacramentary of S. Denis: Martène, 1, 4, V (I, 526 E): *Suscipiat Dominus sacrificium de manibus tuis ad tuam et nostrorum salutem omniumque circumadstantium et animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum*.—In Spain: *Suscipiat Dominus Jesus Christus sacrificium de manibus tuis et dimittat tibi omnia peccata*; Ferreres, p. CV; 131, 132; Ebner, 342. A Bobbio missal of the 10-11th century: *Accipiat Dominus Deus omnipotens sacrificium . . . ad utilitatem totius sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ*; Ebner, 81.—MSS of the 14th century from Gerona offer as the sole response a formula that is otherwise hardly ever found: *Oratio tua accepta sit in conspectu Altissimi et nos tecum pariter salvari mereamur in perpetuum*; Ferreres, 131 (n. 524); cf. *ibid.*, XXVIII; also in the Missal of Narbonne (1528): Martène, 1, 4, 7, 4 (I, 396 A).

⁴⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 87.

⁴⁸ An example *supra*, note 42.

⁴⁹ Ebner, 299, 301, 323, 334, 338, 348, 356.

As is evident from the statements above, the answer is committed, time and again, to the people. This assignment to the people occurs in some individual instances right on to the end of the Middle Ages.⁵⁰ At least in those cases where *fratres* and *sorores* are addressed, it can hardly cause astonishment.⁵¹ At other times, both in early and late texts, the *circumstantes*⁵² or the *clerici*⁵³ or the *chorus*⁵⁴ are named. It is noteworthy that in a group of Mass-orders of the 11-12th century the answer should be given by each one (*a singulis*).⁵⁵ It is curious that the text is not to be said aloud, but is to be regarded as an aid to private prayer. Silent prayer by the individual was evidently presupposed from the very start wherever the books did not contain an answer; and even where texts were then presented, they were at first probably intended for a similar purpose.⁵⁶ The later rule⁵⁷ was probably that the answer be given by the choir of clerics in common, since its Latin form and considerable length was too much for the people to master.⁵⁸ There is one extreme case of an *ordo* of Sarum in England, where at a Mass for the Dead the special answer is united with the chant of the offertory. When the priest has softly spoken the *Orate fratres et sorores pro fidelibus defunctis*, the clergy

⁵⁰ Sacramentary of Barcelona (13th c.): Ebner, 342; Spanish missals of the 14th and 15th centuries: Ferreres, 131.—Missal of Fécamp about 1400: Martène, I, 4, XXVII (I, 641 A): *Oratio populi pro sacerdote dicentis hos versus*.—Cf. Missal of Toul (about 1400): *ibid.*, XXXI (I, 651 C): *respondetur ei ab omnibus*.

⁵¹ A Pontifical of Laon (13th c.) has even a rubric: *Et respondeant fratres et sorores: Suscipiat*. V. Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux*, I (Paris, 1937), 167.

⁵² Ebner, 314, 323, 338; Martène, I, 4, VI; XV (I, 533 C; 592 C). Thus also in the present-day Roman Missal: *Et responso a Ministro, vel a circumstantibus: Suscipiat* . . . ; Rit. serv., VII, 7.

⁵³ Martène, I, 4, XVI; XXVI (I, 599; 638 A); Ferreres, 133.

⁵⁴ Martène, I, 4, XXII (I, 612 C); York Mass order: Simmons, 100.

⁵⁵ Martène, I, 4, IV; XIII (I, 512 A; 578 C); Ebner, 301, 334.

⁵⁶ This is the natural interpretation for the text in the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald, *supra*, p. 87.—Therefore also the stressing of silent prayer. Cf. John Belet, *Explicatio* c. 44 (PL, CCII, 52 B): When we hear the priest saying the *Orate fratres*, we must pray quietly (*secreto*); and the author suggests Psalms 19 and 20. Simi-

larly Durandus, IV, 32, 3: *populus debet similiter secrete orare respondens* . . .

⁵⁷ But authentic examples are to be found already since the 11-12th century: Ebner, 338.—In the Customarium of Sarum (13th c.) we find the following in the order for high Mass after the priest has said the *Orate fratres et sorores* softly (*tacita voce*): *Responsio clerici privatim: Sancti Spiritus* . . . Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 78.

⁵⁸ According to the English *Lay Folks Mass Book* (Simmons, 24; cf. *supra*, I, 243), a participation of the laity is urged on all: "Then he asks with quiet voice—For each man's prayers to God of heaven. Take good heed unto the priest.—When he turns knock on thy breast—And think then for thy sin—Thou art not worthy to pray for him . . . Answer the priest with this aloud ("on high") :—The Holy Ghost in thee light—And send His grace unto the right—To rule thy heart and thy speaking—To God's worship and His loving. (Modernized wording and spelling.) The rited prayer over, the author continues, you might add a *Pater, Ave* and *Credo*.—In the same sense the Melk Commentary, written in 1366, introduces the three formulas for the response with the remark: *tunc astantes et literati dicent: Memor sit*; Franz, 510, note 3.

answer by singing the last verse of the offertory chant: *Requiem æternam dona eis Domine et lux perpetua luceat eis, Quam olim Abraham promissisti et semini eius.*⁶⁰

8. The Secret

In the liturgy of the city of Rome in the early Middle Ages, the collecting and depositing of the offertory gifts was not accompanied by any prayer at all, but simply by the singing of the offertory. Not till the external activity had come to an end did the celebrant once more take up the phrases of the *oratio super oblata*, the present-day secret. Just as the entrance procession was concluded with the collect, and the communion with the post-communion, so the oblation was concluded with this oration which appears, like the others, in all the Roman sacramentaries and, like them, varies according to the Church year, and agrees with them in structure and design. Like them, it is spoken in the prayer posture of the *orantes*,¹ and was likewise at one time (as is self-evident) pronounced in a loud voice. Even today the final words *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, like the *Oremus* at the start, which belongs to it,² are sung aloud. In the Milanese Mass the practice has been retained even at present of saying the whole *oratio super oblata* aloud.³

The first point to clear up is the puzzling problem of how the *oratio super oblata*⁴ came to be said silently. The earliest evidence of the quiet recitation of this prayer appears in the middle of the eighth century in Frankish territory, in the tradition of John the Arch-chanter.⁵ We are thus led to the opinion that the name *secreta* appeared in the North and that it was here created to indicate that the pertinent oration was to be spoken softly.⁶ From then on, the quiet recitation of this prayer was taken

⁶⁰ Martène, I, 4, XXXV (I, 668 B); Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, I, 78; cf. *supra*, p. 84. The same answer already in the Ordinarium of the 13th century, but here with the superscription: *responsio populi*. Legg, *Tracts*, 221.

¹ The *Ordinarium* of Coutances (1557) has a late deviation from this rule; according to this order the *secreta* is said *manibus super sacrificio extensis*: Legg, *Tracts*, 61.

² *Supra*, I, 483 f.

³ *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), p. V.

⁴ This title is found in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 1). Here even the individual formulas are headed: *Super oblata* (Cod. Pad. D 47, ed. Mohlberg-Baumstark: *Super oblatam*); likewise in the later Gelasianum, ed. Mohlberg. The same designation is to be found in the oldest *ordines*, insofar as they note

the subject; in the *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 10 (PL, LXXXVIII 973 D): *dicta oratione super oblationes secreta*; and in the *Ordo* of Johannes Archicantor, *Capitulare* (see following note).

⁵ *Capitulare eccl. ordinis* (Silva-Tarouca, 198: *Tunc pontifex inclinato vultu in terram dicit orationem super oblationes ita ut nullus præter Deum et ipsum audiat nisi tantum Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*. Similarly the adaptation in the *Breviarium* (*ibid.*).

⁶ This is the explanation given by Fortescue, *The Mass*, 312. Other explanations of the name are pure hypotheses. Ever since Bossuet it has come to be generally accepted — without historical evidence — that *secreta* = *oratio ad secretionem*, that is, either at the “sorting out” of the sacrificial gifts (an action which as such had

for granted in the Frankish realm, and the custom became common. In fact, the practice was brought into line with this same *secreta*,⁷ which was likewise commonly employed.⁸ The name *secreta* does indeed appear as a heading even in one portion of the Roman tradition, the earliest evidence being the older Gelasian Sacramentary. But the question is whether its use is not to be traced entirely to the influx of the Gallic liturgy.⁹ The cardinal argument for this is the manuscript evidence that at least fifty years before this first Roman witness to its use, it is found in a source of the Gallic liturgy, namely, the Missal of Bobbio, and with every indication of a non-Roman origin.¹⁰ We then find we are forced to a second conclusion, that it was in Gallic territory that this low speaking was first employed for the Roman *Oratio super oblata*, just as was the case somewhat later in regard to the canon. For this low pronouncement of a liturgical text is as much in contradiction to ancient Roman usage as it is in harmony with the tendency of the Gallo-Frankish liturgy. Here, in fact, it is

no religious signification beyond this, but only a purely practical one; thus the secret is equivalently *oratio super secreta* [a merely conjectural form]; or else at the "sorting out," that is, the dismissal of the catechumens (there is nothing in the contents to show any connection with this act). —Batiffol, *Legons*, 161 (cf. *ibid.*, 7th ed., p. XXI), proposed a derivation of *secreta* from *secernere* in the sense of *benedicere*, a meaning which is nowhere to be traced. —Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 171 f., regards *secreta* as equivalent to *mysteria*, which appears in Innocent I, *Ep.* 25 (PL, XX, 553 f.) as a designation of the prayers of the canon; the word, he thinks, then survived as the name of the introductory prayer. However, we are concerned not with *mysteria* but with *secreta*, and this is not found as the name of the canon from *Te igitur* on till the 9th century, and for the full canon including our oblation prayer not till the 12th century, so that its clinging to our prayer already in the 8th century remains unexplained. Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 93 f., 105 f. Even what Th. Michels, *Liturg. Leben*, 3 (1936), 307 f., adduces in support of Brinktrine only proves that *secreta* = canon in the 11th century.

⁷ Amalar, *Liber off.*, III, 20, 1 (Hanssens, II, 323): *Secreta ideo nominatur, quia secreto dicitur*. The same thing is implied by the designation *arcano* in Frankish sacramentaries, to which Martène, 1, 4, 7 5, (I, 396 D), refers.

⁸ The older designation survived the longest in MSS. of the Gregorianum. But even here it was soon replaced by *secreta*, as e.g., partially in the MS. of Pamelius (Cologne, 1571). —A group of South French and Spanish MSS. since the 11th century uses the name *sacra*, which arose from a misunderstanding of the abbreviation *scr*. Cf. A. Wilmart, "Une curieuse expression pour designer l'oraison secrète," *Bulletin de litt. ecclés.*, 1925, 94-103; cf. *JL*, (1925), 291 f. Examples of this also in Ferreres, 132, and *passim* in his introductory description of the MSS.

⁹ Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 93 ff.

¹⁰ Here, too, the name *secreta* appears as a heading over the last formula that precedes the preface. Although the Bobbio missal displays a large degree of Roman liturgy, still among perhaps a dozen cases where the heading occurs there is one, if I mistake not, where the name indicates a Roman *oratio super oblata*: this is the oration *Munda nos Domine* (Sacramentary of Padua: Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 706); see Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal* (HBS, 58), n. 514. As for the other instances, there are some few Roman collects, rather general in content, that are used as *secreta*, and mostly they are purely Gallic formulas. On the other hand, time and again Roman *super oblata* formulas appear under the Gallic captions *Post nomina* and *Ad pacem*; see Lowe, 6, 154, 260, et al. This shows conclusively that their designation

that all the silent prayers come to light which have since filled out the offertory.¹¹

In the formation of the practice, reminiscences of the Gallic liturgy and, in the last analysis, some suggestions from the Orient must have been at work. The place of the Roman offertory was taken in the Gallican Mass by the offertory procession at which a holy silence was advised.¹² At any rate, silent prayer at this point is an ancient tradition in the sister-liturgy, the Mozarabic.¹³ And silent prayer, especially in the form of *apologiae*, as well as of incense prayers, and (by no means lastly) oblation prayers, must have become customary in the Gallican Mass, in connection with the offertory procession. Otherwise, the elements of this sort which had forced their way here into the Roman Mass as early as the ninth century, are not understandable.¹⁴ We have already had occasion to ascertain that precisely at this point oriental models had an influence in the Frankish realm, where we have even encountered word-for-word borrowings from the Greek Liturgy of St. James, *i. e.*, from the liturgy of the center of pilgrimage, Jerusalem.¹⁵ For here we also came upon the pictorial model: the solemn entrance of the Great King (proleptically honored in the gift-offerings) amid the resounding lines of the Cherubic hymn, which demands silence while the priest performs silent prayer.¹⁶ The tendency to perform the prayer at the oblation softly must have been given even further force in the East, since in 565 Justinian felt compelled to issue a

here as *secreta* does not stem from the Roman source, much as the Bobbio missal otherwise shows only Gallic formula headings.—A more primitive interpretation of the word is found in the designation *Post secreta* (for which also *Post mysterium*) which is used in the *Missale Gothicum* and also in the *Missale Gothicum vetus* for the first prayer after the consecration; Muratori, II, 522, 534, 559, etc.; 699, 705.

¹¹ The main argument against this explanation is the fact already noted that the other Gelasianum, which in general presents us with the Roman liturgy of the 6th century, has the heading *secreta* throughout. But against this is to be observed that the only surviving manuscript of this sacramentary was not written till the 8th century, in Frankish territory, and displays many different Frankish additions. Presumably the Roman original for this copy generally had no captions for the individual formulas, as is the case in the Leonianum. Otherwise it would be hard to understand how the later Gelasianum, which in general takes the formulas from the older one, substituted as a caption the

Gregorian *Super oblata*.

¹² *Expositio ant. lit. gallicanæ* (ed. Quasten, 17): *spiritualiter iubemur silentium facere*. Righetti, *Manuale*, III, 288, wrongly refers the *spiritualiter* to a mere "racoglimento spirituale interiore." Naturally it does not exclude the singing of the *sonus*.

¹³ After the *Adiuuate me fratres*, an apologia which goes back to Julian of Toledo (d. 690) is spoken quietly (*silentio*): *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 538 f.).

¹⁴ Cf. *supra*, I, 78 f.; II, 5.

¹⁵ *Supra*, p. 73.

¹⁶ Brightman, 41: Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σάρξ. Immediately preceding is the incensation prayer used in S. Denis; see *supra*, p. 73. Cf. the Byzantine liturgy: Brightman, 377 f.—How much this silence at the Entrance with the sacrificial gifts was already stressed in the 5th century can be seen from the commentary on the liturgy in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.* V (Rücker, *Ritus bapt. et missæ*, 22): all must look at the offering, when it is carried in by the deacons, in *silentio et timore et oratione tacita*. Likewise in the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 12, 44 (Quasten,

special ordinance against it.¹⁷ It is quite possible that recollections from pagan antiquity were still operative here.¹⁸

That the *secreta*, as it is now usually called, possessed a greater importance in comparison with the other offertory prayers, somehow remained in the consciousness even in the new Frankish arrangement of the offertory. In a few isolated instances it was realized that the secret was conjoined to the foregoing *Oremus*,¹⁹ or it was given a new introduction befitting an oration. The *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians stipulate that the priest repeats the *Oremus*, both before the first and before the second secret,²⁰ but they insist (obviously in opposition to a contrary practice then in process of forming) that no *Domine exaudi* be prefaced. As a matter of fact, this versicle too is found more than once since the thirteenth century prefixed to the secret.²¹ Elsewhere the *Orate Fratres* was made equivalent of the *Oremus* and, as we saw, the *Dominus vobiscum* was consistently prefixed to it.²² All these were attempts at remodeling in line with a late medieval conception of the canon, which was considered as starting with the secret, and in fact as forming a unit with it, a single *secreta*.²³

Mon., 212), silent prayer is indicated for the celebrant at the same moment: εὐχόμενος οὐκ καθ'ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς. Cf. also Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 96-98.

¹⁷ Novelle, 137, 6: *Iubemus omnes et episcopos et presbyteros non tacite, sed ea voce quæ a fidei populo exaudiat, sacram oblationem . . . faciant.* Batiffol, *Leçons*, 210 f.

¹⁸ Cf. O. Casel, *Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier*, 3-5 ed. (Ecclesia Orans, 9; Freiburg, 1923), 135-157.

¹⁹ Thus even Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 55; 60 (PL, 217, 831; 834): At the *Oremus* the priest interrupted the prayer which he now resumes. Similarly Durandus, IV, 32, 3.

²⁰ Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 633 A).

²¹ *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 240), and in the present-day *Missale O.P.* (1889), 19; *Liber ordinarius* of Liège: Volk, 93; Cologne *Ordo celebrandi* of the 14th century: Binterim, IV, 3, p. 223; *Ordinale* of the Carmelites of 1312 (Zimmerman, 80) and the present-day *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), 226.—Late medieval Mass orders from France: Martène, i, 4, XXXI; XXXIV (I, 651 C, 663 C); Lebrun, I, 331 note c; and from the Netherlands: Smits van Waesberghe, 325; 326; 327.—In some few cases the *Dominus vobiscum* precedes: *Alphabetum sacerdo-*

tum: Legg, *Tracts*, 42; *Ordinarium* of Coutances: *ibid.*, 61. In Iceland it was prescribed in 1345 at a synod: Segelberg, 256 f. Likewise in the Upsala Missale of 1513, which in addition puts the versicle *Domine Deus virtutum* at the start: Yelverton, 15. Cf. also Lebrun, I, 331.—Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 173, expresses the opinion that already in the oldest manuscript evidences of the Gelasian Sacramentary, which do not note a *Dominus vobiscum* before the *Sursum corda*, one is to be presupposed along with the *Oremus* before the *secreta*. This conjecture is bracketed with his conception of the *secreta* as a pre-formula for the preface, analogous to the pre-formula at the consecration of the chrisom on Maundy Thursday (older Gelasianum, ed. Wilson, 70). Even if the idea of a pre-formula is not to be rejected absolutely—for the whole offertory is a fore-rite, a pre-consecration—yet the conclusion he draws goes too far, for in the period under consideration the coherence with the *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus* before the offertory was surely known and recognized.

²² Cf. *supra*, p. 85.

²³ See *infra*, p. 104. In the Cod. 150 of St. Gall (9th c.) the presentation of the rubrics of the canon known as *Ordo "Qualiter quædam orationes"* begins with the *secreta* (Andrieu, II, 295).—As a matter of fact,

But if we want to find the real meaning of our oration, that is, the meaning consonant with its origin, we must look, as we have said, not forwards but backwards. The secret is the prayer which concludes the offering and depositing of the material gifts and which explains their significance by transmuting them into the language of prayer. The creation of such a prayer must be considered a natural result, if not a matter of course, once the material gift itself was regarded as an oblation to God and, by the inclusion of the people in it, its symbolic meaning was emphasized. Thus we find already in the oldest Roman sacramentary, the *Leonianum*, precisely those traits clearly marked which still, even at the present time, distinguish the secret. No matter how the formula varies, the same thought consistently recurs in different words: We offer God gifts, *dona, munera, oblationem*; less frequently—and then obviously only to diversify the expression—*hostias, sacrificium*. They are in the first instance earthly gifts, as is occasionally pointed out in due form: *Altaribus tuis, Domine, munera terrena gratanter offerimus, ut cœlestia consequamur, damus temporalia ut sumamus æterna. Per . . .*²⁴ Or: *Exercentes Domine gloriosa commercia offerimus quæ dedisti.*²⁵ Or, in one formula, which we still use today: *Domine Deus noster, qui in his potius creaturis, quas ad fragilitatis nostræ præsidium condidisti, tuo quoque nomini munera iussisti dicanda constitui . . .*²⁶ Or the attention is called with unconstrained assurance to the heap of gifts offered up: *Tua Domine muneribus altaria cumulamur . . .*²⁷ But the gifts represent no independent sacrifice; they are offered up only to be merged into the sacrifice of Christ. At times, even in the secret, the prayer touches upon this disposition of the gifts: *Sacrandum tibi, Domine, munus offerimus . . .*²⁸ Or: *Propitius, Domine quæsumus, hæc dona sanctifica.*²⁹ Or: *Remotis obumbrationibus carnalium victimarum spiritalem tibi, summe Pater, hostiam supplicii servitute deferimus.*³⁰ Still, such an extension of the thought, although corresponding to a general law of development, is less frequent in the older texts, particularly in the *Leonianum*, than in later ones and those of the present time, just as on the other hand the complete absence of the thought of sacrifice has always, from the beginning until now, continued to be an exception.³¹

Brinktrine (cf. above, note 21) seeks to revive this concept of the canon; according to him the second main portion of the Mass, the "Eucharistic consecration," begins with the secreta (168 ff.).

²⁴ Muratori, I, 303. ²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Muratori, I, 415. Further sources in the oldest sacramentaries, see Mohlberg-Manz, n. 388.—*Missale Rom.*, Thursday of Passion week.

²⁷ Muratori, I, 324; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 930.—For the expression *altaria* cf. *supra*, p. 7.—For the idea that the secreta is in-

tended first of all for the material gifts, see also Batiffol, *Leçons*, 162 ff.

²⁸ Muratori, I, 465; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1368. *Missale Rom.* on Nov. 29.

²⁹ Muratori, I, 318; 320, Mohlberg-Manz, n. 823.

³⁰ Muratori, I, 327; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 846.

³¹ Examples of such exceptions in the *Missale Rom.* on Dec. 31 and often on saints' feasts: *Sancti tui* (cf. the Frankish Gelasianum, ed. Mohlberg, n. 74; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 74); on March 25: *In mentibus*

However, the sacrificial oblation does indeed appear in divers modifications. Besides the *offerimus* and *immolamus* there stands the *suscipe, respice, ne despicias, intende placatus* or—often on feast days—the reference to the merits of the saints or to the redemptive mystery being celebrated, which may recommend our gifts to God: *Ecclesiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, preces et hostias beati Petri Apostoli commendet oratio*.³² Or prayer is said for the right disposition to offer the sacrifice worthily or, inversely, even for the fruit of the sacrifice already offered up, with the sacrifice itself being named only *in obliquo*. Sometimes we even get a momentary glimpse of the whole composite of sacrifice and sacrificial symbol, as in the wonderful secret on Pentecost Monday: *Propitius, Domine quæsumus, hæc dona sanctifica et hostiæ spiritualis oblatione suscepta nosmetipsos tibi perfice munus æternum. Per . . .*³³ Mostly, however, the petition that is linked with the oblation—the secret is indeed formulated as an *oratio*, that is, a prayer of petition—is kept very general: as our gift mounts up, so may God's blessing come down upon us. Thus there is frequent mention of the mystical exchange, of the *sacrosancta commercia*, of the *huius sacrificii veneranda commercia* which are consummated in the sacred celebration.

In the whole tradition of the Roman sacramentaries two points are strictly maintained; the secret is always formulated in the plural as a prayer of the congregation: *offerimus, immolamus, munera nostra, oblationes populi tui*; and it is directed to God and concluded with *Per Dominum*. Even the Missal of Pius V contains not one exception to this rule. As a matter of fact, if that ancient law: *Cum altari assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio*,³⁴ should have been maintained anywhere in liturgical prayer it was here where there was question not of receiving the sacrifice instituted by Christ, but of offering it up to the heavenly Father. Of course, it is still conformable to Catholic dogma to direct the oblation to Christ Himself.³⁵ The first exception of this sort in the *Missale Romanum* is found in the secret for the feast of St. Anthony of Padua, which was prescribed for the Church universal by Pope Sixtus V. Later on, a few other cases were added right down to most recent times.³⁶

For a long time it has been the rule that at each Mass there should be

nostris (cf. Gregorianum, ed. Lietzmann, n. 31, 3).

³² In cathedra s. Petri; cf. the Frankish Gelasianum, ed. Mohlberg, n. 218; Mohlberg-Manz, n. 218).

³³ Already also in the Leonianum (Muratorius, I, 318; 320); Mohlberg-Manz, n. 823.

³⁴ *Supra*, I, 379 f.

³⁵ In the Byzantine Church during the 12th century, a controversy was waged regarding the dogmatic admissibility of offering to Christ; it was settled in 1156 by a

synod at Constantinople, along the lines noted above. C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, V (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1886), 567 f.—The decision would run differently, of course, if passed from the viewpoint not of dogma but of kerygma.

³⁶ More detailed references in Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi* (1925), 103, 106 f.—And, since 1932, the Mass of St. Gabriel Possenti on Feb. 27 (28), where all three orations are addressed to Christ.

as many secrets—and then also post-communions—as there are collects.³⁷ This rule is not entirely self-evident since in the formulas for the secret—which revolves more strictly around its own theme and seldom adds a relative predication to the word of address³⁸—the content varies but little and the influence of the Church year is slight, aside from the fact that on saints' feasts the intercession of the saints is usually bracketed with the oblation. Thus, the superaddition of several formulas at times simply amounts to a repetition of the same thought. Still, the rule was inculcated with increasing positiveness,³⁹ evidently because it conformed to a sense of symmetry.

The concluding words of the last secret, *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, are spoken in a loud voice.⁴⁰ That at least the words of a prayer destined for public performance should be said aloud is a law which we see followed in other places too: at the conclusion of the canon and the final words of the embolism. In both cases the same phrase is in question, *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*. The Our Father is also often handled in the same way outside of Mass. In the oriental liturgies, the silent praying of the priestly orations occupies a much larger space, especially owing to the convergence of the priestly prayer with the alternate prayer of deacon and people which used to precede it; as a result, the so-called ἐκφώνησις plays a grand role.⁴¹ It is generally more extensive than its occidental counterpart, comprising as a rule a complete doxology, so that the people's *Amen* retains a meaning as an affirmation of the latter. Our *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum* demands a complement in the foregoing prayer of the priest. This is not difficult, inasmuch as the course of the priestly prayers remains essentially constant in all three instances. Looked upon formally, this loud-spoken *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum* refers back once more to the *Oremus* that stands at the beginning and draws all that comes in between into a unit. For what comes in between is actually an *orare*, with this difference, that the words have been reinforced by the external symbol. Remigius of Auxerre (d. c. 908) still had a vital sense of just this reality, for he explains the seemingly isolated *Oremus* by claiming it to be an invitation to the faithful to be mindful of the oblation by joining to it their inmost offering so that their gift might be agreeable to the Lord.⁴² In the same sense a large number of ancient formulas of the secret speak expressly not only of the sacrificial gifts, but at the same time of the prayers of the people: *Suscipe quæsumus Domine preces populi cum oblationibus*

³⁷ Cf. *supra*, I, 387.

³⁸ Cf. *supra*, I, 375.

³⁹ See, e.g. Durandus, IV, 15, 16.

⁴⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 90, and likewise Amalar *Liber off.*, III, 19, 9 (Hanssens, II, 313 f.). —Later MSS. of the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 1) also add to the mention of the *oratio super oblata* the direction: *qua com-*

pleta dicit sacerdos excelsa voce: Per omnia.

⁴¹ Technical expressions from the non-Greek liturgies, see Brightman, 596. Fortescue, *The Mass*, 314, note 2, also presents several oriental terms. The Nestorians call it *kanuna*, from κανών.

⁴² Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio*, (PL, 101, 1251 C): *Ita autem potest intelligi...*

hostiarum;⁴³ *Muneribus nostris, quæsumus Domine, precibusque susceptis*;⁴⁴ *Oferimus tibi, Domine, preces et munera*.⁴⁵ The repeated occurrence of such formulas in the Mass formularies that bear the stamp of greatest antiquity forces the conclusion that the mention of prayer refers basically to that prayer which the *Oremus* had ushered in.⁴⁶

9. The Oblation Rites as a Unit

In view of the perplexing plenitude of forms and formulas which we have seen building up in the offertory during the course of centuries, there is ample ground for inquiring just how, in the light of what we have learned, are we to evaluate the completed structure. More particularly, how should we regard as a whole the series of texts which, as a result of the medieval development, now stand in our *Missale Romanum*?¹ And how can we give this whole its fullest significance in the course of our celebration of Mass?

There is, first of all, no denying that here we have an anticipation of the thought of the canon, and therefore a certain duplication. True, it was not till the late Middle Ages that the term "little (or lesser) canon" was applied to the offertory rites,² but the idea long stood unexpressed behind the new formation. In the liturgical thinking of the Middle Ages the wording of the Great Prayer of the Mass had only a small role to play. It was couched in a language whose Roman stamp continued to be strange and foreign to the newer nations, no matter how hard they tried to speak Latin and think Catholic. The canon, and this understood more and more

ut omnis populus oblationi insistere iubeatur, dum oblaturi intentionem suam offerunt, quatenus illorum oblatio accepta sit Domino. Cf. also Amalar, *Liber off.*, pro-cemium n. 13 (Hanssens, II, 16).

⁴³ The formulas from Holy Saturday to Easter Tuesday begin in this way, already in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 87 90).

⁴⁴ Commune martyrum, et al.; in the Gregorianum in six places (Lietzmann, p. 182). Cf. also Mohlberg-Manz, n. 69.

⁴⁵ Votive Mass of the Apostles. Cf. Mohlberg-Manz, n. 982, 1111, 1255. Already in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 334; 335).

⁴⁶ Cf. *supra*, I, 483 f.

¹ With the present-day wording and in the present-day order (with two additions, and leaving aside the hand-washing which is still at the start of the series) already in the Mass order of the papal chapel about 1290, ed. Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 201-203; Ebner, 347. Cf. the Minorite missal of the 13th century; *ibid.*, 314.—Rome

did not share at all in the late medieval developments (*supra*, p. 65 ff.).

² This description of the offertory as a "canon in miniature" appears, e.g., in Hungary in the 15th century: Jávör, 120, Radó, 125; in two Regensburg missals of the 15-16th century: Beck, 237, 266; in Augsburg missals already since 1386: Hoeynck, 372 f. In the Mass-commentary "Messe singen oder lesen" (To sing or read Mass) of 1484, which likewise appeared in Augsburg, we even read that it does not behoove lay people to read the *canon minor*, which it calls "A lesser silent Mass": *Und hye hebt an Canon minor, das ist die minder Stillmesse, die dem leyen nit zymment zu lesen*; Franz, 713; cf. 633. The rigorous interpretation expressed in these words was otherwise applied only to the text beginning with the secreta. That is to say, it was only with the start of the secreta that the concept of the *canon minor* was reduced to practice in dead earnest.

as starting with the *secreta* and continuing through its entire course, was taken as the hallowed consecration text, to be given out objectively and faithfully just as it was, but hardly appeared to be a medium for expressing one's own thought or one's own prayer needs.

So the opportunity was soon taken, in connection with the preparation of the gifts, to get these personal matters into the rite. Basically, however, it was the olden concepts that came to the fore: oblation, prayer for acceptance, intercession; even the wording was taken in great part from the Roman canon and the texts of the *oratio super oblata*. But some new points also put in an appearance. The oblation was made "for" certain intentions; today, however, these are to be found only in a few phrases. The oblation of the "spotless sacrifice" was raised out of the dusty shadows of personal sinfulness; this, too, in contrast to the frequency it had once upon a time amid a profusion of *apologiæ*, is now mentioned only in the first offertory prayer. Besides, the personal activity of the priest is now more to the fore. The priest speaks in the singular, a mode of expression consonant with the new position of the priest, who feels himself more sharply detached from the people. Still, in some passages the singular was again restricted.³

On the other hand, in the response to the *Orate fratres* provision was also made, at least in principle, for the prayer of the people, a prayer that represents intercession for the priest himself. There was also a break-up that took place in the formation of a separate oblation for each of the sacrificial elements. The tendency to coordinate the two oblations that had developed out of the original oblation phrases, and to arrange them together in marked symmetry did indeed make some headway, but never succeeded entirely. But if the oblation service was broadened out in extent, it also disintegrated in another way, for the presentation and offering was supplemented by the epikletic pleas for power from above. This double movement is well disclosed in the present-day ceremonial when, after the individual offering of the paten and the chalice, there follows first the humble petition for acceptance, *In spiritu humilitatis*, in which expression is given with biblical force⁴ to the more profound meaning of all external oblation, the personal surrender of one's heart and the interior readiness for sacrifice; but then comes a cry for the sanctifying power from above, which can give our earthly gift its proper dedication.

Considered from the viewpoint of language and style, the Roman oration spoken at the commingling of the water with the wine stands in definite contrast to the remaining prayers, which are not formulated with such exactness and which, because of their close connection with the individual activity, manifest no rigorous line of thought. On the other

³ See *supra*, p. 46 ff. with note 41, p. 50.

⁴ See the fine biblico-liturgical exposition

of the text in G. E. Closen, *Wege in die Hl. Schrift* (Regensburg, 1939), 148-156.

hand, a closer resemblance to the form of the prayer of the canon (such as might have existed had the prayers each ended with *Per Christum*⁶ did not gain general acceptance.

All in all, the offertory prayers of our present-day *Ordo Missæ* can be considered a needless anticipation of the canon only if we pivot our attention on the *missa lecta* where the dominant and recessive elements of the service are all evened out, and if consequently we bestow on these prayers as much weight as on the pithy phrases of the canon. These prayers do not pretend to be an anticipation of the canon, but rather a suggestion of its various motives. Indeed they are generally not even “prayers” in the full sense, but predominantly accompanying phrases to match the external action. They were never intended—excepting in part the *Orate fratres*—to be recited publicly before the congregation, and thus make no pretense at furthering the dramatic performance of the Mass.

To some extent it is different with regard to the ancient *oratio super oblata*, which is, too, in its own way, actually an anticipation of the concept of sacrifice. From it, too, the proper arrangement of the medieval texts must derive. The *oratio super oblata* endeavors to underline the one step taken during the entire oblation rite: the provisional offering of the material gifts. Even these material gifts of bread and wine can be symbols of our interior surrender. So, just as they were brought to the altar by the faithful, in an external rite, they are now offered up to God by the Church in prayer, but at the same time the attention focuses on the veritable gift which will issue from the material ones. These latter, then, receive thereby a preliminary dedication, a “pre-consecration,”⁷ similar to the preparatory consecration received by other requisites of divine worship, church and altar, chalice and paten, candles and altar-linens. There is no reason why we cannot include the more recent oblation prayers in this function of the secret; thus they will best fit into the course of the Mass.⁷

⁶ In several late medieval Mass arrangements not only some but all the proper formulas were applied with this conclusion, including *In spiritu humilitatis* and *Veni sanctificator*, sometimes even *Orate fratres* and short accompanying phrases like *Acceptabile sit omnipotenti Deo sacrificium nostrum*; see, e.g., Martène, 1, 4, XXXI f. (I, 651; 656); Köck, 125 f.; likewise the Regensburg missal of the 15-16th century, according to which the priest was to say the *canon minor* with hands uplifted: *elevatis manibus in cælum*; Beck, 266 f. The only prayers that could possibly be meant here are those which, according to prevailing medieval custom, were said bowed or with hands folded. The

formula *Suscipe sancte Pater* has the christological conclusion already in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, 1, 4, IV (I, 508 E).

⁷ This idea is advanced especially by Batiffol, *Leçons*, 162-164. Following Suarez, he regards the secreta as *quadam dedicatio materiæ sacrificandæ per futuram consecrationem*. That the gifts are considered already dedicated is shown by the prescription of the *Missale Romanum* (*De defectibus*, X, 9), which directs that a host laid aside before the consecration as unsuitable, *si illius hostiæ iam erat facta oblatio*, is to be consumed after the ablation.

⁸ See also Batiffol, *Leçons*, 26. Similarly C. Callewaert, “De offerenda et oblatione

If the first prayer includes a phrase, *hanc immaculatam hostiam*, in reference to the bread, this may have been intended by the medieval composer for the Holy Eucharist.⁸ But objectively we can refer the phrase just as well to the simple earthly bread, and with the same right that we apply the words of the canon, *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam* to the sacrifice of Melchisedech. Something like this holds true also for the words *calix salutaris* in the formula for the chalice. Even on this threshold of the sacrifice our chalice is at least as holy and wholesome as the thanksgiving cup of the singer in Psalm 115, from whom the words are borrowed.⁹ Of course it is self-evident that when we say these prayers the higher destiny of our gifts is always kept in view.

Seen thus as a complete unit, we have no reason to deplore the development of the liturgical structure as we have it in the offertory, not at least if we are ready to acknowledge in the Mass not only an activity on God's part, but also an act of a human being who is called by God and who hastens with his earthly gifts to meet his Creator.

in Missa," *Periodica*, 32 (1944), 60-94, who takes a cue from certain expressions used in the *secreta* to stress even more emphatically the coherent line of the oblatory procedure, of which the offertory forms *aliqualis inchoatio*. A pertinent study is found in the chapter "The Meaning of the Offertory" in B. Cappelle, *A New Light on the Mass* (trans. by a monk of Glenstal, Dublin, 1952), 20-32, esp. 27.

⁸ Even plainer examples of such a proleptic manner of speech from medieval Mass books in Eisenhofer, II, 144.

⁹ In the literal sense of the original psalm this cup is one used to offer thanks for health attained, for being saved from danger. But here, when turned into a church prayer, it must naturally be interpreted in line with the context.—We note in passing that at the Council of Trent the expressions *immaculata hostia* and *calix salutaris* were listed among the grievances which the committee that composed the memorandum on the *abusus missæ* thought should be eliminated. *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Gærres, VIII, 917.

II. The *Canon actionis*

1. The *Canon actionis* or the Eucharistic Prayer as a Whole

IN OUR STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE MASS WE HAVE COME TO recognize that the core of the Mass and the inner area within which Christ's institution is fulfilled is plainly and simply the *Eucharistia*. A thanksgiving prayer rises from the congregation and is borne up to God by the priest; it shifts into the words of consecration, and then into the oblation of the sacred gifts, and this oblation, in turn, concludes with a solemn word of praise. Although the fabric thus formed continues to survive unbroken in our present Mass, it is difficult for anyone not initiated into the history of the Mass to recognize the outlines of such a plan in the text of today. In the "preface," the prayer of thanksgiving is presented as an isolated unit, a preparatory item to be followed by the canon. The canon itself, however, with the exception of the words of consecration, appears to be nothing more than a loosely arranged succession of oblations, prayers of intercession and a reverential citation of apostles and martyrs of early Christianity. Still greater is the divergence from this plan when we turn our attention to the external presentation. At the *Sanctus* the audible performance breaks off, and all the rest is done in utter stillness, with only the altar boy's bell to give warning of the elevation of the sacred species, and again the silence resumes. At a high Mass this quiet is overlaid with the singing of the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus*. Then the torchbearers appear in procession and range in front of the altar as for a grand reception; those assisting in choir fall on their knees; the *Hosanna* resounds in jubilant worship of Him who cometh in the name of the Lord. The God-ward movement of the great prayer of thanksgiving has been replaced by a reverse movement, turning upon the descent of the sacred mystery, and it is the impetus of this movement which has determined to a large extent the present pattern of the ancient *Eucharistia*.

It will therefore be our task to trace the various elements of this central portion of our Mass to their sources and to show more clearly the underlying ancient plan. We have already mentioned the decisive theological factor: the movement in the eucharistic teaching which led to a lessening regard for the oblation which we ourselves offer up and in which we offer ourselves as members of the Body of Christ, and a greater atten-

tion to the act of transubstantiation in which the divine omnipotence becomes operative in the midst of us, bringing Christ to us under the appearances of bread and wine.¹ This theological movement left its mark in various additions and appendages to the eucharistic prayer in the Roman Mass, and thus the work of recasting it was started. The most notable modification was the break at the *Te igitur* which led to splitting off the preface and to a new make-up of the canon that now followed.

In all the ancient liturgies the eucharistic prayer is composed as a unit and also titled as a unit. The original name (εὐχαριστία) was soon replaced by other designations, but these, too, kept the entire canon in view as a single whole. Nearly everywhere in the Orient the substitute for *eucharistia* was found in the word “anaphora,” which brings to the fore the notion of sacrifice.² In the older Western liturgies, too, there were similar designations which emphasize the sacrifice:³ *oratio oblationis*, *actio sacrificii*. But here in the West the names more widely distributed were others that referred immediately only to the accompanying prayer, and either named it in a very general way as a prayer: *oratio*,⁴ *prex*,⁵ or else, like the word εὐχαριστία designated its contents as divine praise, above all *prædicatio*⁶—terms which we can represent to a certain extent by “Great Prayer” and “Eucharistic Prayer.” Another designation, the word *actio*, defined the section beginning here as a sacred activity;⁷ *intra*

¹ Above I, 82 f., 118 ff.

² In every instance the anaphora embraces the Eucharistic prayer, but is extended in various ways in different rites, to include the prayers that precede and also the Communion portion of the Mass. Brightman, 569. Cfr. above I, 171. In the *Euchologion* of Serapion, n. 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 59) the Eucharistic prayer is captioned εὐχὴ προσέφορου.

³ P. Cagin, “Les noms latins de la préface eucharistique”: *Rassegna Gregoriana* 5 (1906) 321-358, especially 331 ff.

⁴ Cyprian, *De dom. orat.*, c. 31 (CSEL, 3, 289 l. 14).

⁵ Gregory the Great, *Ep.* IX, 12 (PL, 77, 956): the *Pater noster* is said *mol post precem*. Pope Vigilius, *Ep.* 2, 5 (PL, 69, 18 D); *canonica prex*.—Innocent I. *Ep.* 25 (PL, 20, 553).—Augustine, *De Trin.*, III, 4, 10 (PL, 42, 874); *prece mystica*; *Contra litt. Petil.* 2, 69 (CSEL, 52, 58 f): *precem sacerdotis*; cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 186 f. Fortescue, *The Mass*, 323, refers to the following passages in Cyprian, in which he sees in the word *prex* the name of the Great Eucharistic prayer: *Ep.* 15, 1 (PL, 4, 265); 60, 4 (*ibid.*, 362); 66, 1

(*ibid.*, 398).—The word survived for a long time later as a designation for the Preface. It is used regularly as a title for the Preface in the Mass-book fragments of Zurich and Peterling of the 10th century ed. Dold (Beuron, 1934). In the Spanish Mass-book fragments of the 11th century also; see A. Dold, “Im Escorial gefundene Bruchstücke eines Plenarmissales in beneventanischer Schrift des 11. Jh. mit vorgregorianischem Gebetsgut und dem Präfationstitel ‘prex’”: *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, 5 (1935), 89-96.

⁶ Cyprian, *Ep.* 75, 10 (CSEL, 3, 818), in the account of Firmilian of a woman who presumed [non] *sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis* to celebrate the Eucharist; cf. Batiffol, 186.—*Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 127): *Hic [Alexander I] passionem Domini miscuit in prædicatione sacerdotum quando missæ celebrantur*.—*Ibid.* (I, 312): *Hic [Gregory I] augmentavit in prædicationem canonis diesque nostros . . .* Cf. in regard to this the *benedicere et prædicare* mentioned in the introduction of the Preface of the Blessed Virgin.

⁷ Cf. above I, 172 f.

actionem (says a sixth century source) the people should sing the *Sanctus* along with the priest.⁸ This name is also found in several of the most ancient sacramentary manuscripts in the heading over the dialogue that introduces the preface: *Incipit canon actionis*.⁹—Here begins the canon of the action. The text beginning with the words *Sursum corda* is thus designated as the norm, the fixed groundwork for the sacred activity that follows. Later the word *canon* was used all by itself in the same sense.¹⁰

Even as late as the turn of the eighth century the preface was still included in the conception of the canon. Thus it is directed that the Easter candle should be consecrated *decantando quasi canonem*.¹¹ Even more plainly in a later writing we read that the subdeacon takes the paten *medio canone, id est cum dicitur Te igitur*.¹² Thus the unity of the Great Prayer was also preserved in the concept of "canon." The canon began with what we call the preface, and even the external ritual at the solemn pontifical functions signalized this spot as a beginning.¹³

Later on, however, a splitting of this original unity occurred, and preface and canon appear as separate parts thereof. This split proceeded from the Gallic liturgies. For here the eucharistic prayer, or rather all the praying in the course of the sacrifice-Mass, was from the start a series of individual prayers. The *oratio sexta*, to which Isidore assigns the consecration without further distinction, reached from the end of the *Sanctus*-chant to the *Pater noster*.¹⁴ This scheme derived from Isidore was the one which Frankish commentators of the eighth and ninth centuries applied to the Roman liturgy. Here, too, the *oratio quinta* would have to conclude with the *Sanctus*, and the consecratory *oratio sexta* would begin at that point. What went ahead was the *præfatio*, that is, in the new language that evolved from the Gallic liturgy, the proem and introduction to the Great Prayer. In the Gregorian Sacramentary the word *præfatio* was to be seen as a heading for the *Vere dignum* formulas. Without hesitation its meaning was confined to the unit that preceded the *Sanctus*.

⁸ *Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 128).

⁹ So the older *Gelasianum* III, 16 (Wilson, 234).—Ebner, 395, n. 3; B. Botte, *Le canon de la messe romaine* (Mont César, 1935), 30 (in the Apparatus).

¹⁰ In the Sacramentary of Angoulême (ed. Cagin, Angoulême, 1919, p. 117) the superscription mentioned already reads: *Incipit canon*.—Cf. Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 950 A): *Canon vero eadem actio nominatur, quia in ea est legitima et regularis sacramentorum confectio*.

¹¹ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 39 (PL, 78, 955 C). The Sacramentary of Gellone, about the

year 770-780, uses the same expression with regard to the delivery of the prayer used in the blessing of the baptismal water: Martène, I, 1, 18, VI (I, 184 E).

¹² Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 27 (PL, 105, 1146 D).

¹³ This was done chiefly through the well-ordered and highly symmetrical arrangement of the assistants around the altar, provided for at this point. Cf. above I, 72. A trace of this arrangement is still retained in the Pope's Mass of today; cf. Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, note 24.

¹⁴ Cf. above I, 82.

And in consequence, the canon was understood as comprising what followed, namely, the prayer beginning with *Te igitur*.

Despite the prevailing opposition of the Roman books, this notion appeared to be corroborated by a remark in the first Roman *ordo* where, after the mention of the *Sanctus*-chant, the rubric continues: *Quem dum expleverint, surgit pontifex solus et intrat in canone*;¹⁶ the canon (it seems to imply) is a sanctuary into which the priest enters alone.

The sanctity of this inner chamber, which must be kept closed to the people, is matched by the silence reigning in it. The canon becomes a prayer spoken by the priest in so low a tone that even the bystanders cannot hear it. The transition to this is to be noticed very evidently about the middle of the eighth century in the Frankish revision of the Roman *ordo* of John the Arch-chanter; here, after the *Sanctus*, we read: *Et incipit canere dissimili voce et melodia, ita ut a circumstantibus altare tantum audiat*¹⁷—he starts to sing in a different tone and melody, so as to be heard only by those standing around the altar. At first the canon was said merely in a subdued tone, whereas the secret had become a completely silent prayer. But about the turn of the eighth century various authentic reports begin to make mention of an absolute silence also for the canon.¹⁷ In the second Roman *ordo*, which represents a late Carolingian revision of the first, the rubric cited above is reworded as follows: *surgit solus pontifex et tacite intrat in canonem*.¹⁸

In the period that followed, the quiet recitation of the canon became the established rule, but this is not to say that before Pius V the rule was everywhere taken in the sense of a fully inaudible recitation.¹⁹ That the canon, however, was a holy of holies which the priest alone could

¹⁶ *Ordo Rom.*, I, n. 16 (PL, 78, 945); cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 100 ff., for textual criticism of the passage. The meaning of the words is only that the celebrant “enters into” that is, continues alone with the Canon after the singing in common of the *Sanctus*; cf. *ibid.*, 101 f.

¹⁷ *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 103). Andrieu is hardly right in doubting the originality of this reading (*ibid.*, note), found in the older recension (St. Gall 349) in favor of the later version (without *et melodia*; *canone* instead of *canire* = *canere*); in the latter the mention of the melody could have been quietly dropped if, about 800, the transition to complete silence had been accomplished.—Cf., also for the following, Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 53-119: the study “Præfatio und stiller Kanon” (= *ZkTh*, 1929, 66-94; 247-271), especially p. 87 ff.—That the canon until then was said in a perceptible tone is pre-

supposed also in the *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 16 (Andrieu, II, 96; PL, 78, 945), for the statement is made, without further remark, that the subdeacons resume an erect position at the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus. Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 10 (Andrieu, II, 222; PL, 78, 974), which already supposes the canon's being said in silence, quite logically directs that the bishop say these words *aperta clamans voce*. This is also attested by Amalar, *Liber off.* III, 26, 5; 14 f. (Hanssens, II, 345; 347 f.): *exaltat vocem, elevat vocem*.

¹⁸ The commentary “Quotiens contra se”: Martène, I, 4, 11 (I, 455 D); Florus Diaconus, *De actione missæ*, n. 42 f. (PL, 119, 43); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1256 C); *Expositio*, “Introitus missæ quare,” ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930) 45.

¹⁹ *Ordo Romanus* II, n. 10 (PL, 78, 974 A).

²⁰ Such the warning issued by the Synod of

tread, was a concept that was continually developed and consolidated.²⁰ Other reasons for silently reciting the canon pointed in the same direction; the sacred words must not be profaned, lest we call down God's punishment upon our heads.²¹ The same thought is put in a positive way when it is emphasized that the canon must be reserved to the priest alone: *specialiter ad sacerdotem pertinet*.²²

The splitting-off of the preface was also marked out very plainly in the set-up of the Mass book. At the beginning of the eighth century, in *Cod. Reg.* 316, which gives us the older *Gelasianum*, the *Te igitur* follows right after the last *Hosanna* without a break, indeed without even starting a new line,²³ even though the manuscript is definitely an artistic one; other manuscripts, however, of the same century already show the break.

The cleavage was displayed in several ways. The "T" of *Te igitur* was expanded into an initial. Then the initial was revamped into a picture of the Crucified. At first this was done only in isolated instances,²⁴ but since the tenth century it became more and more the normal thing.²⁵ Since the twelfth century the picture was frequently separated from the text and became a special canon-plate; a new initial "T" was then introduced at the start of the text and this, in turn, was not seldom treated as a decorative figure.²⁶ Along with this there was another tradition of long standing, the artistic transfiguration of the start of the preface, the first words of which (*Vere dignum*) were displayed, as a rule, with two artistically

Sarum in England 1217, can. 36 (Mansi XXII, 1119); *ut verba canonis in missa rotunde et distincte dicantur*; see Hardouin, XI, 1335. According to the *Ordo Rom.* XIV, n. 53 (PL, 78, 1165) the Canon was to be said *submissa voce* by the priest, but in the same manner as the deacon and subdeacon together said the *Sanctus*, therefore in a loud tone of voice. The consecration of the Oil of the Sick before the *Per quem hæc omnia* on Maundy Thursday, spoken in a subdued tone (*voce demissa*), is a carry-over from this older practice.

²⁰ Cf. above, I, 82 f.

²¹ Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1256 D). Remigius introduces a story told originally by John Moschus (d. 619), *Pratum spirituale*, c. 196 (PL, 74, 225 f.; PG, 87, 3081 f.), a story repeated by many later commentators on the Mass, how shepherd boys were struck by lightning because they dared to sing the canon in the open field. The movement for the silent recitation of the canon in the Orient is even older, although it did assume different forms; cf. E. Bishop, *Silent Recitals in*

the Mass of the Faithful: the Appendix to R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 121-126.

²² *Eclogæ* (10th cent.; PL, 105, 1326 C). Only since the 12th century do some interpreters call attention to the fatigue of the priest that is to be avoided by the silent prayer; see Eisenhofer, II, 154, who sees in it a possible supporting factor. We might agree with his opinion.

²³ See the facsimile, DACL, VI, 756-57.

²⁴ In the Sacramentary of Gellone (about 770); see pictures in Leroquais IV, Table II.

²⁵ Ebner, 445 f. Illustrations of the two methods, *ibid.*, 9; 16; 50; 130; 184; 444, and in the frontispiece; Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires*, IV. Sometimes this cross-formed T stands as an abbreviation for the words *Te igitur* and the text then continues with *clementissime Pater*.

²⁶ For this purpose a favorite in the Middle Ages was the representation of the celebrant at the altar, or of the Pietà, or of the Brazen Serpent. Ebner, 447 f.

ornamented letters *V D*,²⁷ usually converted into the form D . Since the ninth century the rounding of this figure was utilized more and more by miniaturists as a space for the *Maiestas Domini*.²⁸ But towards end of the Middle Ages the preface-symbol disappeared, and with it the special beginning of the Great Prayer.²⁹ The only picture our missal has, is one before the *Te igitur*, so that even the book-making art marks the beginning of the canon as something entirely new.³⁰ In the manuscripts the greatest care is often expended on the text of the canon. Not infrequently it is written in gold or silver lettering on purple parchment.³¹ Even today the Mass books usually print this part in a large (48-point) type which typographers call "canon."

In the course of centuries, the close of the canon was set at various places. The conclusion at the doxology is still presupposed in the third Roman *ordo*,³² and basically even in the present-day rubrics.³³ On the other hand, our missals extend the page heading *canon actionis* and the large print to the last Gospel. Since the ninth century the conclusion of the canon has varied, shifting between these two points, particularly in accord with the various theories regarding the consecration prayer and those rites by which the sacrifice is completed, or the representation of Christ's Passion is concluded. The end of the canon was set after the *Pater noster*, after the embolism, at the *Agnus Dei*,³⁴ or after the Communion. Other particulars of the external rite were also determined in accordance with these same theories, like the extent of the silence during the canon, the duration of the time assistants stayed on their knees, etc.³⁵ We will have occasion later to speak about these different regulations. But there can be no doubt that in the original construction of the Mass-liturgy the principal portion of the Mass ended at the *Amen* before the *Pater noster*.

The pre-Carolingian Roman liturgy had, as we have said, no thought at all of the division into preface and canon which we are considering. Not only was the entire eucharistic prayer comprised under the word *canon*,

²⁷ Ebner, 432 ff.; for illustrations see the list, p. XI. Individual MSS., like the Cod. Ottobon. 313 (beginning of the 9th cent.) which scarcely emphasizes the beginning of the canon, still have the elaborate symbol for the preface; Ebner, 233 f.

²⁸ Ebner, 438-441.

²⁹ Ebner, 434 f., 437.

³⁰ The Herder Missal of 1931, prepared by the Abbey of Maria Laach, is perhaps the first printed missal with a preface picture placed before the *præfatio communis*, which moreover is set in the large type usual for the canon.

³¹ Ebner, 449; Martène, 1, 4, 8, 2 (I, 399). Older memories still exerted their

influence. A Sacramentary of Tours at the end of the 9th century has the *Præfatio communis* along with the canon in gold lettering upon a purple background; another of the 10th century from Trier has only this preface with the *Sanctus*. Leroquais, I, 53. 83.

³² *Ordo Rom.* III (11th cent.), n. 16 (PL, 78, 981 c).

³³ *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.* VIII; IX.

³⁴ Ebner, 425.—In the last-mentioned instance the end of the canon was distinguished by a picture, the Lamb of God in a round medallion. Ebner, 448 f.

³⁵ Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 133-135.

but even the word *præfatio* to all appearances had the same meaning.³⁶ It was the solemn prayer which ascended to God before the whole assembly. In this sense the word was already current in ancient sacral language,³⁷ and we find it being employed in a similar sense as a liturgical term in Christian usage.³⁸ Thus it became, by preference, the name for the Great Prayer of the Mass.

If, in arguing as we do, we are on the right track, then the name only confirms what we have been forced to conclude from other considerations, namely, that the whole prayer was said in a loud voice. If anywhere, then surely here, the solemn recitation must have become even at an early period a kind of speech-song.³⁹ Since the sixth century there are witnesses to the song-like performance of the Mass-prayers, and obviously these must be referred above all to the eucharistic prayer.⁴⁰ This does not mean, of course, that originally the whole eucharistic prayer was sung to the tune of the preface. A great deal of it, indeed, must have been chanted.⁴¹ But we must conclude that after the *Sanctus* a mere recitative—the simple reading tone—predominated from time immemorial.⁴² This, indeed, corresponded to the character of the prayer-text which no longer displayed the

³⁶ For the following see Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 53-80, which also contains more detailed proofs. The word *præfatio* was used for the separate parts of the Eucharistic prayer, not only for the *Vere dignum*, but likewise also for the *Hanc igitur* and for the blessing formulas that were to be interpolated before the concluding doxology; thus in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 2, 9; 138, 3; cf. n. 77, 3 in the Apparatus). This presupposes an earlier application of the word for the entire Eucharistic prayer.

³⁷ There are phrases like *præfari divos* (Virgil), *præfari Vestam* (Ovid), *fausta vota præfari* (Apuleius); *præfatio* was precisely the prayer which was joined with the sacrifice (Suetonius). Even in common parlance the word was used in the sense of a public announcement, a proclamation. Further proofs in Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 76-78. The same spatial significance is here attached to the *præ* as in the *prælectio*, *præsidium*; it designates an action that is performed in the presence of someone, and not one that precedes another in point of time.

³⁸ Council of Mileve (416), c. 12 (Mansi, IV, 330.—*Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 255): (Gelasius): *fecit etiam et sacramentorum præfationes*. When Cyprian, *De Dom. or.*, c. 31, calls the *sursum corda a præfatio*,

he has a different meaning in mind. Here *præfatio* does not mean the speech said in common before the people, but the speech said as a preliminary or preparation before the holy of holies. The word corresponds to the Greek *πρόεργησις*; cf. Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 288 ff. In the Gallican liturgy *præfatio* was used in the sense of a preparatory announcement for the invitation to prayer.

³⁹ Cf. above I, 377 f.

⁴⁰ The oldest testimony is probably to be found in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 375): *Incipiunt preces diurnæ cum sensibus necessariis*. By the word *sensus* is meant the recitative melody; cf. above, I, 409, n. 36. The word is used for the melody of the Psalms in the *Liber Pont.* in a reference to Gregory III (d. 741) Duchesne, I, 415, 1. 3). Cf. also for the priest's chant in the Mass, the Synod of Cloveshoe, can. 12, cited *supra*, I, 377, note 17.

⁴¹ That seems to be the sense of the expression mentioned above: *decantando quasi canonem*.

⁴² This is indicated by the expression *dis-simili voce et melodia* in the text cited above, p. 103 f., from the *Capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis*. At all events, in the Roman prayer for the blessing of the baptismal water on Holy Saturday, a prayer that parallels the Eucharistic prayer, we have

sublime accent to the hymn of thanksgiving, but rather the quiet current of petition, of oblation and the biblical account; but even here in each case it might be presumed that at least the closing doxology (and not merely the *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*) returned once more to the solemn tone.

It was in the preface that the altar chant found its richest development as the years passed. The recitative here was not merely provided with proper cadences, but at the start and end of each sentence it took on psalmodic forms and evolved partially into a simple melody. But the step to a full song was never completed.⁴³ The very seriousness of the meeting with almighty God, who seems to be right before the priest during the Great Prayer, was without doubt what hindered this step.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the performance of the preface was never so strictly objective that all mood and emotion were excluded. Music history definitely proves that even the chants at the altar, and especially the preface, were caught up in the stream of Gregorian vitality.⁴⁵

The unity and exclusiveness of the Great Prayer of the Roman Mass, made up of preface and canon together, is indeed none too great, even if we disregard its external delivery, its appearance in the book or its double name, and confine our attention solely to the contents. Besides the oblations, there are the intercessory prayers, which occupy a large space. In turn, these intercessory prayers are broken up into individual prayers, one part of them being placed before the consecration, the other part after. The original basic idea of the *eucharistia* is retained clear and distinct only in the initial prayer, the preface.

This breaking-up of the contents of the eucharistic prayer had already begun at a very early period. Aside from a few phrases, the whole text of today's canon is found already in the fifth century, and the notion which had much to do with producing this dissolution, namely, the recital within

already in the 7th century the rubric that to this day requires the transition to the *tonus lectionis* for the last part; in the older Gelasianum I, 44 (Wilson, 86): *hic sensum mutabis*; in the Sacramentary of Gellone (about 770): *hic mutas sensum quasi lectionem legas*; Martène, I, 1, 18, VI (I, 184 E). Regarding the word *sensus*, see above, note 40. That a rubric so frequently used at Mass should not be transmitted can be explained by the fact that, unlike the blessing of the Easter water, it was sufficiently current by constant practice.

⁴³ That is shown in the fact that the melody of the preface was not written in notes, but was maintained merely with the help of certain reading signs; cf. above, I, 378.

⁴⁴ Concerning certain trends beyond these

bounds even in the 8th century, see above, I, 377, note 17.

⁴⁵ Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 58 f.; cf. 27 f. According to this study the first step in the development was the replacement of the subtonal "tuba" or recitation note, which made a full step down from b to a. About the 10th century we find in its stead a sub-semitonal tuba—a recitation note which made only a half step down (from c to b flat; our ferial preface tone). A further development, along with the elaboration of the initial and final phrases, was the introduction of a special accent tone above the tuba for certain syllables (cf. our festive *Pater noster*). And since the 12th century we have the development of a secondary tuba, the recitation moving along for a time on a note below the ordi-

the *mysteria*, and not before, of the names of those who had offered the gifts, is found even in Innocent I.⁴⁶ In the Orient, the intercessory prayers, in a very elaborate form, obtained an entrance into the inner circle of the Great Prayer as early as the fourth century.⁴⁷ The evolution seems to have followed this pattern: By degrees the viewpoint changed, and the celebration was no longer looked upon as an altogether spiritual *eucharistia*; over and above this there was the offering of the gifts, the *ἀναφορά*, the *oblatio* (according to the current designation),⁴⁸ and this, too, had to be clearly kept in view; naturally, then, there developed a provision for putting this oblation of gifts forward in an intercessory sense, a thing not easily done in a “thanksgiving prayer.” Or, putting it a different way, there was a growing trend to relocate the intercessory prayers which had been said from time past right after the readings, linking them more closely with the gifts. This connection was certainly closest when the intercessory prayers were included in the very inner circle of the oblation prayers.

The driving force could well have been the closely related notion that our prayers would be all the more efficacious the nearer they were drawn to the Holy of Holies, thereby attracting to themselves the power of the Sacrament Itself. Even today, a person asking help is advised to place his needs before God at the consecration.⁴⁹ Thus the importunate friend could seek to gain access even into the sanctuary of the Great Prayer. In the Orient the damage done to the prayer by this insertion took place in only one spot, either after the consecration (as in the liturgies of the Syrian and Byzantine domains), or before the consecration, in fact before the *Sanctus* (as in the Egyptian liturgies). But in the West the effect was greater because the prayer of thanks had always been so much more terse (and when the *præfatio communis* became the normal text, it was actually reduced to a mere minimum), and because, on the other hand, the intercessory prayers were inserted finally in two different places, before the consecration and after.

nary recitation (our solemn preface tone). Lastly, about the same time, the introductory and final phrases on festive occasions were set with melismas of three or four notes, so that we have a really melodic form (our *tonus sollemnior* for the preface).

⁴⁶ Above I, 53 f.

⁴⁷ *Euchologion* of Serapion 13, 18 (above I, 34); *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 40-49 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 224-227); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.*, V, 8-10 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 102 f).

⁴⁸ Above I, 171.

⁴⁹ This is a psychological parallel to the practice of recommending a great many intentions to a newly ordained priest for his first Mass, or to a child on the occasion of its First Communion; or, to take a case from olden times, to the practice Tertullian, *De Bapt.*, 20 (CSEL 20, 218), had of requesting the candidates for baptism instructed by him to remember him in the first prayer that they, as newly baptized, would say in church immediately after their baptism.

2. The Introductory Dialogue

Whereas generally the priestly prayer is preceded only by the customary greeting and the invitation *Oremus*, the Great Prayer displays its higher importance in the increased formality of its introduction. After the greeting there is an invitation not simply to a prayer, to an *oratio*, but to a prayer of thanks, an εὐχαριστία: *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*: Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ. And this formal invitation is preceded by still another: *Sursum corda*. In both instances the people are not ignored, as they are with a mere *Oremus*, but are given a special concurrent response: *Habemus ad Dominum, Dignum et iustum est*.

In this introductory dialogue we have a most ancient Christian tradition.¹ Cyprian already comments on the *Sursum corda* and sees in these words the expression of the mood in which the Christian should properly begin every prayer: every fleshly and worldly thought should be suppressed, and the mind bent solely upon the Lord.² Augustine takes occasion, time after time, to speak of the *Sursum corda*. For him the words are the expression of a Christian attitude, much the same as St. Paul's admonition to those who have risen with Christ: *quæ sursum sunt querite*;³ our Head is in heaven, and therefore our hearts must also be with Him. It is through God's grace that they are with Him, and the gladsome consciousness of this, as expressed in the common response of the faithful, *Habemus ad Dominum*, is basically the factor which, according to St. Augustine, urges the priest on to the *Gratias agamus*.⁴ Of course our thoughts cannot always be on God, but certainly they should be so—as another commentator insists—at least in this sublime hour.⁵

¹ Above I, 16; 29.

² Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 31 (CSEL 3, 289): *Cogitatio omnis carnalis et sæcularis abscedat nec quicquam animus quam id solum cogitet quod precatur. Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo: Sursum corda, dum respondet plebs: Habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.*

³ Col., 3: 1.

⁴ Augustine, *Serm.* 227 (PL, 38, 1100 f.).—Nine more pertinent passages are recorded by Rötzer, 118 f., to which he adds an *et cet.* The word *Dominus* here, just as in the *Dominus vobiscum*, is not always understood by Augustine to mean Christ, e.g., *Serm.* 6, 3 Denis (*Miscell. Aug.* I, 30 f.): *Quid est Sursum cor? Spes in Deo, non in te. Tu enim deorsum es, Deus sursum est.* With the same emphasis as St. Augustine, Cæsarius of Arles explained

Sursum corda in his homilies; see *Sermones*, ed. Morin, in the Register, p. 999. He connects the *Sursum corda*, among others, with Phil. 3: 20; *Serm.* 22, 4 (Morin, 97).

⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.* V, 4 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 99 f.). The summons to be rid of βιωτικὰ φρονήσεις that Cyril inserts in the Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας later comes to light in the oriental liturgy, in the hymn of the cherubim that accompanies the Great Entry (Brightman, 377). From a later age we might be permitted a reference to Henry Suso, who always sang these words in the Mass with special fervor. Asked what was his object, he answered that he was calling upon all creatures of heaven and earth and that he felt himself as their preceptor in the praise of God; and, finally, that this song was for him a plea to all the tepid, who belong neither entirely to God, nor are yet entirely absorbed in

The precise origin of this preliminary *Sursum corda* is not known.⁹ On the other hand, *Gratias agamus* is already found as an introduction to the prayer of thanks in the Jewish order of prayer.⁷ Likewise the response to the invitation to prayer by a *Dignum et iustum est* was current there.⁸ And in ancient culture too, acclamations of this kind played a grand role. It was considered the proper thing for the lawfully assembled people to endorse an important decision, an election, or the taking of office or λειτουργία, by means of an acclamation.⁹ And there are evidences that besides the formula most used, ἄξιός, there were phrases like *Æquum est, iustum est*;¹⁰ *Dignum est, iustum est*.¹¹

An acclamation of this kind accorded well with the make-up of the Church and the nature of her worship. It is the ecclesiastical assembly that desires to praise God; but its organ, duly authorized from above, is the priest or bishop at its head. Only through him can and will she act, confirming this by her endorsement. But for his part, too, the priest does not wish to appear before God as an isolated petitioner, but rather only as speaker for the congregation.¹² Thus, by means of a dialogue at the great moment when the eucharistic prayer is to begin and the sacrifice is about to be performed, the well-ordered community that is at work secures an expressional outlet. At the same time there is a manifestation of how self-evident and becoming is the action which the Christian congregation has undertaken.¹³

Granted such a line of thought, it would appear to be obvious that the

creatures. *Vita I*, 9 (*Des Mystikers H. Seuse deutsche Schriften*, ed. N. Heller [Regensburg, 1926], p. 29 f.).

⁹ Jno. 11: 41; Col. 3: 1 f.; especially Lament. 3: 41 are considered as possible biblical references. Cf. Gassner, 106. A. Baumstark "Wege zum Judentum des neustamentlichen Zeitalters": *Bonner Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Seelsorge*, 4 (1927), 33, calls attention to a formula in the Samaritan liturgy that requires the uplifting of hands before designated high points in prayer. Recently, however, he is more inclined to consider a Hellenistic origin and supposes that the greeting at the beginning of the prayer was somehow united sometimes with the *Gratias agamus*, sometimes with the *Sursum corda*, until at last both invocations were set side by side. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 97. A. Robinson, on the other hand, considers the expression *sursum corda habere* a naturally Latin one; see the note of R. H. Connolly, *The Journal of Theol. Studies*, 39 (1938), 355.—In Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix 50 f.) the thanksgiving prayer that

introduces the Agape, is preceded only by the *Dominus vobiscum* and the *Gratias agamus*, and the point is stressed that the *Sursum corda* should be said only at the Sacrifice. Hence it appears as a confirmation and enrichment of the invocation implied in the *Gratias agamus*.

⁷ Above I, 15, note 40.

⁸ As a confirmation equivalent to the *Amen* in the Schema of the morning prayer: 'emet wajazib; I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 22 f., 25.

⁹ E. Peterson, *Εὐχὴ θεός*, 176-180; Th. Klauser, "Akklamation," *RAC*, I, 216-233.

¹⁰ Thus at the election of the Emperor Gordian; *Scriptures hist. Aug.*, Gordian, c. 8 (ed. Didot 501); Peterson, 177.—Cf. the list of acclamations in Klauser, 227-231.

¹¹ Both at the election of the Bishop in Hippo; Augustine, *Ep.* 213 (CSEL, 57, 375 f.).

¹² Cf. Chrysostom, *In II Cor. hom.*, 18 (PG, 61, 527): "It is not the priest alone who completes the thanksgiving, but the people with him."

¹³ Peterson, *op. cit.*, 179, surmises that in

responses mentioned were actually spoken by the people. In fact, in the evidence already presented, this matter is made clear enough.¹⁴

One peculiarity in the ritual of this introductory dialogue is the fact that the priest does not turn to the people when greeting them, as he does otherwise. In the Roman Mass he continues to face the altar.¹⁵ Here, too, we have an example of the more delicate sense of form which ancient culture possessed, for once the sacred action is inaugurated, once this God-ward activity has begun, it would be improper to turn away.¹⁶ At any rate, on this depended the decision as to what precisely was considered the opening of the sacred action, whether at the beginning of the *Eucharistia* itself, as was evidently the case in the Byzantine liturgy,¹⁷ or rather at the presentation of the gifts, as is apparently presupposed in our Mass. This ancient sense of form is also manifested in the accompanying gestures: the summons to lift up the heart is accompanied by the priest's lifting of his hands,¹⁸ and they then remain outstretched in the attitude of the *orantes*, the prayer-attitude of the ancient Church.

proportion as in the Christian Eucharistia the idea of sacrifice was brought to the fore, this legal character and with it the need for confirmation of the act had to be stressed by the acclaim of the people. Elfers, 270, n. 84, referring to Clemens of Alexandria, *Strom.* VII, 6; Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.* IV, 18, 4 (*al.* IV, 31, 4; Harvey II, 205) emphasizes the point that the celebration of the Eucharist was strongly regarded as an "act of duty and justice" toward God. Cf. the explanation of "Ἀξιὸν καὶ δέκατον given by Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. myst.* V, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 100): "When we give thanks, we do what is fitting and just; but He acted not only justly, but beyond all justice, inasmuch as He accorded us all blessings and considered us worthy of His great benefits" (he had just finished considering the Redemption and the Sonship of God). The obligation of giving thanks is also stressed already in Thess. 1: 3 ff.

¹⁴ Above, p. 110 f. Chrysostom, *De s. Pentec.* hom. 1, 4 (PG, 50, 458 f.). *De panit.* hom. 9 (PG, 49, 345; Brightman, 473 f.).—Cf. the word of encouragement to the somewhat timid newly baptized, with which St. Augustine accompanies his instruction on the *Sursum corda*, in *Sermo* Denis, 6, 2 (PL, 46, 835; Rötzer, 119): *hodie vobis exponitur, quod audistis et quod respondistis; aut forte, cum responderetur, tacuistis, sed quid respondendum esset hodie, heri didicistis.* Augustine testifies to the

general spread of this response in his *De vera religione*, c. 3, 5 (PL, 34, 125): mankind throughout the world answers daily in this phrase.

¹⁵ It is otherwise in the Byzantine liturgy, where the salutation has the solemn form of II Cor. 13: 13 (see above in the text) and is also accompanied by a gesture of blessing; Brightman, 384. While saying this as well as the following "Ἀνὼ σῶμεν τὰς καρδίας he stands facing the people whom he is addressing; it is not till he intones the Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ that he turns "towards the East." Hornykewitsch, 76.

¹⁶ Cf. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 322. Amalar, *De eccl. off.* III, 9 (PL, 105, 1116), also shows a clear perception of the meaning of this prescription, *Ibi jam occupati circa altare . . . Nec debet arator, dignum opus exercens, vultum in sua terga referre.* That later times would no longer have hit upon such an idea is shown in the case of Lebrun, *Explication*, I, 335 f. He can only explain the execution by saying that at one time at this passage in the liturgy the altar was shut off from the view of the people by curtains and that consequently a turning towards them would have made no sense.

¹⁷ Note 15 above.

¹⁸ Cf. the "Ἀνὼ σῶμεν τὰς καρδίας in the Byzantine Rite, where the rubric is added: δεικνύων ἅμα τῇ χειρὶ; Brightman, 384.

In this section of the Roman Mass the heritage of the ancient Church has been preserved with special fidelity also in regard to the simple form of the text, which still retains the dialogue, almost word for word as found in Hippolytus.¹⁹ There are none of those additions or expansions which in other liturgies partly disguise the concise exclamations. Here as elsewhere the greeting is confined to the words *Dominus vobiscum*. In the Orient, only Egypt shows a similar simple form of greeting for the opening of the dialogue: Ο κύριος μετὰ πάντων (ὑμῶν), while the other liturgies employ some modification and extension of the solemn triple blessing of the Apostle in II Cor. 13 : 13.²⁰ Even the *Sursum corda* has elsewhere undergone enlargements²¹ and likewise, though less extensively, the *Gratias agamus* along with its response. In the latter case, where the exclamation announces the theme of the Great Prayer that follows, the changes that have been introduced here and there are all the more characteristic. The West Syrian liturgy of St. James emphasizes the motif of the awesome: "Let us say thanks to the Lord with fear, and adore Him with trembling"²² The East Syrian Mass brings to the fore the notion of sacrifice which is concealed in the thanksgiving: "The sacrifice is offered up to God, the Lord of all," whereupon the usual answer follows: "It is meet and just."²³ The Mozarabic liturgy connects with this exclamation a trinitarian confession,²⁴ just as the Byzantine does with the response of the people.²⁵

In most of the oriental liturgies the introductory dialogue is separated

¹⁹ Above I, 29.

²⁰ H. Engberding, "Der Gruss des Priesters zu Beginn der Eucharistia in östlichen Liturgien," JL, 9 (1929) 138-143.—The most important development is that the part which pertains to God the Father is placed at the very front: "Ὁ ἀγάπη τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πατρός, ἡ χάρις . . . This form spread from Jerusalem. The Mozarabic *Missale mixtum* has a similar version (PL, 85, 546 B).—Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 89 f.

²¹ In the Syrian-Antiochian sphere: "Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν; Baumstark, 90 f. Alongside the *Sursum corda* there is the formula of the Apostolic Constitutions VIII, 12, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 213): "Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν. The Greek liturgy of St. James combines both: "Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας. Brightman, 50; cf. 85; 473. The Mozarabic Mass inserts after the trinitarian plea for blessing, the invitation to the kiss of peace, to which the choir responds with a chant of several verses; next the words of the Psalm *Introibo ad altare Dei mei* which the choir again takes up with *Ad Deum qui latificat*

juventutem meam; then the invocation *Aures ad Dominum*, to which the choir answers *Habemus ad Dominum*. Only then comes the *Sursum corda* with the alternate response from the choir *Levemus ad Dominum* and the invitation to give thanks, again in a peculiar formulation. *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 546 f.).

²² Brightman, 85; cf. above I, 39.

²³ Brightman, 283. The same stress on the sacrificial character in this passage, though in more elaborate phrasology, in both the East Syrian anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia and that of Nestorius; Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orient. collectio*, II (1847), 611; 620 f.

²⁴ *Liber ordinum* (Ferotin, 236): *Deo ac Domino nostro, Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, dignas laudes et gratias referamus*. In the *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 547) Christ is substituted in place of the Three Persons.

²⁵ Brightman, 384: "Ἀξιὸν καὶ δέξιον ἔστιν προσκυνεῖν πατέρας υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τριάδα ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἀχώριστον. In many texts the addition is missing.

from what precedes, and is given greater emphasis by an exclamation of the deacon, admonishing the people to assume a proper demeanor of reverence and attention in view of the Holy Sacrifice now to be offered up: *Στώμεν καλῶς, στώμεν μετὰ φόβου, πρόσχωμεν τὴν ἁγίαν ἀναφορὰν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσφέρειν*: Let us stand upright, let us stand in fear, let us give our attention to offering the Holy Sacrifice in peace. The choir confirms his admonition by glorifying the oblation as a grace-laden pledge of peace and a sacrifice of praise: *Ἐλεον εἰρήνης, φύσιν αἰνέσεως*.²⁶ In some churches of the West Syrian ambit, a monition of this sort was augmented as early as the fourth-fifth century by a whole series of warnings from the deacon to guard against the possibility of anyone unworthy remaining amongst the participants.²⁷ We have here the ancient *πρόρρησις*, the *præfatio* in the sense indicated by St. Cyprian.²⁸ The kiss of peace, too, which, in the oriental liturgies precedes the dialogue, *resp.*, the deacon's warnings, either immediately²⁹ or mediately, evidently had the same function of an assurance that all were ready for the sacred action.

The Roman liturgy has no such monitory pause at this juncture. The deacon's function is scarcely developed at all, and the kiss of peace is deferred to a different place. Conversely, the dialogue that introduces the prayer of thanks is today so closely interwoven with what precedes that there is no evident break-off. After his silent preparation of the gifts, the priest begins by saying aloud: *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, the concluding words of the *secreta* and therefore a part of the offertory. Thus the *Dominus vobiscum* does not sound at all like a start, but rather like a continuation. Such was the case already in the eighth century.³⁰ Still, at that

²⁶ Thus in the Byzantine Mass; Brightman, 383. In other liturgies within the Syrian sphere the same invocation underwent various revisions. It is considerably amplified in the East Syrian and Armenian Mass; Brightman, 282; 434 f. In the Egyptian it must have found partial acceptance only later, as is shown by the still prevailing Greek text of the Copts; *ibid.*, 164. The answer of the choir *Ἐλεον εἰρήνης, θυσίαν αἰνέσεως* and its equivalent, as the translations show, seems not to have been understood any more. *θυσία αἰνέσεως* (from Ps. 115: 8, according to the Septuagint) can just about be rendered with *λογικὴ θυσία*; a sacrifice consisting of praise. The revision cited above for *ἔλεος εἰρήνης* follows Mercenier-Paris, *La prière des églises de rite byzantin*, I, 238. The invitation that Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) attests and explains in this passage, *Sermones catech.* V (Rücker, *Ritus bapt. et missæ*, 25 f.) forms the heart

of the deacon's cry: *Aspicite ad oblationem*.

²⁷ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 2 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 212). In the *Testamentum Domini*, I, 23 (Rahmani, 37 f.; Quasten, *Mon.*, 250) there is a series of thirteen outcries that begin with: *Si quis odium contra proximum habet, reconcilietur! Si quis in conscientia incredulitas versatur, confiteatur! Si quis mentem habet alienam a præceptis, discedat!*

²⁸ Note 2, above. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 290, refers to Livy, 45, 5: . . . *cum omnis præfatio sacrorum eos, quibus non sint puræ manus, sacris arceat*.

²⁹ Thus in the Coptic, Ethiopian, and in the East Syrian liturgy: Brightman, 162 f.; 227; 281 f.

³⁰ Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 1). The Cod. Otobon. 313, which goes back to the 9th century, inserts expressly: *qua (sc. oratione super oblata) completa dicit sacerdos excelsa voce: Per omnia (ibid.)*;

time there was a conscious knowledge that the real beginning started with the *Dominus vobiscum*, several of the Carolingian commentaries commencing with these words.³¹ Some of the oldest manuscripts which contain the canon leave out the *Dominus vobiscum*—taking it for granted—and introduce the canon with the words *Sursum corda*.³² It is possible to admit that at least the solemn melody did not start till the *Dominus vobiscum*.³³

3. The Preface

The prayer ushered in with the preface is *the* prayer of the Church, her Great Prayer.¹ It is an attempt to create with human words a worthy framework and more especially a fitting adit for the holy mystery which will be accomplished in our midst and which we are privileged to present to God. There are two ranges of ideas which here press for expression: first, the primitive consciousness that we owe God, our Creator and Lord, adoration and praise, the basic acts of all religion and worship; and second, the Christian acknowledgment that we who have been elected and honored by the wonderful vocation which is ours through Christ, can do nothing less than thank Him again and again. The only proper response to the εὐ-αγγέλιον is the εὐ-χαριστία.² For what we have here received is something far beyond anything that our human nature might expect from its Creator as a fitting endowment. Gratitude is also called for by the vision of earthly creation, the vision of all that nature provides for men. This gratitude for the benefits of the natural order is to be found remarkably amplified in a number of examples from the early Christian period, both within the

regarding the tradition of the text, see JL, 5 (1925) 70 f. In the *Ordo* of John Archicantor, the present texts of which (8th cent.) require the silent prayer in the Secreta, the priest raises his voice already for the *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum* (Silva-Tarouca, 198).

³¹ Cf. Franz, 344, 349, 350, 395 f. Amalar also, *De eccl. off.*, III, 21 (PL, 105, 1133), has the *præfatio* considered here begin a *salutatione, quæ dicitur ante Sursum corda*.

³² Cf. above, p. 103.

³³ The incongruity here considered was the topic of a note in *Les Questions Liturgiques*, 4 (1913-14), 244. The solution proposed was to sing the *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum* in a somewhat lower tone of voice with the understanding that the organist then play a transitional melody to the *Dominus vobiscum*. Cf. *Cours et conférences VIII* (Louvain, 1929), 143, note 8, where reference is also made to the custom prevalent among the Premonstraten-

sians and Trappists, to recite the *Per omnia* and begin the singing only with the *Dominus vobiscum*. The same condition is found at the end of the Canon, where the introduction to the *Pater noster* follows and again after the Embolism, where the *Pax Domini* follows.

¹ See above, regarding the use of the words *præfatio* and *prex* in the Roman liturgy. In the Gallican liturgy it is called *contestatio*, a solemn confession, a designation corresponding to the ἐξομολόγησις used for the preface in the *Canones Basilii* c. 97 (Riedel, 274). In the Gallican liturgical sphere designations appear that point to the sacrifice: *immolatio* (in the *Missale Gothicum*), *illatio* (in the Mozarabic liturgy). Cf. Jungmann, *Geordnete Liturgie*, 72 f.; 82 f.

² It is therefore not by accident that the gospel forms the high point of the fore-Mass.

eucharistic prayer and outside it.³ Later, the theme is less common. It is particularly infrequent in the Roman liturgy, though even here it is not entirely absent.⁴ But there is a new note and a new urgency in the gratitude with regard to the Christian economy of salvation. The Epistles of St. Paul, which almost invariably begin with a word of thanksgiving,⁵ are the first manifestations of this.⁶

In this connection it is hard to decide whether the liturgical *eucharistia* in its pre-Greek beginnings (as they are to be found in the *Berachah*) possessed this evident preponderance of thanksgiving over the general expression of praise or of adoration.⁷ This last objective has indeed always been an important factor in the eucharistic prayer, especially after the *Sanctus* was included; it is its expansion into the realm of the universal and metaphysical.⁸ Petition, too, is included along with the thanksgiving, at first tentatively,⁹ later even in a relatively developed form. But it is equally evident from the earliest sources that in principle, and aside from certain more recent marginal developments, the keynote of the *eucharistia* that now begins has always been thanksgiving.

Besides the character of the Christian dispensation, there was another element that helped bring this about. The Lord had given the Sacrament to his disciples with the command: "Do this for a memory of me." Accordingly, all the liturgies include this commemoration in some form or other in the *anamnesis* after the words of consecration. But in this place they all turn more or less hurriedly to the offering of the gifts just hallowed, as the very nature of the case demands. So the proper place for this concept, a place where it can expand, is not here after the transubstantiation, but rather *before* the words of consecration, for the consecration can be inserted suitably only in a space filled by the thankful remembrance of the Lord. And this concept is most adequately expressed when it is something

³ Above I, 31-2, 35 f.

⁴ Cf. in the Leonianum (Muratori I, 303) : *VD. Quoniam licet immensa sint omnia quæ initiis humanæ sunt collata substantiæ, quod eam scilicet crearis ex nihilo, quod tui dederis cognitione pollere, quod cunctis animantibus summæ rationis participatione prætuleris, quod tota mundi possessione ditaris; longe tamen mirabiliora sunt . . .*

⁵ According to the Hellenistic epistolary style a thanksgiving was certainly part of the beginning of a letter; see A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4. Aufl., Tübingen, 1923, 147, n. 3.

⁶ Cf. E. Mócsy, "De gratiarum actione in epistolis Paulinis": *Verbum Domini*, 21 (1941), 193-201; 225-232.

⁷ Cf. J. M. Nielen, *The Earliest Christian*

Liturgy, 295-296. Nielen refers to M. J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon S. Luc.* (3d ed.; Paris, 1927), 544, who regards the biblical word εὐχαριστεῖν not simply as a translation of a Hebrew word of general meaning, and who, therefore, infers a tradition of the primitive Church, "que la prière de Jésus bénissant avant de distribuer le pain et le vin était une action de grâces."

⁸ In the oriental liturgies, as a rule, the preface up the *Sanctus* is dedicated to the praise of God in general; in those outside of Egypt a christological prayer of thanksgiving follows upon the *Sanctus*, a prayer that, because of its closer connection with the account of the Institution, shows itself to be more original. Cf. Hanssens, III, 356.

⁹ Cf. *Euchologion Serapions*, above I, 34.—With regard to Justin, *Apol.* I, 67 below p. 152, n. 3.

more than a thoughtful recalling of memories from the past, when it is rather enveloped in prayer before God. It then becomes an act of gratitude, a prayer of thanks for the great thing that has been given us in Christ. "To thank" is after all etymologically nothing less than "to think" about benefits received, and not thoughtlessly to ignore them.

As the central theme of his remembrance, St. Paul already mentions the death of our Lord, the work of redemption.¹⁰ And this continued to be, far and wide, the cardinal object of the *eucharistia*, and as such was conscientiously retained.¹¹ We should remember what the action is really a remembrance of; we should remember what is represented in the action as a memorial. The Mass is not a sacrifice reposing on its own self; it is a sacrifice only insofar as it is at the same time a memorial of the sacrifice already consummated, which brought us redemption. Therefore, it is at the same time a thanksgiving, and demands of us such a thanksgiving.¹² When the fundamental mysteries of the Christian economy are focused in this way in a prayer of thanks that rises to God in the sight of the congregation, the prayer itself becomes a most effective expression of a consciousness of their faith and their acknowledgment of it. Thus, in the most ancient tradition the *eucharistia* appears at the same time as another more exalted form of the profession of faith.¹³

Gratitude for the advent of the Lord, for His Passion and death, for His Resurrection and Ascension, for all that He has done to procure our salvation—these are the themes that form the object of thanksgiving in the prefaces of the Roman liturgy as they range through the course of the year. It is a peculiarity of the occidental liturgies that their prayer, including the Great Prayer, varies with the progress of the year, and, in consequence, the mysteries of faith are kept in view only one portion at a time. Other

¹⁰ I Cor. 11 : 26.

¹¹ The latter is very clearly the case, e.g., in the letter of James of Edessa (d. 708) to Thomas the Presbyter (Brightman, 492): "and whereas the priest and the people have meetly accounted it right to give thanks unto the Lord, he says, *It is meet and right to praise thee* and in a few words commemorates the whole scope of the grace of God as touching man and his first creation and his redemption thereafter and as touching the dispensation which Christ wrought in our behalf when He suffered for us in the flesh: for this is the whole *kurobho* that we should commemorate and declare the things which Christ wrought in our behalf." How close the formulas of the changing Roman preface could adhere to the anamnesis is shown in the Sunday preface after the feast of Ascension, which the Alcuin appendix

(Muratori, II, 319) presents: *VD. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui generi humano nascendo subvenit, quum per mortem passionis mundum devicit, per gloriam resurrectionis vitæ æternæ aditum patefecit et per suam ascensionem ad cælos nobis spem ascendendi donavit. Per.*

¹² Both ideas are remarkably well expressed by Fulgentius, *De Fide*, n. 60 (PL, 65, 699): *In illis enim carnalibus victimis significatio fuit carnis Christi, quam . . . fuerat oblaturus . . . in isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit*, Ep. 14, 44 (PL, 65, 432 C): *Ideo . . . a gratiarum actione incipimus, ut Christum non dandum, sed datum nobis in veritate monstremus.*

¹³ Regarding the original connection between the Eucharistic prayer and the Symbolum cf. the reference *supra*, I, 473.

liturgies, especially the liturgies of the East (taken as a whole), do not have this variety. They do have variations in the formularies, often in great profusion; take the West Syrian liturgy, for example, or the Ethiopian.¹⁴ But each formula of the anaphora surveys the whole field of the Christian economy in a new way. This was likewise the principle which governed the *eucharistia* of the early Church.¹⁵ There was only one further rule, that the preface at a Sunday or a feast-day assembly should be longer and more solemn than at the celebration at the graves of the martyrs, since these latter celebrations naturally drew a smaller congregation and were not fully public in character.¹⁶ In the course of centuries, however, the custom of constantly reshaping the prayer of thanks, along with the effort to say something new for each occasion, must have resulted in the formation of many a version that touched only the periphery of the theme peculiar to the prayer. Traces of such a tendency can be found even in the oldest examples.¹⁷ And those centrifugal forces must have been all the more powerful when every festal ceremony not only gave occasion for a new version but seemed to demand a new theme, one more consonant with the feast itself. This was the case from the very start in the liturgies of the West, and especially in the Latin liturgy of Rome. The most ancient collection of Roman Mass formularies, the *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, has a proper preface for each Mass; thus, although it is quite incomplete, the sacramentary has 267 prefaces! Even the older *Gelasianum* still furnishes 54 prefaces,¹⁸ the later *Gelasianum* in the St. Gall manuscript, 186.¹⁹

The lion's share of such prefaces fell to the feasts of martyrs. As a special theme on such days, the obvious one, was derived from the martyr's victory-in-death. When in the preface of martyrs only the fundamental concept of their bloody witness to Christ was emphasized, the result was a prayer of thanks that stayed pretty close to the basic theme of our salvation, as when, after the mention of Christ's name, the special text continued:

Qui ad maiorem triumphum de humani generis hoste capiendum præter illam gloriam singularem, qua ineffabilibus modis Domini virtute prostratus est, ut etiam a sanctis martyribus superaretur effecit, atque in membris quoque suis victoria sequeretur, quæ præcessit in capite. Per.²⁰

At other times the victorious struggle of the martyr or even his intercessory power after his victory stands as an independent theme of thanksgiving. Sometimes, however, a panegyric on the hero is developed in formal

¹⁴ Above I, 41-42.

¹⁵ Above I, 29; 34-37.

¹⁶ *Canones Basilii*, c. 97 (Riedel, 274).

¹⁷ To some extent the formulary in the *Euchologion* of Serapion probably belongs here, above I, 34.

¹⁸ These figures according to Eisenhofer II, 157. His other enumerations for the Gregorianum are, however, incorrect.

¹⁹ Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, after the index, p. 280-282.—Baumstark refers these prefaces of the later Gelasianum back to a primitive Gelasianum, in which almost every Mass formulary would have its own preface. Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt*, 128*.

²⁰ Leonianum (Muratori, I, 311 f.).

outline, and becomes at last a more or less expanded recounting of the history of the saint's suffering. It is not to be wondered at that among the five prefaces which the *Leonianum* contains for the feast of St. Cecilia, one or another should have succumbed to this last danger.²¹ Rather is it astonishing to find that, of the twenty prefaces provided in the several Mass formularies for the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, almost all are still concerned with the theological and Christological contents of the apostolic office.²²

In this oldest of sacramentaries, even Mass-formularies lacking a distinctively festal character are sometimes found with a preface whose contents are far different from the original conception of a eucharistic prayer, for example when it is used as a tirade against objectionable adversaries or as an exhortation to lead a moral life.²³ Such curiosities as these must lead sooner or later to a reaction. Perhaps an advance along these very lines is to be discerned behind the narrative of the *Liber pontificalis* regarding Pope Alexander: *Hic [Alexander] passionem Domini miscuit in prædicatione sacerdotum, quando missæ celebrantur*.²⁴ Phenomena of the sort described must finally have induced that drastic reform which is revealed in the Gregorian Sacramentary. In the genuine portions of this sacramentary as remanded by Adrian I to Charlemagne,²⁵ there are only

²¹ Muratori, I, 456-459.

²² Muratori, I, 330-345.—A summary of the whole situation in Stuißer, *Libelli sacramentorum Romani* (Bonn, 1950), 67 f. This particular development was even stronger in the Gallic liturgies; cf., e.g., the preface for the feast of St. Maurice in the *Missale Gothicum* (Muratori, II, 634). The prefaces of the Mozarabic liturgy frequently present extended accounts of the lives and sufferings of the saints; cf., e.g., the story of the passion of St. Vincent in the *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 678-681).

²³ Muratori, I, 350 ff.; cf. *supra*, I, 61-62.

²⁴ Duchesne, *Lib. pont.*, I, 127. The fact that the report is found in the *Liber Pontificalis* leads one to surmise that at the time the account was written (about 530) the counter-movement had not yet run its full course. Among the prefaces that corresponded to this program would be, e.g., those cited below, p. 122 ff., which in general are surely pre-Gregorian. By *passio Domini* is evidently meant Christ's redemptive work, as is the case already with Cyprian.—The meaning that Th. Schermann, "Liturgische Neuerungen," (Festgabe A. Knöpfler zum 70. Geburtstag [Freiburg, 1917], 276-289), 277 ff., at-

tributed to the passage, namely that the formulary of the "General Church Order" (= Hippolytus) was introduced in Rome at the time of Alexander I (d. 116), is unacceptable for various reasons. Equally unacceptable is the opinion expressed by others, that there was question here of the *Unde et memores* (. . . *tam beatæ passionis*) or of the words *Qui pridie quam pateretur*. Cf. Fortescue, *The Mass*, 346; Botte, *Le canon*, 64.—Likewise Elfer's assumption in *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 248-253, that what is meant here is the account of the institution linked with the *passio*, and that all that is affirmed is that it was Pope Alexander who first interpolated into the eucharistic prayer of thanksgiving the narrative of the institution to which had been joined a recital of our Lord's sufferings, is based on unsubstantiated and inadmissible premises; see *ZkTh*, 63 (1939), 236 f.

²⁵ It is strange that the Sacramentary of Fulda, which Baumstark edited, with a few slight excisions, as the "oldest obtainable form" of the Gregorianum, still contains 46 prefaces, and even if we subtract those elements that are evidently later (n. 387, 623, 654, 674), there yet remain 42.

fourteen prefaces²⁶ counting the *præfatio communis*. Of these, a number—those for extraordinary occasions and for the two saints' feasts which were still favored—were later discontinued in Frankish territory, so that the grand wealth of ancient Roman tradition was reduced to seven formulas. But this poverty was somewhat augmented in the centuries to follow, that same Frankish territory contributing the preface of the Holy Cross,²⁷ of the Holy Trinity,²⁸ and of Lent.²⁹ These ten prefaces—or rather, since the *præfatio communis* was not counted in, the total was usually reckoned as nine—were the only ones considered admissible in the Decretals first mentioned by Burchard of Worms,³⁰ and by him ascribed to Pelagius II (d. 590); from here they were incorporated in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*.³¹ Finally, to this sparse group was added the Marian preface, prescribed by Urban II at the Synod of Piacenza in 1095, although it is itself of an earlier date.³²

Many medieval churches, however, were not content with this poverty. Even in the appendix which Alcuin attached to the Gregorian Sacramentary coming from Rome, there was included, among other things, a special section containing a large number of prefaces, stemming for the

For the most part the majority are martyr prefaces. Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt*, see in the index, p. 96 f. Does this mean that the final curtailment did not take place till after Gregory?

²⁶ Lietzman, see Register, p. 185. Besides the *præfatio communis*, they are the prefaces for Christmas, Easter, Epiphany, Ascension, Pentecost, and for the feasts of the Apostles. Besides these there is a preface in *natali Papæ*, for ordination, consecration of an altar, for the bridal Mass, for Andrew, two for Anastasia (one an extra preface for Christmas). The preference for these two Saints shows a Byzantine influence at work, as was the case with the introduction of St. Andrew into the emblemism, see below.

²⁷ Of unknown origin. I could nowhere discover it in the sources of the 8th and 9th centuries. A preface of the Holy Cross with the antithesis of the two woods is found in the Alcuin appendix; Muratori, II, 318. This antithesis itself is surely an ancient one, since, among others, it is found in Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.*, V, 17 3; see H. Rahner, *Antennæ crucis*, III, (ZkTh, 1943) 1, n. 1.

²⁸ It appeared first in the older Gelasianum I, 84 (Wilson, 129) on the Sunday after Pentecost, which later became Trinity

Sunday. It could have originated in Spain and thus be dated back to the 7th century; cf. A. Klaus, *Ursprung und Verbreitung der Dreifaltigkeitsmesse* (Werl, 1938), 17 f.; 81-83.

²⁹ This appears in the later Gelasianum (Mohlberg, n. 254), but also in the oldest available form of the Gregorianum (Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 161); hence it belongs to an older Roman tradition.

³⁰ Burchard of Worms (d. 1025), *Decretum* III, 69 (PL, 140, 687 f.). Capelle (see below, n. 32) expresses a well-founded suspicion that Burchard himself was the author of this Canon (47).

³¹ *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 71 (Friedberg, I, 1313). Cf. Durandus, IV, 33, 35.

³² Some suggestions of it are found in the later Gelasianum.—With a minor variation (*huic mundo lumen æternum effudit*) and an introductory clause referring to Virgins in general, today's wording is the same as that found in about 850 in the Cod. Ottobon. 313 of the Gregorianum, ed. Wilson (HBS, 49), 283 f.; also in the Sacramentary of Eligius (PL, 78, 133); see B. Capelle, "Les origines de la préface romaine de la Vierge," *Revue d'histoire eccl.*, 38 (1942), 46-58. Cf. C. Mesini, "De auctore et loco compositionis præfationis B. M. V.," *Antonianum*, 10 (1935), 59-72

most part from old Roman tradition.³³ Up to the eleventh century and even beyond, the Mass books frequently preserved some heritage, large or small, of this tradition. The Leofric Missal (11th century), which originated in the Rhineland, still has a special preface for every Mass-formulary. Similarly, several sacramentaries from France.³⁴ But in the end the victory was won by the canon which was promoted by Burchard, and which after that was repeated by all commentators on the liturgy. Even in the Middle Ages, however, the victory was not an absolute one. For saints who were singularly venerated—John the Baptist, Augustine, Jerome, Francis, Roch, Christopher—special prefaces again came into use, but because of the unhistorical contents they provoked the antagonism of various reforming circles at the time of the Council of Trent, and so most of them had again to be dropped.³⁵ Only in certain orders and in the *proprium* of this or that diocese were special prefaces retained or even brought into use anew.³⁶ But not till most recent times did the Roman Missal itself experience an enrichment of this sort, after the canon of eleven prefaces had held firm for almost eight hundred years. And this enrichment actually involved, on the whole, a development of the central concept of the prayer of thanks. In 1919 the prefaces for the Requiem Mass³⁷ and for St. Joseph were introduced; in 1925 there followed the preface for the feast of Christ the King, in 1928 the preface for the Mass of the Sacred Heart.

A remarkable thing in the medieval canon of prefaces is the absence of any special preface for Sundays. In the older Roman sacramentary tradition such was not the case. Prefaces for Sunday appear in the newer *Gelasianum* and in the Alcuin appendix.³⁸ Within the festal cycles, in Advent, after Epiphany, during Lent, and after Easter, they adhere to the

³³ Muratori, II, 273-356.

³⁴ The Sacramentary of S. Armand (9th cent.) presents 283 prefaces, that of Chartres (10th cent.) 220, that of Angers (10th cent.) 243, that of Moissac (11th cent.) 342; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires* I, 57; 76; 86; 100.—An example from upper Italy in the 10th century by Ebner, 29.

³⁵ Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des Römischen Messbuches" (*Liturg. Leben*, 1939) 43, 46, 55, 60 f.

³⁶ In the liturgies of religious orders these include proper prefaces for Benedict, Augustine, Francis, Francis de Sales. Since 1919 others were added: Norbert, Dominic, John of the Cross, Teresa, Elias, Our Lady of Mt. Carmel. Many dioceses in France have their own proper preface, thus, e.g., Lyons has such not only for certain Saints, but also (from neo-Gallican

tradition) for Advent, Maundy Thursday, Corpus Christi, Consecration of a Church. B. Opfermann, "Die Sonderprästationen des römischen Ritus," *Liturg. Leben*, 2 (1935), 240-248. A. Zak O. Præm., "Ueber die Prästationem": *Theol. prakt. Quartalschrift*, 58 (1905), 307-325.

³⁷ It is a revision of an originally Mozarabic preface (*Missale mixtum*: PL, 85, 1019 A) that came into the Mass-books of the Middle Ages by way of the Alcuin appendix (Muratori, II, 354 f.; 355 f.) and remained in use, among others, in the diocese of Besançon. The happy christological addition in the new text (*in quo nobis*) did not appear in this older version. J. Brinktrine, "Die neue Prästation in den Totenmessen": *Theologie u. Glaube*, 11 (1919), 242-245.

³⁸ The later Gelasianum here contains the genuine Roman tradition: see Baumstark's

theme suggested by the festal cycle. Thus, for the last Sunday of Advent³⁹ we have:

*VD. Sanctificator et conditor generis humani, qui Filio tuo tecum aeterna claritate regnante, cum de nullis extantibus cuncta protulisses hominem limosi pulveris initiis inchoatum ad speciem tui decoris animasti, eumque credula persuasione deceptum reparare voluisti spiritalis gratiae aeterna suffragia mittendo nobis Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem.*⁴⁰

A preface for the second Sunday after Epiphany reads as follows:

*VD. Semperque virtutes et laudes tuas labiis exultationis effari, qui nobis ad relevandos istius vitae labores super diversa donorum tuorum solatia etiam munerum salutarium gaudia contulisti mittendo nobis Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum. Per quem.*⁴¹

In the neutral period after Pentecost several formulas appear that depart from the character of the prayer of thanks and either take in the features of a prayer of petition after the manner of a collect⁴² or are at least content with a very general theme of praise of God's goodness. Thus, on the Sunday of the autumn Embertide we have:

*VD. Quia cum laude nostra non egeas, grata tibi tamen est tuorum devotio famulorum nec te augent nostra praerconia, sed nobis proficiunt ad salutem, quoniam sicut fontem vitae praeterire causa moriendi est, sic eodem iugiter redundare effectus est sine fine vivendi. Per Christum.*⁴³

At other times a beauteous universality of Christian gratitude is achieved, as on the fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost:

*VD. Qui nos de donis donorum temporalium ad perceptionem provehis aeternorum et haec tribuis et illa promittis, ut et mansuris iam incipiamus inseri et praeteriuntibus non teneri; tuum est enim quod vivimus, quia licet peccati vulnere natura nostra sit vitata, tui tamen est operis, ut terreni generati ad caelestia renascamur. Per Christum.*⁴⁴

Several formulas, however, present very prominently the cardinal theme of the *eucharistia*, which we must expect above all on Sundays just as we expected it on Easter; a sample of this is found in the third Sunday after Pentecost:

*VD. Per Christum. Cuius hoc mirificum opus ac salutare mysterium fuit, ut perditum dudum atque prostratum a diabolo et mortis aculeo ad hanc gloriam vocaremur, qua nunc genus electum, sacerdotium regale ac populus acquisitionis et gens sancta vocemur. Agentes igitur indefessas gratias sanctamque munificentiam tuam praedicantes maiestati tuae haec sacra deferimus quae nobis ipse salutis nostrae auctor Christus instituit. Per quem.*⁴⁵

proofs in Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt*, 128*.

³⁹ This assignment and the one that follows for certain Sundays are according to the Frankish Gelasianum of Mohlberg. They do not occur in the same form in all the MSS.

⁴⁰ Mohlberg, n. 1454. Cf. the further sources, *ibid.*, p. 336 (=Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1454).

⁴¹ Mohlberg, n. 124; further sources, *ibid.*, p. 296.

⁴² For example in the Alcuin appendix (Muratori, II, 285): *VD. Et immensam bonitatis tuae pietatem humiliter exorare* . . .

⁴³ Mohlberg, n. 1203. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 328. Also already in the Leonianum.

⁴⁴ Mohlberg, n. 1135. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 326.

⁴⁵ Mohlberg, n. 873. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 318. Also already in the older Gelasianum, I, 65 (for the Sunday after Ascension).

Or on the seventh Sunday:

*VD. Per Christum. Verum æternumque pontificem et solum sine peccati macula sacerdotem, cuius sanguine omnium fidelium corda mundantur, placatonis tibi hostias non solum pro delictis populi, sed etiam pro nostris offensionibus immolamus, ut omne peccatum quod carnis fragilitate contraximus summo pro nobis antistite interpellante salvetur. Per quem.*⁴⁹

Or again concisely and to the point:

*VD. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui vicit diabolum et mundum hominemque paradiso restituit et vitæ ianuas credentibus patefecit. Per quem.*⁴⁹

It may well be that the tenacious retention of the special Sunday concepts precisely in Frankish territory is a result of the fact that, even in the ninth century, the Sunday was here called *Dominicæ Resurrectionis dies*,⁴⁹ and was consciously celebrated as such. But in the eleventh century the prescription supposedly written by Pelagius II finally prevailed everywhere, and thus evidently the *præfatio communis* was at first used on Sundays, since it had already acquired this role at Rome perhaps as early as the sixth century, and generally took the lead among all the prefaces.⁴⁹ Since the thirteenth century, however, the Trinity preface began to be used for Sundays.⁵⁰ But it was not prescribed by Rome till 1759.⁵¹

Among the prefaces in use today, two appear to escape the ordinary scheme for prefaces: the Trinity preface (which presents a profession of belief in the mystery of the Trinity rather than a prayer of thanks) and

⁴⁹ Mohlberg, n. 979. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 321.

⁴⁹ Text according to the Alcuin appendix: Muratori, II, 337.—Mohlberg, n. 1236. Further sources, *ibid.*, p. 329.—Further examples of Sunday prefaces of the kind mentioned: Mohlberg, n. 1296 (*VD. Maiestatem tuam*); 1305 (*VD. Per Christum. Per quem sanctum*); Alcuin appendix: Muratori, II, 323 (*VD. Quoniam illa festa*). Some prefaces of Eastertide also come into consideration.

⁴⁹ Jungmann. *Gewordene Liturgie*, 214; cf. 223. Cf. also *Vita Alcuini*, c. 11 (MGH, *Scriptores*, 15, 1, p. 191, 1, 21): *Præter enim dies resurrectionis ac festivitatis jejunium protelabat* . . .

⁴⁹ This seems to be evident from the fact that they are connected with the oldest tradition of the Canon of the Mass. That it developed specifically into a Sunday preface, is shown by the fact that, e.g., in the older Gelasianum, III, 6 (Wilson, 234) the canon which begins with the *præfatio communis* comprises a series of sixteen

Sundays which do not have a proper preface. That it was still a Sunday preface in this or that place during the later Middle Ages, is shown, e.g., in the *Mass-ordo* for the first Sunday after Pentecost in the *Rituale de Soissons: Præfatio nulla dicatur nisi quotidiana*; Martène, 1, 4, XXII (I, 612 C).

⁵⁰ Thus in the *Missale* of Sarum, ed. Legg, p. 171. Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), *De canonum observ.*, prop. 23 (Mohlberg, II, 146) knows it as a Sunday preface from the Feast of the Trinity until Advent. Without further detail Bernold of Constance (d. 1100), *Micrologus*, c. 60 (PL, 151, 1020 C), also testifies to the use of the Trinity preface on Sundays (*quam in diebus dominicis frequentamus*).

⁵¹ *Decreta auth. SRC.*, n. 2449. The reason for this is based on the fact that it was on a Sunday that the creation of the world began, on a Sunday that the Resurrection and the Descent of the Holy Ghost took place. But, of course, this view of the mystery of the Trinity in the economy of sal-

the preface of the Apostles. There is, to be sure, no reason for supposing that this latter is addressed to Christ,⁶² since there is no precedent for such a supposition in the whole Roman sacramentary tradition. But starting with the very introductory phrases, the thanksgiving in this preface is transformed into a prayer of petition, though it is possible to discover in the continuation echoes of the thanksgiving that was heralded by the *Gratias agamus*. We have here a distortion of the original text. The original is found in the *Leonianum* where the preface presupposes the entire normal introduction, starting with a word of thanks and concluding with *Per Christum* (thus obviously assuming the usual mode of address to God the Father): *Vere dignum . . . gratias agere . . . æterne Deus suppliciter exorantes ut gregem tuum, pastor æterne, non deseras . . . pastores, per (Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem)*.⁶³ It might be added that even in the *Leonianum* the preface (aside from the introductory phrases) not infrequently takes on the features of a petition.⁶⁴

The basic schema of the Roman preface is to be seen in the *præfatio communis*. Without descending to prosaic banality, it embraces only the barest outline of the prayer of thanks. The reason for giving thanks is no longer expounded, but is included in the fact that the thanksgiving is offered *per Christum Dominum nostrum*. The reason is thus presented in the fact that the vast distance separating man from God has been bridged, that we have the access and the trusty password "through Christ our Lord."⁶⁵ In the other prefaces this schema is either repeated word for word, as in the prefaces for Lent and Passiontide where, after the word *Deus*, the corresponding expansion is inserted and then the preface continues with *per Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem*,⁶⁶ and similarly

vation is not expressed in the text of the preface.

⁶² Because of the word *pastor æterne*; thus, e.g., in Gihl, 616, note 55. Conforming to the spirit of ancient tradition, this title is used in the Oration for the Commune summorum pontificum (prescribed in 1942) in reference to God. *Leonianum*, ed. Muratori, 332.

⁶³ Feltoe, 50; Muratori, I, 345. Note *exorantes* instead of *exoramus*. Likewise in the older Gelasianum, II, 36 (Wilson, 186). The Sacramentary of Eligius (10th cent.; PL, 78, 124 CD) also gives the complete introduction and continues: (*gratias agere . . . et te suppliciter exorare*). It is the same in the English missal MSS. of the 13th and 14th centuries (Legg, *The Sarum Missal*, 214) and also in the printed editions of the Sarum Missal of the 15-16th century (F. H. Dickinson, *Missale ad usum ecclesiæ Sarum*, [Burntisland, 1883],

605).—On the other hand, the Gregorian tradition as well as the later Gelasianum already has today's text, although there are fluctuations in the demarcation of the introductory phrase, betraying the secondary character of this version. The critical evaluation here made is also found in Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi* (1925), 97 f. It has also been made elsewhere, as appears from a report of V. Oderisi, *Eph. liturg.*, 58 (1944), 307-309.

⁶⁴ There is even the case where a collect (with relative predication: *Deus qui*) serves as the center portion of the preface, e.g., Muratori, I, 334, in the sixth Mass of the Apostles, in which only the *præsta* is omitted from the *præsta ut* of the collect (*ibid.*, 339, XVII). Similar cases are frequent in the Milan liturgy; see P. Lejay, "Ambrosien (Rit.)", DACL, I, 1413.

⁶⁵ Cf. Eph. 3: 12; Rom. 5: 2.

⁶⁶ The *Per Christum* thereby acquires a dif-

in the prefaces for the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph where the expansion begins with the words *per quem*. Or else the Christological expansion is included after the word *Deus*, but in such a way that the *Sanctus* is introduced at once with the phrase *Et ideo*, as in the prefaces for Christmas, Epiphany, the Sacred Heart, and Christ the King. In the Easter preface the introduction itself is also altered somewhat. Or again the expansion occurs only after the phrase *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*, as in the preface for Ascension, for Masses for the Dead and (with a freer conclusion) for Pentecost. In every instance the name of the Saviour comes in the middle. The original arrangement was, no doubt, the introduction of our Lord as a mediator of our prayer of thanks.⁵⁷ The delineation of the Christ-mystery in other versions would be taken as merely a variant or substitute. And so, the absence of the name of Christ in the Trinity preface and in the present version of the preface of Apostles is really a more recent and secondary phenomenon.⁵⁸

It is necessary to consider more minutely certain details in this ever-recurring basic schema. Every Roman preface begins, and has for a long time begun, with a declaration of the propriety, we might even say the obligation, of giving thanks: *Vere dignum et iustum est, æquum et salutare*. This phrasing is not to be found in the *eucharistia* of Hippolytus. But it is the reiteration of the yet more ancient response to the priest's *Gratias agamus: Dignum et iustum est*. In nearly all the liturgies this or similar presumption of the people's acclamation has prevailed.⁵⁹ Thus the priest, too, declares that what the congregation offers up to God is simply a service due.⁶⁰ Regarding the content of this service, only the cardinal thought is expressed: it is gratitude, but gratitude which embraces all the powers of our soul, gratitude measured by that love we owe to God—with our whole heart and our whole soul and all our strength—gratitude that

ferent meaning; it is no longer our thanks through Christ, but God's acting through Christ. Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 156 f.

⁵⁷ Thus also in the Eucharistia of Hippolytus, above I, 29. An Arian of the 4-5th century in arguing against the ὁμοούσιος of the Catholic Christology, bases his reasoning on the Catholic custom of directing the thanksgiving prayer in *oblationibus* through Christ to God; there it says *Dignum et iustum . . . neque est alius per quem ad te aditum habere, precem facere, sacrificacionem tibi offerre possimus nisi per quem tu nobis misisti*. G. Mercati, *Antiche reliquie liturgiche* (Studi e Testi, 7; Rom., 1902), 52.

⁵⁸ A more exact classification of the entire Latin tradition with regard to the preface

is supplied by P. Cagin, *Te Deum ou illatio* (Solemes, 1906), 356-371.

⁵⁹ In the Gallic liturgy the beginning reads *Dignum et iustum est*, in the oriental either as at Rome 'Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἀξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον (Egyptian anaphora of St. Mark: Brightman, 125; cf. 164; Byzantine liturgy of St. Chrysostom: *ibid.*, 321 f.) or the expression is enriched with a certain emotional tone: 'Ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀξιόν ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον (West Syrian anaphora of St. James: Brightman, 50; cf. *Const. Ap.* VIII, 12: *ibid.*, 14).—The Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil has a solemn address to God preceding this introductory phrase: 'Ὁ ὦν δέσποτα κύριε θεὲ πάτερ παντοκράτωρ προσκύνητε, ἀξίον ὡς ἀληθῶς. . . Brightman, 321 f.

⁶⁰ Cfr., above, p. 111.

must in essence be paid always and everywhere.⁶¹ Other liturgies intensify the word “thanksgiving” by adding a long series of expressions all designating the praise and worship of God.⁶²

The address to God which at present is divided as follows: *Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus*⁶³ must originally have been arranged in this way: *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus*.⁶⁴ Both the *Domine* and the *omnipotens æterne Deus* are usual forms of address in the Roman liturgy. *Sancte Pater* evidently corresponds to the *clementissime Pater* which follows later. The solemnity of this address, grouping as it does various popular titles for God,⁶⁵ underlines once again the importance of the moment.

Our thanks and worship we do not bring to God directly as just any group of human petitioners; we offer it rather as a congregation of the redeemed, through Him who is our Redeemer and our Head, through Christ, our Lord. In the festal prefaces this step disappears in favor of a jubilant celebration of the festal theme; since this theme always has reference to a mystery of Christ, it is unnecessary to add that we praise God through Him.

Finally, our praise is joined to the praise of the heavenly choirs. In ancient Christendom a favorite way of representing the salvation which is ours in Christ was to show that it associates us with the blessed spirits of heaven and that by its means we are able to take the place of the fallen angels. “The scene of your approach now is mount Sion, is the heavenly

⁶¹ Cf., I Thess. 5: 18; Col. 1: 12; 2: 7; 3: 15-17.

⁶² This is true especially in regard to the liturgy of St. Basil. It is noteworthy in this connection that in all its versions, outside the Egyptian, the sacrificial character of the Eucharist is revealed along with the εὐχαριστεῖν and the accompanying phrases. The Byzantine liturgy continues (*loc. cit.*) . . . σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σὲ δοξάζειν τὸν μόνον ὄντως ὄντα θεόν, καὶ σοὶ προσέρπειν . . . τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ἡμῶν. The Armenian version is rendered: καὶ σοὶ προσφέρειν ὑστάιν αἰνέσεως; Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileios-liturgie* (Münster, 1931), 2f.

⁶³ Thus already about 800 the *Expositio “Quotiens contra se”* (PL, 96, 1489 B). Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1253) also unites: *Domine sancte*.

⁶⁴ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 168. He refers to the *Qui pridie* of Ambrose (above I, 52): *ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens æterne Deus*, and to our first offering

prayer at the Offertory: *Suscipe, sancte Pater* that could have its beginning in the 10-11th century. The General Chapter of the Cistercians in 1188 decided that a cæsura could be made only after the word *Pater*; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 8 f.—Cf. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 72, who sees in the arrangement of the single, double, and triple expression a mannerism of ancient rhetoric. See for further references A. Dold, *Bened. Monatsschrift*, 22 (1946), 143; 146. A summary of all the arguments for the suggested re-arrangement in Jean Juglar, “‘Sancte Pater’: Note sur la ponctuation de la formule d’invocation de la Preface,” *Eph. liturg.*, 65 (1951), 101-104.—E. C.-V. “De Genuina Interpretatione Formulæ ‘Domine Sancte Pater Omnipotens æterne Deus,’” *Eph. liturg.*, 66 (1952), 77-80, upholds the customary pointing.

⁶⁵ This occurs with true oriental prolixity at the same place in some liturgies of the East; thus, e.g., note 59 above, and also I, 35 f.

Jerusalem, the city of the living God; here are gathered thousands upon thousands of angels, here is the assembly of those first-born sons whose names are written in heaven.”⁶⁶ Thus even in this life, as children of the Jerusalem which is above,⁶⁷ and especially when we are assembled for the celebration of the New Covenant, we may join our voices to the songs of praise raised by the hosts of heaven.⁶⁸ At first the preface lets us listen, so to speak, to these songs of praise. One thing that surprises us here is that these songs, too—as the *præfatio communis* puts it—are offered up through Christ: *per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli* . . . But why should we be surprised? He is set “high above all principdoms and powers and virtues and dominations, and every name that is known, not in this world only, but in the world to come.”⁶⁹ “All the angels and powers and principdoms [are] made subject under His feet.”⁷⁰ In Christ “all that is in heaven, all that is on earth [are] summed up.”⁷¹ The concept is therefore thoroughly biblical, although the Scholastics were wont to add that the angels cannot bear the same relationship to Christ as do men who were redeemed by Him.⁷² Thus even in the concise *præfatio communis* the second part is dominated by the Christ-theme: Christ appears before our gaze as the King of the triumphant Church.

The Bible also furnished the materials for the detailed description of the choirs of angels and their activity.⁷³ The *præfatio communis* presents the lengthiest enumeration of their names: *angeli, dominationes, potestates, cæli, cælorum virtutes, seraphim*. A shorter series is associated with the concluding formula *Et ideo*, but here two other groups are recorded, *archangeli* and *throni*. The Trinity preface, in spite of its terse arrangement, adds the *cherubim* to the list.⁷⁴ The Pentecost preface summarizes

⁶⁶ Hebr. 12: 22 f.; cf. also the conception of the parable of the Good Shepherd, (Luke 15: 4-7), which is almost universal among the Fathers. According to this, the Son of God left the ninety-nine sheep, the angels of heaven, to seek the one lost sheep, lost man, and to bring him back happily to the fold; see evidences from Irenæus, Origen, Methodius, Hilary, Cyril of Alexandria, Peter Chrysologus in Th. K. Kempf, *Christus der Hirt, Ursprung und Deutung einer altchristlichen Symbolgestalt* (Rome, 1942), 10-166. Gregory the Great, among others, takes the same view, *In Ev. hom.*, 34, 3 (PL, 76, 1247).

⁶⁷ Gal., 4: 26.

⁶⁸ Even the Old Testament frequently manifests this effort of joining the world of angels in the praise of God, especially the Psalms (102: 20 ff.; 148: 2 ff.; etc.).

⁶⁹ Eph. 1: 21 f.

⁷⁰ I Pet. 3: 22.

⁷¹ Eph. 1: 10.

⁷² That is true of Scholasticism, except Scotism. The latter proceeds from the assumption that it was in the designs of God to send the God-man regardless of the sin of Adam. Christ is considered from the very beginning as the crown of creation and the source of all graces, even of those that were given to the angels; cf. anent the matter J. Pohle-M. Gierens, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, II (9th ed.; Paderborn, 1937), 136-139; 176-182.

⁷³ Eph. 1: 21; Col. 1: 16; I Pet. 3: 22; I Thess. 4: 15; Ez. 10, 1 ff.; Is. 6: 2, etc.

⁷⁴ Nine different names and classes of heavenly spirits appear. They do not coincide with the nine choirs as enumerated by Dionysius, *De cæl. hierarchia*, 6, 2 (PL, 3, 200 f.) because no *principatus* appears among them, although in their place are welcomed the *cæli*. The *cæli* (cf. Dan. 3:

the whole series in the phrase *supernæ virtutes atque angelicæ potestates*, much as the *Et ideo* formula mentions last of all *omnis militia cælestis exercitus*. All bow in reverence before God's majesty, they sing out their song *una voce*, they cry out *sine fine*—two phrases adapted from the earthly custom of the acclamation and applied to the description of the heavenly liturgy.⁷⁵

It is in this heavenly liturgy, which is described with even greater emphasis in the texts of the oriental anaphora, that we are bidden to take part. Placing on our lips a humble plea, the *præfatio communis* has us enter the circle of the heavenly spirits: *cum quibus et nostris voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur*, and intone with them the triple *Sanctus*.

4. *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*

The *Sanctus* is the continuation of the preface. So true is this that the oldest melody of the *Sanctus*¹ is simply a continuation of the ferial melody of the preface. But because the *Sanctus* is here more than a mere citation from the account of the Prophet Isaias, because it is intended to do more than recall to our mind that the seraphim sang this hymn,² but is rather a reminder that the earthly church should take part in the heavenly singing, the *Sanctus* takes on its own independent importance. All the people join in singing the *Sanctus*—that was taken for granted in ancient Christian times,³ and to some extent still is in the Orient.⁴

59) are mostly treated by the commentators of the Middle Ages as equivalent to the *throni*, which are not mentioned in the respective series. The consideration of the *cæli* as an angelic choir became the occasion for using Ps. 18 (*Cæli enarrant*) in the Office of the Angels. Originally the *cæli* were thought of as spirits that stood in some relation to the stars of heaven.

⁷⁶ Th. Klauser, "Akklamation," RAC, I, 227; Peterson, *Elc* 0265, 192, n. 1. In the preface for Pentecost the *sine fine* is referred to the angels, in all other instances to us.

¹ In Mass XVIII of the Vatican edition of the *Graduale Romanum*, the Mass appointed for week-days in Advent and Lent, coincides with the melody for Requiem Mass.

² Thus Luther interpreted the *Sanctus*. Martin Luther's *Deutsche Messe* (1526) edited by H. Lietzmann (Kleine Texte, 37: Berlin, 1929), p. 14.

³ *Const. Ap.* VIII, 12, 27 (*supra*, I, 36).—Gregory of Nyssa, *De Bapt.* (PG, 46, 421 C): join the holy people and learn

hidden words, proclaim with us the same as the six-winged angels proclaim.—Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.* V, 6 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 101).—Chrysostom often comes back to the subject, e.g., *In illud*, "*Vidi Dominum*" *hom.* I, 1 (PG, 56, 97 f.): "Above the Seraphim shout the thrice-holy hymn and below all mankind sends it aloft." Cf. *In Eph. hom.* 14, 4 (PG, 62, 104); *In II Cor. hom.* 18, 3 (PG, 61, 527). Chrysostom often extols the value of this community singing; see *In I Cor. hom.* 27, 5 (PG, 61, 232); *In Is. hom.* 6, 3 (PG, 56, 138). Cf. J. Gülden, "Liturgische Erneuerung und die Beteiligung des Volkes am Gottesdienst in der Väterpredigt," *StZ* 137 (1940, I), 178-186, especially 182.

⁴ In the oriental liturgies, though the transitional words of the preface seldom mention it, the *Sanctus* as a rule is expressly given over to the people by a special rubric, as was already done in the Apostolic Constitutions VIII, 12, 27 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 220); in the West Syrian and Egyptian liturgies (Brightman, 50;

Even in the West as late as 530 the *Liber pontificalis* indicates that Pope Sixtus I ordered: *ut intra actionem, sacerdos incipiens, populo* [l. -us] *hymnum decantare* [t] : *Sanctus*.⁵ Perhaps it was already necessary at that time to recall to memory the tradition which was to be found implicit in the text itself, for then as now it read: *cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur*. As a matter of fact the singing at Rome, as described in the Roman *ordines* for feast-day service, was transferred to a group of clerics.⁶

In the land of the Franks, however, provision continued to be made for the people to sing the *Sanctus* as of yore.⁷ Thus the *ordo* of John the Archchanter still mentions the people.⁸ In fact, the reform decrees of the Carolingian period did not have to insist that the people sing the *Sanctus*, but instead had to demand that the celebrating priest go along with the singing to its finish and only then continue with *Te igitur*.⁹

86; 132; 176; 231); also in the older Byzantine liturgy (*ibid.*, 385; 403; 436). Cf. Hanssens III, p. 392 f.; 400.

⁶ Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 128.—Cf. O. Casel, *JL*, 1, (1921), 151.

⁷ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 16 (PL, 78, 944 f.): *subdiaconi regionarii*. Cf. *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 10 (PL, 78, 973): *subdiaconi*; *Ordo Rom.* V, n. 9 (PL, 78, 988): *Subdiaconi itaque dum canitur Sanctus, post altare pergant stare*, and others also sing along. *Ordo Rom.* XI, n. 20 (PL, 78, 1033) has the *basilicarii*, that is, the clergy attached to the respective basilica, sing the *Sanctus*, as they do the *Credo*; cf. above, I, 473, n. 69. Therefore, even here the *Sanctus* is never left to the Schola cantorum. Quite probably the congregational singing of the *Sanctus* is considered as the ideal also in the *Ordo eccl. Later.* (ed. Fischer, 44). Still in the Pontifical Mass it is sung by the choir, *in choro*, (*ibid.*, 83, L. 38). Perhaps the exclusion of the people, as noted in the Roman *Ordines*, is also to be understood as holding only for the Pontifical Mass.

⁸ *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 199): *proclamantibus omnibus clericis vel* (mostly = *et*) *populo cum tremore et reverentia: Sanctus*. Cf. *Breviarium eccl. ord.* (*ibid.*, 198 f): *diaconi et clerus cum populo*. This is a Carolingian text, and cannot therefore be relied upon to show what is the Roman custom; but it does give evidence of the adaptation to Frankish conditions.

⁹ Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.*, 73, 3 (Morin, 294; PL, 39, 2277) says of those who leave before time: *qualiter cum tremore simul et gaudio clamabunt: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini?* Cf. Gregory of Tours, *De mir. s. Martini*, II, 14 (PL, 71, 946 f.). —It is an error to quote can. 3 of the Synod of Vaison (529) as a proof that the *Sanctus* was not sung at the time, but rather reintroduced just then. Here there is question not of the *Sanctus*, but of the Trisagion (*Aius*; cf. above, I, 47). See the proof for this in Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie im Frankenreich*, 25-29.

¹⁰ *Admonitio generalis* (789) n. 70 (MGH, Cap., I, 59): *Et ipse sacerdos cum sanctis angelis et populo Dei communi voce Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus decantet*. Herard of Tours (858) *Capitula*, n. 16 (PL, 121, 765): *ut secreta presbyteri non inchoent, antequam Sanctus finiatur, sed cum populo Sanctus cantent*. Amalar, *De eccl. off.* III, 21 (PL, 105, 1134 C) refers to the decree of Sixtus I mentioned above. With the rise of the Apologies these prescriptions were again transgressed; cf. further the Sacramentary of Amiens in the 9th cent. ed., Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 442: *Quando tractum canitur Sanctus, idem sacerdos cursim decantet*, followed by an Apology. But towards the end of the 11th century the Missal of St. Vincent, for example, again has neums marked over the *Sanctus*, obviously for the priest to sing; Fiala, 192.

Being music for the people, the *Sanctus* retained its traditional simple melody, which hardly goes beyond a mere recitative. This explains why one Carolingian music writer about 830, in enumerating the songs of the Mass, makes no mention whatever of the *Sanctus*.¹⁰ There is evidence that the *Sanctus* continued to be sung by priest and people together even in the twelfth century; it is so described in Hildebert¹¹ and Honorius.¹² An intermediate step before its complete disappearance as a people's chant was to be found in northern countries where it was assigned to the clergy assisting in choir.¹³ There is a relic of this in the present-day prescription that at high Mass the deacon and the subdeacon¹⁴ recite the *Sanctus* together with the celebrant. The transfer of the *Sanctus* from the people to the special singing choir goes hand in hand with the composition of the more recent *Sanctus* melodies and is finally complete when polyphonic music came into its own in the Gothic period. It is significant that the text of the *Sanctus*—basically little more than a simple outcry of praise, an acclamation¹⁵—was altered for a time to suit the newer settings, and like the other chants it was expanded by the addition of tropes.¹⁶

¹⁰ Aurelian of Reaumé, *Musica disciplina*, c. 20 (Gerbert, *Scriptores de mus. sacra*, I, 60 f.). He discusses the Introit, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, Gradual, Alleluja, Offertory, and Communion. Cf. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 58 f. Evidently the melody under discussion is the melody mentioned above, n. 7, the only one that was in use among the Carthusians, even as late as the 18th century; Wagner, 114. It seems that more elaborate melodies for the *Sanctus* in general were not created till the 11-12th century, hence a century later than was the case with the *Kyrie* (Cf. below, n. 16).—This also fits in with the fact that the *Sanctus* was set to polyphonic melodies only at a later date. The oldest collection of two-voiced compositions, the Winchester Troper (HBS, 8) has twelve settings for the *Kyrie*, 8 for the *Gloria*, but none for the *Sanctus* (and likewise none for the *Agnus Dei*). Cf. Ursprung, 57; 119.

¹¹ Hildebert of Le Mans, *Versus de mysterio missæ* (PL, 171, 1182); *Hinc bene cum populo ter Sanctus . . . canit*.

¹² Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 42 (PL, 172, 556 D).

¹³ A Sacramentary of the 9th century of Le Mans and likewise one of the 11th century from Echternach (Leroquais, I, 30 f., 122) *Quando clerus . . . Sanctus can-*

tat; cf. Leroquais, I, 59.—Robert Paululus (d. about 1184), *De cæremoniis*, II, 24 (PL, 177, 425 D): *Hunc hymnum sacerdos cum choro dicere debet*.—Durandus, IV, 34, 1: *totus chorus . . . simul canit dictum evangelicum hymnum*. According to A. Gastoué, *L'église et la musique*, (Paris, 1936), 80, the *Sanctus* in many cathedrals was for a long time reserved to seven subdeacons, who formed a semi-circle before the altar; cf. above I, 197, note 9. Even at the beginning of the 14th century rubricists were vividly aware that the *Sanctus* was to be said by the clergy present in choir, as is clear from the *Ordo* of Stefaneschi, n. 61 (PL, 78, 1176), where it states that when a cardinal is present at the chaplain's Mass, *dicta præfatione dicat sine nota Sanctus, etc., cum astantibus sibi*.

¹⁴ Regarding the practice in Roman basilicas, where only the deacon does so, see Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 11 (I, 282 f.).

¹⁵ E. Peterson, *Das Buch von den Engeln* (Leipzig, 1935), 58; *idem.*, *ΕΥς θεός*, 234; 325.

¹⁶ Blume-Bannister, *Tropen des Missale*, I (Analecta hymnica, 47) p. 301-369 (n. 247-338). As the editors point out, a number of these originated in the 10th century.

Honorius also stresses the point that the organ—a very primitive instrument still—was joined to the chanting of people and clergy: *Unde solemus adhuc in officio sacrificii organis concrepare, clerus cantare, populus conclamare.*¹⁷ The sound of the organ *in hoc concentu angelorum et hominum* is likewise emphasized by later commentators.¹⁸ In the compendious liturgical manual of Durandus the *Sanctus* is the only place where any mention is made of the organ.¹⁹ It therefore has here a more conspicuous function than the usual one of accompanying the singing. It has the same purpose as the Psalmist's sounding of many instruments—an expression of joy.²⁰ It is not unlikely that originally the ringing of the altar bell—a triple ring, to correspond to the triple *Sanctus*²¹—was also intended for the same purpose.²²

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 123 D).

¹⁹ Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 34, 10.

²⁰ Cf. Durandus, who, *loc. cit.*, remarks regarding the musical accompaniment of the *Sanctus*: David and Solomon introduced *hymnos in sacrificio Domini organis et aliis instrumentis musicis concrepari et laudes a populo conclamari.*

²¹ According to our present *Missale Romanum*, even in the first edition of 1570, there are only two signals with the bell, one at *Sanctus* and one at the consecration. *Ritus serv.*, VII, 8; VIII, 6. The decree of the Congregation of Rites, Oct. 25, 1922, speaks of a signal with the bell shortly before the consecration, without actually demanding it; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 4377. Moreover, even these signals are not universally in use in the Roman basilicas. There is no mention of them in the *Ceremoniale Episc.*, I, 8, 67, 69. Cf. *Les Questions liturgiques*, 4 (1913-14), 164 f.

²² The reports about the bell signal that begin to appear in the 13th century pertain almost exclusively to the elevation of the Sacred Species at the consecration, that was, of course, introduced at the time; cf. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 573-577. Nevertheless, even before the *Missale* of Pius V, testimony for a signal with the bell at the *Sanctus* is not entirely lacking. According to an endowment foundation made at Chartres, 1399, one of the bells suspended above the choir was to be rung *dum incipietur cantari Sanctus*, and the reason given is that the attention of the

people might be called to the *levatio sacramenti*; Du Cange-Favre, VII, 259. The inventories of the English churches made under Edward VI (d. 1553) frequently record the *Sanctus* bells (santtes or saunce bell). F. C. Eeles, *The Edwardian Inventories for Buckinghamshire* (Alcuin Club Coll., 9) 3; S. P. Browe, "Die Elevation" (*JL*, 1929), 39, who cites these passages, assumes (as the foundation mentioned above clearly indicates), that the signal of the bell at the *Sanctus* was only a preliminary warning of the approach of the consecration. That, however, need not have been its full purpose. While the little hand-bell may have been introduced to signal the consecration and was then extended also to the *Sanctus*, its primary purpose was not to give a signal, since the singing of the hymn itself was already sufficient for the purpose, but rather for much the same object we have in mind today, when at a solemn *Te Deum*, or, as was done for ages, at the *Gloria*, when it is resumed on Holy Saturday, every available instrument is sounded. The latter custom is attested in the *Ordo ecclesiae Lateranensis* (middle of the 12th century; Fischer, 73): . . . *Gloria in excelsis, et statim omnia signa pro gaudio tantae sollemnitatis in classicum pulsantur.* According to Gavanti-Merati, II, 7, 11, (I, 282), one should ring the *campanas majores* at High Mass, and at private Mass the *campanula parva* (which could be dispensed with at High Mass, unless it is to be used as a signal for the ringing of the large bell). The custom of ringing the large bell at High Mass during the preface un-

The origins of the *Sanctus* in Christian liturgy are not fully clear. There is no *Sanctus* in the eucharistic prayer of Hippolytus of Rome.²² On the other hand, even as early as the turn of the first century, it appears to have been part of the prayers of the Christian community right in Rome itself. For it is very surprising that Clement of Rome should not only cite the song itself from the vision of Isaias (Isaias 6:3) but also introduce it with the passage from Daniel 7:10, just as is done later in most of the liturgies of the Orient:

*Let us consider the vast multitude of His angels, and see how they stand in readiness to minister to His will. For the Scripture says: "Ten thousand thousand stood ready before Him, and a thousand thousand ministered to Him, and cried out: Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole creation is replete with His splendor." And so we, too, being dutifully assembled with one accord, should as with one voice, cry out to Him earnestly, so that we may participate in His great and glorious promises.*²⁴

The triple *Sanctus* is to be found likewise in all the other liturgies known to us, starting with the *Euchologion* of Serapion and the Clementine liturgy.²⁵ It is then but a step to assume that the *Sanctus* had been sung already in the primitive Church. Perhaps the synagogue served as a model and so concurred in some way in establishing its use.²⁶

til the *Sanctus* is reported from the monastery of Hohenfurt in Czechoslovakia (about 1937); the ringing of the large bell at the *Sanctus* itself is still customary in the Weterwald (1947; Prof. B. Fischer).

²² *Supra*, I, 29 f.—Note, however, that St. John quotes a triple "holy" from the mouths of the four-winged figures (cherubim) in Apoc. 4: 8; cf. Gassner, *The Canon*, 138 ff.

²⁴ Clement of Rome, *Ad Corinth.*, c. 34; see J. A. Kleist, *The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch* (Ancient Christian Writers, 1; Westminster, 1946), 30. That this, however, is not clearly a reference to the Eucharistic prayer is shown by W. C. van Unnik, "I Clement 34 and the 'Sanctus,'" *Vigiliae christianae*, 5 (1951), 204-248.—A similarly indefinite reference also in Tertullian, *De or.*, 3 (CSEL, 20, 182); cf. Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 43 f. Somewhat plainer in Origen, *De princ.*, I, 3, 4; IV, 3, 14 (GGS, Orig., V, 52 f., 346); cf. G. Dix, "Primitive Consecration Prayer," *Theology*, 37 (1938), 261-283.

²⁵ Cf. *supra*, I, 34; 36. An exception is

perhaps the second of the Eucharistic prayers cited by an Arian author in the fragments published by G. Mercati, *Antiche reliquie liturgiche* (Studi et Testi, 7; Rome, 1902), 52 f. Cf. P. Alfonso, *L'eucologia romana antica* (Subiaco, 1931), 101-104.

²⁶ Regarding the supposition that the *Sanctus* is a heritage from the synagogue, see A. Baumstark, "Trishagion und Qeduschah," *JL*, 3 (1923), 18-32; Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 128 ff., 258 f.; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford, 1925), 144-147. The *Sanctus*, says the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, 463, "must have been borrowed by the Church from the Synagogue at an early date." This statement is at best highly doubtful. W. H. Frere, *The Anaphora or Great Eucharistic Prayer* (SPCK, 1938), is inclined to put the *Sanctus* after the time of Hippolytus.—The triple "holy" or Kedushshah used in various parts of the present synagogue service was surely introduced into that service by the second century A.D.; see C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* (Lon-

Be that as it may, this hymn, derived from the prophet's vision, so sparing in words, yet so powerful and weighty, fits best of all in the structure of the eucharistic prayer, especially in the setting mentioned. All of God's benefits and the manifestations of His favor, for which we must give thanks, are after all only revelations of His inmost being, which is all light and brilliance, inviolable and without stain, before which creation can only bow in deepest reverence—his holiness. Wherefore the first phrase taught us by our Lord in his own prayer is: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum.*²¹ That the cry resounds three times must have but increased the joy the Christians had in this song, for even when a trinitarian meaning

don, 1945), 102-103, 108. This is a benediction and song of praise sung not only by the Seraphim among themselves, as in Is. 6:2, but by all the angels (all His servants) just as is presupposed as a rule in the Christian liturgies, although individual choirs are not marked out. See the Hebrew text in W. Stärk, *Altjüdische liturgische Gebete* (2nd ed.; Kleine Texte, 58; Berlin, 1930), 5.—Worthy of note is the fact that the triple "holy," treated as a song of praise sung by the entire host of angels, is found in Bk. VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* within that very section (c. 33-38) which is evidently only a superficially christianized collection of Jewish prayers (VII, 35, 3; Funk, I, 430). And here is something to which Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 22 ff., attaches a great deal of importance: Ez. 3: 12: Εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ, is added as the response of the other choirs of angels; this is a benediction which is also found in later Jewish services as an accompaniment to the triple "holy," and which corresponds to the *Benedictus* which follows immediately after the triple "holy" in the Christian liturgies except that of Egypt. In the Clementine liturgy this *Benedictus* has the form: Εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. (*Const. Ap.* VIII, 12, 27; Funk, I, 506; Quasten, *Mon.*, 220). In the other liturgies it reads more or less like that of the Roman Mass; in other words, it is the shout of the crowd recorded in Matt. 21: 9, with doubled *Hosanna*. This combination *Hosanna - Benedictus* must have been joined to the triple "holy" at a very early date, in Palestine itself, in conscious opposition to the narrowly national

Jewish formula (Baumstark, 23 ff.).—Against this assumption, which Baumstark in particular upholds, we have the fact that outside the short and rather irrelevant phrase in *Const. Ap.* VIII, 12, 27, there is no early evidence of this *Hosanna-Benedictus*. Even in the East it does not appear till the 8th century; on the contrary, the oldest Palestinian and Antiochene sources (Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia) do not mention it in this connection at all. (It does appear in *Peregrinatio Aetheria*, c. 31, but in an entirely different connection, as a responsorial processional chant sung by the people, and without *Hosanna*). Add to this the sharp dissimilarity of the *Tersanctus* itself, and especially of the sentences leading into it, where the Jewish version indicates the troops of angels only in a general way, while the Christian texts always mention various choirs. These are differences that cannot be accounted for as merely polemic antagonism. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III (1932), 402 f., 404; E. Peterson, *Das Buch von den Engeln* (Leipzig, 1935), 115-117.—Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* (1939), 55 f., 92 f., continues to hold to his thesis, without, however, adverting to the objections raised against it. Perhaps, as Hanssens, III, 404, remarks, the example of the Jews somehow did act as a stimulus for the Christians when they interpolated the *Sanctus* from Is. 6: 2 f., into their Eucharistic prayer.

²¹ The parallel to the threefold "holy" here discussed was already noticed by Tertullian, *De or.*, 3 (CSEL, 20, 182). For this reason, so he argues, we say the *Sanctificetur* as *angelorum candidati*.

was not expressly attached to the triple “holy,” still there was inherent in it an echo of this most profound of Christian mysteries.²⁸

It is surprising, indeed, that the text of the *Tersanctus*, despite its brevity, shows some variations from the basic biblical text and also from that used in the synagogue. The basic text as found in the Vulgate reads as follows: *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus exercituum, plena est omnis terra gloria eius*. Even here the word *Deus* is an addition, already to be found in the Old Latin version.²⁹ The liturgical text leaves the word *sabaoth* untranslated. God is the Lord of “armies,” of “hosts.” This refers not only to the hosts of angels but to the “whole multitude” of beings which God had made in the six days of creation.³⁰ With this the appended clause agrees, for it makes the angels assert that the glory of God fills the whole earth. The liturgical text changes the cry into a form of address, *gloria tua*,³¹ thus reinforcing its character as a prayer.

More important is the addition in the song of the word “heaven”: *cæli et terra*; this is true of all the Christian liturgies,³² and only of them.³³ This peculiarity is in line with the introduction to the *Sanctus* where all the Christian liturgies have likewise acquired a rather imposing augment.³⁴ No longer is it the Temple of Jerusalem that resounds with the triple *Sanctus*,

²⁸ The addition of a trinitarian meaning is already found in John 12: 41, when it is said of Isaiah in reference to Christ that he had seen His glory. It plays a part in the struggle against Arianism; see, e.g., the confession of the Catholic Bishops in opposition to the Arians in Victor of Vita, *Hist. pers. Afric.*, II, 80, 100 (CSEL, 7, 59, 70 f.). In later times the West Syrian anaphoras regularly have the priest continue the prayer after the *Sanctus* with a trinitarian paraphrase of the *Sanctus* itself. In its simplest form it is already attested by Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (ed. Rücker, *Ritus bapt. et missæ*, 30): *Sanctus Pater, sanctus quoque Filius, sanctus quoque Spiritus Sanctus*.—In the West, as the *Sanctus* melodies became richer, texts of trinitarian content were selected, for the most part, although not exclusively, for the tropes that were fitted to the notes; see Blume-Bannister, *Tropen*, n. 250 f., 253, 256 f., etc. The trinitarian meaning of the three-fold mention of *Sanctus* at the time is found regularly in the medieval interpreters of the liturgy and they add that the oneness of the divine essence is indicated in the *Dominus* or *Deus*; thus already Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1255);

Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 123 B). Scholastic circles even stress the proper method of singing the chant, namely, according to Parisian custom, that the same half of the choir that sings the third *Sanctus*, should also add *Dominus Deus*, so that only one *trina prolatio* may result. A. Landgraf, “Scholastische Texte zur Liturgie des 12. Jh.” (*Eph. liturgie.*, 1931), 213.

²⁹ P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latina versiones antiquæ*, II, (Rheims, 1743), 528; Baumstark, *Trishagion und Qeduscha*, 28.—Also in the Syrian liturgy; cf. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 538; Dix is therefore inclined to trace the *Sanctus* to Syria.

³⁰ B. N. Wambacu, *L'épithète divine Jahvé Seba'ôt* (Paris, 1947), especially p. 199 ff., 277 ff.

³¹ Thus, with few exceptions, in all Christian liturgies, and only in them, if we may include the christianized text of *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 35, 3; Baumstark, *Trishagion und Qeduscha*, 27 f.

³² Baumstark, 28 f.; *Const. Ap.*, VII, 35, 3, herein also showed signs already of christianization.

³³ Peterson, *Das Buch von den Engeln*, 115 f.

³⁴ Peterson, 39-81; 113-133.

nor is it only the seraphim who cry out one to another; heaven has become the scene,³⁵ and all the choirs of heavenly spirits, the *militia caelestis exercitus*, are united in the singing. *Socia exultatione* they sing their song of praise, and their cry is *sine fine*.

Even more impressive is the picture presented in this same spot by the oriental liturgies, like the Egyptian anaphora of St. Mark where the curtain is drawn aside to reveal a thousand times a thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand angels³⁶ and choirs of archangels standing in God's presence, and the six-winged cherubim calling to each other in this hymn of victory "with untiring mouth and never-ceasing praises of God" and "singing, calling, praising, sounding and speaking" the song "before Thy great glory."³⁷

These changes cannot have been fortuitous,³⁸ even though they could hardly have resulted from any conscious plan. The enlargement of the picture corresponds to the breakdown of the national narrowness of Judaism and of its cult which was conjoined to the Temple. "The glory of the Lord" which had once dwelt in the Temple, had, in a manner new and unparalleled, pitched its tent on earth in the Incarnation of the Son of God (John 1:14). Now, however, no longer to be confined by the boundaries of one country, but to be a light to enlighten all people and—more completely after the Ascension—to be the Head beneath which earth and heaven should be conjoined. From this Head the Spirit should be poured out over the entire world as a new revelation of divine grace and of divine glory.³⁹ Since the exaltation of the God-man therefore, the proper locale for the praise of God has been the heavenly Jerusalem where the earthly Church has its true home and towards which it makes its pilgrimage. Part of the value of the Church's liturgy is that it is already a participation in the never-ending song of praise of the City of God.⁴⁰

³⁵ The threefold Holy of Apoc. 4: 8, was a cue for this development.

³⁶ Dan. 7: 10.

³⁷ Brightman, 131 f. Cf. also the examples of the 4th century, above, I, 34; 36. See the survey of the different transitions to the *Sanctus* in Cagin, *Te Deum ou illatio*, 65-72. The Gallican liturgies also show a great wealth of expression, *ibid.*, 83-95. Here in particular the saints are frequently drawn into the hymn of praise along with the angels.

³⁸ Peterson, 43 ff.

³⁹ In the Christian conception of the phrase the *Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua* is enveloped in great part with the Pentecostal *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum*. The grace bestowed in the Holy

Ghost is at the same time the beginning of heavenly glory for men and consequently the beginning of the conclusive revelation of divine glory. The interpretation of the δόξα in the *Sanctus* as the grace of the Holy Ghost is manifested also in the Egyptian liturgies, where after the πατήρς ὁ οὐρανός . . . they continue with the πλήρωσον = Epiklesis. Thus the *Euchologion* of Serapion (Quasten, *Mon.*, 61; above I, 34); cf. moreover Brightman, 132 and parallels (below, I. c.). Cf. M. Steinheimer, *Die δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ in der römischen Liturgie* (Munich, 1951), 95 f.

⁴⁰ Cf. Chrysostom, *In illud "Vidi Dominum"* hom., 6, 3 (PG, 56, 138) "After Christ removed the wall between heaven and earth . . . He brought us this song of praise from heaven."

The New Testament motif that bursts forth in the angelic hymn has found even fuller expression in the appended *Benedictus*, with its two enclosing *Hosanna*'s. Here, too, the praise resounds "to Him who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb" (Apoc. 5:13). It seems that it was in Gallic territory that the *Benedictus* was first annexed to the *Sanctus*.⁴¹ At any rate the thought that must have been determining was this, that the glory of the Lord, which fills heaven and earth, did not begin to shine in its fullest splendor till the Son of God came to us in the form of flesh. Therefore, even in Bethlehem His coming was heralded by the *Gloria* of the angels' song, and therefore the crowds welcomed Him to Jerusalem in the phrase of the Psalm as He "who comes in the name of the Lord."⁴²

In the basic text from the Gospel the words *qui venit* (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) must certainly be taken in the present tense: the people greeted one who was just coming. But one could well inquire whether the liturgical text is to be understood in the preterite (perfect) tense: *qui vēnit*. Naturally the question is independent of the position occupied by the *Benedictus*, whether before or after the consecration, for in either instance the praise must be referred to one who once came down to our midst in His Incarnation. Still, the change of meaning could be unnecessary. Christ is still always "coming." We still continue to pray for the coming of His kingdom, and even at Christmastide when we recall His *adventus* our mind turns as much to the

⁴¹ While the *Benedictus* can be verified in the Orient only since the 8th century (cf. above, note 26), it must already have been customary in the Roman Mass at least in the 7th century. For it appears in most MSS. of the Roman Canon, though not in all; see Botte, *Le canon*, 30 Apparat. The earliest testimony for Gaul is presented by Cæsarius of Arles (d. 540), see note 8, above. The *Benedictus* is also a permanent part of the Gallican Mass. For it is presupposed in the *Post-Sanctus*, which frequently begins with *Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus*; Muratori, II, 518, 526; 534; etc. Also with preceding *Osanna in excelsis*; *ibid.*, II, 29, or with a repetition of the *Benedictus*; *ibid.*, 699. The same occurrence already in the Mone Masses, that probably originated in the 6th century, (PL, 138, 866 C., 875 B). In another place, namely, within the Communion portion of the Mass, the *Benedictus* (Mt. 21: 9 and Ps. 117: 26) was certainly used in answer to the Τὰ ἄγια τοῖς ἁγίοις; *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13, 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 230).

⁴² Matt. 21: 8, is probably the immediate prototype of the liturgical text, but with

one divergence, that the first *Hosanna* of Matthew reads *Hosanna filio David*. In the liturgical text, however, the reading of the second *Hosanna* was inserted in its place, a reading, that, as a matter of fact, because it is a praise of God, results in a better transition. The form of the original text, Ps. 117, 25 f., may have had its part in bringing this about: *O Domine, saluum me fac . . . benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*. These verses from the Psalm refer to the arrival of the festive procession to the Temple. In the meantime, however, the words "He who comes" without the addition "in the name of the Lord" had for a long time been turned into a term for the Messias, see Matt. 11, 3. Cf. J. Schneider, *ἐρχομαι*; *Theol. Wörterbuch z. N. Test.*, II, 664-672, especially 666 f. The *hosa-nnah*, which the Psalm still retains in its original meaning "help, we pray" assumed in the language of the people the meaning of a respectful invocation, "Hail," as is easily recognized in *Hosanna filio David* and as the addition in *excelsis* shows; cf. *Gloria in excelsis*. It is a hymn of praise to Him who dwells on High, praise in view of the manifestation of His

future as it does to the past.⁴³ Thus, too, His nearness in the Sacrament is a continuous coming which will attain its crown only on the last day.

Although in the *Missale Romanum* the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus* appear together as a single song, the *Cæremoniale episcoporum* which appeared in 1600 presumes that the *Benedictus* will not be sung till after the consecration, *elevato sacramento*.⁴⁴ In recent times, this rule has been raised to a general directive.⁴⁵ This is obviously an attempt to accommodate to the canon a polyphonic style of song wherein the richer melody of the *Sanctus* (to which the first *Hosanna* is attached in a thoroughly acceptable manner) stretches out to the consecration, while the *Benedictus*, along with the second *Hosanna*, fills out the rest of the canon. In other words, the silence of the canon is completely surrendered in a Mass celebrated with singing, and space is given over not indeed to the loud praying of the priest, but to the singing of the choir, which thus does essentially little more than continue the dominant note of the Great Prayer—thanksgiving and praise—and unfolds it musically to the ear of the participant over the entire canon.

Suiting his action to the character of this double song—a song of adoration—and to the words *supplici confessione dicentes* in the usual introduction to it, the priest (and the two levites with him when the occasion demands) says the *Tersanctus* with head bowed. The practice is rather expected and certainly very ancient. According to old Roman tradition the assistants at a high Mass held this position—which they took, according to another rule, at the words *adorant dominationes*—till the end of

benevolence, just as is said of those who were witnesses of the miracles of Jesus," they extolled and praised God." Cf. in the Byzantine Mass the version in the second passage Ὡσαννά δ' ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις; Brightman, 385. When Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 173, states that *Hosanna* is tantamount to δόξα, *gloria*, we may let it pass. (The Armenian Mass actually substitutes a word with this meaning for the *Hosanna*; Hanssens, III, 394). But it is incorrect to place this (subjective and moreover unspoken) *gloria* on the same plane with the (objectively meant) *gloria* of the *Pleni sunt caeli* and so to see a connection between the two.

⁴³ It was clearly used in this predominantly future sense when the *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* was employed as a memorial inscription, as in the Greek inscription on the portal of a Syrian mountain hypogeum; see C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archæologie*, (3rd ed.; Paderborn, 1922), 148. For the rest, the oriental liturgies insert instead of the

simple *qui venit* a double phrase that places past and future together: "he who has come and is to come." Hanssens, III, 394 f.

⁴⁴ *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 70 f.—In the Paris cathedral the same arrangement is found already in 1512; see below, p. 216. In the Mass that Luther, 1523, has in mind, the *Benedictus* was sung while the host and chalice were elevated, a method he wanted retained. M. Luther, *Formula missæ et communionis* (1523), n. 21 (Kleine Texte, 36, p. 16). A Gastoué, "Le Sanctus et le Benedictus," *Revue du chant gregorien*, 38 (1934), 12-17; 35-39, tries to prove from a musical standpoint that the *Benedictus* was forced into its place after the consecration, even earlier. (See *JL*, 14 (1938), 549 f.).

⁴⁵ Decree of Jan. 14, 1921, in which the rubric in the *Graduale Romanum* was changed at the same time; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 4364; this confirms an earlier decree of Dec. 16, 1906, n. 4243.

the canon.⁶⁶ Only the celebrant returned to an upright position when the song was finished, and continued the prayer. According to the present-day usage as laid down in the *Missale Romanum*, he stands erect as soon as he begins the *Benedictus*.⁶⁷ This is probably due to the fact that during the *Benedictus* he signs himself with the sign of the Cross, of which mention is made as early as the eleventh century.⁶⁸ A sign of the Cross and a blessing also accompany the song, in some fashion or other, in the oriental liturgies.⁶⁹

5. Various Practices during the Canon

The *Tersanctus* finished, it was originally the custom in Rome for the celebrating priest to continue the performance of the Great Prayer in a loud voice but—we must presume¹—as a simple recitation, without any melody. Once the Roman Mass was transplanted to Frankish territory, however, the picture was altered, and our present *ritus* is broadly stamped with the new customs that sprang up here. *Surgit solus pontifex et tacite intrat in canonem*. This phrase, which crystallizes the Carolingian revision of the older norm found in the first Roman *ordo*,² can be considered the basic pattern followed in transforming and reshaping the rite in the inmost part of the celebration of Mass.

The priest enters the sanctuary of the canon alone. Up till now the people have thronged around him, their songs at times accompanying him in the fore-Mass. But the songs have become less frequent, and after the steep ascent of the Great Prayer they have come to an end in the *Tersanctus*. A sacred stillness reigns; silence is a worthy preparation for God's approach. Like the High-priest of the Old Testament, who once a year was

⁶⁶ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 16 (PL, 78, 945). Cf. Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 126 ff.

⁶⁷ *Ritus serv.*, VII, 8.

⁶⁸ *Bernardi Ordo Clun.*, I, 72 (Herrgott, 264), according to which the priest makes the sign of the cross while still bowed and straightens up only at the *Te igitur*. Rule of the Canons of St. Victor in Paris, c. 67; Martène, *De ant. eccl. ritibus*, Appendix (III, 791). At the same time in Paris John Beleth, *Explicatio*, c. 45 (PL, 202, 53), gives evidence of the sign of the cross and alleges as a reason, because the *Benedictus* is taken from the Gospel.

⁶⁹ In the Egyptian liturgies, while the people sing the *Sanctus*, the priest makes the sign of the cross over himself, over the Mass servers, and over the people. The Armenian rite has a triple accompanying sign of the cross over the chalice and

paten. In the West Syrian rite the priest covers the chalice and paten with his hands during the *Sanctus*, and this, among the Maronites, is followed with the sign of the cross; Hanssens, III, 395 f. The basis for the sign of the cross is perhaps the idea touched upon above, n. 39, that the approaching glory of God signifies, or may signify, a blessing for the creature, and it is a blessing that must transform the gifts. In this sense Severian of Gabala (d. after 408), *De mundi creatione*, II, 6 (PG, 56, 446 f.), transfers to the Eucharist the sequence of actions in Is. 6. 3-7, where the angel first sings the *Sanctus* and only then takes the burning coal from the altar (burning coal = the host after the consecration); cf. above, note 41.

¹ Above, p. 104.

² Cf. above, p. 104.

permitted to enter the Holy of Holies with the blood of a sacrificial animal (Hebr. 9:7), the priest now separates from the people and makes his way before the all-holy God in order to offer up the sacrifice to Him.³ In the early medieval Mass he did not do so without first acknowledging his unworthiness in a humble apology,⁴ or begging prayerfully for God's help.⁵ Sometimes a hand-washing was prescribed.⁶ The whole assembly knelt down⁷ or, when this was forbidden because of the Sunday or feast day, remained bowed.⁸ In many churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the choir of clerics surrounding the altar, taking up the *Orate*-plea of the

³ This allegorism was developed by the Carolingian and post-Carolingian interpreters to greater and greater lengths; Florus Diaconus, *De actione missæ*, n. 42 f. (PL, 119, 43); Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1256); especially Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, 162, 554) who extends the parallel with Hebr. 9:7 (the priest enters the Holy of Holies with the Blood of Christ, i.e., with the memorial of His passion); Hildebert of Le Mans, *Versus de mysterio missæ* (PL, 171, 1183); Isaac of Stella, *Ep. de off. missæ* (PL, 194, 1889-1896); Robert Paululus, *De caeremoniis*, II, 23-30 (PL, 177, 425-430); Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 125 B); Durandus, IV, 36, 5.

⁴ The Missa Illyrica, which is especially rich in apologiæ, inserts here three formulas with which the priest begins, even while the *Sanctus* is still being sung. The third one reads as follows: *Facturus memoriam salutaris hostiæ totius mundi, cum illius dignitatem et meam intueor fæditatem, conscientia torqueor peccatorum. Verum quia tu Deus multum misericors es, imploro ut digneris mihi dare spiritum contribulatum, qui tibi gratum sacrificium revelasti, ut eo purificatus vitali hostiæ piæ manus admoveam, quæ omnia peccata mea aboleat et ea deinceps in perpetuum vitandi mihi tutelam infundat omnibusque fidelibus vivis et defunctis, pro quibus tibi offertur, præsentis vitæ et futuræ salutis commercia largiatur. Qui vivis.* Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 512 E); further illustrations, *ibid.*, I, 4, 7, 9 (I, 398). Cf. also Ebner, 396 f.

⁵ At times, since the 11th century, the *Aperi* found in the present-day breviary appears in this place. Sacramentary of Moissac: Martène, I, 4, VIII (I, 539 E).

Cf. also the statement in Leroquais, I, 158 and in the *Register* (III, 339 f.). Several evidences from Italy in Ebner, 396. *Ibid.*, 206 for Spain, and also Ferreres, p. XXVIII, XXXIII, XLVIII f. The *Munda cor meum* also appears here (XLIX: Gerona, 14th cent.).—In two Mass-ordos in Beneventan script, 11-12th centuries (Ebner, 149, 329), the invocation *Christe audi nos* follows three times upon the *Sanctus*, the second of which is joined with invocations, mostly biblical. Similar invocations of a later period mentioned by Bona II, 11, 1 (745). Cf. *Missale of Hereford* (about 1400). Maskel, II, 111.

⁶ Above, p. 78.

⁷ This kneeling posture may have been the incentive for interpolating here (*post offertorium et ante canonem*) a prayer for help against the Tartar danger; this a Synod of Mainz, 1261 (Hartzheim, III, 611) does, commending Psalm 78, with a *Pater noster* and the oration for peace; Franz, 205 f. The case seems to be an isolated one. Similar prayers in time of distress will be found inserted most frequently either before or after the embolism.

⁸ Evidences since the 9th century; Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 126 ff. (cf. above I, 240).—Regarding the gradual change in the meaning of this practice from adoring reverence to God to veneration of the Blessed Sacrament, see Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 127-131. A bowed attitude during the Canon is in accordance with an old tradition, see above I, 72.—Humble submission before God's majesty is most likely the original meaning of the custom that is reported today from many countries (among others, Poland, Portugal, Central America) where the faithful

priest, began to recite psalms for him in a loud voice.⁹ A formal office of accompanying prayers of petition, akin to the oriental *ἐκτενής*, was for a time employed as an outward veil to cover the silent prayer of the celebrant.¹⁰ No surprise, then, that there were even attempts to hide completely the visible activities of the priest from the congregation.¹¹

On the other hand, more recent rules, still in force at the present, prescribe that at a pontifical function a procession of clerics should appear with burning tapers and range symmetrically in front of the altar.¹² The result of consecration practices which meantime came into being, this procession functions as a preparation for the reception of the great King. In some churches another practice was added: namely, two clerics to right and left of the altar continually swinging censers from this moment till the Communion.¹³ Outside pontifical functions at least two wax tapers (torches) are to be lighted at a high Mass right after the preface.¹⁴ In the same sense another custom grew in many places since the thirteenth cen-

strike their breasts three times at the *Sanctus*; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II) 359; 362; 364; 366. Cf. also Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit" (*StZ*, 1926, II) 215; 217.

⁹ Cf. above, p. 87.—For this a definite arrangement was developed that is presented in its fullest form in the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 513 A): When the bishop begins the *Te igitur*, the *ministri* should pray Psalms 19, 24, 50, 89, 90, until the *Te igitur* (i.e., clearly, the Canon) is ended. A list of versicles follows, succeeded by an oration *pro sacerdote*: *Gaudeat Domine*, and another *communis* (elsewhere captioned *pro omnibus*): *Precibus nostris*. The same arrangement occurs again, but in part only, inasmuch as Psalm 89, or 90, or the second oration, or the precise statement of the time, is missing, in the Sacramentary of Séz: PL, 78, 249; in the Mass arrangement of Liège and Gregorianmünster: Martène, I, 4, XV, XVI (I, 592, 599 f.); in Italian Mass arrangements of the 11th until the beginning of the 13th century; Ebner, 306 f., 313, 323. In the Sacramentary of Modena written before 1174 (Muratori, I, 92), the Gradual Psalms (Pss. 119-133) are interpolated and before the versicles *Kyrie el., Christe el., Kyrie el., Pater noster* are interpolated. Here also we should cite the statement in *Ordo Rom.* VI (10th cent.),

n. 10 (PL, 78, 993 B) that the deacon and subdeacon should chant *quindecim grad.*, after the bishop has said *Orate pro me*.

¹⁰ The cessation of the practice seems to coincide with the elaboration of the *Sanctus* melodies (cf. above, p. 130); then, too, with the elevating of the host that was coming more and more into vogue.

¹¹ In this sense Durandus, IV, 39, 1: *In quibusdam ecclesiis . . . quasi tegitur et velatur*. Still, even in these instances, clearly not many, it was a symbolical concealment (*quasi*), since a real concealment of the priest is excluded, at least since the 13th century, by the very fact that he held up the host to view. Even earlier there is evidence of various altar curtains, but they were hung rather on the sides and were for the sake of ornamentation, especially on altars covered with a ciborium or canopy, where the veils would be fastened between the pillars right and left. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 133-138; 166-171.

¹² *Cæremoniale episc.*, II, 8, 68: *Quattuor, sex aut ad summum octo ministri*, with the thurifer in the lead.

¹³ *Ordinarium* of Laon (13-14th cent.): Martène, I, 4, XX (I, 608 D). Likewise in the late Middle Ages at Lyons; Bünner, 258. Also in Paris and in Liège the practice is verified; Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 265.

¹⁴ *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, VIII, 8. Thus also in the *Ordinarium* of Laon (note 13)

ture, the custom of lighting the so-called *Sanctus* candle at every Mass.¹⁵ This custom was elevated to a rubric in the *Missale Romanum*,¹⁶ but by contrary custom the rule has lost its force.¹⁷

Through such rites, without doubt, there was awakened during the Mass in the later Middle Ages a lively reverence for the mystery that took place at the consecration like a new epiphany of the God-man. On the other hand, no one any longer thought of following the priest's prayers, which indeed were now only whispered quietly, and whose ideas turned in a very different direction. In fact, they were in essence for the priest exclusively, and were not supposed to be accessible to lay folk.¹⁸

The only part of the liturgy of the canon that was open to the faithful was the external action of the priest, and, until the elevation of the species became customary in the thirteenth century, this consisted in little more than the extension of the arms, bowing, kissing the altar, and making signs of the Cross over the gifts. We must therefore cast a glance at these external rites, inasmuch as they reappear several times in the course of the canon.

It is taken for granted that the basic attitude of the priest during this most ancient traditional prayer should continue to be the same as that of the preface, the traditional stance of the *orantes*. This same posture was originally taken also by the surrounding clergy, and perhaps also by the faithful,¹⁹ until for them bowing or kneeling became the predominant rule. Only the priest continues to remain standing with arms extended. In the

for the Sunday Masses. See Eisenhofer, II, 163 in regard to the present practice.

¹⁵ Plentiful material on this in Browe, "Die Elevation in der Messe" (*JL*, 1929), 40-43. Pictures from the 13th century in Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, I (Paris, 1883), Table XX; pictures from later times in F. Falk, *Die deutschen Messauslegungen von der Mitte des 15 Jh. bis zum Jahre 1525* (Cologne, 1889), 28, 30, 33, 37, 46.

¹⁶ *Rubr. gen.* XX; cf. *Ritus serv.*, VIII, 6.

¹⁷ This contrary custom was recognized and approved by the Congregation of Rites, July 9, 1899: *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 4029, 2.—But the *sanctus* candle still survives in many places. In Spain at the *Sanctus* the server lights a smaller candle (much like the bugie used by prelates) and places it close to the priest's right arm; it remains lighted till the Communion, when the server holds it over the paten while the priest collects any detached particles; then it is extinguished; Raphael M. Huber, "Unusual Spanish and Portuguese Litur-

gical Customs," *Homiletic & Pastoral Rev.*, 52 (1951), 323. The *Sanctus* candle is still in use also in Central America, in many parts of Switzerland, in a few parishes of the diocese of Rottenburg and Würzburg, and in the Freiburg cathedral; Kramp, "Meszgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit," (*StZ*, 1926, II), 218; *idem.*, Meszgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern," (*StZ*, 1927, II), 352, note 2; 364; Krömmler, 58. In Vorarlberg the custom continued till World War I; L. Jochum, "Religiöses und kirchliches Brauchtum in Vorarlberg," *Montfort*, I (Bregenz, 1946), 280 f. The Carthusians have kept it: *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 29, 14; 32, 13. Likewise the Dominicans: G. Sölch, "Die Liturgie des Dominikanerordens" (*Angelicum*, 1950), 32.

¹⁸ Cf. *supra*, I, 82 f.; 143 f.

¹⁹ *Supra*, I, 239. Cf. the illustrations (9th-11th cent.) in Righetti, *Manuale* II, 357; 361; also the late remnant of the practice at the consecration, *infra*.

Middle Ages it was often customary for him to stretch his arms out wide in the form of a cross, at least after the consecration, as is still the practice with the Dominicans, amongst others. Then at the *Supplices te rogamus* it was usual to cross them in front of the breast.²⁰ Both these postures are evident references to the Crucified, whom an older Christendom was accustomed to see in the very attitude of the *orantes*,²¹ although no special emphasis was laid on this.

The reverential bowing—the posture stipulated by the Roman *ordines* for the surrounding clergy all through the canon—was originally shared by the celebrant, as we have seen, only at the *Sanctus*. Then he also bowed after the consecration when he began the humble petition for acceptance, at the *Supra quæ*²² or, as at present, at least at the *Supplices*,²³ and he held this pose to the end of the petition. The textual analogy of the introductory petition for acceptance in the *Te igitur* must have led to a similar bowing right after the *Sanctus*,²⁴ while pronouncing the words: *rogamus ac petimus, uti accepta habeas . . . hæc dona*. While this practice of bowing was stabilized already in the thirteenth century, the preparatory gestures of extending, lifting and joining the hands,²⁵ and in general also the concluding kiss of the altar were at this same period still unknown.²⁶

When the priest straightens up from this first bow after the *Sanctus*, he makes three signs of the Cross over the sacrificial gifts. These are the first signs of the Cross within the canon, and likewise the oldest. First evidence

²⁰ *Infra* for proofs. The Carthusian rite prescribes outstretched arms also before the consecration; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 2.

²¹ Cf. Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 318 with n. 4.

²² *Ordo* of John Archicantor, Silva-Ta-rouca, 199).

²³ Cf. Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 25 (PL, 105, 1142). Proofs from later times in Sölch, *Hugo*, 95.

²⁴ Missal of the Minorites of the 13th century: Ebner, 314; cf. *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 241); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 94).—Unless he maintained the position assumed at the *Sanctus*: *Liber usum O. Cist.*, c. 53 (PL, 166, 1425); cf. Sölch, 88, note 20.—Because such a plea for acceptance is present also in the *Hanc igitur*, though in a special connection, we find the profound bow very much in use here too, in the later Middle Ages; see below.

²⁵ Here we clearly have the same idea as at the beginning of the *Gloria* and *Credo* and at the invitation to pray *Oremus* and *Gratias agamus*: namely, a gesture intro-

ductory to a proper prayer attitude at an important moment of the service, comparable to the melodious initium of the verses of a solemn psalmody. Before the *Te igitur* the gesture is in a certain sense an independent one and of itself forms, as it were, a silent invocation. Such is the case at least if we follow the usual understanding of the rubric; namely, that the gesture comes first, and only then the *Te igitur* is actually to begin in a bowed attitude. Cf. Merati in Gavanti-Merati, *The-saurus*, II, 8, 1 (I, 284 f.). The rubric (*Ritus serv.*, VIII, I) which was slightly altered in 1897, admits of more than one meaning; see J. B. Müller, *Zeremonien-büchlein*, (13th ed.; Freiburg, 1934), 63.

²⁶ Sölch, *Hugo*, 88 f. This first kissing of the altar is mentioned only by Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 125), whose note is repeated by Durandus, IV, 36, 6: *hic osculatur altare in reverentiam passionis*. It may be doubted if the last word indicates the original meaning of this kiss. Possibly it is a copy of the older kissing of the altar at the *supplices te ro-*

for them is found at the beginning of the eighth century.²⁷ Other crosses follow during the *Quam oblationem*, in the account of the institution, in the *Unde et memores*, in the *Per quem hæc omnia*. These, too, from indications in the manuscripts, came into use in the eighth century, and we are made aware of the headway they achieved when we read in a letter of Pope Zachary to St. Boniface, dated November 4, 751, that he had acceded to the latter's request to mark in the *rotulus* he had sent him through Lullus the passages in the canon where the crosses were to be made.²⁸ In the ninth century were added the crosses during the closing doxology. The second Roman *ordo*, in a detailed exposition, makes mention of these *sex ordines crucium*.²⁹ Aside from those in the concluding doxology, these crosses were, in general, in the same number as at present.³⁰ The only crosses that are of a somewhat later date are those in the *Supplices te rogamus*³¹ and—in a later passage—at the *Pax Domini*.

The significance of these signs of the Cross in the canon formed since the tenth century one of the main themes in the medieval commentaries on the Mass.³² It is plain that the sign of the Cross should point to the

gamus occasioned by the *supplices rogamus*, consequently a gesture of reverential pleading. The Mass-*ordo* of Cologne, 14th century (Binterim, IV, 3, p. 224), shows a further development of this kiss, inasmuch as it adds a kissing of the picture of the crucifixion and a prayer (paraphrasing Psalm 138, 16 a). The rubric of the Mass-*ordo* of Amiens in the 9th century, ed. Leroquais (*Eph. liturg.*, 1927), 442, is an entirely isolated one: *Postea osculetur altare et dicat: Te igitur*. This can only mean a greeting, a salute upon "going into" the canon; cf. the salutation of the altar at the offertory in the *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 15 (above, I, 314, note 20) and the parallel in the East Syrian Rite (above, II, 79, n. 16); here in the Syro-Malabar Rite the further parallel of the repeated kissing of the altar (twice in the center, then to the right and to the left) also during the *Sanctus*; Hanssens, III, 395 f.

²⁷ In the Cod. Reg., 316 of the older Gelasianum; here and in other individual MSS. a fourth sign of the cross at the *benedicas* appears along with the customary three. Cf. also in addition to the following references the excursus on the cross in the canon, in Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 295-303. Several other individual instances in Eisenhofer, II, 171 f.

²⁸ Zacharias, *Ep.*, 13 (PL, 89, 953 B). Cf. Botte, *Le canon*, 21.

²⁹ *Ordo Rom.* II, n. 10 (PL, 78, 974).

³⁰ That there was no complete uniformity in the 11th century is shown by the fact that Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 14 (PL, 151, 986 f.) expressly appeals to the authority of Gregory VII in support of the method he advocates (among others, the uneven numbers).

³¹ In individual cases today's customary signs of the cross appeared here already at an early date, as in the Sacramentary of Angoulême written about the year 800. However, they are still missing often enough in the 11th and 12th centuries; Brinktrine, 299.

³² The *Expositio "Missa pro multis,"* ed. Hanssens (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 39, explains the *sex ordines crucium* in the appendix of the *Ordo Rom.* II by means of the relationship of the six eras of the world to the cross of Christ. Since the 11th century many an interpreter loved to ascribe some sort of symbolical meaning to every number of the signs of the cross; Franz, 415 f., 419. Others again, like Rupert of Deutz and Innocent III, connect them with some phase of Christ's passion (Franz, 418, 455, 662); or all these interpretations are jumbled together, as Honorius Augustod. (Franz, 424) does. Or, again, with Berthold of Regensburg, a special signification from the representation of Christ's passion

sacrifice of the Cross which is being made present sacramentally.³³ Nowadays it is taken for granted that the *signum crucis* also signifies a blessing; one meaning of “to bless” is to make the sign of the Cross. Although in the Church of the first thousand years the laying-on of hands was generally the form used for blessing, still this form seems to have been superseded more and more by the sign of the Cross, especially in Gallic territory.³⁴ In some passages, indeed, it is quite apparent that the cross is meant as a blessing, being linked with words that signify just that: the double *benedixit* at the consecration, the words *benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, and sanctificas, vivificas, benedixis*.

But it also appears in other passages. Brinktrine maintains that the sign of the Cross in the canon was intended from most ancient times not only to emphasize the notion of blessing and sanctifying, but also to underline certain significant words.³⁵ This latter intention (he holds) must be granted in the case of the two crosses that accompany the words *ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat* just before the consecration, and likewise the five crosses right after the consecration, at *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, calicem salutis perpetuæ*. To these would naturally be added at least the crosses over the consecrated gifts in the *Supplices*, at the words *corpus et sanguinem*. The use of the

is attributed to each one of the twenty-five signs of the cross, with the basic idea “short sign of the cross, quick torment; prolonged torment, big sign of the cross.” (Franz, 656; cf. 695 f.), or with an imitator of his, who discovers in the 30 signs of the cross (inclusive of the three at the *Pax Domini* and two more in the canon, as they are, e.g., in the Freising Missal of 1520; see Beck, 308) the thirty miracles of the Redemption (662 f.). Cf. Franz, 733: “The explanation of these signs of the cross gained greater importance in proportion as the instruction of the people regarding the canon was restricted exclusively to these signs.”

³³ St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, III, q. 83, a. 5 ad 3, stresses this as the fundamental idea. The signs of the cross after the consecration are to be understood in this sense. Thus already Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. vet. et novi sacrif.* (PL, 162, 556 C): *Quid est enim inter ipsa mysteria rebus sacratis vel sacrandis signum crucis superponere nisi mortem Domini commemorare?* He compares the signs of the cross over the offerings with the Old Testament sprinkling with sacrificial blood.

³⁴ The German word “*segnen*,” to “bless,” is etymologically akin to *signare*, to sign. In Gaul the blessing was generally given

with a sign of the cross, for in a “miracle” of St. Martin of Tours it is recorded that the saint appeared in the apse window of the church dedicated to him, descended and blessed the sacrifice on the altar by extending his right hand *juxta morem catholicum signo crucis superposito*. Gregory of Tours (d. 594), *Vitæ Patrum*, 16, 2 (PL, 71, 1075). In a formulary of the Mozarabic Mass a prayer is said after the consecration *Hanc hostiam . . . per signum crucis sanctifices et benedicas*; Ferotin, *Le liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, p. 321. But a singularly definite testimony is already presented by Augustine, *In Joh. tract.*, 118, 5 (PL, 35, 1950). *Quid est, quod omnes noverunt, signum Christi nisi crux Christi? Quod signum nisi adhibeatur sive frontibus credentium sive ipsi aquæ, ex qua regenerantur, sive oleo, quo chrismate unguuntur, sive sacrificio, quo aluntur, nihil horum rite perficitur*. James of Edessa (d. 708), in describing the West Syrian liturgy speaks of eighteen signs of the cross that are made over the offerings; A. Rücker, “Die Kreuzzeichen in der west-syrischen Messliturgie,” *Pisciculi F. J. Dölger dargeboten* (Münster, 1939), 245-251.

³⁵ Brinktrine, 303.

signs of the Cross over the consecrated gifts has often been commented on with some astonishment, because the first thought that strikes one is that these are blessings.³⁶ A blessing is obviously out of place here. Yet it may be questioned whether it is enough to explain them as underlining certain words. Why precisely are these words emphasized? They are certainly not the most sacred words that appear in the canon.

We must remind ourselves that the solemn prose style that dominates the Roman canon is the type of speech that was cultivated in the schools of rhetoric in the decadent Roman empire. The oratorical phrase implies also the oratorical gesture. The oratorical phrase that touches on some object in the view of the listener implies a gesture directing the attention to that object, a principle that governs every vital speech and therefore likewise the prayer which was naturally and originally eloquent. Although such things, because taken for granted, are seldom mentioned in liturgical works, still there are some examples, and not only in oriental liturgy,³⁷ but

³⁶ Thus, the commission on the removal of *abusus missae* in the Council of Trent proposed abolishing the signs of the cross after the consecration; *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Görres, VIII, 917. R. Haungs, "Die Kreuzzeichen nach der Wandlung im römischen Messkanon" *Benediktin. Monatschrift*, 21 (1939), 249-261, reviews the history of the interpretation of the signs. According to this study the Middle Ages attributed only commemorative significance to the sign of the cross, as we have just stated, whereas more modern times, with few exceptions (Maldonatus especially among them, see below) viewed them, with restrictions, as signs of blessing. The Syrian Narsai (d. about 502) already made the same assumption and had the same problem, but suggested, "He [the priest] signs now [after the epiklesis] not because the Mysteries have need of the signing, but to teach by the last sign [of the cross] that they are accomplished." Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 22.

³⁷ In the Coptic Anaphora of St. Cyril the priest is required to point first to the bread and then to the chalice, when, after the words of the institution, he further adds the Pauline words (I Cor. 11: 26): "As often as you shall eat this bread and drink this chalice . . ." The same procedure already at the first offering of the gifts; Brightman, 148 l., 17 ff.; 177 l., 29 ff. Along with this, Kyrillos ibn Laklak (d.

1243) in his book of instructions (ed. Graf: *JL*, 4, 122) points out that the priest may no longer make the sign of the cross over the offerings after the consecration. In the Ethiopian anaphora of the Apostles the words of the institution are given as follows, "Take, eat: (pointing) this bread (bowing) is my body (pointing) . . ." and likewise with the chalice. In the anamnesis and offertory prayer that follows (which still preserves the Hippolytus text almost unchanged, see *supra* I, 29) we have the words "and [we] offer unto thee this bread (pointing to it) and this chalice, inasmuch as . . ." The same gesture is repeated immediately at the petition that God would send the Holy Ghost "upon this bread (pointing to it) and over this cup (pointing to it)," whereupon, nevertheless, follow some signs of the cross. Brightman, 232f.—The connection is still clearer in the Anaphora of St. Mark, ed. T. M. Semharay Selim (*Eph. liturg.*, 1928, 510-531), where regularly before, during, and after the consecration, the demonstrative pronoun, *hic* (*panis*) etc., is accompanied with the note *signum* (515 ff.).—In the Byzantine liturgy of St. Chrysostom the deacon takes over the duty of pointing at similar points. At the words of the institution over the bread, as well as those over the chalice, he points with the oration: *δεικνύει* . . . τὸν ἅγιον δίσκον, *resp.* συνδεικνύει . . . τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον. The same motion is made at the epiklesis over the species of bread

in the Roman as well.³⁸ We must conclude that these gestures were subsequently—that is, since the eighth century—stylized into a sign of the Cross.³⁹ For such a process of transformation there is no lack of examples and parallels.⁴⁰

If, with this in mind, we con the text of the canon, we actually find that every time the gifts are mentioned the sign of the Cross is also indicated, with the exception of the *Hanc igitur oblationem*, where the hands are spread out over the gifts, and possibly the phrase *qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*, in which the sacrifice is mentioned in passing. In fact, we have a document, the *Admonitio synodalis* of the ninth century, that may perhaps permit us to see the transition very plainly.⁴¹ The conclusion is thus forced upon us that the original gesture within the canon was a demonstrative one, and as such was not mentioned in the liturgical text. And this would hold not only for the three passages cited above, but also at least for the *Te igitur* where the petition for acceptance is mentioned for the first time in the canon: *uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona*,

as well as over the chalice; Brightman, 386 f.

³⁸ In the orations of reconciliation for Maundy Thursday, presented in the Pontifical of Poitiers, written in the 9th century, and emanating from the Roman usage, the priests were obliged to touch with the right hand *vice pontificis* the prostrate penitents each time the bishop spoke the words *hos famulos tuos* in the orations; J. Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti pœnitentiæ* (Antwerp, 1682), Appendix, p. 67. The touching here is in all likelihood also equivalent to the laying on of hands.

³⁹ The opinion that the sign of the cross here was not meant as a blessing, but simply as a sign, was upheld by J. Maldonat, S.J. (d. 1583), *De cæremoniis*, II, 21 (in F. A. Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca ritualis*, II, 2 [Rome, 1781], 142 f.; cf. 131 f.).

⁴⁰ Attention is especially to be called to the transformation of the laying on of hands as a form of blessing into the sign of the cross over the object to be blessed. Thus, in the *Indulgentiam* before the sacramental absolution we still have a trace of the imposition of hands, as it was formerly united with the formula, whereas outside of confession only the sign of the cross is conjoined to the formula; cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 263 f. But even otherwise the sign of the cross occasionally replaced a gesture of pointing; thus in the

Ordo Rom. I, n. 21 (PL, 78, 947) when the regional subdeacon gives the sign to the leader of the schola, at the end of the Communion of the people, to conclude the Communion Psalm with *Gloria Patri*: *aspicit ad primum scholæ, faciens crucem in fronte sua, annuit ei dicere Gloriam*. The signal has been stylized into the sign of the cross, just as the simple greeting addressed to the people developed into a conventional religious greeting *Dominus vobiscum*. There are, moreover, evidences at present of a parallel manifestation, where the sign of the cross is often substituted for punctuation marks in the artistic script in which religious texts are written.

⁴¹ In the version of Raterius of Verona (d. 974; PL, 136, 560 A) *Calicem et oblatam recta cruce signate, id est non in circulo et varicatione* (al. *variatione*, PL, 135, 1071 D; *vacillatione*, PL, 132, 459 A., 461 A) *digitorum, ut plurimi faciunt, sed stricte duobus digitis et pollice intus recluso*. The passage is missing in one portion of the traditional texts (see Leclercq, *DACL*, VI, 576-579), but was present at least in the 10th century. In the movement of free hand and finger which is here censured we might possibly have a vestige of the ancient oratorical gestures which are now supplanted by the sign of the cross; see Eisenhofer, I, 280 f. regarding the position of the fingers in the signs of blessing.

hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata. The *benedicas* would then be the occasion for a change, a transformation into the sign of the Cross,⁴² while in the other passages the pointing gesture would still be retained, and as such would not be mentioned.

Looking yet more closely at the significance of this pointing gesture, we are forced to remark the following: Since we are concerned with the offering up of gifts which we cannot transfer to an invisible God except by means of interpretative words and gestures, the gesture of pointing would become a gesture of oblation whenever it accompanied the plea for acceptance (*petimus uti accepta habeas; offerimus præclaræ maiestati tuæ*). This is not the only gesture used to give visible expression to the oblation. Mention has already been made of bowing which is tied in with the plea for acceptance.⁴³ Extending the hands over the gifts embodies the same symbolism. Recall that we came upon a prescription in Hippolytus of Rome, ordering the bishop to say the eucharistic prayer extending his hands over the gifts.⁴⁴ This extension of hands, which represents the same thought, but with greater emphasis, never became a permanent gesture or one that accompanied the entire eucharistic prayer. Only at the *Hanc igitur* did it remain until the present day, or rather once more come into use. It was also used for a time at *Supra quæ propitio*.⁴⁵ For the rest, the hands were left free for the ordinary posture of the *orantes*, signifying our striving God-ward. Only when the phrase calls for it are the hands used to indicate the gifts that should belong to God. Seen from this vantage point, it is not at all unreasonable that the gesture of pointing—still always valid—should be combined with a sign of the Cross, and thus our offering of Christ on the Cross. These demonstrative signs of the Cross are therefore merely another expression of our will humbly to offer up to God the gifts that lie on the altar, and in this sense they rank with the laying of hands over the gifts, the bowing that accompanies the petition for acceptance, and the elevation of chalice and host connected with the closing doxology.

6. *Te igitur*. The Plea for Acceptance

The first prayer that we meet in the text of the canon after the *Sanctus* is an offering of the gifts in the solemn yet suppliant form of a plea for gracious acceptance. Such an offering, at least in this position, is not self-explanatory. It is on the same footing as the offertory, or more precisely

⁴² The fact that in the oldest occurrence of these signs the *benedicas* also has a sign of the cross, would be in accord with this; see note 27 above.

⁴³ Cf. above, p. 142. Cf. the exactly corresponding practices at the offertory, above, p. 51.

⁴⁴ Above, I, 29. The same prescription also in the *Testamentum Domini*, I, 23 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 249.

⁴⁵ Balthasar of Pforta, O. Cist., verifies it as the practice of the secular clergy in Germany towards the end of the 15th century, Franz, 587.

the *oratio super oblata*, the offering up even of the earthly gifts, which is distinctive of the Roman Mass. In other liturgies such an offering, as well as the insertion of the intercessions after the *Sanctus*, is unknown. Instead, they build a short span from the *Sanctus* to the words of institution, either by developing the Christological theme of the prayer of thanks, as in the West Syrian and the Byzantine formularies;¹ or by continuing in a free fashion the words of praise, as often happens in the *Post-Sanctus* of the Gallic liturgies²; or, finally, by attaching an epiklesis to the *Pleni sunt cæli*, as the Egyptian liturgies do.³

The transition from the *Sanctus* to this offering in the *Te igitur* has been considered rather abrupt, and the word *igitur*, which seems to mark the connection externally, has been found unintelligible.⁴ Even up to the very present the word has been given various and varied interpretations.⁵ But obviously its only purpose is to link the action which is beginning to unfold in the plea for acceptance with the foregoing thanksgiving of the preface, by which it was, in substance, already set in motion.⁶ It is the same *igitur* which forms the transition between the first section of the

¹ Cf. above I, 43. In the liturgy of St. Basil it is done very elaborately.

² In a short and typical manner, e.g., in the first Mass of the *Missale Gothicum*: *Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus, manens in cælis, manifestatus in terris. Ipse enim pridie quam pateretur*; Muratori, II, 518.—It seems that in the Gallic Mass, too, the basic form of the *Post Sanctus* was a christological continuation of the thanksgiving prayer; Cagin, *Te Deum ou illatio*, 381-385.

³ Thus in the anaphora of St. Mark (Brightman, 132): "Heaven and earth are truly full of Thy glory through the appearance of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ. Make this sacrifice also, O God, replete with Thy blessing through the descent of the Holy Ghost; for He, our Lord and God and all-king Jesus Christ in the night took ..." cf. above, p. 135, n.39.

⁴ Upon this foundation one portion of the canon theories cited above I, 50, n. 1, is built; cf. e.g., P. Drews, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe* (Tübingen, 1902; especially p. 23), who placed the three following prayers after the consecration, before the *Memento etiam*. Fortescue, 328 f., also complains of the incomprehensibility of the *igitur*.

⁵ The question is, for what idea in the prayer now to begin is the *igitur* supposed to

supply a link with the motivation or explanation in the prayer which precedes? Among others, the address *clementissime Pater* is mentioned, since the address to the Father is also contained in the preface (J. de Puniet, *De liturgie der mis.* [Roermond, 1939], 196 f., and already F. X. Funk, *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, III, [Paderborn, 1907], 87 f.); the formula *per Jesum Christum* that is also in the preface (Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 175); the *supplices* of the invocation for acceptance, because it once again takes up the *supplici confessione dicentes* (Baumstark, "Das 'Problem' des römischen Messkanons" [*Eph. liturg.*, 1939], 241 f.); the trustful *rogare*, because the way of God is opened through the mediation of the angels (J. Bona, *De sacrificio missæ*, V. 8 [Bibliotheca ascetica, 7; Regensburg, 1913, 119]); the *rogamus ac petimus uti accepta habeas* in which the oblation prayer of the Secreta is again taken up (V. Thalhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, II, [Freiburg, 1890], 199); finally the *benedicas*, because only holy gifts are due to the Holy God, whom we have thrice praised as holy (Eisenhofer, II, 173).

⁶ Cf. in this sense Batiffol, *Leçons*, 237. Likewise already Odo of Cambrai (d. 1113), *Expositio in canonem missæ*, c. 1 (PL, 160, 1055 A).

Holy Saturday *Exultet*, the *laus cerei*, with the oblation that follows,⁷ only in our case the juncture is even closer and more natural. We must try to remember how closely conjoined in ancient Christian thought were the concepts of thanksgiving and offering. What up to the third century was prevailingly styled a thanksgiving: εὐχαριστία, was thereafter usually called an offering, *oblatio*.⁸ The Mass is a thanksgiving which culminates in the offering of a holy gift; it is an offering which is so spiritual that it appears to be only a thanksgiving. The expressions, *sacrificium laudis* and *oblatio rationabilis*, stress within the Roman canon itself this spirituality of the sacrifice. On the other hand, we must not see in the *Gratias agamus* simply an invitation to give thanks by word only. A Christian *gratias agere* is meant, a *eucharistia*, a thanksgiving which terminates sacrificially in the self-oblation of Christ. Therefore it was possible occasionally to enlarge the *Gratias agamus* in the sense of an oblation,⁹ just as the expression of thanks within the preface was associated with paraphrases of the notion of sacrifice. This latter proceeding is to be found in extra-Roman liturgies¹⁰ as well as in the Roman.¹¹ The intermixture of expressions of thanks and sacrifice is particularly noticeable in the second portion of a *eucharistia* cited among the Arian fragments, a piece bearing evident resemblances to the *Te igitur*:

Dignum et iustum est . . . [a description of the work of redemption follows].
Cuius benignitatis agere gratias tuæ tantæ magnanimitati quibusque laudibus nec sufficere possumus, petentes de tua magna et flexibili pietate accepto ferre sacrificium istud, quod tibi offerimus stantes ante conspectum

⁷ *In huius igitur noctis gratia suscipe, sancte Pater, incensi huius sacrificium vespertinum.* The *præconium*, which is then resumed, is once more switched, by means of the equipollent *ergo* into the prayer of petition *Oramus ergo te Domine*.

⁸ *Supra*, I, 23 ff.; 169 ff. In embryo the idea of an oblation was already presented in the Jewish *berachah*; Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 272; cf. *supra*, I, 21, note 63.

⁹ *Supra*, p. 114.

¹⁰ Cf. the liturgy of St. Basil in the fundamental form which must be considered pre-Basil, *supra*, p. 126, n. 62. In the anaphora of St. Mark the thanksgiving prayer in the fragments of the 4th century also switches over at once into an offering . . .

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ . . . εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν τὴν θυσίαν τὴν λογικὴν, τὴν ἀνάμικτον λατρείαν ταύτην; Quasten, *Mon.*, 44 f.; cf. Brightman, 126; 165.—Within the Gallic liturgical sphere the idea of oblation is presented in two Sunday prefaces of the *Missale Gothicum*

(Muratori, II, 648 f., 652), a document in which the preface is generally designated as *immolatio*, just as in the Mozarabic it is captioned *illatio*.

¹¹ A Christmas preface found both in the Leonianum and in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Mohlberg, n. 27; cf. sources, p. 293) begins: *VD. Tuæ laudis hostiam immolantes*, whereupon Old Testament prototypes of the Christian sacrifice and their realization at Christmas are described. For more examples in the Leonianum see Muratori I, 303 (12, n. XXIV), 403; cf. also above, 122 f. Besides this the Leonianum presents a transitional formula to the *Sanctus* that is relevant here, it reads (on the feast of Martyrs: . . . *quorum gloriam hodierna die recolentes*) *hostias tibi laudis offerimus, cum angelis, etc.* (Muratori, I, 296; also I, 332; 392): or: . . . *hostias tibi laudis offerimus. Per.* (*ibid.*, 336, 391, 396, 397); or also: . . . *hostias tibi laudis offerimus, etc.*, (*ibid.*, 318).

*tuae divinae pietatis, Per Jesum Christum Dominum et Deum nostrum, per quem petimus et rogamus.*¹²

In a word, the *Te igitur* and its plea for acceptance merely take up the thread of thought begun in the preface, putting it in a definite form, with an eye on the gifts.

In accord with this resumption of the thought after the slight pause in the *Sanctus*, both the term of address and the formula of mediation are repeated. The address, however, is no longer in the solemn, three-section form as found in the beginning of the preface, but merely a simple phrase, *clementissime Pater*, corresponding to the second section, *sancte Pater*. This confident term, otherwise scarcely to be met, is probably inspired by the nearness of the grace-laden mystery.¹³ Regarding the formula of mediation, the remarkable thing here is that it appears not at the end of a prayer or of a segment of prayer, as it otherwise always does, but at the beginning. Here it is plainly a supplement to the *rogamus ac petimus*: we carry our petitions before God's throne through our advocate and mediator Jesus Christ. The union of the faithful with the exalted Christ is here so vividly clear that it enters into the prayer even without the impetus of a closing formula.

The plea for acceptance is a reverently reserved form of offering, as the word *supplices* and the deep bow that accompanies it likewise indicate. The gifts are not yet dedicated, but we realize that they must be accepted just as they must be dedicated or consecrated; hence the words: *ut accepta habeas et benedicas*. In this petition for a blessing, taken strictly, is contained a plea for the transformation. It is, then, the start of an *epiklesis*, much like those found in some *secreta* formulas,¹⁴ or like the *Quam oblationem* where the *epiklesis* will appear more formally and extensively. It is significant that in the Georgian liturgy of St. Peter, which represents in its core a tenth-century translation of the Roman canon, a real *epiklesis* is inserted in this spot.¹⁵ The gifts themselves are indicated by a threefold designation: *hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia*

¹² G. Mercati, *Antiche reliquie liturgiche*, (Rome, 1902), 52 f. Note especially the phrases *agere gratias* and *petentes de tua pietate, accepto ferre sacrificium istud*.

¹³ Cf. *elevatis oculis in cælum ad te, Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem* in the account of the institution. The name of Father is otherwise very rare, even in the older Roman liturgy. Some few instances appear in the Leonianum: Muratori, I, 304 f. 320, 447.

¹⁴ *Supra* 95.—Cf. also *supra* 65 ff.

¹⁵ H. W. Codrington, *The Liturgy of St. Peter* (LQF, 30; Münster, 1936), 158, in which the Georgian text is reproduced as follows: *nous nous prosternons et te*

prions de recevoir et de bénir ces dons qui sont à toi et d'envoyer ton Esprit-Saint sur ces dons ici présents et sur ce sacrifice, pour que tu l'acceptes avec bienveillance, que nous t'offrons d'abord . . . The opinion of Baumstark (Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die ältesten erreichbare Gestalt*, 33*) that this *epiklesis* is to be regarded as a piece of fundamental Roman text lost at an early date, is no longer tenable. It is, rather, as the crude form of the interpolation proves, a later additional insertion, which goes back to Egyptian influence and which, moreover, is missing in the traditional text of the liturgy of St. Peter; Codrington, 47 f., 182. An idea very like this, namely,

illibata. We cannot put too much store in this tri-membered expression.¹⁶ In the formulas of the secret prayer all three terms are used to designate the same thing, namely the material gifts. In our passage they are merely juxtaposed in order to emphasize the expression, in accordance with a stylistic law that also operates elsewhere in the canon. A certain gradation, however, is plainly discernible; first the gifts are just called *dona*, gifts such as we are accustomed in some way or other to exchange from man to man;¹⁷ as *munera* they appear a result of a more fixed arrangement, as a public service;¹⁸ and finally as *sacrificia* they are labeled as the sacred tribute dedicated to God.¹⁹

It is not improbable that in the first version of the Roman canon, in the form it had till about the end of the fourth century, the plea for an acceptance of the gifts,²⁰ as here outlined, was followed at once by the *Quam*

that God might bless the gifts through the Holy Ghost (*ut hæc spiritu tuo benedicas*), is also read into the words of the Roman Canon by Florus Diaconus, *De actione miss.*, c. 44 (PL, 119, 44); Botte, *Le canon*, 52 f.

¹⁶ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 176, taking a hint from *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 48, would see in this a reference to the three separate hosts that were laid upon the separate corporals of the co-consecrating cardinals (this is not the only mention of the number three; cf. above, p. 44). A different interpretation is given by E. Peterson, *Dona, munera, sacrificia*: *Eph. liturg.*, 46 (1932) 75-77. Reference is made to a parallel in the liturgy of St. Mark (Brightman, 129, 1. 20 f. in which the prayer is said to accept the *θυσίαι, προσφοραί, εὐχαριστήρια*; accordingly *εὐχαριστήρια* (= *dona*) is taken to stand for offerings for the dead; *προσφοραί* (= *munera*) for the offerings for the living; and *θυσίαι* (= *sacrificia*) for the oblations that are to be consecrated.

¹⁷ An indication of the sharp retrenchment which gradually took place in the consideration of the role of the Church in the sacrifice (cf. *supra*, I, 91) is the fact that already Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, III, 3 (PL, 217, 841 B), no longer understands *dona* to mean the gifts which we offer God but the gift that God makes to us in the person of His Son (corresponding then to the interpretation of *munera* and *sacrificia* as the actions of Judas and

of the Jews). This explanation is later repeated by others. But it is strange that Eisenhofer, II, 173, still considers *dona* as "gifts of God."

¹⁸ For a treatment of *munera* as equivalent to *λειτουργία*, meaning a public work in both the profane and the religious sense, see O. Casel "*λειτουργία—munus*," *Oriens christianus*, 3rd ser., 7 (1932), 289-302; H. Frank, "*Ζυ λειτουργία—munus*," *JL*, 13 (1935), 181-185.

¹⁹ See above, p. 94, with regard to *sacrificium* as a designation for a material gift. Even the expression *sancta sacrificia illibata* no more requires the accomplished consecration than the addition of the words *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam* in regard to the sacrifice of Melchisedech demanded for the latter a sacramental sanctification. *Illibata* refers to the natural lack of blemish that was always demanded in a sacrificial offering; cf. *Batiffol, Leçons*, 238. At all events the thought that the consecration would soon take place may well have been a contributing factor in bringing this notion of holiness to the fore; cf. perhaps Gühr, 634.

²⁰ Cfr. above I, 55, n. 21. One would then have to surmise that the petition for acceptance contained only the *accepta habeas*, because the petition for a blessing is especially stressed in the *Quam oblationem*. As a matter of fact, the *et benedicas* is missing in the Sacramentary of Gellone (Botte, 32, Apparatus), but this, of course, is rather a secondary matter.

oblationem and the consecration. This design was then disrupted by the interjection of the intercessory prayers.²¹

7. General Intercessory Prayers

About the end of the fourth century intercessory prayers began to be inserted into the Great Prayer even in Rome, just as had become customary in the Orient perhaps since the beginning of the same century.¹

As we have already seen in Justin's account, intercessory prayers were conjoined to the eucharistic celebration,² but they preceded the *eucharistia* and formed the conclusion of the service of prayer and reading.³ It is in this very same place that we have located the "General Prayer of the Church," even down to the present time, although here a process of contraction set in quite early.⁴ As a result the core of the intercessory prayer, in the Roman liturgy as well as in others, was transferred to the inner sanctuary of the eucharistic prayer. Only the Gallic liturgies withstood this development, so that to the last—and in the Mozarabic Mass right down to the present—the intercessions remained standing outside the gates of the eucharistic prayer, in the portion of the Mass given over to preparing the gifts. In the Roman Mass the intercessions, as we know them at the present, were remodeled in the course of the fifth century and built into the canon between the *Sanctus* and the prayer for the consecration in the *Quam oblationem*, and the corresponding remembrance of the dead was then added after the consecration.

If we may perceive in the *orationes sollemnes* of Good Friday the General Prayer of the Church as it appeared in the primitive Roman liturgy,⁵ we are struck by the strong contrast between these ancient intercessions and the newer type constructed within the canon. In the latter, the formulation would, as a matter of course, have to be more brief. But only echoes of the former type that really recur are the prayer *pro ecclesia sancta Dei*,

²¹ That something new is inaugurated with *in primis* was sensed even later on. Cf. e.g., Ebner, 16, the illustration of the beginning of the canon from Codex, 2247 of Cologne (11th cent.); *in primis* has an initial just the same as *Memento* and *Communicantes*. Hugo of S. Cher (d. 1263), *Tract. super missam* (ed., Sölch, 27) has the second of his eleven parts of the canon begin with *in primis*.

¹ Above I, 53 ff.

² Above I, 22 f. Petitions, together with the mentioning of names, must also have been made in the sacrifice that took place in the divine service of the Jewish temple; cf. I Macc. 12: 11.

³ At any rate Justin, *Apol.*, I, 67, 5, para-

phrases the Eucharistic prayer as εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας. Herewith, however, in agreement with I, 65, 3, the εὐχαί are rather to be understood as coupling the αἶνος καὶ δόξα that are mentioned in the latter passage before the εὐχαριστία. Outside of that, Justin's *Eucharistia* must have included a prayer for an efficacious Communion; cf. above I, 35, 37. The view advocated by Baumstark among others, *JL*, 1 (1921), 6, that a prayer of petition is already to be assumed within the *Eucharistia* of Justin, is, in the face of further facts, not acceptable.

⁴ Above I, 480 ff.

⁵ Above I, 481 f.

the prayer *pro beatissimo papa nostro*, and the prayer *pro omnibus episcopis*, etc.—and this last only in more recent texts—while the prayer for the Church in the canon accords with its model all the more plainly since in both petition is made for peace, protection, and unity for the Church *toto orbe terrarum*. The explanation lies in the fact that, as Innocent I tells us, the chief concern was the mention of the names within the canon, that therefore the main stress was on the *Memento*; and, on the other hand, the General Prayer for the Church still continued in use. Besides this, the prayer for the emperor appears to have actually had its place here in the fifth century.⁶ The prayer for the catechumens, of whom there were but few, would naturally have been considered no longer so opportune as to require a place in the canon.⁷ The prayer for heretics, Jews, and pagans, however, as it appeared in the *orationes sollemnes*, was somewhat of a specialty of Rome's, in comparison with the other liturgies; it therefore continued to be restricted to the *orationes sollemnes*. These *orationes sollemnes* seem not to have been excluded entirely from the ordinary service until a suitable substitute appeared in the *Kyrie* litany.⁸ The *deprecatio Gelasii*, which we took as evidence for this inference, includes in its seventeen petitions all nine titles of the *orationes sollemnes*.⁹

In the canon the pertinent names ought to have been spoken simply with a brief accompanying phrase. The framework provided for this is the *Memento*, with the short preliminary piece beginning with the words *in primis*. Somewhat later the *Communicantes* sprouted from the same root, and lastly the *Hanc igitur* took its place alongside as an independent structure. If the rights of the individual should thus be acknowledged in the very sanctuary of the liturgy, then it is only right and proper that at the head of the list of names should appear the first name of the Christian community and the community itself. The sacrifice which we offer up humbly to God, and which should, in the first instance, be our thanks and our tribute to our Creator and Father, will also draw down upon us God's protection and grace precisely because it is a sacrifice and because it is this sacrifice. May it be of avail above all¹⁰ for the whole Catholic Church!

⁶ Above I, 53.

⁷ However, we must certainly take into account the possibility that, like the mentioning of the emperor, it was dropped later on.

⁸ Above I, 336 ff.

⁹ The prayer to God *ut cunctis mundum purget erroribus*, etc., is also contained therein; cf. above I, 337, VIII; IX.

¹⁰ The *in primis* is considered meaningless by P. Drews, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe* (Tübingen, 1902), 5, n. 1, "since various gifts were not offered." Likewise R. Buchwald,

Die Epiklese in der römischen Messe (Weidenauer Studien I, special printing; Vienna, 1907), 34 f. However, the *in primis* is not intended to introduce various offerings, but various recommendations united with the offering. The *in primis quæ* would, therefore, be rendered as "above all insofar as we . . ." Evidently, too, these words convey a quiet reason for their acceptance; we offer the gifts "for" the entire holy Church, for her benefit, and also as her humble representative here and now.

The prayer for the whole Church was a matter very close to the heart of the primitive Christians. Well known are the prayers of the *Didache* (9,4; 10,5). When Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna (d. 155-156), upon being arrested, begged for a little time to pray, he prayed aloud for all whom he had known and for the whole Catholic Church, spread over the world."¹¹ Another martyr-bishop, Fructuosus of Tarragona (d. 259), about to be burnt to death, answered a Christian who sought his prayer, saying in a firm voice: "I am bound to remember the whole Catholic Church from sunrise to sunset."¹²

Only two attributes are joined to the mention of the Church, but in them its entire greatness is made manifest. The Church is *holy*; it is the assembly of those who are sanctified in water and in the Holy Spirit. *Sancte* is the earliest of the adjectives customarily attached to the mention of the Church. And it is *Catholic*; according to God's plan of grace, the Church is appointed for all peoples, and at the time this word was inserted into the canon it could be said triumphantly that it was actually spread to all peoples, *toto orbe terrarum*—an expression that merely serves to underscore the *Catholica*.¹³ What we petition for the Church is peace (*pacificare*), or putting it negatively, defense from every threat of danger (*custodire*), so that she might bring forth rich fruit, so that the leaven of the divine power within her might penetrate every level of human society. For the Church internally we follow the example of the Master Himself (John 17:21) by asking above all for unity: that she might continue to be guarded against division and error, that she might be held together through love, the bond of the one family of God (*adunare*), and that the Spirit of God Himself might lead and govern her (*regere*).¹⁴

This leads on to the mention of those through whom the Spirit of God wills to direct the Church and hold it together as a visible society. In other rites, too, since earliest times, we find that at the start of the intercessory prayer the mention of the Church is followed at once by that name which visibly represents the leadership of the Church.¹⁵ Often the

¹¹ *Martyrium Polycarpi*, c. 8, 1; cf. 5, 1.

¹² Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum* (Regensburg, 1859; 266).

¹³ The formula is already verified in liturgical practice in the 11th century by Optatus of Mileve, *Contra Parmen.*, II, 12 (CSEL, 26, 47): *offerre vos dicitis Deo pro una Ecclesia, quæ sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa*. In this reference Optatus presumes that the Donatists had retained this prayer since their break with the Church in 312. It is possible that the phrase in the canon is linked with the fact that since the 4th century the original meaning of *catholica* was weakened more

and more to a mere antithesis to heresy. Botte, *Le canon*, 54.

¹⁴ Regarding this petition Pope Vigilius (d. 555), *Ep. ad Justin*, c. 2 (SCEL, 35, 348) has given direct testimony: *omnes pontifices antiqua in offerendo sacrificio traditione deposcimus, exorantes, ut catholicam fidem adunare, regere Dominus et custodire toto orbe dignetur*.

¹⁵ At Antioch in the 4th century the celebrant (who is presumably the Patriarch himself) mentions his own person immediately after the invocation for the whole Church, *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 41 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 225): Ἐγὼ παραλούμεν σε καὶ

view does not extend beyond the bishop. In the Roman canon the words in this passage that represent the traditional basic text are the words *una cum famulo tuo papa nostro illo*,¹⁶ whereupon the *Memento* follows at once. But outside of Rome these words were soon expanded in various ways. In the Frankish realm during the sixth century the title *papa* could, for example, mean any bishop;¹⁷ therefore we find various clarifying additions that univocally designate the Roman pontiff.¹⁸ More and more since the sixth century the naming of the pope in the intercessory prayer became a fixed rule in the churches of the West. In Milan and Ravenna the custom existed already about 500.¹⁹ In the year 519 two bishops from an episcopal city of Epirus tell about it.²⁰ In the year 529, at the urgent insistence of St. Cæsarius of Arles, the practice was prescribed by the Council of Vaison for that section.²¹ Pope Pelagius (d. 561) desired the Bishops of Tuscany to mention his name at Mass: *quomodo vos ab universi orbis communione separatos esse non creditis, si mei inter sacra mysteria secundum consuetudinem nominis memoriam reticetis*.²² At Constantinople, too, during the sixth century the name of the pope was mentioned in the diptychs, and since the time of Justinian it was put in the first place.²³

In Italian manuscripts especially, up to the eleventh century, the pope is often named alone.²⁴ But outside of Rome the name of the bishop could not long be omitted. That name appears with increasing regularity, usually

ὕπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντός σοι οὐδενίας καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. In the 7th century anaphora of St. James "our patriarchs N. N." are mentioned by name in this place; Rücker, 214 f.; cf. Brightman, 89 f. The correspondence of these intercessions (namely by the incorporation of the diaconal litany) with the Roman formula under consideration was used by P. Drews for all it was worth in his theory of the canon; cf. Fortescue, 157 f.; 329.

¹⁶ Botte, *Le canon*, 33. Several of the oldest manuscripts have *beatissimo famulo tuo*. This is possibly the primitive reading. Cf. Brinktrine, 178.—Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 501, seeks to associate the expression under consideration with the *Memento* of the living: *Una cum famulo tuo . . . memento, Domine*. Aside from the fact that it is difficult to approve this assumption on stylistic grounds and that it has no support in tradition, the point against it is that in this way the naming of the Pope would have to be considered as a mere side issue.

¹⁷ Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, II, 27

(PL, 71, 223 A). On the other hand, *papa* for the naming of the Pope was used already in the year 400 at the Council of Toledo. P. Batiffol, "Papa, sedes apostolica, apostolatus," *Revista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 2 (1925), 99-116, especially 102; idem., *Leçons*, 241 f. Cf. H. Leclercq, "Papa": DACL, XIII (1937) 1097-1111.

¹⁸ Thus, in the Irish Stowe Missal (about 800): *sedis apostolicæ episcopo*. Ebner, 398.

¹⁹ Ennodius, *Libellus de synodo*, c. 77 (CSEL, 6, 311); E. Bishop, "The diptychs" (Appendix to Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*), 113, n. 2.

²⁰ Hormisdas, *Ep.*, 59, 2 (CSEL, 35, 672): *nullius nomen obnoxium religionis est recitatum nisi tantum beatitudinis vestre*.

²¹ Can. 4 (Mansi, VIII, 727): *Et hoc nobis justum visum est, ut nomen domini papæ, quicumque sedis apostolicæ præfuerit in nostris ecclesiis recitetur*.

²² Pelagius I., *Ep.*, 5 (PL, 69, 398 C).

²³ Bishop, *op. cit.*, 111; 104, n. 1.

²⁴ Ebner, 398.

with the wording: *et antistite nostro illo*.²⁶ The further supplement: *et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus*, is also found first outside Rome, in Gallic territory,²⁷ and this at a surprisingly early date.²⁸

Who are meant by the *orthodoxi*? The word could designate simply those who were sound and solid in doctrine, the Catholic Christians.²⁹ The same meaning is conveyed by the complementary phrase, *catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultores*, a phrase appended in conformity with a stylistic law of the canon which prefers twin-type expressions. The only difference is that the latter phrase designates in the first place those who esteem the Catholic and apostolic faith³⁰ and who consciously profess it.³¹ The first-named *cultores fidei* are obviously, then, the shepherds of the Church, the bishops. A confirmatory argument to show that they, and not simply the faithful, are meant by the double expression, is found in the construction *una cum*, which would otherwise be meaningless; may God, we say, protect the Church (which is composed of the faithful as a unit), along with the pope and all those who, as faithful pastors, have a part in her governance.³¹ But in more recent times, when the tautology that arose in connection with *Ecclesia tua* was no longer sensed, the expression was taken to refer to all the faithful; it was opposed as superflu-

²⁶ Thus already some of the oldest MSS. The MS. of the older Gelasianum (1st half of the 8th cent.) has *et antistite nostro illo episcopo*; Botte, 32. The naming of the abbot also occurs; see examples in Ebner, 100, 163, 302; Martène, I, 4, 8, 7, (I, 403 D).—The celebrating bishop, *resp.* the pope, substitutes in place of the usual formula *me indigno famulo tuo*. Eisenhofer, II, 175.

²⁷ Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 82.

²⁸ In the Bobbio Missal (about 700) the entire addition has the following form: *una cum devotissimo famulo tuo ill. papa nostro sedis apostolicæ et antistite nostro et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ fidei cultoribus*. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal* (HBS, 58), n. 11; Muratori, II, 777. Cf. also the study of B. Capelle, "Et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ fidei cultoribus," *Miscellanea hist. Alb. de Mayer*, I (Louvain, 1946), 137-150. Capelle advocates the assumption that the supplement belonged to the original text of the canon, but that it was deleted by Gregory the Great. See *Eph. liturg.*, 61 (1947), 281 f.

²⁹ *Orthodoxus* in opposition to *hæreticus*, e.g., in Jerome, *Ep.*, 17, 2.

³⁰ The expression was current in the 5th century. Gelasius, *Ep.*, 43 (Thiel, 472); the pope designates himself *minister catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei*.

³¹ Cyprian, *Ep.*, 67, 6 (CSEL, 3, 740, 1. 11): *fidei cultor ac defensor veritatis* (regarding a bishop). There is an undertone of conscious pride in the inscription *Quis tantas Christo venerandas condidit ædes, Si queris: cultor Pammachius fidei*, at the entrance to the Basilica of John and Paul. Here the expression certainly does not designate a bishop.—Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 176, refers to the parallel *cultor Dei*, II Macc. 1: 19; John 9: 31. He therefore clings to the interpretation of this phrase as referring to all the faithful.—A. Mauretanian inscription of the 3rd century designates the Christian as *cultor verbi*; C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg, 1917), 127.

³² Cf. Capelle, *loc. cit.*, who stresses the tautology that would otherwise ensue. Moreover, mentioning the names of bishops of leading metropolises must have been customary in the 5th century in Rome as well as elsewhere; this is obviously to be deduced from a writing of Leo the

ous, for example, by Micrologus, adducing the rather poor argument, among others, that the *Memento* followed.³²

The civil authorities, for whom St. Paul, even in the time of Nero, earnestly desired the prayer of the faithful community (1 Tim. 2:2), get no mention in the Mass of the city of Rome. This is understandable, considering the time from which the oldest extant manuscripts derive, for then the pope was, in point of fact at least, the civil lord of the "Papal" State. Hardly a shadow of the eastern Roman empire was any longer noticeable.³³ In the preceding centuries, on the contrary, prayer for the emperor was decidedly a part of the canon.³⁴ In the Milanese form of the Roman canon, representing a text taken over from Rome perhaps already before Gregory the Great,³⁵ the prayer for the ruler is still to be found,³⁶ and this is true also in other isolated instances.³⁷ When the Roman Empire was revived in the year 800, the mention of the emperor occurs at first

Great to the Patriarch of Constantinople, *Ep.*, 80, 3 (PL, 54, 914 f.). Cf. Kennedy, *The Saints*, 24; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 179 f. In the 11th century there are again reports regarding attempts to introduce the practice; see Martène, I, 4, 8 (I, 403 E). The Missa Illyrica, which belongs to this period, seems to have so construed our formula, when it gives its version: *et pro omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ fidei cultoribus, pontificibus et abbatibus, gubernatoribus et rectoribus Ecclesiæ sanctæ Dei, et pro omni populo sancto Dei*: Martène, I, 4, IV (I, 513 C).

³² Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985). Bernold's reasoning is not pertinent, because in the *Memento* the prayer is said only for the offerants and those present, whereas we are considering prayers for the faithful of the whole Church in general; thus also H. Ménard, PL, 78, 275 B—The *Sacramentarium Rosianum* (10th cent.; ed. Brinktrine [Freiburg, 1930], p. 74) has the specific addition *omnium videlicet catholicorum* joined to *famularumque tuarum*.

³³ But for the mention of the Byzantine emperor in the Roman liturgy of the 8-9th century, cf. J. Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser u. Reich*, 54, 55 f.

³⁴ Cf. *supra*, I, 53, 54.—Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 39, 3 (Floril. patr., 6, 110), is witness to common prayer *pro imperatoribus*. Cf. J. Lortz, *Tertullian als Apologet* (Münster, 1927), 292 f.; Archbp. J. Beran, "De ordine missæ sec. Tertulliani Apologeti-

cum" (*Miscellanea Mohlberg*, II, 7-32), 12 ff.

³⁵ Cf. P. Lejay, "Ambrosien (Rit.)": DACL, I, 1421.

³⁶ In the Sacramentary of Biasca (9-10th cent.) the addition reads: *cum famulo tuo et sacerdote tuo pontifice nostro illo et famulo tuo imperatore illo regibusque nostris cum conjugibus et prolis, sed omnibus orthodoxis*. Ebner, 77; A. Ratti-M. Magistretti, *Missale Ambrosianum duplex* (Milan, 1913), 415. Cf. a similar formulary in the MS. edited by J. Pamelius, *Liturgica Latina*, (Cologne, 1571), 301: *et famulo tuo N. imperatore sed et regibus*. The plural specifically recalls the prayer in the Mass *pro regibus*, as verified in Milan by the Ambrosianum (above I, 53). Therefore, it is not necessary to suggest a reference to the rulers of the Carolingian provinces since the division of the empire in 843, as Biehl, 57 does. An Ambrosian MS. adduced by Muratori, I, 131, merely presents *et famulo tuo (illo) imperatore*. The simple naming of the emperor is still found in the Milan Missal of 1751, but quite naturally no longer in that of 1902; Ratti-Magistretti, 240.—The view that in the naming of the emperor at Milan we have a residue of an even older Roman custom, is held by Kennedy, *The Saints*, 21, 48, 189.—Batiffol, *Leçons*, 243, n. 2, shows, with a reference to the Leonianum, how strongly the prayer for the Roman empire corresponded to the attitude of the Roman Church at the end of the ancient era. ³⁷ Biehl, 37 f.

only in some few examples.³⁸ A more frequent occurrence is not noticed till the eleventh century³⁹ and by this time, because of the trouble arising over investiture, it was again challenged, as erasures and deletions in the text of the canon frequently show.⁴⁰ In general, however, it was retained. Commentators on the Mass since the twelfth century refer to it without question.⁴¹ The formula is either: *et imperatore nostro*, or (at first with the same meaning): *et rege nostro*.⁴² Later, both emperor and king are mentioned together or—an indication of the growing sense of territorialism—the *rege nostro* is understood of the king alone as the ruler of the land.⁴³

The *Missale secundum usum Romanæ Curie* of the thirteenth century, which originated in an atmosphere of ecclesiastico-political strife, mentions only pope and bishop.⁴⁴ Because of its general acceptance, and because of the Missal of Pius V which was founded on it, mention of the civil ruler was generally discontinued.⁴⁵ It was only by way of privilege that the monarch was mentioned in the canon; this custom prevailed in Spain in former times,⁴⁶ and since 1761 in Austria,⁴⁷ with the latter custom continuing till 1918.⁴⁸ In the framework of the formula *una cum*, which can comprise only the heads of Catholic Christendom, the naming of the

³⁸ As his correspondence with Byzantium shows (MGH, Ep. Karol. Aevi, V, 387), Emperor Louis II seems to have presumed that his name was mentioned *inter sacra mysteria*, *inter sancta sacrificia*, but hardly only in the Greek Church; cf. Biehl, 55 f. If the name of the emperor does appear in the Sacramentaries before the 10th century, as in the Cod. Eligii (PL, 78, 26: *et rege nostro ill.*), it is each time only by way of exception. Among the commentators of the Mass until Bonizo of Sutri (d. about 1095) there is no mention of it at all; Biehl, 48 ff.

³⁹ Ebner, 398.

⁴⁰ Ebner, 399; Biehl, 60 f.

⁴¹ Biehl, 49-53; Sölch, *Hugo*, 89 f. Cf. also William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 333.

⁴² As Egeling of Brunswick (d. 1481) later explains, by the word *rex* was to be understood the *constitutus in suprema dignitate laicali*. Franz, 548.

⁴³ Thus frequently, though not universally, among the German Mass commentators at the end of the Middle Ages; Biehl, 51 f., 58. Regarding countries outside of Germany, cf. Biehl, 58 f.; for Spain, Ferreres, 146 f.

⁴⁴ That deference to the Pope as secular

ruler of the Papal States was the deciding factor in this case, as, among others, Sölch, 90, surmises, is difficult to accept; for the emperor's name was mentioned elsewhere outside his territory. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, III, 5, (PL, 217, 844), indeed notes that only outside Rome is the prayer also said for the bishop, but with an appeal to I Tim. 2: 2, he requires the prayer for the secular ruler without any restriction.

⁴⁵ That holds for all rites influenced by this Missal. Even at present the Dominican Missal has the addition *et rege nostro*; cf. regarding it, Sölch, 91.

⁴⁶ Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, I, 454 f. For France see *ibid.*, 471 f.

⁴⁷ Biehl, 62 f. The privilege was approved in Austria by a decree of the Congregation of Rites, Feb. 10, 1860, reproduced in Biehl, 170-173.

⁴⁸ But elsewhere, too, the sovereign was frequently named. Different moralists, e.g., even P. Scavini (d. 1869), speak of a *consuetudo* that became a matter of law; see Kössing, *Liturgische Vorlesungen*, 471, n. 244.—*Ibid.*, 468-471, Kössing objects to the thesis of A. J. Binterim, *Über das Gebet für die Könige und Fürsten in der Katholischen Liturgie* (reprint from the

ruler is possible, only in a Christian state.⁶ For the rest, the great needs of the political order are expressed in the preceding *pacificare*, which necessarily implies a condition of ecclesiastical life tranquil and undisturbed.

8. The *Memento* of the Living

The decisive factor which brought about in the Roman Mass the division of the Great Prayer and the insertion of the intercessions was, as we learn from the letter of Pope Innocent I, the desire to mention *inter sacra mysteria* the names of those offering. The precise setting for this mention of names is the prayer that follows, *Memento Domine*, along with the *Communicantes*.¹ In the intercessory prayer of oriental liturgies the same words Μνήσθητι κύριε are used to introduce a whole series of petitions commending to God various groups of the faithful; these were at one time closely linked with the names from the diptychs.² In ecclesiastical life, especially in oriental Christendom, the diptychs have played a major role since the fourth century.³

Most prominent there were the diptychs of the dead, but besides these there were also special diptychs of the living, at least in Constantinople. Seemingly as early as the start of the sixth century, both were read out in a loud voice within the intercessory prayer that followed the con-

Memoirs, IV, 2; Mainz, 1827), according to which a special rubric to the effect that outside the Papal States the sovereign should be named, was omitted only because the mention of the name was taken for granted. In a decree of March 20, 1862, the Congregation of Rites expressly stated that the Catholic sovereign may be mentioned only by special indulgent to that effect; Gihl, 640, n. 26 (not contained in the authentic collections).—The recurrent movement is manifested even in the present years of Pius XII, in the insertion in the Austrian *Exsultet* of a petition for those *qui nos in potestate regunt*; cf. *Acta Ap. Sedis*, 43 (1951), 133 f.

⁶ However, in this case other forms were chosen. The Sacramentary of the 10th century published by U. Chevalier, *Sacramentaire et Martyrologe de l'abbaye de S.-Remy* (Bibliothèque liturg., 2; Paris, 1900) continues after naming the bishop: *Memento, Domine, famulo tuo rege nostro ill. Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum* . . . (344).—The same method is also found already about the year 800 in a Sacramentary of Angoulême

and, as a later supplement, in the Vat. Reg., 316; Botte, *Le canon*, 32, Apparatus. An example from the 11th century in Ebner, 163.

¹ The interrelation of the two formulas will occupy our attention again later on. That they belong together seems clear from the fact that the *Per Christum* comes only at the end of the second formula. On the other hand, there does not seem to be sufficient reason to take the *Te igitur*, which likewise lacks the concluding formula, into the same close relationship. For here the *Per Jesum Christum* is already woven into the beginning of the formula.

² Liturgy of St. James: Brightman, 55 ff.; liturgy of St. Mark: *ibid.*, 129 f.; Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil: *ibid.*, 336 (cf. 409). In the passages cited the τὰ δέπνυχα that the deacon is to read off, are explicitly named by the rubric. Examples of oriental diptych texts from the 12th, 15th, and 19th centuries in Brightman, 501-503, 551 f.

³ E. Bishop, "The Diptychs," in the appendix to Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 97-117; F. Cabrol, "Diptyques":

secration.⁴ Regarding the διπτύχα τῶν χειροτονημένων, we know that they contained the names of prominent personages, above all in ecclesiastical life, but also in civil life, arranged in specified series starting with those of former bishops of the imperial city.⁵ The insertion or omission of a name could thus at times cause a popular uproar, as happened at the beginning of the fifth century in the case of the name of St. John Chrysostom,⁶ for the inclusion of a name in the diptychs indicated the attitude of the ecclesiastical community towards the person involved and its acknowledgment of his orthodoxy. Therefore, in oriental diptychs since the sixth century, we sometimes find at the top of the list, along with the “patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs,”⁷ mention of the fathers of the first councils, above all the “318 orthodox fathers” of Nicea.⁸

In the West, and particularly in the Roman liturgy, the listing of the names of the living takes the lead. Regarding the dead there is, as we shall see, no mention at this moment in public worship. This fits in with what we have already pointed to as the starting-point of the list, namely the offering of the sacrificial gifts of the faithful. Their offerings were to be commended to God by a special prayer, which is precisely what happened in the *oratio super oblata*. Besides this, there was within the canon an additional plea that God might be mindful of those *qui tibi*

DACL, IV, 1045-1094. διπτύχον = twofold, double tablet. In ancient times they served as a sort of announcement book, which, because of their beautiful design, were presented as gifts by aristocratic people. In Church circles they were used for a list of names, even if, as was often the case, they were of purely secular origin. The covers were often inlaid on the outside with plates of precious metal or ivory and adorned with sculptured ornaments. Many of these precious ecclesiastical diptych tablets, among them some that date back to the Roman Consuls, were later used as covers for liturgical books and were thus preserved.

⁴ Bishop, 109 ff. Elsewhere, as was frequently the case in the Syrian sphere, the diptychs were read while the people exchanged the kiss of peace; Bishop, 108, 111 f. In the East Syrian Rite the reading of the diptychs, the comprehensive “book of the living and the dead,” is still done today by the deacon, at this place, on Sundays and feast days. The names of one’s own community are included in these lists and they are no longer written on special tablets. In the Byzantine Mass mentioning the deceased by name is done silently by the priest, as happens in our *Memento*; Brightman, 388, 23.

⁵ Cf. the arrangement in the diptychs according to the Armenian liturgy of today; Brightman, 441 f. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 502-504, establishes the fact that the diptychs at least in Constantinople lost their original “parochial” character and finally also the character as a list of names noted down for the purpose of intercession.

⁶ Bishop, 102 ff.

⁷ Thus, already Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 9 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 102). Here there is no question of reading the names, though it is the case with Serapion; cf. *supra*, I, 35. In the East Syrian Mass the list that comprises several hundred begins with “Adam and Abel and Seth”; Brightman, 276 ff. Towards the end of the ancient era acceptance into the diptychs corresponded more or less to our canonization in the Church, just as a cancellation was equivalent to excommunication.

⁸ Thus, in the East Syrian Mass: Brightman, 277, 1. 3; in the *Ethiopian anaphora* of the Apostles: *ibid.*, 229, 1. 2. The Monophysite West Syrians mention the “three pious and holy and ecumenical Synods”: *ibid.*, 94, 1. 3. The “four holy synods” were named by the deacon in the reading of the diptych at the Synod of Con-

offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis. In this connection the names of the officers were read aloud. This much information can be gleaned from the exposition of Pope Innocent I,⁹ but the account is so sketchy that we are left without any details of how it was done. There were probably only selected names, for obviously it was neither feasible nor reasonable to publish the names of all those who participated in the Sunday service.¹⁰ On the other hand, it stood to reason that where the Mass was celebrated for the benefit of such and such group, as was the case in votive Masses for certain needs or certain occasions, the names involved would be read out.¹¹ In some instances this would be carried over to public service. The older *Gelasianum* presents an illustrative example on the third Sunday of Lent, on the occasion of the first *scrutinium electorum*. It reads as follows:

*Infra canonem ubi dicit: Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, qui electos tuos suscepturi sunt ad sanctam gratiam baptismi tui, et omnium circumadstantium. Et taces. Et recitantur nomina virorum et mulierum, qui ipsos infantes suscepturi sunt. Et intras: Quorum tibi fides cognita.*¹²

While the priest is silent, another cleric reads aloud the names of the godparents or sponsors. At the ordinary service the only names mentioned

stantinople under Mennas (544). Cf. the references in Martène, I, 4, 8, 11 (I, 405 B; I looked in vain for this in the acts of the council).—Elsewhere, too, a close watch was kept regarding the true faith of those whose names were read off in the canon. According to the *Pœnitentiale Theodori* (England, end of the 7th cent.) a priest, at whose Mass any names of heretics happened to be read off with the rest, was obliged to do penance for a week. H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisziplin der Kirche*, (Mainz, 1883), 529; Finsterwalder, *Canones Theodori*, 258.

⁹ Above I, 54.—Already a century earlier a similar custom must have existed in Spain, as appears from can. 29 of Elvira (Mansi, II, 10); regarding an *energumenus* the canon stipulates *neque ad altare cum oblatione esse recipiendum*. Cf. Bishop, 98 f. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 62, 5 (CSEL, 3, 700 f.), is also worthy of note. When sending money to the Numidian bishops, Cyprian also transmits the names of those who gave it: *in mente habeatis orationibus vestris et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus representetis*. See *Ep.*, 16, 2 (CSEL, 3, 519), where he states accusingly with regard to the *lapsi*: *offertur nomine eorum*. What is alleged against this by Augustine

refers only to the naming of the deceased; Kennedy, *The Saints*, 27 f.; Srawley, 137.

¹⁰ Cf. *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 205). No names of the deceased are permitted to be read off on Sundays, *sed tantum vivorum nomina regum vel principum seu et sacerdotum, vel pro omni populo christiano oblationes vel vota redduntur*.

¹¹ *Ordo "Qualiter quadam orationes" = Ordo Rom.* IV (Hittorp, 588; cf. PL, 78, 1380 B; Botte, 32, Apparatus): *Hic nomina vivorum memorentur si volueris, sed non dominica die nisi ceteris diebus*. Thus also the *Sacramentarium Rossianum* (Botte, 32, Apparatus) and Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 985).

¹² I, 26 (Wilson, 34). It is self-evident that the names of the candidates for baptism could not be mentioned here, because the *qui tibi offerunt* could not be said of them. Their names, however, appear in the *Hanc igitur*, in which the purpose of the prayer was to be mentioned. The Roman expression *electi* for the candidates for baptism shows that the rubric originated in Rome and not in the Gallic territory where the MS. comes from. Consequently, we may take this as 6th century evidence.

would probably have been those which merited marked prominence for having given a special oblation over and above the liturgical offering of bread and wine.¹³ This can be gathered from a somewhat testy remark of the hermit of Bethlehem, who had probably heard about the new practice at Rome: *ut . . . glorientur publiceque diaconus in ecclesiis recitet offerentium nomina: tantum offert illa, tantum ille pollicitus est, placentque sibi ad plausum populi.*¹⁴

A reading similar to that at Rome is evidenced beyond doubt in the domain of the Gallic liturgy, and here it is the offerers who are expressly named. The Gallican Mass of the seventh century—and likewise the Mozarabic—includes a special priestly oration *Post nomina* after the offertory procession and the introductory prayer. The wording of this oration is often linked to the reading of the names that just took place, then launches into a prayer of intercession for living and dead. An example is the prayer on the feast of the Circumcision: *Auditis nominibus offerentum, fratres dilectissimi, Christum Dominum deprecemur* [a reference to the feast follows] . . . *præstante pietate sua, ut hæc sacrificia sic viventibus proficiant ad emendationem, ut defunctis opitulentur ad requiem. Per Dominum.*¹⁵ The reading itself, however, includes under the notion of *offerentes* not only those present, above all the clergy assembled here, but also all whose society is valued while the sacrifice is being offered up. Even the dead are embodied in this circle of offerers, either because those offering the sacrifice do so “for” them, that is, as their representatives, or that they “remember” them in the oblation. In the Mozarabic Mass this reading, which precedes the oration *Post nomina*, has been retained to the present.

The priest [formerly it was perhaps the deacon] begins: *Offerunt Deo Domino oblationem sacerdotes nostri, papa Romensis et reliqui pro se et pro omni clero et plebibus ecclesiæ sibi met consignatis vel pro universa fraternitate. Item offerunt universi presbyteri, diaconi, clerici ac populi circumstantes in honorem sanctorum pro se et suis.*

R. [the choir corroborating]: *Offerunt pro se et pro universa fraternitate.*
The priest: *Facientes commemorationem beatissimorum apostolorum et martyrum.*¹⁶ [Names follow.]

¹³ Cf. *supra*, p. 11.

¹⁴ Jerome, *Comm. in Ezech.* (of the year 411), c. 18 (PL, 25, 175).—Cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Jerem.* (of the year 420): *At nunc publice recitantur offerentium nomina et redemptio peccatorum mutatur in laudem.* The practice was therefore considered an innovation. That Jerome is referring to a Western practice is clear also from this, that in oriental liturgy the names of the *offerentes*, as far as present information goes, never played such a part.

¹⁵ *Missale Gothicum*, Muratori, II, 553; cf. 542 f., 554, etc. Such a Gallican *Post-*

nomina formula is still found in today's Roman Mass, in the *Secreta* that is supposed to be said in Lent: *Deus cui soli cognitus est numerus electorum in superna felicitate locandus.* Cf. Cabrol, *La messe en occident*, 120. A 6th century testimony for the reading of the names from an ivory diptych in Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.*, X, 7 (MGH, Auct. ant., IV, 1, 240): *cui hodie in templo diptychus edit ebur.* He is referring to the names of King Childbert and his mother Brunhild. Cf. Bishop, 100, n. 1.

¹⁶ This formula *Facientes* with a long list

R. *Et omnium martyrum.*

The priest: *Item pro spiritibus pausantium.* [A long roll of sainted confessors is listed: *Hilarii, Athanasii . . .*]

R. *Et omnium pausantium.*¹⁷

It is noteworthy that not till the second sentence is the word *offerunt* applied to those present, while in the first sentence it is ascribed in honorary fashion to the representatives of the grand ecclesiastical communion. It is probably to be presumed that originally the names of the persons in office—the leading bishops in Spain and the *papa Romensis*—were pronounced.¹⁸ In the course of time this mention of names was omitted in favor of the bare formula, either because it was deemed unimportant or because it was found too bothersome.

Something like this must also have occurred in the Roman canon where the oldest extant manuscripts in general no longer have any indication whatever of an explicit listing of names after the words: *Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum.*¹⁹ But since the formula obviously implies it, the indication for such an insert was later restored, some way or other, even soon after the Roman Mass was transplanted to Frankish soil. In his *Admonitio Generalis* of 789 Charlemagne decreed: The names should not be publicly read at some earlier part of the Mass (as in the Gallican rite), but during the canon.²⁰ The express direction is then found variously in the Mass books.²¹

of names that followed is preserved on a diptychon that dates back to the Roman Consul Anastasius of the year 517 and that was in ecclesiastical use in Northern France. Cf. Leclercq, "Diptyques": DACL, IV, 1119 f.; Kennedy, *The Saints*, 65-67.

¹⁷ *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 542 ff.). *Pausantes* are those who "rest" (from worldly cares). It is to be noted here, however, that a summons on the part of the priest precedes this diptych formula, though it is separated from it (probably as a later and secondary intrusion) by an oration: *Ecce sanctam catholicam in orationibus in mente habeamus ut eam Dominus . . . Omnes lapsos, captivos, infirmos atque peregrinos in mente habeamus, ut eos Dominus . . .* (loc. cit., 540). Another diptych formula is given in the Stowe Missal, where it is inserted in the *Memento* of the Dead of the Roman Mass; it begins: *Cum omnibus in toto mundo offerentibus sacrificium spiritale . . . sacerdotibus offert senior noster N. presbyter pro se et pro suis et pro totius Ecclesiae coetu catholica et pro commemorando anathetico gradu . . .* Then comes a lengthy list of saints of

the Old and then of the New Testament, martyrs, hermits, bishops, priests, and the conclusion: *et omnium pausantium qui nos in dominica pace præcesserunt ab Adam usque in hodiernum diem, quorum Deus nomina . . . novit.* Warner (HBS, 32), 14-16; cf. Duchesne, 222 f. The rule of the Order of St. Aurelian (d. 551) ends with a like formula; (PL, 68, 395-398).

¹⁸ Thus A. Lesley, PL, 85, 542 C D. Cf. also preceding note.

¹⁹ The Stowe Missal, which notes before the words, *Hic recitantur nomina vivorum*, forms an exception. Botte, 32; Warner (HBS), 32), 11.

²⁰ C. 54 (MGH Capit., I, 57). Cf. also can. 51 of the Council of Frankfurt (754): *De non recitandis nominibus antequam oblatio offertur.* (ibid., 78).

²¹ The Sacramentary of Rotaldus (10th cent.) speaks of the subdeacons who shortly before, facing the altar, *memoriam vel nomina vivorum et mortuorum nominaverunt* (PL, 78, 244 A). A note, *Hic nominentur nomina vivorum*, appears again in a Central Italian Missal of the 11th century; (Ebner, 163) and thence frequently

Since the canon began to be said in a low tone, this reading of names could no longer be loud and public. According to one eleventh century account, the names were whispered into the priest's ear on those occasions when he had assistants around him.²² In another instance the names were pronounced by the priest himself. Many Mass books, therefore, even indicate certain names right in the text of the canon, at least as a marginal notation,²³ perhaps by reason of foundations. Or a corresponding general formula was inserted, embracing those names that had a right to be mentioned.²⁴ Sometimes the register of names was laid on the altar and merely a reference introduced into the *Memento*,²⁵ a practice similar to one still in use at present in the West Syrian rite.²⁶

in this or similar form until well into the 5th century (Ebner, 146, 157, 194, 204, 280, 334 f.) also as a later addition (*ibid.*, 27); see also Martène, 1, 4, XVII (I, 601). Nevertheless the corresponding remark regarding the deceased is more frequent.

²² In this way the Bishop at Rheims recalled the names of his predecessors in the Mass for the Dead; Fulkwin, *Gesta abbatum Lobienium*, c. 7 (d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, 2 ed., II, 733). Cf. Martène, 1, 4, 8, 13 (I, 405 f.).

²³ A Sacramentary of the 11th century from Fulda (Ebner, 208) mentions names from the Byzantine Imperial Court. Heading the list is *Constantini Monomachi imperatoris* (d. 1054). More examples, Leroquais, I, 14, 33 (9th cent.; see moreover in the Register, III, 389); Ebner, 7; 94 ("margins covered over with names, 10th c."); 149; 196; 249; Martène, 1, 4, 8, 10 (I, 404 f.). In a deed of gift from Vendôme in the year 1073 the benefactors of the church stipulated that their names will be mentioned in the Canon of the Mass both during life and after death. Merk, *Abriss*, 87, n. 11; here also further data.

²⁴ Thus, a 10th century marginal gloss in the famous Cod. Paduanus reads: *omnium Christianorum, omnium qui mihi peccatori propter tuo timore confessi sunt et suas elemosynas . . . donaverunt et omnium parentorum meorum vel qui se in meis orationibus commendaverunt, tam vivis quam et defunctis*. Ebner, 128; Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 877. Formulas according to this scheme then appear in ever widening circles; see Martène, 1, 4, IV; VI; XXXVI

(I, 513C., 533 E., 673 f.); Bona, II, 11, 5 (756 f.); Leroquais, I, 103, etc.; Ebner, 402 f.; cf. the notices in the description of the MSS., *ibid.*, 17, 53, etc. A formula that appears at Seckau in the 15th century (Köck, 62), and in 1539 at Rome in Ciconianus (Legg, *Tracts*, 208), begins: *mei peccatoris cui tantam gratiam concedere digneris, ut assidue tuæ maiestati placeam, illius pro quo . . .*

²⁵ So, too, a marginal gloss already in the Sacramentary in J. Pamelius, *Liturgica Latina*, II (Cologne, 1571), 180: (*Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum*) *et eorum quorum nomina ad memorandum conscripsimus ac super sanctum altare tuum scripta adesse videntur*. More examples in Martène, 1, 4, 8, 15 (I, 406); Ebner, 403; cf. 94; PL, 78, 26, note g (from a 9th cent. MS. of Rheims). Such references were occasioned, among others, by the *libri vitæ* that were introduced in monasteries on the basis of prayer affiliations; cf. A. Ebner, *Die klösterlichen Gebetsverbrüderungen bis zum Ausgang des karolingischen Zeitalters* (Regensburg, 1890), 97 ff., 121 ff. But reference is made to such registers without their having been placed on the altar; see the entry of the 11th century in a Sacramentary of Bobbio: *et quorum vel quarum nomina apud me scripta retinentur*; Ebner, 81; Ferreres, 147.

²⁶ In the West Syrian Mass the names of such families as requested prayers for their deceased members during a specific period of the ecclesiastical year were inscribed upon a tablet that was laid upon the altar. At the *Memento* of the Dead the priest lays his hand upon the host and then makes a

Since the eleventh century these insert formulas, bearing a general character and often joined to the reference mentioned, grew transiently to memorable proportions, encompassing not only the *Memento* itself, but also the preceding intercessory plea for pope and bishop.²⁷ Often, too, a self-recommendation was added at the start: *Mihi quoque indignissimo famulo tuo propitius esse digneris et ab omnibus me peccatorum offensionibus emundare*,²⁸ or less frequently: *Memento mei quæso*, with various continuations.²⁹

But very early a contrary tendency arose, leading in the course of the centuries to a complete suppression of all such additions.³⁰ Only names were allowed to be inserted,³¹ or generally only a silent commemoration was permitted at this moment,³² and in this the faithful were probably invited to take part.³³

In the Missal of Pius V the indication of a mention of names and the corresponding pause have been retained.³⁴ But no rule is prescribed regarding the choice of names: *orat aliquantulum pro quibus orare intendit*. It is in line with the original intent and with the context that at a Mass

threefold sign of the cross over the tablet. S. Salaville in R. Aigrin, *Liturgia* (Paris, 1935), 915 f., note; cf. Hanssens, III, 473 f.

²⁷ Cf. e.g., *Adiuncta Pauli Diaconi intra canonem quando volueris* in Ebner, 302.

²⁸ Ebner, 401; see also the description of the MSS. *ibid.*, passim. Cf. also Martène, I, 4, 8, 15 (I, 406 f.).

²⁹ Ebner, 247; Leroquais, I, 40; 84; Ferreres, p. C; cf. Martène, I, 4, 8, 15 (I, 406 b). A formula of this kind frequently precedes the *Memento* of the Dead; see *infra*. The case of the Valencia Missal (1492) may be exceptional, inasmuch as a whole list of invocations from the litany precedes the *Memento*: *Per mysterium sanctæ incarnationis tuæ nos exaudire digneris, te rogamus audi nos*, etc. Ferreres, P. XCI. Cf. *ibid.*, p. LXXXVIII, the *deprecatio* before the *Memento*. Often a *Memento* of the Dead is here appended at the same time.

³⁰ Nevertheless even Merati (d. 1744) still proposes a lengthy interpolated prayer that the priest could here pray secretly; Gavanti-Merati, II, 8, 3 (I, 289).

³¹ Bernold of Constance (d. 1100), *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985) opposes those who interpolate *suas orationes* here. The chapter is captioned: *Quid superfluum sit in canone*. John Belet (d. about 1165),

Explicatio, c. 46 (PL, 202, 54 B): *adde-mus nulli hic [in the canon] concessum esse aliquid vel detrudere vel addere, nisi quandoque nomen illorum, pro quibus specialiter aut nominatim offertur sacrificium*.

³² Hints regarding the matter are often given in the Mass commentaries of the Middle Ages. Thus, Hugo of S. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 27) advises to proceed *juxta ordinem caritatis* and to pray first for parents and relatives, then *pro spiritualibus parentibus*, next for those who have recommended themselves to our prayers (*commendaverunt*; this phrase is the first mention of the *offerentes* in the traditional sense of those who offered a stipend and the like, see above, p. 130), then for those present, and finally for all the people. The Missal of Regensburg about 1500 lists eight groups in another way: Beck, 273.

³³ The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 69, 1. 4) requires, that if any one is ill, a sign be given after the *Sanctus*, *ut fratres in suis orationibus infirmi recordentur et dicant psalmum Miserere*.

³⁴ Along with the *ill.*, as a sign for the name to be inserted, the *N.* of today was already used at an early date; thus, in fact, the Stowe Missal about the year 800; Warner (HBS, 32), 11; cf. 6, 10, 14, 19 ff.

said for a stipend the one who in this way became an *offerens* should be especially remembered here.³⁵

But in the text of the *Memento* itself the circle is broadened. Into it are drawn all those present, since they did come to church in order to honor God by this communal oblation.³⁶ They are called *circumstantes* or, in the more ancient texts, *circum adstantes*.³⁷ During the first thousand years, standing was the principal posture even during the canon.³⁸ Note, however, that the *circum* is not to be construed as though the faithful had ever completely surrounded the altar. Rather the picture intended is what is suggested by the structure of the old Roman basilicas, where the altar stood between the presbytery and the nave, so that the faithful—especially if there was a transept—could form a semi-circle or “open ring”³⁹ around the altar.

About those mentioned by name and about the group of *circum adstantes*, a two-membered clause originally had two things to say. One phrase regarded their general state of soul, namely: their faith and their devotion⁴⁰ is well known to Thee.⁴¹ The other phrase took notice of their activity: they offer up to Thee a sacrifice of praise; this is further described and defined. The original text, like the text of the first prayer after the consecration, ascribes to the faithful the offering of the sacrifice, without any special restriction: *qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*.⁴²

³⁵ Cf. above, p. 24. Thus also Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, II, 13, 9 (Schneider, 167). Florus Diaconus (d. about 860), *De actione missæ*, c. 51 (PL, 119, 47 B) and Remigius of Auxerre (d. about 908), *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1258 B), were emphatic about the liberty to insert other names in the place where from time immemorial the names of the *offerentium* were used (*quos desideravit particulariter nominare*).

³⁶ Spanish Mass books of the 12th century also add: (*circumstantium*) *atque omnium fidelium christianorum (quorum tibi)*; Ferreres, P. XXXI, LXX ff., CVIII; cf. XXIV, XXVI, XLVI, XLIX, LII, CXII. This last extension in reference to the *qui tibi offerunt* to include those who are absent is in line with the Spanish tradition; see above, p. 162.

³⁷ Ebner, 405; Ménard, PL, 78, 275 BC.

³⁸ Above I, 239 ff.

³⁹ Cf. Schwarz, *Von Bau der Kirche* (Würzburg, 1938, where the inherent correctness of this plan is made clear. The opening of the ring, where the altar stands, indicates the movement by which the congregation, led by the priest, strive towards God; cf. also above I, 256.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. Daniels, “Devotio,” *JL*, I (1921) 40-60. The word *devotio*, which otherwise frequently signifies in some form or other the very actions of divine service, here refers to the disposition of heart. *Fides* is the basic attitude by which one's whole life is erected upon God's word and promises; *devotio* the readiness faithfully to regulate one's conduct accordingly without reservation. The two expressions are similarly united by Nicetas of Remesiana (d. after 414), *De psalmodiæ bono*, c. 3 (PL, 68, 373; Daniels, 47): *nullus debet ambigere hoc vigiliarum sanctorum ministerium, si digna fide et devotione vera celebretur, angelis esse conjunctum*.

⁴¹ F. Rütten, “Philologisches zum Canon missæ” (*StZ*, 1938, I) 43 f., has claimed a deeper meaning for the word (*fides*) *cognita*: tried, proven. But it seems rather that we have here only a doubling of the expression *nota* in conformity with a rule of style applied in the canon; cf. above, I, p. 56. The *tibi* ahead makes it necessary to abide by this interpretation.

⁴² Regarding the biblical expression *sacrificium laudis*, cf. above I, 24 f.; II, p. 114, n. 26.—The word brings out the spiritual

They are not idle spectators, even less a profane crowd; rather they are all together sharers in that sacred action with which we stand before Thee, O God. But in more recent times, when by reason of language and spatial arrangement the celebration of the priest is markedly withdrawn from the people, who can follow the service only at a certain distance, this unrestricted expression apparently looked too bold, and so the words, *pro quibus tibi offerimus vel* were prefixed. This insertion made its first appearance in several manuscripts of the Gregorian Sacramentary prepared by Alcuin,⁴³ and after the tenth century speedily became almost universal, not, however, without encountering some opposition.⁴⁴ The point made by this phrase was that the priest at the altar (surrounded by his assistants) was primarily the one who offered the sacrifice. It is possible that a contributing factor was to be found in the consideration that in this period, when foundations and stipends were gaining headway, those whose names were to be recalled at the *Memento* were often not present at the Mass, so that the priest was also their representative even in a narrower sense.⁴⁵ Still, as a rule the original concept continued to stand unimpaired.⁴⁶

The sacrificial activity of the faithful is next more clearly defined according to its purpose. They offer up the sacrifice for themselves and for their dear ones; the bonds of family have a rightful place in prayer. They offer their sacrifice that thus they might "redeem (purchase) their souls." "According to Christ's own words, no price can be high enough

character of the Christian sacrifice and its primary purpose, the glorification of God.

⁴³ Cod. Ottobon, 313 (first half of the 9th cent.), also in the Cod. of Pamelius; cf. Lietzmann, n. 1, 20.

⁴⁴ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985 C).—Lebrun, I, 369, note a, mentions among others, a Cistercian Missal of 1512, in which the insertion is still missing. The omission of this insertion was a common peculiarity of the Cistercian rite until 1618; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1927), 9 f.

⁴⁵ V. Thalhofer, *Handbuch d. kath. Liturgik*, II (Freiburg, 1890), 204, and with him Ebner, 404, would consider the gradual cessation of the oblation on the part of the faithful as the main reason for the interpolation mentioned above, but without justification. The oblation was still in full force at this time. Cf. above.

⁴⁶ Only in exceptional cases did anyone go so far as to eliminate the words *qui tibi offerunt*. They are erased in an 11th century Sacramentary of Salzburg (Ebner, 278). The words were left out at first in

the St. Gall MS. 340 (10-11th cent.) and not supplied until later; Ebner, 404 f. Ebner, 128, mentions also the famous Padua MS. D. 47, but this is a mistake; cf. Mohlberg-Baumstark, n. 877. The traditional *vel* does not necessarily denote a reduction of the *qui tibi offerunt* to a mere outside possibility since at that time it was used in the sense of *et*; cf. H. Ménard, PL, 78, 275 D. The primitive idea is also given a strong prominence in the formula as expanded by Peter Damien, *Opusc.* "*Dominis vobiscum*," c. 8 (PL, 145, 237 f): *In quibus verbis patenter ostenditur, quod a cunctis fidelibus, non solum viris, sed et mulieribus sacrificium illud laudis offertur, licet ab uno specialiter offerri sacerdote videatur: quia quod ille Deo offerendo manibus tractat, hoc multitudo fidelium intenta mentium devotione commendat.*

"Here there is clearly an allusion to Ps. 48; 8 f.: *non dabit Deo . . . pretium redemptionis animæ suæ*, i.e., no one can ransom his soul from death. Cf. Mt. 16: 26; Mk. 8: 37. The supposition is, therefore, that the soul is in danger, but by a

to make such a purchase, and yet this will surely do. They want to redeem their souls, that is they want to gain the welfare and health that they as Christians may dare to hope for—as the clarifying clause puts it—*pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ*. In this phrase the word *salus* can be taken for the salvation of the soul, as Christian usage employs the word, while *incolumitas* at least includes the notion of bodily health and security.⁴⁸

The *Memento* closes with the words *tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero*, thus tacking a second phrase to the words *qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*. One might possibly expect to find in this a continuation of the thought, but this is rather hard to establish. Although *vota* can have other meanings, *reddere vota* is without doubt either the dutiful gift of something commended to God (as is the case in many passages in the Latin rendering of the Old Testament), or it is, as here, simply the giving of a gift to God, taking into account a previous obligation; it is the offering up of a sacrifice, but with a sharp underscoring of the thought inherent in every sacrifice, that the work is one that is due.⁴⁹

In the clause doubled in this way we have a clear imitation of Psalm 49:14: *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua*. The only addition is the solemn invocation of God's name, likewise formed on a scriptural quotation,⁵⁰ and emphasized by prefacing the word *æterno*. It dawns on one's consciousness that in the sacrifice one is face to face with the eternal, living, true God.

All in all, however there seems to be something very curious in the twin phrase in this passage, for the poetic parallelism of the two members, as it is found in the quotation from the Psalm, is not to be found here. We are tempted to conclude that the detailed description of the sacrifice of the faithful as outlined here was inserted only belatedly, and that the original text ran as follows: *Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis et tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero*. This conclusion is corroborated by the Mozarabic citation from the Roman canon already referred to.⁵¹ But how is it possible that the first member should have been supplemented as we find it today,

bold twisting of our Lord's words, like those used for the Canaanite woman, (Matt. 15: 27), the great *sacrificium laudis* is set in opposition to that danger; cf. Ambrose, *De Elia et jej.*, c. 22 (PL, 32, 2, 463 f.): in baptism the *redemptio animæ* is granted us. It is therefore hard to justify interpreting the word as an indication of the material performance, as we often find in medieval charters, and as Gehr, 645-646, tries to render it.

⁴⁸ Proofs from ecclesiastical language for both meanings of *incolumitas* in Batiffol,

Leçons, 246 f. Nor will it do to try to narrow down the meaning of *salus*; the same double expression sometimes has a simple temporal meaning, as in the *Hanc igitur* of the Gelasianum, I, 40 (Wilson, 70): *ut per multa curricula annorum salvi et incolumes munera . . . mereantur offerre*.

⁴⁹ For *votum* = sacrifice, cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 247.

⁵⁰ I Thess. 1: 9. The expression here is explained by its antithesis to the dead gods, from whom the faithful turned away.

⁵¹ *Supra* I, 55, n. 20.

while the second member, widely separated from it, should have remained unaltered?

This first surprise is joined by a second. In all the oldest texts of the Roman canon, without exception, the suffix—*que* is missing at the beginning of the second member; invariably it reads: . . . *incolumitatis suæ tibi reddunt vota sua* . . .⁶² Grammatical carelessness of this type, copied century after century, must indeed be serious cause for wonder, particularly in a text of the Roman canon which, taken all in all, is otherwise smooth.

Both problems are solved at one blow if we put a period after the words *incolumitatis suæ*, and then begin with a new sentence: *Tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero communicantes* . . .⁶³ that is to say, these words take up the *tibi offerunt sacrificium laudis* with a different wording in order to append to it the idea of the grand Communion.⁶⁴ Thus, communion with the saints was originally claimed principally for the faithful, just as the offering of the sacrifice was, but then, influenced by the different atmosphere of the Frankish church, both claims were at the same time not indeed voided but at least obscured, not, however, to such an extent that even at the present the ancient thought should not be offered as the most natural interpretation of the text. In other words, we feel justified in considering and explaining the phrase *tibi reddunt*, etc., as a part of the *Communicantes* text.

⁶² Botte, *Le canon*, 34. Of the 19 pertinent texts that begin about 700 there is but a single one, according to Botte, that presents *tibique* at first hand; it is the one in the *Cod. Pad.* D 47, written during the time of King Lothar I (d. 855) in the neighborhood of Liège. But, as the printed edition of this MS. shows (Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt*, n. 877), the *-que* here too is in reality an addition by a second hand. The *-que* is still missing in the *Cod. Eligii* (10th cent., PL, 78, 26 B) and also in the Sacramentary of the Papal court chapel about 1290; Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 204. Ebner, 405, refers to this peculiarity, but without attempting an explanation.

⁶³ The old MSS., as is known, have either no punctuation at all, or very little, and seemingly, as a rule, no paragraphs (sections) within the canon. The latter is also the case in the *Cod. S. Gall*, 348 (ed.

Mohlberg, n. 1551), but it does make use of red initial letters in three places within the *Communicantes*; the word *communicantes* itself, however, is connected with the preceding without any such distinguishing mark (n. 1552). Unambiguous, too, as Botte, 55, also notes, is the uninterrupted union of *Deo vivo et vero communicantes* in two of the most important texts of the Roman Canon; in the Bobbio missal, ed. Lowe, I (HBS, 58), n. 11, see Facsimile (HBS, 31), fol. 25. Cf. moreover, a like construction in a *Hanc igitur* formula of the Gelasianum, III, 37 (Wilson, 254); *pro hoc reddo tibi vota mea Deo vero et vivo maiestatem tuam suppliciter implorans*.

⁶⁴ Grammatically independent sentences begin within the canon also in other places: in the two *Mementos*, in the *Supplices*, and in the *Nobis quoque*.

9. *Communicantes*

The *Communicantes* that follows is not, as it now stands, a grammatically complete sentence. The first question therefore regarding it naturally is: what is it connected with? Other links have been propounded,¹ but the one that appears most natural is that suggested to us by the text just studied, a proposal that was already made years ago.² Just as by origin the *Communicantes* is a continuation of the *Memento*, so also its content is a reinforcement of the plea in that *Memento*: Remember all of them, for the congregation which now stands before Thee with its sacrifice does not stand solitary, since it belongs to the great nation of the redeemed, whose foremost ranks have already entered into Thy glory. Once again is made manifest that bond with the Church Triumphant which had already been vividly recalled in a different way by the singing of the *Sanctus*.

The emphasis here is on the word *communicantes*, on the comradeship with the saints whose names are about to be mentioned.³ At the same time, however we become aware of the distance that separates us and so, by the subsequent words, *et memoriam venerantes*, this comradeship is altered into a look of awe and respect.⁴ It is this second phrase that governs the following grammatical construction, which would otherwise have run as follows: *communicantes in primis cum*. But this in no way weakens

¹ Juncture with a verb of the *Te igitur*, either *supplices rogamus ac petimus* (Batiffol, *Leçons*, 248) or in *primis quæ tibi offerimus*, or (an evidently impossible solution) with the naming of the Pope *cum famulo tuo papa nostro illo communicantes* (Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, I, 274-277). Against all of these solutions it must be noted that the *Communicantes* was never immediately connected with the *Te igitur*, because it is later than the *Memento*; cf. *supra*, I, 54 f. Others abandon the idea of a grammatical relation with anything preceding and complete the word with *sumus* or *offerimus* or *offerunt* (thus, among others Brinktrine, 180; 218) or explain the *communicantes et memoriam venerantes* as equivalent to *communicamus et memoriam veneramur* (thus Fortescue, *The Mass*, 332). But in both these cases the result is an unnatural isolation of the prayer and the ideas it contains.

² This was already advocated by Suarez, *De Sacramentis*, I, 83, 2, 7, *Opp.*, ed. Bertone, 21, 874) . . . *ita ut sensus sit: Tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero communicantes, vel inter se tamquam*

corporis tui vel cum sanctis tuis . . .

³ The assumption that *communicare* here is meant in the absolute canonico-legal sense (= *c. ecclesia catholica*), "to have a place in the (ecclesiastical) community" (cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 248, with reference to Cyprian, *De dom. or.*, c. 18 and Optatus, VII, 3, 6), is hard to justify in the setting this prayer has. It would be more plausible to think directly of the Church as *communio sanctorum* in this way; they present Thee their gifts as members of the holy community and, inasmuch as they honor the memory . . . Cf. Gehr, 649. At all events, we shall have to accord some meaning to the word in those cases in the feast-day formulas where the connection with what follows is interrupted: *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes* . . . *et memoriam venerantes*; cf. Botte, 55 f.; cf. below.

⁴ The fuller meaning of *memoria*: memorial monument, (martyr's) grave, that has been suggested, is out of the question in this connection. Cf. Botte, 56 f.; also Th. Klauser, *JL*, 15 (1914), 464.

the basic idea of stressing the communion. We have already seen⁸ how in the oriental liturgies the reading of the diptychs was correlated since the fifth century with the concept of ecclesiastical communion, and how this thought was logically developed into a consciousness of communion with the saints in heaven. But communion is not mentioned in a direct form; the mention of those who “from the beginning have been pleasing to God” is simply appended to the listing of other names or groups of those who have departed from the earthly congregation. Often the same formula is used to frame both the sections.⁹ “We offer up this sacrifice also for . . .”⁷ or “. . . in pious memory of,”⁸ or “Remember also . . .,” “Deign to remember . . .”. In fact at one stage, when theological thinking was less clarified, we even find the formal petition that God may give them “peace” applied also to the saints.¹⁰

But in all these instances the main stress is laid on emphasizing the communion. Thus, too, the *memoriam venerantes* is to be construed.¹¹ That we are correct in drawing on the oriental diptych practice to illustrate this portion of the ecclesiastical prayer is confirmed not only by the fact that the *Communicantes* must have been introduced into the canon about the same time that this practice was in full flower in the East, when Roman popes were corresponding with the Orient regarding questions of the diptychs,¹² but even more immediately by the wording of the *Communicantes* itself, wherein a model from the area of the Syrian liturgy was evidently of some influence. The formula with which the list of saints begins: *in primis gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, has a counterpart—to mention but one—in the Antiochene anaphora of St. James: ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.¹³ For the

⁸ Page 159.

⁹ However, as a rule, in such manner that the Saints are clearly distinct from other deceased persons. It is only in the East Syrian anaphoras that we find an exception. Hanssens, III, 471 f.

⁷ *Const. Ap.* VIII, 12, 43 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 225 f.): “Ἐτι προσφέρομεν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ’ αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων . . . (cf. also Quasten’s notes). Similarly also in today’s Byzantine liturgy of St. Chrysostom; Brightman, 387 f. Cf. also the East Syrian fragment from the 6th century; *ibid.*, 516, 1. 21 ff[*The Missale Romanum* also speaks on June 15 of *munera pro sanctis oblata*. In regard to the indefinite meaning of ὑ-έρ, *pro*, “for” as here used, see Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 234-238.

⁸ East Syrian anaphora of Theodorus: Renaudot, II, (1847), 614.

⁹ Anaphora of St. James: Brightman, 56, 1. 20. “Ἐτι μνησθῆναι καταξίωσον τῶν ἀπ’ αἰῶνος σοι εὐαρεστησάντων; cf. *ibid.*, 57, 1. 13; 92 f. Similar formulas also in the Armenian liturgy (Brightman, 440, 1. 13), in Egypt (Brightman, 128, 1. 23; 169, 1. 7), and also among the East Syrians; Brightman, 440, 1. 1.

¹⁰ Armenian liturgy; Brightman, 440, 1. 1.

¹¹ Cf. also the Mozarabic *facientes commemorationem*, *supra*, p. 162.

¹² Leo the Great, *Ep.*, 80, 3; 85, 2 (PL, 54, 914 f., 923 f.); John II of Constantinople to Hormisdas (d. 523) (CSEL, 35, 592).

¹³ Brightman, 56. In addition the word ἐνδύξουσιν is inserted in the Byzantine formulas of the present; Brightman, 388. Further parallels in Kennedy, *The Saints*, 36. In

closing formula: *et omnium sanctorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio*, there is likewise a corresponding phrase in the same anaphora of St. James¹⁴ and an even more faithful trace in the Byzantine liturgy: καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὧν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπίσκειψαι ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός.¹⁵

Thus, for all the insistence on the concept of communion, the beginning and the end in both instances present a slight anomaly. For the one singled out to head the list of saints is one who had the incomparable dignity of being Mother of God and ever virgin. And at the end of the list the relation we bear to the saints in general is indicated with greater exactness by the humble prayer that their intercession might avail us. By such clarifying phrases the ancient formula, accidentally left unchanged, the formula of an offering “for” all of them, was rectified along the lines of the principle already expounded by St. Augustine for the naming of the saints *ad altare Dei*, namely: *Iniuria est enim pro martyre orare, cuius nos debemus orationibus commendari*.¹⁶

The list of names in the present-day Roman canon here consists of two well-balanced groups of twelve names, twelve apostles and twelve martyrs, led by the Queen of all saints; similarly, the second list in the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* comprises twin groups of that other sacred number, the number seven: seven male martyrs and seven female, led by him whom the Lord himself had termed the greatest of those born of woman (Matthew 11:11). Thus a double choir of saints is arrayed, much in the same way as Christian art had sought to represent it.¹⁷ The venerable antiquity of the lists is clearly manifested by the fact that, besides the biblical names, only those saints are included who were honored at Rome as martyrs; the cult of confessors, whose beginnings are surely to be found in the fourth century, has not yet left a mark here. The honor of being mentioned in the Great Prayer of the sacrifice is reserved to those heroes of the faith who had faced the struggle of suffering along with Christ.

Upon closer scrutiny the *Communicantes* list reveals a well-planned arrangement. The twelve martyrs are aligned in hierarchical order. First come six bishops, five of them popes, and then a non-Roman, Cyprian,

this and also in the Byzantine liturgy, as compared with the sober and retiring Roman, the memory of the Mother of God is given striking emphasis not only by highly ornate, not to say showy formulas, but by other devices also. In the anaphora of St. James an *Ave Maria*, combining Luke 1: 28; 42 as we know it, is inserted by the priest immediately before this phrase. In the Byzantine liturgy, after the priest has in a loud tone of voice commemorated the Mother of God, while incensing the

altar, the choir intones a special hymn of Mary, one in conformity with the season of the year: the μεγαλυνάριον, so called because of the word μεγαλύνει (Magnificat) that occurs in it; Brightman, 388; 600.

¹⁴ Brightman, 48; cf. 94.

¹⁵ Brightman, 331 f, 388, 406 f.; Kennedy, 37 f.

¹⁶ Augustine, *Sermo* 159, 1 (PL, 38, 868); cf. *In Joh. tract.*, 84, 1 (PL, 35, 1847).

¹⁷ Cf. Raffaele's “Disputa.”

contemporary of St. Cornelius (who is therefore the only one taken out of chronological order so as to be set side by side with Cyprian). Among the other six martyrs, the first two are clerics. Lawrence and Chrysogonus;¹⁸ then follow the laymen, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian. Clearly we have here the work of a systematic hand. In the sacred precincts of the Great Prayer, so to say, a properly chosen representation from the choirs of martyrs ought to appear. This is the one conception that we can make our own even at the present; the one thought that can reconcile us with the catalogue of saints in the canon, in spite of its weaknesses, even though two thousand years of Church history and the extension of the horizon beyond that of a city-liturgy into a world-liturgy has presented us with numberless other names to choose from. To this double series of twelve names from the early ages of Christianity and from the life of the Roman Mother-Church we are pleased to grant the privilege to be named at the altar as representatives of the Church Triumphant.

It is obvious, no doubt, that the list of saints in the *Communicantes*—and something similar must be said later about the second list—is not a first draft. In some oriental anaphoras the list of saints named in the prayer of intercession has been kept at a minimum.¹⁹ In the Roman canon as it was when transferred to Milan, perhaps in the sixth century, some names found in our present-day list are missing, namely, those of Popes Linus and Cletus, and the names included are not yet presented in the nice order they now possess.²⁰

The original list must have comprised those saints who enjoyed a special cult at Rome at the time of the introduction of the *Communicantes*. Around the turn of the fifth century these were: Mary, Peter and Paul, Xystus and Lawrence, Cornelius and Cyprian.²¹ Soon after the Council of Ephesus devotion to the Blessed Virgin in the Eternal City had acquired

¹⁸ At any rate, Chrysogonus is always described as a cleric in the legend; J. P. Kirsch, "Chrysogonus"; *LThK*, II, 949 f.

¹⁹ Baumstark, *Das Communicantes*, 11 ff. The formula of the Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 12, 43 (see note 7 above) did not present any names at all.

²⁰ The Ambrosian Mass has the following list after the twelve Apostles: *Xysti, Laurentii, Hippolyti, Vincentii, Cornelii, Cypriani, Clementis, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiani*, and then follows a lengthy list of Milanese names. The basis for this order of names seems to be the succession in the development of the veneration of the martyrs at Rome, whose beginnings are somewhere in the 3rd century. F. Savio, *I dittici del Canone Ambro-*

siano e del Canone Romano (special printing of the *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, III, 11; Turin, 1905), 4 f.; Kennedy, 60-64; 191. Kennedy, 195 f., assumes that Hippolytus and Vincent were named in individual Roman churches, but not in the papal liturgy. Likewise the two last named must have been taken over from Rome as an afterthought.

²¹ Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (1938), 189 ff. The following presentation is based essentially on Kennedy's fundamental research. Akin to these are the assertion of Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, (2nd ed.; Berlin, 1927), 82-93, who considers the list of saints together with their sequence to have been taken over from the Roman calendar of

a magnificent center through the consecration of the renovated Liberian basilica in her honor, S. Maria Maggiore, under Sixtus III (432-440). The development of the cultus of the Princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, is attested not only by the most ancient sacramentaries with their Mass formularies for their feasts, but above all by the graves of the apostles, which had acquired beautiful buildings already in Constantine's time. Pope Xystus (or, as his name was later spelled, Sixtus), the second of that name, was seized in the cemetery of Callistus in 258, during the persecution of Valerian, and summarily executed. He was followed in martyrdom a few days later by his deacon, Lawrence. The memorial days for both of them, which were celebrated yearly on the sixth and tenth of August, belong to the oldest Martyr feasts of Rome. Pope Cornelius, of an old Roman family, died in exile after a short reign (251-253); his remains were shortly after returned to Rome. His grave is the first of the papal tombs to bear a Latin inscription: *Cornelius Martyr ep.* Bishop Cyprian of Carthage, who had corresponded with Cornelius, was one of the great figures of the third Christian century; he suffered martyrdom a few years later (258). His memorial day was celebrated at Rome already in the fourth century, and the oldest sacramentaries present Cornelius and Cyprian together on the fourteenth of September.²²

The twelve apostles as a group were venerated at Rome as early as the fifth century.²³ Still the full listing of their names cannot have been included in the canon till later. For this list displays a very curious dissimilarity to both the biblical list and to all other known catalogues. It is closest to that in Matthew 10:2-4, but is distinguished from it (aside from the insertion of St. Paul and the reversal of the last two names, as found likewise in Luke and the Acts of the Apostles) by the fact that the sons of Zebedee are followed at once by Thomas, James and Philip, of whom the last two take the ninth and the fifth place in all the biblical catalogues. A special cult of the Apostle Thomas is attested since the days of Pope Symmachus (498-514), who had erected an *oratorium Sancti Thomæ*. A similar *cultus* for Philip and James is found since the time of Pelagius I and John III (556-574), when the great Basilica of the Apostles was built in their honor.²⁴ Of the preceding names in the list, the apostles John and Andrew had their sanctuaries in Rome already in the fifth century. James the Greater appears originally to have been celebrated at Rome along with his brother John on the feast of December 27, for which

saints in the 4-5th century. This assumption (contra Kennedy, 195, n. 3) is also held by H. Frank, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Messkanons," *Archiv f. Liturgiewiss.*, I (1950), 111 f.

²² More detailed accounts in E. Hosp, *Die Heiligen im Canon Missæ* (Graz, 1926). —See also P. Van Doren, "Les saints du

canon de la messe," *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, 16 (1931), 57-70; C. L. Russmann, "Die Heiligen des Meszopfer Kanons," *Theol.-prakt. Quartalschrift*, 101 (1953), 1-15; 101-113.

²³ Kennedy, 109 f.

²⁴ Kennedy, 102-111.

there is evidence a bit later.²⁵ But evidence for a *cultus* of the other apostles that follow is wanting. So it is probable that the list of apostles in the canon consisted at first of the names of Peter, Paul, Andrew, (James?) and John, and that in the course of the sixth century Thomas, James and Philip were added, and finally the remainder, until the number twelve was filled out.²⁶ Something like that must also have occurred in the list of martyrs.

In the course of the same century there was an increase of devotion to Pope Clement, who was being glorified by an extensive literature; to Chrysogonus, the martyr whose history is interwoven with legend and who was identified with a like-named founder of one of the Roman titular churches;²⁷ for John and Paul, whom one legend assumed to have been Roman martyrs of the time of Julian the Apostate; for the two physicians and martyrs so highly venerated in the Orient, Cosmas and Damian, who were invoked as liberal helpers in cases of sickness. Thus the list must have grown during the sixth century more or less of itself. The redactor who put the list in the order we have today, to fill out the number twelve for the martyrs as for the apostles must have inserted the two first successors of St. Peter, Linus and Cletus, who are otherwise seldom mentioned.²⁸ This redactor, whose work must have been done about the turn of the sixth century, can have been no other than Pope Gregory the Great. Due to the circumstance that the Roman Church in the period of the persecutions, unlike the Church in North Africa, kept no acts of the Martyrs, and so gave ample play for the development of legend, there is considerable doubt about the last five names in the series of martyrs, so that from the viewpoint of historical truth little more can be established than the names.²⁹

In the centuries following there was no feeling that the list as found in the Roman canon was closed once and for all. While keeping the twice twelve saints, there was nothing to hinder the addition of names of other prominent figures, in keeping with the altering features of ecclesiastical life. Thus the oldest Frankish manuscripts tack on not only the two great saints of Gaul, Hilary and Martin, but also the Doctors of the Church then already in high honor: (Ambrose), Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, along with the father of Western monasticism, Benedict.³⁰

²⁵ Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom.*, 140, with n. 2; Baumstark, *Das Communicantes*, 23.

²⁶ Cf. Kennedy, 105, 110 f. (without St. James).

²⁷ Behind the legend the martyr-bishop Chrysogonus of Aquileja (beginning of the 3d cent.) appears to loom as the historic figure. J. P. Kirsch, *Die römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum*, (Paderborn, 1918), 108-113; Kennedy, 128-130; H. Delehaye,

Etudes sur le légendier Romain (Brussels, 1938), 151-162.

²⁸ Kennedy, 111-117; 128-140.

²⁹ Cf. the presentation in Hosp, 110 ff., 222 ff., 38 ff., and Kennedy, 128-140. The judgment regarding these names was substantially less skeptical a few decades ago than it is today after the important work by H. Delehaye, P. Franchi de' Cavalieri and others.

³⁰ Botte, 34. Ambrose appears in only two

Sometimes additions were made of regional saints or of patrons of the particular diocese or church. Thus, in the environs of Fulda, Boniface was attached to the list of martyrs.³¹ The names thus added in many manuscripts have become important indexes in establishing their provenience. Often enough the number of additional names became unbearably long; thus in one eleventh-century manuscript of Rouen twenty-three names are annexed.³²

One expedient for satisfying local requirements without lengthening the list unduly was intimated by Pope Gregory III (731-741) when he prescribed for the monks of an oratory of St. Peter's endowed with a wealth of relics an addition to the *Communicantes* as follows: *sed et diem natalitium celebrantes sanctorum tuorum martyrum ac confessorum, perfectorum iustorum, quorum sollemnitates hodie in conspectu gloriæ tuæ celebratur, quorum meritis precibusque . . .*³³ As a matter of fact, this or a similar additament is found in numerous medieval Mass books, mostly (it is true) as a further enrichment of the already longish formula, especially as a means of including the special saints of the day.³⁴ But in the meantime there arose a determined opposition to the unnatural distension of the *Communicantes* formula,³⁵ until at last all such accretions disappeared altogether.³⁶

A different type of addition, however, has continued down to our own day, the most ancient addition to the *Communicantes* that we know of, namely the announcement of the day's mystery on Christmas, Epiphany, Maundy Thursday, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. The addition on

of the MSS. recorded by Botte.—These names recur in numerous MSS. until late in the Middle Ages; Ebner, 407 f.

³¹ Ebner, 408. Cf. Martène, I, 4, 8, 16 (I, 407 f.).

³² Ebner, 409. Cf. the compilation from the French MSS. in Lerouquais, *Les sacramentaires*, III, 353.

³³ Duchesne, *Liber Pont.*, I, 422. Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, 114, 950 A), cites these words with the amplification: . . . *celebratur, Domine Deus noster, toto in orbe terrarum*. The formula in the Mass books of the later Middle Ages frequently reads: *quorum hodie in conspectu tuo celebratur triumphus*, or something similar; see Ferreres, p. 150-152. On the other hand, the Bobbio Missal (Muratori, II, 777; Lowe, I [HBS, 58], n. 11) adds to the original text, after the *omnium sanctorum tuorum*, the following: *qui per universo mundo passi sunt propter nomen tuum, Domine, seu confes-*

soribus tuis.

³⁴ Cf. *Ordo Rom.* IV (PL, 78, 1380 B): (after *Cosmæ et Damiani*) *si fuerit natale sanctorum, hic dicat: Sed et diem natalitii beati ill. vel beatorum ill. celebrantes et omnium sanctorum*. Ebner, 409 f.

³⁵ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985 f.): *Aliorum vero sanctorum nomina [except the names at the Memento] annumerare non debemus, nisi quos in canone invenimus antiquitus descriptos*. But it is to be noted that Bernold then makes the restriction: *excepto post Pater noster in illa oratione ubi juxta ordinem quorumlibet sanctorum nomina internumerare possumus*. The addition of names in the canon is bitterly attacked in a Stuttgart MS. that originated in 1435; Franz, 612.

³⁶ Still, Hilary and Martin retained their places until the present time in French dioceses; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 180, n. 2.

these six days is provided consistently in the old sacramentaries.³⁷ Besides, the pre-Gregorian sacramentaries have an extra formula for the vigil of Pentecost,³⁸ and the *Leonianum* has a further formula for two of the days mentioned that differs from the one in use at present.³⁹ These additions were therefore in existence by the middle of the sixth century. It was just about this time that they appear to be cited in a message addressed to Bishop Profuturus of Braga by Pope Vigilius, in which the pontiff stresses the fact that the Roman eucharistic prayer is otherwise unchangeable.⁴⁰

But in spite of their venerable age, and in spite of the masterly commentary on the festal mystery which they supply, we are unable to account these formulas as organic continuations of the text of the canon. They jumble still further the word *communicantes* (already disjointed by the words *memoriam venerantes* and formed into a sort of anacoluthon), and separate it entirely from the names of the saints to which it naturally belongs. Viewed in their relationships to other forms, these inserts are of a piece with the prefaces of the *Leonianum*, which, after becoming a plaything for composers of novelties, departed consciously or unconsciously from the basic concept of the eucharistic prayer and therefore earnestly invited reform.⁴¹ If these festal inserts in the *Communicantes* escaped such

³⁷ Gregorianum, ed. Lietzmann, n. 6, 4; 17, 4; 77, 3; 88, 4; (87, 4); 108, 4; 112, 4; (111, 4).—The same formulas in the Gelasian Sacramentaries. Noteworthy variations are present only at Epiphany and the Ascension; in the former: *quo Unigenitus tuus . . . natus Magis de longinquo venientibus visibilis et corporalis apparuit*; Vat. Reg., I, 12 (Wilson, 11 f.); S. Gall. (Mohlberg, n. 99). On the feast of the Ascension the remarkably antique mode of expression: . . . *unitum sibi hominem nostræ substantiæ in gloria tuæ dextera collocavit*; Vat. Reg., I, 63 (Wilson, 107) and also in the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 316).

³⁸ *Communicantes et diem ss. Pentecostes prævenientes, quo Spiritus Sanctus apostolos plebemque credentium præsentia suæ maiestatis implevit, sed et*; Vat. Reg., I, (Wilson, 120); S. Gall. (Mohlberg, n. 803); *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 318).

³⁹ Namely, a second formula on the feast of the Ascension (Muratori, I, 314) and a divergent one for Pentecost (*ibid.*, I, 321). The *Leonianum*, which starts only after Easter, naturally has only the four formulas mentioned.

⁴⁰ PL, 69, 18: *Ordinem quoque precum in celebritate missarum nullo nos tempore,*

nulla festivitate significamus habere diversum, sed semper eodem tenore oblata Deo munera consecrare. Quoties vero Paschalis aut Ascensionis Domini vel Pentecostes et Epiphaniæ sanctorumque Dei fuerit agenda festivitas, singula capitula diebus apta subiungimus, quibus commemorationem sanctæ sollemnitatis aut eorum facimus, quorum natalitia celebramus; cetera vero ordine consueto prosequimur. Quapropter et ipsius canonicæ precis textum direximus subter adiectum, quem Deo propitio ex apostolica traditione suscepimus. Et ut caritas tua cognoscat, quibus locis aliqua festivitatis apta connectes, paschalis diei preces similiter adiecimus. It is impossible, however, that the *capitula diebus apta* meant exclusively our *Communicantes* formulas, or the other insertions in the canon; rather the preface, too, must be included, since it forms a complete unit with the canon. For, what Vigilius has to say about the consideration given to the feasts of saints within the limits of the eucharistic prayer was true even at that time only of the preface, as the *Leonianum* clearly shows.

⁴¹ P. Borella, "S. Leone Magno e il *Communicantes*," *Eph. liturg.*, 60 (1946), 93-

reform, it is probably because they go back in substance to the very basic concept of all eucharistic solemnity and also, perhaps, because we have grown accustomed to giving the word *communicantes* a broader meaning, so that the line of thought on these days might be paraphrased somewhat in this fashion.

They render Thee their gifts as members of the sacred congregation, in remembrance of the mystery of redemption which we recall this day, and in respectful regard for these saints. The insert would thus have become a sort of anamnesis.

In reference to these inserts, the words *Infra actionem* have been left in the Roman Missal within the canon, just before the *Communicantes*, the same words which, in accord with their strict meaning, are to be found as a heading above the text of the insert formula where this is usually located, namely, after the prefaces. These words signify that the text is to be inserted "within the action." This title, *Infra actionem*, derives from the Gelasian Sacramentaries, where it generally stands just before the *Communicantes* formulas to be inserted, and also before the *Hanc igitur* formulas. Many of the manuscripts of this group of sacramentaries likewise disclose a special caption just before the *Sursum corda*, namely: *Incipit canon actionis*.⁴⁰

The *Communicantes* brings to a close the first section of the intercessory prayer. Externally this is manifested by the concluding formula, *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*, which thus appears for the first time in the canon. Our intercessory prayers and commendations, like all our prayers, should be offered up only "through Christ our Lord." This it is we are conscious of in this preliminary conclusion of our pleading. The same *Per Christum Dominum nostrum* then reappears after the *Hanc igitur*, after the *Supplices*, after the *Memento etiam* and after the *Nobis quoque*.⁴¹ Like a sign-post marking the line of our prayer, the formula is found today after successive stages all through the canon. While in all these places the formula is part and parcel of the oldest canon text to come down to us (although, it is true, only in the train of a secondary augmentation of this text), its first appearance is in the preface: . . . *gratias agere per Christum Dominum nostrum*. Here it strikes no definitely conclusive note, but rather, like the close of the *Nobis quoque*, it is at once expanded by means of a rela-

101, attempts to prove that the set formula and the feast-day insertions must have originated with Leo the Great. Similarly C. Callewaert, "S. Leon le Communicantes et le Nobis quoque peccatoribus," *Sacris erudiri*, I (1948), 123-164. The Leonine derivation of at least three of the insert formulas is acknowledged by H. Frank, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Messkanons," *Archiv f. Liturgiewiss.*, I (1950), 114-119. Therefore the normal text, *Com-*

municantes et memoriam venerantes, must have been regarded even then as strictly formal.

⁴⁰ See above, p. 103.

⁴¹ Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1258), wanted even the first prayer of the canon after *fidei cultoribus* concluded with the *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*. But he seems to have had little success in his attempt, and rightly so; cf. above, p. 159.

tive clause. In the remaining four passages, where this expansion is omitted, the post-Carolingian Middle Ages seemed more and more to expect that the *Per Christum Dominum nostrum* must be followed by an *Amen*. In the manuscripts this *Amen* appears for the first time in the ninth century,⁴ and after that with ever-increasing frequency, till by the twelfth century its insertion in all these passages became the prevailing rule, although even at the close of the Middle Ages there were some outstanding exceptions.⁴ Since the *Amen* at the close of the canon—the only place where of old it was spoken by all the people—had lost its uniqueness, it became merely an indispensable sign of the end of the prayer and thus had to be added to the Christological formula.

Later on, in the neo-Gallican movement, this *Amen* which had passed into the Missal of Pius V played a new role. In some dioceses the faithful had to recite it in a loud voice.⁴ It was thought that doing so revived a custom of the ancient Church.

10. *Hanc igitur*

By the closing formula *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*, the *Hanc igitur* also labels itself as an independent prayer that did not belong to the original draft of the canon but was inserted only later on. The meaning of the words appears, at first sight, obvious and unequivocal, leaving little to be explained. The only problem that seems to require further elucidation is why this prayer, in its present form, should have been inserted just here. Is the prayer nothing more than a plea for the acceptance of the sacrificial gifts, as it is captioned in some translations?¹ But such a plea has already been made and is here simply repeated in different words. One would scarcely have inserted an independent prayer just for this purpose. Or maybe the stress is on the contents of the petitions appended? But then why are these petitions included precisely in this place? It is around this prayer that the various theories regarding the canon have been de-

⁴ Sacramentary of S. Thierry; Leroquais, I, 22.

⁴ P. Salmon, "Les 'Amen' du canon de la messe," *Eph. liturg.*, 42 (1928), 496-506. *Ibid.*, 501, n. 4, the author mentions the printed missals of the 1518 and 1523 in which no *Amen* was interpolated.—G. Ellard, "Interpolated Amen's in the Canon of the Mass," *Theological Studies*, 6 (1945), 380-391. According to this there are traces of the *Amen* in the 13th century even in Rome (386 ff.). The medieval commentators who expressed themselves as opposed to the interpolation, alleged as a

reason that the angels here spoke the *Amen*. Thus, also, though along with other attempts for a reasonable explanation, Durandus, IV, 38, 7; 46, 8. In individual instances the *Amen* was added also at the end of the *Nobis quoque*. Salmon, 499; 501.—Cf. also Sölch, *Hugo*, 91-93.

⁴ Salmon, 503-505. Cf. above.

¹ Thus Schott, *Das Messbuch der heiligen Kirche*, (37th ed.; Freiburg, 1934), 403. Likewise Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 27.

veloped, and a summary consideration has forced the conclusion that in this prayer we have “perhaps the most difficult prayer in the Mass.”²

As regards its history, it is known, first of all, that the *Hanc igitur* (which all textual evidence shows to have belonged to the traditional wording of the Roman canon) did not acquire its present-day form before Gregory the Great, who (as the *Liber pontificalis* recounts) added the last words.³ Even the earlier form of the prayer is not merely a matter of hypothesis. True, it is nowhere found, as we might be led to expect from this account, in a form which merely omits the Gregorian addition: *Hanc igitur oblationem . . . quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias*. But in the pre-Gregorian sacramentaries there are certainly a considerable number of formulas in which these or similar initial words are connected to a lengthy complementary clause and fitted to the respective Mass-formularies in much the same way as the present-day basic formula is provided with special supplements for certain occasions like Holy Saturday, Easter, Pentecost, and the consecration of a bishop. Incidentally we thus discover that the account in the *Liber pontificalis* is not quite exact, since the additional phrase of Gregory proves to be not entirely new, and, on the other hand, in the most ancient texts the preceding initial phrases do not recur at all with the same wording, so that here, too, a crystallizing process must have occurred.⁴ Thus the *Hanc igitur* in the *Leonianum* for (Easter and) Pentecost reads as follows:

*Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro his quos ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto regenerare dignatus es, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quæsumus, placatus accipias eorumque nomina adscribi iubeas in libro viventium. Per.**

In general, the formula shows great variability, both in the subordinate clause and in the main clause. Only the first few words, *Hanc igitur oblationem*, commonly remain unaltered. But in most cases the oblation was in some way more exactly defined in the subordinate clause, the determination having in view those who offer it up. As a rule, it was defined as an oblation which “we” offer up for someone; but it was also described as the oblatio of one person which we, in turn, offer up for a second

²Fortescue, *The Mass*, 333.

³Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 312: *Hic augmentavit in prædicationem canonis; disceque nostros in tua pace dispone, et cetera*. The same account in Beda, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 1 (PL, 95, 80).

⁴In the older examples, as a rule, the qualification in the introductory words is missing: *servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ*. The continuation *quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias* is found only in a part of the old texts. There is at least a

kinship between the Gregorian phrase and the clause in the *Hanc igitur* in the *Leonianum* for the anniversary of the bishop's consecration (Muratori, I, 426): *diesque meos clementissima gubernatione disponas*. Per. V. L. Kennedy, “The Pre-Gregorian *Hanc igitur*,” *Eph. liturg.*, 50 (1936), 349-358; Th. Michels, “Woher nahm Gregor d. Gr. die Kanonbitte: *Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas*?” *JL*, 13 (1935), 188-190.

*Muratori, I, 318.

person, or as the oblation of one person which he offers up for a second, or even as an oblation which the priest offers up.*

Even more pronounced was the variation in the main clause, which was regularly annexed. It appears that generally there was no basic scheme, but that one of the alternate texts was chosen at random and inserted, these texts being augmented at pleasure. In this main clause mention was made of the special intention which was connected with the particular celebration. Such an intention did not come into consideration for every Mass. The Mass on Sundays and feast days, for example, is not, and never was, for a special intention, but was simply the Mass of the congregation. This tallies with the fact that in pre-Gregorian sacramentaries the *Hanc igitur* does not appertain to the Sunday Mass or feast-day Mass as such, but to the Mass for special occasions and to the Votive Mass, as is especially plain from the evidence of the older *Gelasianum*,⁷ and is also confirmed by the *Leonianum*.⁸

This also tallies with the form the *Hanc igitur* takes, and more particularly with the manner in which certain persons or groups of persons are introduced in it. These, whether named or not, appear either as offerers themselves or—and this especially often—as those for whom the Mass is offered; or else mention is made of persons for both functions. An offering for someone turns out to be plainly a characteristic of the *Hanc igitur* formula. It finds expression in the formulas for the Masses for the Dead

* The data in Kennedy, *loc. cit.*, 353 f.

⁷ This Sacramentary of the 6th century is divided into three books: (1) *Proprium de tempore*; (2) *Proprium sanctorum*; (3) Masses for different purposes and occasions. In the whole Sacramentary there are 41 *Hanc igitur* formulas, and yet the formula is missing entirely in the second book. In the first book it is generally missing, e.g., on all days of Lent, and appears only, outside of Maundy Thursday, on such days when within the festal celebration a particular group of the faithful come forward and thus provide a special motive: those to be baptized (n. 26, 45), those who commemorate the anniversary of baptism (*pascha annotina*) (54), the newly ordained deacons or priests, the newly consecrated bishop, the anniversary of their ordination or consecration (97, 98, 100, 101; cf. 102) and likewise the consecrated virgins and their anniversaries (105, 106), the dedication of a church or baptistry (89, 90, 94), the commemoration of the deceased founder of the church (92). In the third book this list is continued. Not all, but

many, votive Masses have a *Hanc igitur* formula: the Mass for the anniversary of a priest's ordination (37), for the wedding itself and its anniversary (52), for one who undertakes a journey (24), for one who arranges an agape (49), the Mass for the childless (54), the birthday Mass (53), the Mass for the king (62), and for the monastery (50), the Mass *pro salute vivorum* (106), and, finally (with one exception), the whole list of Masses for the deceased (92-96; 98-106).—In the later *Gelasianum* the MS. of Rheinau appears to present a similar picture; Ebner, 413.—Cf. also Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, p. LVII, LXVIII.

⁸ Of the ten *Hanc igitur* formulas of this Sacramentary there is one each for those who are to be baptized on Pentecost eve (Muratori, I, 318), for the consecration of a virgin (331), the consecration of a bishop (421), a bridal Mass (446), two for the anniversary of the consecration of a bishop (426, 434), and four for Masses for the departed (451-454).

and in the Mass of the scrutinies of candidates for Baptism, both cases where those involved cannot themselves make the offering. Certain Votive Masses, too, from the very nature of the case, fit in here.⁹ But neophytes also, although possessing all the rights of full Christians, do not appear as offerers themselves, and the same is true of newly-ordained deacons and priests,¹⁰ and of the bride at a Nuptial Mass.¹¹ We discover here a fine piece of ancient Christian etiquette. It must have been accounted an honor to relieve those concerned of their duty of offering on this their great day, and to make the offering “for” them, in their stead and for their benefit.¹²

Further investigation finally brings to light the fact that the mention of those for whom the offering is made is missing in the *Hanc igitur* only where these persons are the same as the offerers, the sacrifice being offered for oneself and one’s own intentions.¹³ It is only in such cases that the

⁹ Of the two *Hanc igitur* formulas in the Mass *Ad proficiscendum in itinere* in the older Gelasianum (III, 24), the former has the traveler himself as the offerant and the second already supposes a substitute, who offers in his stead: *Hanc igitur oblationem. Domine, famuli tui illius, quam tibi offert pro salute famuli tui illius*. The Mass *pro sterilitate mulierum* (III, 54) does not permit the one to whom it pertains to be the offerant, probably to save her from embarrassment (*pro famula tua illa*).

¹⁰ I, 24: *Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro famulis tuis, quos ad presbyterii vel diaconatus gradus promovere dignatus es . . .* Therefore, at that time the newly ordained did not concelebrate in their ordination Mass, or at any rate they did not co-consecrate. On the other hand, a Mass is provided for a newly consecrated bishop (I, 100): *quam pro se episcopus die ordinationis suae cantat*. Hence the corresponding formula begins with: *Hanc quoque oblationem quam offero ego tuus famulus et sacerdos ob diem in quo dignatus es . . .*

¹¹ The pertinent *Hanc igitur* is found in the Gelasianum, III, 52, as well as in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 446), and in another version also in the Gregorianum (Lietzmann, n. 200, 4). In the Leonianum it reads: *Hanc igitur oblationem famulae tuae ill., quam tibi offerimus pro famula tua illa, quæsumus Domine, placatus aspicias, pro qua maiestatem tuam supplices exoramus, ut sicut eam ad ætatem nuptiis congruentem pervenire tribuisti, sic consortio maritali tuo munere copulatam de-*

siderata sobole gaudere perficias atque ad optatam seriem cum suo conjugē provehas benignus annorum. Per.

¹² This is clear in the Bridal Mass of the Gelasianum, III, 52, where evidently the female relatives assumed the duty. Likewise (with a single female offerant) in the Leonianum (previous note). Ambrose, *In Ps. 118, prol., 2* (CSEL, 62, 4), already testifies to the custom of having the newly baptized, beginning with the eighth day, themselves make the oblation. The reason seems to be that they first had to learn the rite by an active participation during Easter week: *tunc demum suum munus sacris altaribus offerat, cum cæperit esse instructor, ne offerentis inscitia contaminat oblationis mysterium*. One would think that the offertory procession was no more difficult than the Communion procession of that period. The reason, however, may have been intended as an allegorical one; one becomes *instructor* through the mystery of the “eighth day” (eighth day = Sunday = day of resurrection), hence not by experience, but simply by waiting for this day.

¹³ Thus, e.g., in the first *Hanc igitur* in the Mass for a successful journey: *Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, famuli tui illius, quam tibi offert . . . commendans tibi Deus iter suum . . .* Gelasianum, III, 24 (Wilson, 245). So, too, for the anniversary of baptism, ordination, and consecration. The bishop on the anniversary of his consecration even prays in the first person: *Hanc quoque oblationem, quam offero ego tuus*

offerer alone is mentioned, and even then he is mentioned not as such, but rather as one expecting the fruits of the sacrifice. Especially instructive is the case of the Mass of the scrutinies already cited, where the candidates for Baptism are, in the main, the only ones mentioned in the *Hanc igitur*. As already pointed out regarding this Mass,¹⁴ at the *Memento* for the living the names of the sponsors were read out, and these could, of course, be offerers. Now at the *Hanc igitur* there follow the names of the children who are ready for Baptism, for whom the sacrifice is offered up.¹⁵ Even if in other cases there is no evidence of such a distribution of names, and even if time and again in the *Hanc igitur* itself those who offer and those for whom the offering is made are both mentioned one after the other,¹⁶ still this case makes it plain enough that the accent of the *Hanc igitur* is placed on naming the ones for whom Mass is offered and on the special intentions. Thus there exists a certain external parallel to the *Memento* for the living,¹⁷ insofar as in either instance definite persons are mentioned and names are read out.¹⁸ But there is more here than simply a doubling of the framework for such a listing of names.¹⁹ The real matter is a determination of the aim of our action, the intention of the particular

famulus et sacerdos ob diem in quo me . . .
Gelasianum, I, 100 (Wilson, 154).

¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 161.

¹⁵ Gelasianum, I, 26 (Wilson, 34): *Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, ut propitius suscipias deprecamur, quam tibi offerimus pro famulis et famulabus tuis, quos ad æternam vitam . . . vocare dignatus es. Per Christum. Et recitantur nomina electorum. Postquam recensita fuerint dicis: Hos, Domine, fonte baptismate innovandos Spiritus tui munere ad sacramentorum tuorum plenitudinem poscimus præparari. Per.*

¹⁶ It is easily possible that in such instances, at least in the votive Masses, where other offerants did not come into consideration, the *Memento* concerning the offerants was omitted. There is a *Hanc igitur* formula in a Mass in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 454) with the caption *sancti Silvestri* that is still treated as a Mass of the Dead (*in famuli tui Silvestri depositione*) this points to the great antiquity of the *Hanc igitur*.

¹⁷ The parallel to the *Memento* of the dead would be even closer. Actually in two rather late MSS. of the liturgy of St. Peter, which incorporates a Greek translation of the Roman Canon, the *Hanc igitur* is frankly treated as a *Memento* of the dead; the rubric that is added reads: Ἐνταῦθα ἀναγέρει τοὺς κοιμηθέντας. Cod-

rington, *The Liturgy of Saint Peter*, 141.

¹⁸ The reading of the names is omitted, *inter alia*, where an exclusive group of the congregation has been singled out by an earlier listing of names, as at the Baptismal Mass on the eve of Easter and Pentecost, at an ordination, and, of course, in the case where the Mass is offered for oneself. No rigid rule, however, is apparent. In the Leonianum a reading of the names within the *Hanc igitur* is provided for in eight out of ten cases; in the older Gelasianum in something more than half of the 41 instances.

¹⁹ The hypothesis proposed by Botte, *Le canon*, 59 that the *Memento* and *Hanc igitur* had served for the naming of the offerants in one and the same way and that they were possibly distinguished only inasmuch as the deacon read off the former and the priest the latter is therefore without foundation. The deacon could have read the names in both instances whenever there was a longer list; cfr. above, n. 15. It is contrary to the spirit of the Roman liturgy that the deacon should have said the *Memento*, because such prominence was not accorded to the deacon. In all Sacramentary MSS. that have survived, the *Memento* of the living belongs to the prayer text of the priest.

celebration, mention of which is aptly included here. It was a very thoughtful plan, one that lies close to the human heart, to use this climactic moment of the sacred action not only to join the little congregation with the large society of the earthly and heavenly Church (as had been done in the preceding prayers), but to add thereto a list of names and petitions to be specially recommended to the divine favor and thus to “join” a personal offering to that which would soon be made on the altar.²⁰

In view of the marked distinctiveness and almost unlimited changeableness of the *Hanc igitur* formula, it must not always have been easy for the celebrant to find a satisfactory form to include the names of all the offerers and all those for whose benefit the offering was made, or to define all the various intentions. Interested ears would be cocked to catch every word, and woe if he missed something. The difficulty grew with the ever-increasing development of the Votive Masses which we discover in the *Gelasianum* in the sixth century. The desire of the faithful to have their earthly intentions—often all too earthly—included in the sacred sacrifice must not infrequently have become a source of deep embarrassment. It is the same difficulty encountered everywhere by present-day pastors trying to incorporate all the intentions that have been recommended to their prayers, from ailing pets to menacing school exams. So it is not hard to understand why Gregory the Great put an end to all this variety by one unswerving direction. Henceforth, at the altar only a broad and general recommendation would be made, by substituting for the diverse offerers and recipients the great Christian community consisting of both clergy and people, in which every special group is comprehended: *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ,²¹ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ.²²* All offer for all. And in place of the variety of individual petitions, the enduring and common interests of the community, in which all particular requests are included: the universal plea for a peaceful life on earth:

²⁰ This salient mode of expression is clearly to be discerned in the caption that introduces the *Hanc igitur* of the consecration of virgins in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 331): *Coniunctio oblationis virginum sacratarum*. For another kindred explanation concerning the *coniunctio* cf. A. Dold, *Eph. liturg.*, 50 (1936), 372 f. In the Leonianum there is a *Hanc igitur* on the day of a bishop's consecration, (Muratori, I, 434) titled *Pro episcopo offerendum*; the designation *offerendum* is there, because the formula answers the question *pro quo est offerendum?*

²¹ *Servitus nostra* = *nos servi*. Botte, *Le canon*, 37, refers to the Gelasianum, I, 98, in which the priest prays on the day of his ordination: *ut tibi servitus nostra com-*

placeat. The *servitus* here is taken in an abstract sense; our menial service, our servitude. The expression presupposes the not infrequent use of *servus* for those invested with the priesthood; cf. *ZkTh*, 56 (1932), 603 f. In Leo the Great, *Ep.*, 108, 2 (PL, 54, 1012 A), we find in due form *per servitum nostram* in the sense of *per nos*. This is, therefore, merely the same Latin usage of substituting an appellation for a person that we find in such expressions as “Your Holiness,” “Your Grace,” “Your Lordship.”

²² God's people is here conceived as a domestic group with God as its *pater familias*; cf. Rütten, “Philologisches zum Canon missæ” (*StZ*, 1938, I) 45; Batifol, *Leçons*, 250.

*dies nostros in tua pace*²⁵ *disponas*; and the all-conclusive plea for our eternal welfare: *atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari*. And in this form—as we are forced to assume as a further direction of Gregory's—the prayer was to be said at every Mass.

Only in a very few Mass formularies was the right to a special formula subsequently permitted to remain. In the missal of today it is only in the two baptismal Masses of Easter and Pentecost, and (surprisingly) in the Mass of Maundy Thursday.²⁶ Besides these, the *Pontificale Romanum* retains a special *Hanc igitur* for the consecration of a bishop. The Gregorian Sacramentary of Hadrian I still exhibits additional formulas—traditional ones—for the ordination of a priest, for the Nuptial Mass and for the burial of bishops.²⁷

The *Hanc igitur* formulas still in use are so constructed that the basic Gregorian form is retained even on these special days, a supplementary phrase derived from the ancient wording being incorporated into it.²⁸ On the other hand, Gregory the Great himself appears to have retained for these special formulas only the conclusion of his common text, not utilizing the continuation of the introductory words in all cases.²⁹

Furthermore, outside of Rome not only did a certain amount of the older *Hanc igitur* formulas survive for a time, due to Alcuin's supplement to Gregory's Sacramentary,³⁰ but actually in the milieu of the Gallic liturgies there was a whole new growth of formulas, as we can see from examples in Gallican and Irish Sacramentaries,³¹ and from the formation

²⁵ The peace that God gives comprises also, though not exclusively, the peace of nations. The constant troubles caused by the Lombards may have been the motive for introducing a request that has been fervently re-echoed in every war-ravaged age; cf. Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 312.

²⁶ Perhaps the "law of retaining the ancient in seasons of high liturgical worth" (Baumstark) was especially effective here as in so many instances during the Holy Week liturgy. Still, the formula may originally have been intended for the penitents, who were permitted to offer their gifts again for the first time. In the Gelasianum the formula reads, . . . *ut (familia tua) per multa curricula annorum salva et incolumis munera sua tibi Domine mereatur offerre*; Gelasianum, I, 39 (Wilson, 67, 70).

²⁷ Lietzmann, n. 199, 4; 200, 4; 224, 3.

²⁸ Compare the present-day text in the neophytes' Mass with the original, *supra*, p. 180.

The intention for the newly baptized and for the newly consecrated bishop, which in the pre-Gregorian texts as a rule was the only intention mentioned—Leonianum (Muratori, I, 318; 421); Gelasianum, I, 100 (Wilson, 154); cf. *supra*, note 13—now occupies only a secondary position: *pro his quoque; etiam pro hoc famulo tuo*.

²⁹ The amplification *servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ* is missing in the ordination and bridal Mass, and at least the second part in the formula for a deceased bishop. Lietzmann, *loc. cit.*

³⁰ Muratori, II, 188; 193; 195; 200; 219-223.

³¹ Here the subordinate clause was amplified in a manner entirely contrary to the sense of the original formula, into formulations that express the offering in honor of the saints (mentioning their names) and also in honor of Christ and of God. Examples in Kennedy, 354-357; Botte, 36, Apparatus.

of new formulas even in the Carolingian period.³⁰ But the Roman Church adhered to Gregory's reform. The formulation of the particular intention for each celebration was excluded, thus to an extent shunting the formula away from its original and proper intent. But the loss was more than compensated for by the fact that the perpetual intentions of all Christendom—which are likewise those of every individual Christian—were firmly fixed therein, above all the decisive request for endless glory, a grace of which it is said that we can gain only by persevering prayer, and for which we therefore humbly beg, day after day, right before the sacred moment of consecration.

There was but one further change in the *Hanc igitur*, namely in the contours of the external rite. Because the sacrificial note was emphasized in the prayer, it was quite natural to employ the same bowed posture that was attached in other places to prayers of offering. For this bow there are various evidences throughout the course of the Middle Ages.³¹ But since the close of the Middle Ages the present-day rubric of holding the hands outstretched over the offerings gradually prevailed, unless (as happened) objection was taken to every sort of accompanying rite.³² The present rite was originally a pointing gesture, occasioned by the word *hanc*.³³ Thus the gesture indicates the gifts we wish to offer God, and insofar as is an oblation rite, a very natural one at that, one we have come upon more than once in other connections.³⁴ But the meaning of the offering is not thereby more distinctly defined. In the Old Testament the same rite of laying the hands over the sacrificial victim is prescribed for various types of offering—for burnt offering and peace offering,³⁵ and more par-

³⁰ A comprehensive formula dating back to the Patriarch Paulinus of Aquileja (d. 802) which mentions in the form of a prayer of intercession a long list of requests, is discussed more in detail by Ebner, 415-417; cf. *ibid.*, 23. In its original version it is also found in a Missal of Tortosa (11th cent.): Ferreres, 360. In the Sacramentary of S. Thierry, 9-10th cent.), Martène, 1, 4, X (I, 552-562), there are five formulas of a like nature within the compass of as many votive formularies, which in each instance include, along with the oration, a proper Preface and *Hanc igitur*. The Missa Illyrica has a *Hanc igitur* formula for the case of a lawsuit; *ibid.*, IV (I, 513 E). Further examples *ibid.*, 1, 4, 8, 17 (I, 408).

³¹ *Ordo "Qualiter quædam"* (Andrieu, II, 298; PL, 78, 1380 C): *Hic inclinât se usque ad altare*. Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 88 (PL, 986 D); Honorius Augustod., *Sacramentarium*, c. 88 (PL,

172, 793 B); *Liber ordinarius O. Præm.* (Waefelghem, 71 f.); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 94). Durandus, IV, 39, 1, testifies to the profound bow in *quibusdam ecclesiis*. According to Eisenhofer, II, 180, also in "countless" Mass books until the 15th century. Cf. also Lebrun, I, 384.

³² This is the case, e.g., in the *Ordo* of Cardinal Stefaneschi (about 1311), n. 53 (PL, 78, 1166 A), also in the Dominican Rite of today: *Missale O.P.* (1889), 19.

³³ The Mass-*ordo* of York (about 1425) has the rubric: *parum tangat calicem dicens: Hanc*. Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, p. 106. The laying on of the hands appears in Mass books of the 14th century; Leroquais, II, 210; III, 41, 60, 82. Numerous examples of the 15th and 16th centuries, Lebrun, I, 384 f. Eisenhofer, II, 180.

³⁴ Above I, 29; II, p. 147, nn. 44, 45.

³⁵ Lev. 1: 4; 3: 2, 8, 13; 8: 18, 22.

ticularly for a sacrifice with propitiatory character,³⁶ pre-eminently the sacrifice of the scape-goat on the great Day of Atonement.³⁷ Still there is no real reason to interpret the gesture precisely in this last sense, as long as the accompanying text gives no hint of it.³⁸

11. *Quam oblationem*

The last prayer before the account of the institution forms with it a grammatical unit. It is like an up-beat before the full measure, a final swell in human words before the introduction of the imposing phrases of the sacred account, which are attached by means of a simple relative pronoun. For this introductory prayer of our canon we have the early testimony of St. Ambrose, both for the prayer itself and for its introductory character, since when he cites it his chief concern is with the words of Christ thus introduced by it.¹ In the *eucharistia* of Hippolytus a preliminary of this kind is still lacking. There the account of the institution simply follows the words of praise regarding the redemption in the course of the prayer of thanksgiving. But meditation on the work of the divine omnipotence and favor which is about to be performed must have induced the notion of prefacing it with a formal prayer, much in the same way as we pray for our daily bread before we sit down to eat it.

The prayer *Quam oblationem* is the plea for the final hallowing of the earthly gift and, in the last analysis, a plea "that it may become for us the Body and Blood of Thy most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ." The main thought is clear, but the expression is not very sharply stamped. The present-day wording of the prayer is already to be found in the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great,² but it differs considerably from the earlier form presented by Ambrose. The old traditional formulations are not fitted together into the newer framework very smoothly.³ In Ambrose we read: *fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu*

³⁶ Lev. 4: 4, 15, 24, 29, 33; 8: 14.

³⁷ Lev. 16: 20 f.

³⁸ A reference to the sacrifice of the cross is included in such cases as when a Missal of Auxerre (14th cent) prescribes that the hands be imposed in the form of a cross; Leroquais, II, 262. The rite does not seem to have gained any extensive vogue. Regarding the warning bell rung at either the *Hanc igitur* or the *quam oblationem* see infra, chapter 13, n. 50.

¹ *Supra*, I, 52.

² With the exception that in the present-

day text the word (*Domini*) *Dei (nostri Jesu Christi)* is lacking: Botte, 38. But it is also wanting in one Vatican MS. of the Greg. Sacramentary, Codex Ottobonianus, 313; cf. E. Bishop, "Table of Early Texts of the Roman Canon," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1903, 555-578.

³ Cf. the complaints in G. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* (Berlin, 1900), 382, who declares the prayer "unintelligible." Suarez, too, thinks: *obscurior est reliquis*; De sacramentis, I, 83, 2, 9 (*Opp.*, ed. Berton, 21, 875).

Christi. Here the meaning is quite plain; an appeal⁴ is made that God may turn the gift into a perfect offering, which⁵ is the representation⁶ of Christ's Body and Blood.⁷ The expressions *adscripta*, etc., here describe the sacrificial gift in its already altered state.

It is not impossible to explain the present-day text in a similar sense. In the introductory phrase only the *fac* has been changed to *facere digneris* and the word *benedictam* added, in no way altering the meaning. The four-member expression has been changed into five, thus giving still greater force to the guarded legal terminology of the Romans which is here in evidence.⁸ In the second clause a noteworthy addition, evoked doubtlessly by the nearness of the great, grace-filled event, is the emotional word joined to the mention of our Saviour, the word *dilectissimi*,⁹ all the more remarkable because of the contrast to the legal language of the preceding phrase. Of greater importance, however, is the fact that, after the ambiguous *figura* was dropped, the *quod est* should be turned into *ut fiat*. Thus, according to the grammatical formulation now presented, the change into the Body and Blood of Christ is no longer contained amongst the properties of the sacrificial gift expected from God, but appears instead as the result of it (or as a goal to which that divine operation is ordered.) Still it is possible to consider this result as provided in that exaltation itself, so that only in concept would it be detached there-

⁴ Ambrose, *De sacra.*, IV, 5, 21 (*supra*, I, 52). The amended text as edited by B. Botte (*Sources chrétiennes*, 25; 1950), 84, reads: *oblationem scriptam, rationabilem* (without *ratam*).

⁵ The *quod* may be the Latin for *quæ*; O. Casel, "Quam oblationem" (*JL*, 2, (1922) 98-101) 100.

⁶ *Figura* does not exclude the reality as does our word for "picture," but leaves room for it; in translation this is perhaps best expressed as "representation." A like mode of expression is known to occur frequently until into the 5th century. Cf. the parallels in Quasten, *Mon.*, 160, n. 1. Cf. also the equivalent expression in the *Liber ordinum* (Férotin, 322; *supra* I, 55, n. 20). Cf. W. Dürig, "Imago" (*Münchener Theol. Studien*, II, 5; Munich, 1952), 91 f.

⁷ This explanation, which Casel adopted, *loc. cit.*, was later quietly toned down by him quite noticeably (*JL*, [for 1931] 1-19) 12 f.; now he stresses the point that the primitive meaning of the prayer was not "a petition for the consecration, but a prayer of sacrifice in the form of a petition for acceptance." The Church pleads for the

acceptance of its sacrifice as something fully valid and agreeable, "because it is really identical with the sacrifice of Christ." At the same time he strikes out from the Ambrosian text above the word *rationabilem* (10 f.), which is not easy to connect with *fac*. Still he treats the *fac* as well as the *facere digneris* of today, as though *habe*, *habere digneris* were in its place; cf. the proposed translation, *ibid.*, 17, note 30: "Look upon (or regard) this offering . . . as blessed . . ." In reality it is still a matter of God's action. We are compelled to say that even with Ambrose the prayer had a twofold character, inasfar as expressions of an attitude of agreement are united with a petition for action; in other words, the prayer is conceived as though the consecration had already taken place, but we are once again praying for it.

⁸ Cf. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, 84. The dying dedication of the Decians in Livy, VIII, 9, 6-8, presents a pre-Christian example of such a legal-sacral combination of terms.

⁹ According to Matth. 3: 17; 17: 5 and parallels.

from as the sought-for consequence. Make this gift (we seem to say) into a perfect oblation in such a way that it becomes the Body and Blood of our Lord.

The attempt to wrest the ancient meaning out of the later wording is given special impetus by one expression which has survived in the first clause. Along with the other qualifications, our oblation gift should be *rationabilis*. Even in the Vulgate the word *rationabile* corresponds to the Greek λογικόν: spiritual, spiritualized, immaterial.¹⁰ *Oblatio rationabilis* = λογική θυσία is an exact description of the spiritual sacrifice proper to Christianity, a sacrifice lifted high above the realm of matter.¹¹ In the Roman canon as quoted by Ambrose the same word reappears after the the consecration begged for a divinely effected exaltation and spiritualizing the sense just indicated: *offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam*.¹² Thus, too, the prayer before the consecration begged for a divinely effected exaltation and spiritualizing of our sacrifice, beyond blood and earthly taint, and the other terms from the Roman legal language merely attempted to define this plea more exactly within the given context. *Adscriptam*, for instance, applied to citizens and soldiers, indicated that they were entered in the lists, and so here, too, it means recognized and accepted.¹³ Still, it is precisely the meaning of the word *rationabilis* in our prayer which underwent a profound change between Ambrose's time and Gregory the Great. Already in the usage of Leo the Great, and definitely in Gregory's, *rationabilis* lost the shade of meaning it had in Christian cult and signified merely what was suited to reason or the nature of things.¹⁴ So too in our *Quam oblationem*, where it is encircled by Roman legal terms, it reverts to the simple Roman signification, at least as far as it was understood in that era. Thus an opportunity was presented to see in what was petitioned by the *fac* or *facere digneris* not the completed transubstantiation but rather a preparation for that change, the condition by which the gift was made "serviceable" or "right." Furthermore, by means of the *ut*-clause, this latter was

¹⁰ Rom. 12: 1; I Peter 2: 2.

¹¹ O. Casel, "Oblatio rationabilis," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 99 (1917-18), 429 to 437; *ibid.*, "λογική θυσία der antiken Mystik in christlich-Ziturgischer Umdeutung," *JL*, 4 (1924), 37-47.—Cf. *supra*, I, 24 f.

¹² Ambrose, *De sacr.*, IV, 6, 27.

¹³ Cf. Casel, *Quam oblationem*, 100. Contrariwise Batiffol, *Leçons*, 251, n. 1, would rather take it in the sense of "accredited," with reference to the Leonianum (Muratorius, I, 361): *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui offerenda tuo nomini tribuis et oblata devotioni nostrae servitutis adscribis*. Perhaps it is best, however, to take the word to mean "consecrated, dedicated,"

considering *ascribere* as equivalent to *attribuere*; cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, II, 772-776.

¹⁴ But perhaps we ought rather to follow the argument of Botte, "Traduction du Canon de la Messe," *La Maison-Dieu*, 23 (1950), 41, 47-49, and take the word *rationabilem* in its older meaning even here in our present Roman Canon; after all, in the language of religion certain expressions do keep a more ancient significance even when in every-day use the meaning changes. Cf. Chr. Mohrmann, "Rationabilis-λογικός," *Revue internat. des Droits de l'Antiquité*, 5 (1950), 225-234.

defined as the proper goal,¹⁶ but it is now spoken of not as the immediate object of the petition, but only as a consequence or intention. Once again the matter kept in view is a preparatory step to the consecration itself, with the latter mentioned only in the background. The train of thought is then the same as that which is manifested more than once in the *secreta*, the thought which is given full expression, for instance, in one of the secret prayers of the *Gregorianum*: *Munera, Domine, oblata sanctifica, ut tui nobis Unigeniti corpus et sanguis fiant. Per.*¹⁷ But if one is unwilling to take the new version of the *Quam oblationem* in the original sense, even in the sense as thus half-buried,¹⁷ it will then be necessary to accept a very weakened interpretation of the text, formulated somewhat as follows: Let this gift, O God, be in all blessed, approved, valid, right and acceptable, so that it (may) become for us the Body and Blood of Thy well-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁸

The goal of our petition is still the consecration, or more exactly the transformation of our sacrificial gift,¹⁹ even though it is modestly pushed to the background in favor of the preparatory step. The formula thus represents the plea for consecration or—viewing the matter technically—the epiklesis of the Roman Mass. This is therefore the proper place to make a comparative study of what is generally called in other liturgies an epiklesis.

At two points in the Mass the sacramental world intrudes into the liturgical activity of the Church: at the consecration and at the Communion. God Himself is operative, giving us invisible grace by means of visible sacramental signs. Man can do nothing here except place the signs and—early reflection had soon deemed this proper—beg for the divine

¹⁶ Preceding the change to the *ut* clause, there seems to have been a form with *quæ* and the subjunctive, one that is still presented in the Irish and Milanese tradition: *quæ nobis corpus et sanguis fiat*; Casel, 12; Botte, 38. The *ut* could not have come into its place until towards the end of the 6th century. A version with *quæ*, and even with the indicative in two texts of the Mozarabic liturgy; Botte, 37; see above I, 55, n. 20.

¹⁷ Cf. *supra*, note 10.

¹⁸ The older interpretation of *rationabilem* also in E. Bishop, "The Moment of Consecration" (appendix to Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, 126-163), 150 f. and in the earlier Middle Ages; also in Florus Diaconus (d. about 860), *De actione missæ*, c. 59 (PL, 119, 51), and in Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, 101, 1260). In fact the word *rationabilis* is here clearly understood in the older meaning:

ille quidem panis et illud vinum per se irrationabile est, sed orat sacerdos ut . . . rationabilis fiat transeundo in corpus Filii ejus.

¹⁹ Thus Botte in the article mentioned in note 14.—For the combination of *rationabilis acceptabilemque* proposed by Botte, cf. I Peter 2: 5: *spirituales hostias, acceptabiles Deo per J. Chr.*

²⁰ This *nobis* which appears already in the Ambrosian text is not without meaning. It is inserted to point out that the object is not merely Christ's presence as such, something that might have been sufficient for a later form of piety, but His presence as our sacrificial offering, in which our sacrifice is completed and into which He desires that we ourselves be finally taken up. Cf. P. de Puniet, "La consecration" (*Cours et Conférences*, VII; Louvain, 1929; 193-208), 198 f., 201 ff.

operation. Just how this appeal will be worded depends on the mode of theological thought, whether to call upon God in a formal request for this operation, or (more in line with pre-Christian forms of expression) to implore the assistance of divine power. Both of these modes of approach were designated in Christian antiquity as ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, ἐπικλήσις, because in both cases God's name is invoked and God's power is elicited.²⁰ The earliest record of an epiklesis is found in reference to Baptism, in the consecration of the baptismal water,²¹ but there is also early mention of it in reference to the Eucharist.²²

Coming now to particulars, it could be sufficient simply and bluntly to implore God for the hallowing of the gift and for its salutary and fruitful enjoyment, as actually happens in the Roman Mass at the *Quam oblationem* and the *Supplices*. Or one could attempt to define and designate the divine power by name. Christian terms which could be considered include: the Spirit of God, the power or the grace of God or His blessing, the Wisdom or the Word of God, the Holy Ghost; one could even think of an angel of God.²³ In the early Christian era there was no hard and fast rule in this regard. In Greek, where λόγος and πνεῦμα appear with the meaning "spirit," where, besides, in the theological consideration of the matter, a major role was taken by the idea that God had created and accomplished everything through the Logos, it was natural that mention should be made oftener of the Logos as the power by which the gift is sanctified.²⁴ In the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, with which (according to the prevailing opinion) Cyril of Jerusalem concluded his baptismal instructions in the year 348, we find the earliest record of the basic form of that epiklesis which became typical of the oriental liturgies: "Then . . . we call on the good God to send the Holy Ghost upon the gifts, so that He might change the bread into the Body of Christ and the wine into the Blood of Christ."²⁵ This epiklesis, taken in the narrow sense as a plea to God

²⁰ Cf. O. Casel, "Zur Epiklese"; *JL*, 3 (1923), 100-102; *ibid.*, "Neue Beiträge zur Epiklesenfrage," *JL*, 4 (1924), 169-178: see also the entire question of the epiklesis in Gassner, *The Canon of the Mass*, 324-339.

²¹ Tertullian, *De bapt.*, c. 4 (CSEL, 20, 204).

²² In the broader sense the Eucharistia, like every prayer of dedication, is an ἐπικλήσις, namely, an invocation of the divine Name over the material elements. It is in this sense that Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, IV, 31, 4 (al., IV, 18, 5; Harvey, II, 205 f.), speaks of the bread that receives τὴν ἐπικλήσιν τοῦ θεοῦ and is no longer ordinary bread. Cf. Casel, *Neue Beiträge*, 173 f.

²³ Cf. the problem below regarding *Supplices te rogamus*.

²⁴ *Euchologion* of Serapion, 13, 15 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 62 f.): 'Επιδημησάτω θεὸς τῆς αληθείας, ὁ ἅγιός σου λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, ἵνα γένηται ὁ ἄρτος σῶμα τοῦ λόγου . . . Further data in Quasten, *Mon.*, 62, n. 5. *Ibid.*, 18, n. 1, the literature concerning the much discussed passage in Justin, *Apol.*, I, 66: the bread becomes the body of Christ δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ. See also the materials in Bishop, *The Moment of Consecration*, 155-163.

²⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 7 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 101). Cf. Bishop, *The Moment of Consecration*, 126-150. The Holy Ghost epiklesis after the consecration is not again clearly certified until

to send the Holy Spirit, thereafter appears first in the liturgies in the region of Syria; when it does appear it is found (as we might already gather from the passage cited above) *after* the words of institution and the anamnesis and oblation prayer that follow, and the object of the formula is that the Holy Ghost might “make” the gifts into Christ’s Body and Blood (*πρότης*: Liturgy of St. James) or “manifest” them as such (*ἀποφάνης*: *Apostolic Constitutions VIII*; *ἀναδέξαι*: Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil) and that thus they might have a salutary effect on the recipients.²⁶ In the last sense, as a plea to the Holy Ghost to let the Communion strengthen the recipients in their faith, an epiklesis is to be found at the same point even in the *eucharistia* of Hippolytus. But there is no reference here to the transformation of the gifts.²⁷ The oriental liturgies, too, must have had originally in place of the epiklesis only a petition for the salutary effects of Communion,²⁸ from which a more general plea for blessing, with special reference to the transubstantiation, could easily have developed.²⁹

Besides this consecratory epiklesis, which emerged from Syria, an

Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, VI (Rücker, 32 f). Bishop calls attention to the fact that in the conflict with the Macedonians (condemned in 381) regarding the divinity of the Holy Ghost, the Eucharistic consecration as the work of the Holy Ghost was not stressed by the Catholics (140 f.). In view of the pronounced isolation of the testimony mentioned (although one must take into consideration the passage to which M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith*, II [London & New York, 1950], 412-413, notes 6 and 1, refers), we may again call attention to the question whether John of Jerusalem (d. 417) was the real author of the Catecheses rather than Cyril; cf. Quasten, *Mon.*, 70. That mystagogical catecheses were announced in the 18th catechesis and that a back reference is made to previous catecheses in the mystagogical one, proves little fundamentally, since these mystagogical catecheses generally followed after the catecheses of the symbol. In the meanwhile the question has been re-examined from the historical viewpoint by W. J. Swaans, “A propos des Catéchèses Mystagogiques,” *Le Muséon* 55 (Louvain, 1942), 1-43; the results do not favor Cyril.

²⁶ Critical survey of the relevant texts and an analysis of them in Lietzmann, *Messe*

und Herrenmahl, 68-81; cf. G. Rauschen, *Eucharistie und Buszsakrament* (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1910), 110-130; Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 454-463. A comprehensive summary of the theological problem in Th. Spacil, *Doctrina theologiae Orientis separati de ss. Eucharistia*, II (Orientalia christiana, 14, 1; Rome, 1929), 1-114.

²⁷ *Supra* I, 29.

²⁸ A Baumstark, *Le liturgie orientali e le preghiere ‘Supra quæ’ e ‘Supplices’ del canone romano*” (Grottaferrata, 1913), especially p. 33; *idem*, “Zu den Problemen der Epiklese des römischen Messkanons,” *Theol. Revue*, 15 (1916), 337-350, especially 341. Similarly Hanssens, III, 354 f.

²⁹ It is to be noted that in the Antiochene-Byzantine group of liturgies the space before the words of the institution was monopolized by the (mostly Christological) continuation of the thanksgiving prayer. And thus, the only possibility for a prayer of blessing was after the words of institution and oblation. The more vividly the process of the consecration was conceived as an effect of the bestowal of the divine blessing and Spirit, the more did the need of a consecration epiklesis obtrude itself. Cf. J. Brinktrine, “Zur Entstehung der morgenländischen Epiklese,” *ZkTh*, 42 (1918), 301-326; 483-518.

epiklesis pronounced *after* the words of consecration, there was another in the Church of Egypt—originally, it is evident, the only one³⁰—which *preceded* the words of consecration. The basic form of this reads as follows: Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory; fill this gift, too, with Thy blessing.³¹ It was not till later that the Egyptian Liturgy of St. Mark also adopted the Syro-Byzantine epiklesis.

Thus the consecratory epiklesis following the words of institution became, by degrees, a distinctive feature of the entire Eastern Church, and in the dissident churches was given a theological interpretation consonant with the wording of the prayer.³² But viewed in the light of tradition it represents the fourth century custom of only one of the three great patriarchates, namely, that of Antioch, while in the other two, Alexandria and Rome, the traditional practice, going back at least to the same early period, involved an invocation of the divine power *before* the words of institution.³³ The fact that more and more emphasis was given to the invocation of the Holy Ghost coincides with a basic trend of oriental theology, a trend noticed at a very early stage; for Eastern theologians are wont to consider the Holy Ghost as “the executor and accomplisher of every divine work,”³⁴ and in general their theological thinking is built more strongly on the mystery of the Trinity.³⁵

However, there is no solid and unimpeachable evidence in the original sources of the Roman liturgy that the Roman Mass also at one time had an epiklesis of the Holy Ghost as a plea for the consecration.³⁶ The pertinent remark in a letter of Pope Gelasius I is indeed striking but not un-

³⁰ Cf. Lietzmann, 76; Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 7 f.—Hanssens, III, 462, expresses skepticism.

³¹ *Supra*, p. 148. It is found in Serapion and in the Egyptian Mass liturgy, and besides also in the liturgical papyrus of Dêr-Balyzeh (Quasten, *Mon.*, 40; a more complete text in C. H. Roberts-B. Capelle, *An early Euchologium* [Louvain, 1949], 24 f.; cf. 44 f.), and in a Coptic anaphora of the 6th century discovered by L. Th. Lefort in 1940 (Roberts-Capelle, 25. 44 f.).

³² That the epiklesis was necessary for the consecration along with the words of institution was maintained by oriental theologians already at an early date; that it alone was necessary, was not generally advocated until the 17th century. Cf. Pohl-M. Gierens, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, III, (9th ed.; Paderborn, 1937), 278; see *ibid.*, 282-286, regarding the dogmatic judgment of the question.

³³ In this sense O. Heimig, *JL*, 15 (1941), 445-447.

³⁴ Thus the oriental theologian B. Ghies, *JL*, 15 (1941), 338 f.

³⁵ It must be granted that the basic notion is found in primitive Christianity. This is plain from the fact that in the Apostles' Creed the Holy Ghost appears at the head of the list of the gifts of salvation and as their source. A priori, therefore, one could expect a similar Trinitarian composition would have asserted itself at an early date in the Eucharistic prayer, as a prayer rising to God the Father, with thanks for the work of the Son, and with the petition for the fulfillment of the same through the Holy Ghost. Cf. *supra*, I, 32, n. 17. The Eucharistia of Hippolytus in fact shows this plan, for which the Anglican liturgist W. H. Frere has again pleaded at the present time (see *ibid.*).

³⁶ Regarding the testimony of the Georgian liturgy of St. Peter so often mentioned before, cf. above, p. 150, n. 15.

equivocal.³⁷ At any rate, an epiklesis of this sort did not belong to the older tradition in Rome, and later the simple ancient form of the plea for the blessing of the gift before the consecration remained as decisive as the plea after the consecration for the fulfillment of the blessing in all who received the gift of the altar.

This blessing was given further outward expression by means of the gestures, the first three of the five attributes of the sacrificial gifts being each accompanied by a sign of the Cross, to which were added two demonstrative signs of the Cross at the mention of the Body and Blood of our Lord.³⁸

12. The Consecration: The Account of Institution

In all the known liturgies the core of the *eucharistia*, and therefore of the Mass, is formed by the narrative of institution and the words of consecration.¹ Our very first observation in this regard is the remarkable fact

³⁷ Gelasius I, *Ep. fragm.*, 7 (Thiel, I, 486): *quomodo ad divini mysterii consecrationem caelestis spiritus invocatus adveniet, si sacerdos (et) qui eum adesse deprecatur, criminosis plenus actionibus reprobetur?* For an explanation of the passage cf. Casel, *Neue Beiträge*, 175-177; Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre*, 217-222; J. Brinktrine, "Der Vollzieher der Eucharistie nach Gelasius," *Miscellanea Mohlberg*, II (1949), 61-69.—Taking the words at their obvious meaning, they certainly seem to include an express invocation of the Holy Ghost, which, as Eisenhofer, II, 169, assumes, could have existed in a transient extension of the *Quam oblationem*, e.g., *Quam oblationem . . . acceptabilemque facere eique virtutem Sancti Spiritus infundere digneris, ut nobis*. Or, with C. Callewaert, "Histoire positive du Canon romain" (*Sacris erudiri*, 1949), 95-97, we might see here a reference to other prayers, such as the several secret prayers of the Leonianum which invoke the Holy Ghost. Still, Gelasius, who places the consecration on a parallel with the effects of the Holy Ghost in the Incarnation, could conceive the calling down of the Holy Ghost as being presented throughout the canon with its many petitions for blessing, without any express invocation of the third Divine Person. Cf. Botte, *Le canon*, 60 f.; idem, *Bulletin de théol. anc. et méd.*, 6 (1951), 226.

³⁸ Cf. above, p. 143. It may seem strange that all five of the attributes were not accompanied with an individual sign of the cross. Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 14 (PL, 151, 987), gives the answer: *ut quinarium numerum non excederemus et quintam crucem super calicem quasi quinti vulneris indicem . . . faceremus*.

¹ The East Syrian anaphora of the Apostles forms an exception here, inasmuch as the account of the institution is omitted in the MSS. of that liturgy. The same thing seems to be the case in a Syrian anaphora fragment originating in the 6th century (Brightman, 511-518), though this contains a short paraphrase. The instance is so strange that Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 33, himself thinks the only motive could have been a reverential awe lest they profane the sacred words. A. Raes, S.J., "Le recit de l'institution eucharistique dans l'anaphore chaldéenne et malabare des Apôtres": *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 10 (1944), 216-226, thinks otherwise. He considers the possibility that the account of the institution was dropped after the defection of the Nestorians (431), at a time, therefore, when in Syrian lands there grew up an exaggerated esteem of the epiklesis (cf. above, p. 191 f.). Similarly B. Botte, "L'anaphore chaldéenne des Apôtres," *ibid.*, 15 (1949), 259-276; however, Botte places the origin of the anaphora itself in the 3rd century, but at the same time

that the texts of the account of institution, among them in particular the most ancient (whether as handed down or as reconstructed by comparative studies), are never simply a Scripture text restated.² They go back to pre-biblical tradition. Here we face an outgrowth of the fact that the Eucharist was celebrated long before the evangelists and St. Paul set out to record the Gospel story.³ Even the glaring discrepancies in the biblical texts themselves regarding this very point are explained by this fact.⁴ For in them we evidently find segments from the liturgical life of the first generation of Christians.

Later on, because liturgical texts were still very fluid, the account of the institution was developed along three different lines.⁵ First of all, the two sections on the bread and the chalice were refashioned to gain greater symmetry. Such a symmetrical conformation, undoubtedly introduced in the interest of a well-balanced audible performance, is seen already in the phrases of the rather simple account of the institution as recorded by Hippolytus: *Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis confringetur—Hic est sanguis meus qui pro vobis effunditur*.⁶ The parallelism was even more advanced in a liturgy a good hundred years after, namely, the Liturgy of Serapion, where the single account has been broken up into two independent parallel accounts separated by a prayer.⁷ The trend reached a crest before the middle of the fifth century in the basic form of the main oriental liturgies, the anaphoras of St. Mark, St. James and St. Basil. Here, for example, in both passages we find εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλόγησας, ἀγιάσας; and the additional phrase from Matthew 26:28 regarding the chalice, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, is transferred also to the bread.⁸ Then came the second phase, wherein symmetry was abandoned in favor of a word-for-word dependence on the biblical accounts, some expressions from the Scriptures being interwoven bit by bit with the traditional text. And finally, along with these, a third phenomenon appeared, the effort to refit the

draws attention to various indications that the account of the institution was part of the primitive text. In modern times the Nestorians add an account of the institution from some other source to the anaphora of the Apostles (cf. Brightman 285); this was done in the Syro-Malabar rite since the 16th century. Concerning the manner of the insertion, or rather annexation, see Raes, S.J., *Introductio*, 91; 98 f. ² See the textual criticism and the historical research of F. Hamm *Die liturgischen Einsetzungsberichte im Sinne vergleichender Liturgieforschung untersucht* (LQF, 23; Münster, 1928). A good review of the interrelationship of the texts in P. Cagin, *L'Eucharistie canon primitif de la messe*, (Paris, 1912), where, pages 225-244, the

four biblical and the 76 liturgical accounts of the institution are printed side by side in 80 columns; in this way 79 distinct textual parts in the account are differentiated. —An earlier work on the symmetrical development of the consecration formula in K. J. Merk, *Der Konsekrationstext der römischen Messe* (Rottenburg a. N., (1915).

³ Cf. also Hanssens, III, 440.

⁴ Cf. above I, 8.

⁵ Hamm, 33 f.

⁶ Above I, 29.

⁷ Above I, 34 f.; Hamm, 94.

⁸ Hamm, 16 f., 21 f., 95. Further examples in comparative juxtaposition in Hanssens, III, 417 f.

phrases in decorative fashion, to underscore certain theological concepts,⁹ and to make more room for a reverential participation. In addition, elements of local table etiquette,¹⁰ or elements from the customs of worship¹¹ were frequently re-projected into the biblical account.

Viewed against such a background, the account of the institution in our Roman Mass¹² displays a relatively ancient character. The trend towards parallelism and biblicism has made great progress, but further transformation has remained within modest limits. The parallelism is manifested in the double occurrence of the ornamental phrase, *in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas*; further, in the words, *tibi gratias agens benedixit deditque discipulis suis dicens: accipite*, of which only *gratias agens, dedit, dicens* are biblical, and only *dedit, dicens* are found in parallel in the scriptural text (of Matthew and Mark); and lastly in the words, *ex hoc omnes* and *enim*, both found in Matthew 26:28, but with reference only to the chalice.

The inclusion of the biblical wording is almost complete. Of the entire stock in the various biblical accounts, only one text-phrase is missing in our canon, aside from the command to “do this in remembrance of me” which is found in Paul-Luke right after the institution of the bread, and the remark in Mark 14:23, *et biberunt ex illo omnes*. However, this missing phrase, namely the words added to *Hoc est corpus meum* in the Paul-Luke report: *quod pro vobis datur*, is an amazingly significant omission. Its absence is all the more remarkable because it already appeared (in the form: *quod pro vobis* [resp. *pro multis*] *confringetur*) in both of the older texts of the Roman tradition. So it must have been expunged some time between the fourth and the seventh century, for a reason unknown to us.¹³ On the other hand, in the oldest known text of the Roman Mass, the one in Hippolytus, almost half the biblical text is wanting.¹⁴ In refer-

⁹ Of this type are the terms found in oriental liturgies where, besides the intention “for the forgiveness of sins,” we find other paraphrases of the purpose of Christ’s gift, “as an atonement of transgressions,” “for eternal life,” “for the life of the world,” “for those who believe in me.” Cagin, 231 ff., 235 ff. Also the attributes given to the hands of Our Lord, and the word ἀγιάσας = *consecrans* are the result of theological reflection.

¹⁰ Oriental liturgies often mention the mingling (χεράσας) and also the tasting (γευσάμενος, πῶν). The idea that the Lord as host drank from the chalice first of all was already advanced by Irenæus; that He also partook of the bread was frequently mentioned by the Syrians; Hanssens, III, 444; Hamm, 51; 59.

¹¹ In this category are included the raising of the eyes and the making of the sign of the cross (*benedixit*) over the gift-offerings.

¹² The present-day text is the same as that of the oldest sacramentary tradition with this difference, that in three places the verbs are often joined without a conjunctive word; they were amplified: *et (elevatis oculis)* and twice (*dedit)que*; in place of *postquam* we find *posteaquam* in the sacramentaries. Other departures are found only in isolated MSS.; see Botte, 38-40.

¹³ Botte, 61, conjectures that the suppression is connected with the simplification of the rite of the fraction. The likelihood of this is slim.

¹⁴ Cf. *supra* I, 29.

ence to the bread, the words *benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis* are missing. In reference to the chalice, the words *postquam cœnavit, gratias agens, bibite ex hoc omnes* are omitted, as well as the words *enim* and *multis* from Matthew, the expressions *calix, novum testamentum* and *in remissionem peccatorum*. About midway between the text of Hippolytus and our present canon is the text recorded by Ambrose, insofar as it still shows none of the additions regarding the chalice.¹⁵

Another surprising thing in our Roman canon is the beginning of the words over the chalice: *Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi (et æterni) testamenti*. To the simple formula of the older Roman tradition, *Hic est sanguis meus*, the *calix* of Paul-Luke has been added. And following the model of Matthew-Mark, the notion of a covenant has been included.¹⁶

Even though these additions make the formula somewhat cumbersome from the viewpoint of grammar,¹⁷ still there is a double reward, for the mention of the chalice directly characterizes the Blood of our Lord as a drink, and the mention of the covenant opens up a broader vista of the work of redemption, accomplished (in fulfillment of the Old Testament figure) by the Blood of our Lord. Furthermore, it is a *testamentum*, a "covenant," a new divine economy binding heaven and earth together.¹⁸

The further transformation of our Roman text of the institution was very limited. The time is given in the words, *pridie quam pateretur*. This manner of chronicling the time is as characteristic of the occidental texts as the Pauline expression, "On the night when He was betrayed," is, in general, of the oriental ones. In the interest of theological precision, the latter text is often augmented by a reference¹⁹ to the voluntariness of the

¹⁵ *Supra* I, 52. However, as Hamm, 95, emphasizes, the Ambrosian text and our canon text simply are not in the same line of development. In some points the former is even further developed than our canon text; namely, in the twice-repeated *ad te sancte Pater omnipotens æterne Deus* and *apostolis et discipulis suis*. Besides, it has the *fregit frantumque* and the *quod pro multis confringetur*.

¹⁶ The same combination also in the Syrian texts: Hamm, 74, n. 145.

¹⁷ The realization of this is probably the reason why the words *sanguinis mei* are in individual instances missing: Sacramentary of the 13th century of the Cod. Barberini, XI, 179 (Ebner, 417); Missale of Riga about 1400 (see Bruiningk, 85, n. 1).

¹⁸ In view of the marked difference at this point between the tradition of Paul-Luke on the one hand and of Mark-Matthew on

the other, the question arises, what was the exact wording as spoken by Our Lord. The decision of the exegetes leans towards Mark 14: 24: Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν, because of its agreement with Ex. 24: 8, which Our Lord probably had in mind. The revamping in Paul seems to have been done with the view of bringing the spiritual consideration into greater prominence. Arnold, *Der Ursprung des christlichen Abendmahls*, 176f. For the rendering of διαθήκη *testamentum*, "alliance," as "divine economy," see *ibid.*, 181 f.—In favor of the form in Luke 22: 20, there is a late study by H. Schuermann, "Die Semitismen im Einsetzungsbericht bei Markus und bei Lukas," *ZkTh*, 73, (1951), 72-77.

¹⁹ In the later text of the liturgy of St. Chrysostom and the anaphora of St. James: τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδότο, μάλλον δὲ

Passion. Similarly there is in the occidental text a special addition which emphasizes the redemptive quality of Christ's Passion: *qui pridie quam pro nostra omniumque salute pateretur*. This addition is used at present only on Maundy Thursday, but in Gallic texts it is also employed on other occasions.²⁰

In all probability it was formerly a part of the everyday text, and may originally have been incorporated to underscore the all-embracing character of the redemption as a protest against the gloomy predestinationism rampant in the fifth and sixth centuries.²¹

An opening for the expression of reverence and awe was found by augmenting the word *accepit* with *in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas*. The same motif appeared even earlier in oriental texts, and especially in Egypt reached even richer expanses,²² but as a rule this occurred only in reference to the bread because with it was to be joined an offering gesture which suited the bread: The Lord (it reads) takes the bread *upon* His holy hands, *looks up* (ἀναβλέψας) to His heavenly Father, or *shows* it to Him (ἀναδείξας σοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί).²³

Our Roman text also makes mention of looking up: *elevatis oculis*, and the reason for its introduction here is probably the same, the idea of oblation.²⁴ It does not derive from the biblical account of the Last Supper, but is borrowed, as in some of the liturgies of the Orient, from other passages of the New Testament.²⁵ Moreover, the attitude of prayer, which also dominates the account and gives it the note of worship, is emphasized by

ἐαυτοῦ παρεδίδου; Brightman, 51, l. 24; 285, l. 23. Cf. Hamm, 39-42.

²⁰ Hamm, 38 f.; Botte, 61 f.

²¹ Thus G. Morin, "Une particularité inaperçue du 'Qui pridie' de la messe romaine aux environs de l'an DC," *Revue Bénédictine*, 27 (1910), 513-515.

²² The Egyptian anaphora of St. Mark: ἄρτον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων (the Monophysite text adds besides καὶ μακαρίων καὶ ζωποίων) αὐτοῦ χειρῶν; Hamm, 16; 69 f. The normal Armenian anaphora has "in his holy, divine, immortal, immaculate, and creative hands": Brightman, 436 f. The accumulation of these distinguishing attributes corresponds to the Monophysite efforts to accentuate the divinity of Christ as strongly as possible.

²³ Thus, above all, in the Syrian tradition, also already in the basic text of the anaphoras of St. James and St. Basil; Hamm, 21; 25; 66 ff. In this connection we must mention also the much-discussed passage in

Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27 (PG, 32, 187 B), about the words of invocation at the ἀνάδειξις of the bread and the chalice. The West Syrian anaphora of Dioskurus of Gazarta paraphrases the idea presented by the words ἐπὶ χειρῶν more exactly with *accepit panem et super manus suas sanctas in conspectu turbæ et societatis discipulorum suorum posuit* (Hamm, 67, n. 124). Cf. E. Peterson, "Die Bedeutung von ἀναδείκνυμι in den griechischen Liturgien": *Festgabe Deissmann*, (Tübingen, 1927), 320-326; cf. in this regard *JL*, (1927), 273 f., 357. In the present-day West Syrian rite the priest first places the host in the flat of his left hand, makes the sign of the cross three times over it, and then takes hold of it with both hands; Hanssens, III, 422.

²⁴ Cf. Hamm, 67 f.

²⁵ Matth. 14: 19; John 11: 41; 17: 1. Besides, such an upward glance towards heaven was a part of the prayerful posture of Christians in Christian antiquity. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, 301 ff.

the form regarding the heavenly Father—not a mere mention of Him, but a formal address: *ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem*.

The solemn wording of this mention of God²⁶ somehow re-echoes the solemn address at the beginning of the preface. Then, in mentioning the chalice, the pathos hitherto suppressed breaks through in a single word: *accipiens et hunc præclarum calicem*. That expression, *præclarus calix*, is plucked from Psalm 22:5. And again it is quite natural to make mention of the venerable hands, since the meal ritual included raising the cup on high.²⁷

The chief liturgies of the East also mention here the rite of admixture, usually balancing the commingling of the chalice against the taking of the bread: 'Ομοίως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, εὐλογήσας...²⁸

The blessing of the chalice, which is commonly expressed by the word *ἀγιάσας*, as in the case of bread, is given greater emphasis in one portion of the Greek texts after the Ecumenical Council of 381, the words *πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου*²⁹ being added. This practice parallels the development of the Holy Ghost epiklesis.

The most striking phenomenon in the Roman text is the augmentation of the words of consecration said over the chalice. The mention of the New Testament is turned into an acknowledgment of its everlasting duration: *novi et æterni testamenti*.³⁰ And then, in the middle of the sacred text, stand the enigmatic words so frequently discussed: *mysterium fidei*. Unfortunately the popular explanation (that the words were originally spoken by the deacon to reveal to the congregation what had been performed at the altar, which was screened from view by curtains) is poetry, not history.³¹ The phrase is found inserted in the earliest texts of the sacra-

²⁶ The mode of expression in the Apostles' Creed has exerted its influence. The address in the Ambrosian text is even richer; above I, 52; cf. Hamm, 57.

²⁷ Above I, 21, n. 63. The critical remarks in Hamm, 68, may not be pertinent.

²⁸ Hamm, 28; 52-55. It is significant that the mention of water, καὶ ὕδατος, was suppressed in the version of the anaphora of St. James used by the strictly Monophysite Armenians; cf. above, p. 40.

²⁹ Hamm, 52.

³⁰ The *testamentum æternum* is frequently repeated in the Old Testament: Ps. 110, 9; Eccclus. 17: 10; 45: 8. 19. Further discussion in Gassner, 249-250.

³¹ The idea goes back to A. de Waal, "Archæologische Erörterungen zu einigen Stücken im Kanon der hl. Messe, 3. Die Worte 'mysterium fidei'," *Der Katholik*,

76 (1896), 392-395; regarding this see Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 169, n. 11a. Older attempts at an explanation are recorded by K. J. Merk, *Der Konsekrationstext der römischen Messe* (Rottenburg, 1915), 5-25. The explanation advanced by Merk himself, *ibid.*, 147-151, according to which the words are intended to exclude the epiklesis and accentuate the fact that the consecration was already completed by the preceding words, is without foundation. The explanation given by Th. Schermann, "Liturgische Neuerungen" (Festgabe A. Knöpfler zum 70 Geburtstag [Freiburg, 1917], 276-289), is no better; according to this the *mysterium fidei* originally belonged only to the Mass of Baptism, inserted to call the attention of the newly baptized to an action that was entirely strange to them.

mentaries, and mentioned even in the seventh century.³² It is missing only in some later sources.³³

Regarding the meaning of the words *mysterium fidei*, there is absolutely no agreement. A distant parallel is to be found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, where our Lord is made to say at the consecration of the bread: "This is the mystery of the New Testament, take of it, eat, it is My Body."³⁴ Just as here the *mysterium* is referred to the bread in the form of a predicate, so in the canon of our Mass it is referred to the chalice in the form of an apposition. It has been proposed³⁵ that the words be taken as relating more closely to what precedes, so that in our text we should read: *novi (et æterni) testamenti mysterium (fidei)*. But such a rendering can hardly be upheld,³⁶ particularly because of the word *fidei* that follows,³⁷ but also because the whole phrase dependent on the word *mysterium* would then become a man-made insertion into the consecrating words of our Lord. *Mysterium fidei* is an independent expansion, superadded to the whole self-sufficient complex that precedes.³⁸

What is meant by the words *mysterium fidei*? Christian antiquity would

³² As the *Expositio* of the Gallican Mass (ed. Quasten, 18) shows, it was already contained in the 7th century chalice formula, which was taken over from the Roman into the Gallican liturgy. Such a general diffusion can be explained only by postulating a Roman origin; cf. also Wilmart, DACL, VI, 1086.

³³ In the Milanese Sacramentary of Biasca (9-10th cent.); in the *Ordo Rom. Antiquus* of Maundy Thursday, at least in the 11th century MS. edited by M. Hittorp (Cologne, 1886, p. 57; the other MSS. described by M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romanorum* I, 27, etc., have still to be examined). The entire passage *novi et æterni testamenti mysterium fidei* is missing in the *Sacramentarium Rossianum* (10th cent.); Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 194.

³⁴ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 36 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 222): *Τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριον τὰς καινῆς διαθήκης*. Some few Ethiopian anaphora have similar elaborations for the same passage: *admirabile prodigium*, or *potus vitæ verus*. Cagin, 231 ff., div. 27, 33, 35.

³⁵ Hamm, 75 f.

³⁶ Despite all studies of philological possibilities, it still remains difficult to conceive the genitive *novi et æterni testamenti* as dependent upon the *mysterium* immediately following, which is already associated with a genitive (*fidei*); whereas Paul-

Luke combine the words *sanguis (meus novi) testamenti* into a unit, at least as to sense, and Matthew-Mark do so even in form. Nevertheless the idea gains some support from the curious fact that it is precisely this group of words that is missing in the *Sacramentarium Rossianum* (above, n. 33).

³⁷ As a matter of fact, Hamm, 76, n. 147, also finds the *fidei* troublesome.

³⁸ The intrusion of such an addition into the very core of the words of consecration could be more easily explained, if, like the *æterni (testamenti)* they were of Scriptural origin. The expression is in fact found in I Tim. 3: 9, where the deacons are admonished to preserve the mystery of faith in a pure conscience: *habentes mysterium fidei in conscientia pura*. Of course, something quite different is here meant, namely, the Christian teaching, and thus it becomes quite difficult to understand how the phrase was seized upon in this connection. Brinktrine, "Mysterium Fidei," *Eph. liturg.*, 44 (1930), 493-500, tries to establish points of contact; the passage at times was understood in a Eucharistic sense, and the naming of the deacons, to whom the chalice pertained, could have led to this chalice formula. See also Gassner, 278-288. Florus Diaconus, *De actione miss.*, c. 62 (PL, 119, 54), had already drawn I Tim. 3: 9 into the exposition of this passage.

not have referred them so much to the obscurity of what is here hidden from the senses, but accessible (in part) only to (subjective) faith.³⁹ Rather it would have taken them as a reference to the grace-laden *sacramentum* in which the entire (objective) faith, the whole divine order of salvation is comprised.⁴⁰ The chalice of the New Testament is the life-giving symbol of truth, the sanctuary of our belief.⁴¹

How or when or why this insertion was made, or what external event occasioned it, cannot readily be ascertained.⁴²

The sacred account concludes with the command to repeat what Christ had done. The text is taken basically from St. Paul; however, the entire Roman tradition, from Hippolytus on, has substituted for the Pauline phrase "whenever you drink it," the phrase "whenever you do this." In some form or other our Lord's injunction is mentioned in almost all the liturgical formularies.⁴³ Where it is missing, it is presupposed. It is in the very nature of the Christian liturgy of the Mass that the account of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament should not be recited as a merely historical record, as are other portions of the Gospels. Indeed, the words of the account are spoken over the bread and a chalice, and, in accord with our Lord's word, are uttered precisely in order to repeat Christ's action. This repetition, is, in fact, accomplished in all its essentials by rehearsing the words of the account of the institution.

³⁹ This interpretation, which is generally supported today, is found already in Durandus, IV, 42, 20 and in Florus, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ That the identification of *mysterium* and *sacramentum* is justified for the time that comes under consideration is clear from the fact that the series of catechetical instructions handling this matter is called in one case by Ambrose *De mysteriis* and then again *De sacramentis*. Opinions will differ, however, with regard to a narrower limitation of the idea *mysterium*. O. Casel, who in *JL*, 10 (1931), 311, agrees with Hamm, prefers in *JL*, 15 (1941) 302 f., to take the "mystery of the faith" as the new *mysterium* in opposition to the *mysterium* of the Gnosis. But it is still questionable whether the Gnosis is to be taken into account for this interpolation in the period under consideration.

⁴¹ Cf. Binterim, II, 1 (1825), 132-137. The

natural Englishing, "mystery of (the) faith," unfortunately suggests only the intellectual side and so seems to interrupt the train of thought.

⁴² Th. Michels, "Mysterium fidei" im Einsetzungsbericht der römischen Liturgie," *Catholica*, 6 (1937), 81-88, refers to Leo the Great, *Sermo* 4, de Quadr. (PL, 54, 279 f.); the pope points out that at that time the Manicheans here and there partook of the body of Our Lord, but shunned "to drink the blood of our Redemption." He supposes that in opposition to them Leo wanted to accentuate the chalice by adding the words *mysterium fidei*.

⁴³ Hamm, 87 f.—In the Roman liturgy, until the Missal of Pius V, some indecision is apparent, whether the words *Hæc quotiescumque* are to be said over the chalice, or else during or after the elevation. Lebrun, I, 423 f.

13. The Consecration: The Accompanying Actions

A rehearsal of the sacred narrative is included in the Lord's injunction to do what He had done—that comes clearly to light in the actions accompanying the words as they are said at Mass.

As the priest mentions the Lord's actions, one after the other, he suits his own actions to the words in dramatic fashion. He speaks the words at a table on which bread and wine stand ready. He takes the bread into his hands, as also the chalice; the gesture of presentation that seems to lie hid in this "taking"¹ was and is made even plainer by thus acting it out.² Praying, he lifts his eyes to heaven, "unto Thee, God, His almighty Father." At the words *gratias agens* he bows, just as he had done in reverence at the *gratias agimus* and *gratias agamus* that he himself had spoken earlier in the Mass. At the *benedixit*, by way of giving to an older biblical expression a more modern interpretation, he makes the sign of the Cross.³ The West Syrians and the Copts go even further, and acting out the *fregit*, crack the host without however separating the parts.⁴ This imitating of the actions, which expresses as clearly as possible the priest's desire of fulfilling here and now the Lord's commission to do as He had done, is lacking in the East only in the Byzantine rite, and even there it would seem to have existed at one time.⁵

¹ It is likely that in the ἀναδέξας mentioned above and in the gesture of raising the bread aloft connected with it in the oriental liturgies, we have a survival of a Palestinian table custom, a custom the Lord Himself observed. Likewise the taking and raising of the cup must have been done as one movement; cf. above I, 21, n. 63. Cf. Jungmann, "Accipit panem," *Zeitschrift f. Ascese u. Mystik*, 18 = *ZkTh*, 67 (1943), 162-165.

² In the Roman liturgy, too, before the elevating of the consecrated host came into vogue as a means of presenting it to the view of the people, the taking and raising at this point was understood as an oblation; see Honorius Augustod., *Sacramentarium*, c. 88 (PL, 172, 793 D): *Exemplo Domini accipit sacerdos oblatam et calicem in manus et elevat, ut sit Deo acceptum sicut sacrificium Abel* . . .

³ In the biblical text (in Matt. and Mark) we find εὐλογῆσας without *gratias agens*. It indicates the short blessing formula that was said over the bread. Likewise

in place of the customary lengthy table prayer we have the εὐχαριστήσας without *benedixit* over the chalice; cf. above I, 9.

⁴ Hanssens, III, 422, 424; cf. Brightman, 177, l. 1; 232, l. 20. A hint of the breaking is found also among the Maronites; Hanssens, III, 423. Moses bar Kepha (d. 903) in his Mass explanations, *ibid.*, 447, already testifies to this breaking among the Jacobite West Syrians. The same practice can be proven to have existed within the Roman liturgy since the 13th century, chiefly in England and France, where different Mass books present the rubric: *Hic facit signum fractionis* or *figat frangere*, or at least: *Hic tangat hostiam*; see anent this the excursus in Legg, *Tracts*, 259-261. Also in the *Ordinale* of the Carmelites (about 1312), ed. Zimmermann, 81; and still in the *Missale O. Carm.* (1935), p. XXX.

⁵ Hanssens, III, 446, expresses the opinion that all this was removed in order to stress the exclusive consecratory power of the epiklesis. Similarly the signs of the cross

As the *dedit discipulis suis* is realized fully only in the Communion, and the *fregit* is usually carried out only at the fraction before Communion, so the *gratias agens* in its wider sense has already been anticipated,⁸ and the *accepit* has been already portrayed in an earlier passage. But the heart of the process is renewed at this very instant. The narrative of what once took place passes into the actuality of the present happening. There is a wonderful identification of Christ and the priest. In the person of the priest, Christ Himself stands at the altar, and picks up the bread, and lifts up "this goodly chalice" (Psalm 22:5), *hunc præclarum calicem*.⁹ Through this mode of speech clear expression is given to the fact that it is Christ Himself who is now active, and that it is by virtue of power deriving from Him¹⁰ that the transubstantiation which follows takes place.¹¹

for the blessing at the *εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας* are missing only in the Byzantine Rite, *ibid.*, 447. Still the Byzantine Mass has the practice, that the deacon point with his oration to the diskos, *resp.* the chalice, while the priest says the *Λάβετε, φάγετε, resp. Πιετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες*. The priest also takes part in this rite of "showing"; cf. J. Doens, *De hl. Liturgie van H. V. J. Chrysostomus*, (3rd ed.; Chevetogne, 1950), p. XIV f. The obvious meaning of these gestures is denied, however, in a note attached to these orthodox texts; Brightman, 386.—The purpose behind this dramatic copying of Our Savior's actions is perhaps best described by the term suggested in a recent study: *intention applicatrice*, applied intent, which plainly establishes the function of the words of institution; A. Chavasse, "L'épiclese eucharistique dans les anciennes liturgies orientales. Une hypothèse d'interprétation," *Mélanges de science religieuse*, 1946, 197-206.

⁸ Above, p. 115 ff.—Hanssens, III, 353 ff., 425 ff., espouses the opinion that from the beginning only the words of Christ spoken over the bread and wine at the time of the institution were considered as the fulfillment of Christ's mandate; that the prayer of thanks is not a copying of the *εὐλογία, εὐχαριστία* uttered by Christ; that the prayer said by Him over the chalice survives rather in the thanksgiving prayers after Communion. There may be a certain amount of justification for such a consideration if one has in mind only the ex-

ternal order in which the prayers follow one upon the other, but hardly when one considers the meaning and purpose of each separate part. Justin, e.g., attaches no significance to the prayer of thanks after Communion. On the other hand, it is hardly conceivable that the *eucharistia* in Justin, which in fact was underscored even before him and in the entire tradition after him, should have arisen without any relation whatever to the prayer of thanks spoken by Our Lord. Through the fusion of the two consecrations required by the circumstances and by the anticipation of the prayer of thanksgiving, the essence of the latter is not thereby changed; cf. above I, 16 f. The rather late and secondary origin of the prayer assumed by Hanssens, III, 355 f., is excluded not only by such considerations, but by the *Gratias agamus* which, in all likelihood, originated already in the primitive community.

⁹ The same idea in the Ethiopian anaphora of Gregory of Alexandria (Cagin, 233, div. 35): *Similiter respexit super hunc calicem, aquam vitæ cum vino, gratias agens . . .* Cf. the pointing gestures in the Ethiopian liturgy with the same meaning, *supra*, p. 145, n. 37.

¹⁰ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe* 191, sees therein more definitely an indication "that the sacred words spoken by Christ at the Last Supper extend their efficacy to all Masses that would be celebrated in the future."

¹¹ In the West it is Ambrose especially, who with complete clarity utters the conviction that the consecration takes place by repeat-

Numerous usages in oriental rites are understandable only from this same viewpoint. Thus, for example, the fact that the whole eucharistic prayer (aside from the *Sanctus*, which is sung in common) is spoken softly by the priest up to this passage, and then the words “take and eat, this is My body,” and the corresponding words over the chalice are spoken in a loud voice; in fact, they are chanted in a solemn melody. And this is done over the bread held in the hands, and over the chalice grasped by the hands.¹⁰ In the West-Syrian anaphora of St. James the people answer *Amen* both times the priest says the words of consecration.¹¹ This was already an established custom in the ninth century, when Moses bar Kepha was vainly tilting against it, for he rightly saw in the custom an acknowledgment of the completed transubstantiation, for which he contended the epiklesis was still requisite.¹² This *Amen* is found also in the Byzantine and the Armenian Masses.¹³ In the present-day Ethiopian liturgy the *Amen* is repeated three times on each occasion, and followed by acts of faith.¹⁴ In the Coptic liturgy the dramatic element is heightened by inserting the *Amens* between the phrases of the introductory words of the priest: “He took bread . . . and gave thanks”—*Amen*; “blessed it”—*Amen*; “consecrated it”—*Amen*. And after the words of consecration in each instance comes a profession of faith: Πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ

ing the words of Christ; see above I, 52. Cf. Ambrose, *De mysteriis*, 9, 52; *In Ps. 38 enarr.*, c. 25 (PL, 14, 1052): *etsi nunc Christus non videtur offerre, tamen ipse offertur in terris, quando Christi corpus offertur; immo ipse offerre manifestatur in nobis, cuius sermo sanctificat sacrificium quod offertur*. In general Christian antiquity, even until way into the Middle Ages, manifested no particular interest regarding the determination of the precise moment of the consecration. Often reference was made merely to the entire Eucharistic prayer. It is Florus Diaconus, *De actione miss.*, c. 60 (PL, 119, 52 f.), in the Carolingian period, who with particular stress brought out the significance of the words of consecration; *ille in suis sacerdotibus quotidie loquitur*.

¹⁰ Greek anaphora of St. James; Brightman, 51 f. The loud singing of these words is likewise found in the Byzantine liturgy already in the 9th century; *ibid.*, 328.

¹¹ Brightman, 52; cf. Hanssens, III, 420 f.

¹² Thus, according to the account of Dionysius bar Salibi, ed. Labourt (*Corpus script. christ. orient.*, 93), 62; 77; O. Heiming, *Orientalia christ.*, 16 (1950), 195, published a palimpsest fragment of the 8th

century with an anaphora text used even prior to the 8th century, which likewise displays the *Amen*.

¹³ Said by the choir, *resp.* the clerics; Brightman, 385 f., 437. The *Amen* must have come into the Mozarabic Mass from the Syrian-Byzantine sphere. Here the *Amen* of the choir is said three times, after the command to do this that follows upon the words over the bread and those over the chalice, and again after the Pauline *Quotiescumque manducaveritis* that is added at the end; *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 552 f.). This appropriation must have taken place before the middle of the 7th century, i.e., before the Arabs rendered commerce over the Mediterranean impossible; this circumstance is significant for the antiquity of the practice in the Orient; cf. H. Pirenne, *Geburt des Abendlandes* (1939), 160 ff. The *Amen* to which Augustine testifies, *Serm.*, VI, 3 Denis, and which Roetzer, 124, refers to this instance, belongs to the conclusion of the canon.

¹⁴ Brightman, 232 f. After the words over the bread “Amen, Amen, Amen: we believe and confess: we praise thee, our Lord and our God. This is true; we believe.” After the chalice: “Amen, Amen, Amen.”

δοξάζομεν—in Greek, and therefore a tradition from as early as the sixth century at least.¹⁵

In comparison with these we must confess that the Roman liturgy of the first millenary lacked the impulse to direct the attention at once to the completion of the sacramental process, or to draw ritual deductions from it.¹⁶ Only in the eleventh century do we begin to find, hand in hand with an increased care for everything connected with the Sacrament,¹⁷ the first signs of a new attitude. According to the Cluniac Customary, written about 1068 by the monk Bernhard, the priest at the consecration should hold the host *quattuor primis digitis ad hoc ipsum ablutis*.¹⁸ After the consecration, even when praying with outstretched arms, some priests began to hold those fingers which had “touched” the Lord’s Body, pressed together,¹⁹ others even began this at the ablution of the fingers at the offertory.²⁰ In one form or another the idea soon became a general rule.²¹

¹⁵ Brightman, 176 f.; cf. Hanssens, III, 421. Further details in Spáčil (see above n. 26), 108–111.

¹⁶ There must have been a very lively sentiment in the Irish-Celtic tradition for the definitive meaning of the words of the institution. The Stowe Missal, ed. Warner (HBS, 32), 37; 40, stresses the fact that when the priest begins: *accepit Jesus panem*, nothing is to distract or divert him; for that reason it is called the *oratio periculosa*. The *Pœnitentiale Cummeani* fixed three days of double fasting, according to another version even *quinquaginta plagas*, as a penance for a priest who was guilty of a mistake in any passage *ubi periculum adnotatur*; Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 94 f.; 117, n. 232. A reminiscence of this is still retained in the *Pontificale Romanum* in the warning given to the newly ordained to learn carefully the rite of the Mass (*hostiæ consecrationem ac fractionem et communionem*); this warning begins: *Quia res, quam tractaturi estis, satis periculosa est*. Cf. *Pontificale* of Durandus (Andrieu, III, 372 f.); Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 42, 19. In view of this awe regarding the words of consecration it is strange that it was apparently not until the 14–15th century that it became the practice to make the consecration prayers more prominent by means of special lettering. P. de Puniet, “La consécration,” *Cours et Conférences*, VII, (Louvain, 1929), 193.

¹⁷ Cf. The rite regarding the preparation of the hosts, above, p. 35.

¹⁸ I, 72 (Herrgott, *Vetus disciplina monastica*, 264).

¹⁹ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 16 (PL, 151, 987 C), opposes this: *Non ergo digiti sunt contrahendi semper, ut quidam præ nimia cautela faciunt . . . hoc tamen observato, ne quid digitis tangamus præter Domini corpus*. A fresco in the lower church of S. Clemente in Rome that presents a priest at the altar at the end of the canon shows him without this *nimia cautela*. Illustration in O. Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 27.

²⁰ Udalricus, *Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, 149, 717 ff.); William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 84, 86 (PL, 150, 1012 f.; 1017).

²¹ Thus in the 13th century Durandus, IV, 31, 4; IV, 43, 5, enjoins that thumb and forefinger may be parted after the consecration only *quando oportet hostiam tangi vel signa* (signs of the cross) *fieri*. The *Ordo* of Stefaneschi (1311), n. 53 (PL, 78, 1166 B), has the same rule. So, too, in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège and also in the Dominican source of the same, dated about 1256 (Volk, 95, 1. 5); in both passages it is also required from after the *Lavabo* on: *Cum digitis, quibus sacrum corpus tractandum est, folia non veritat nec aliud tangat* (Volk, 93, 1. 22). According to the *Missale Rom.*, *Rit. serv.* VIII, 5, even the *signa* no longer form an exception; the fingers simply remain closed. In the oriental liturgy similar prescriptions seem to exist only in the uniate communities; see Hanssens, III, 424 f.

Even in the twelfth century, however, the special takens of honor towards the Sacrament which began to appear were at first found not in this precise connection but rather in other parts of the Mass.²²

Now, however, the people entered to dominate the scene. A religious movement swept over the faithful, prompting them, now that they hardly presumed to receive Communion, at least to look at the sacred species with their bodily eyes.²³ This impulse to see fastened upon the precise moment when the priest picked up the host and blessed it, as he was about to pronounce over it the words of consecration. The presentation of the Host by elevating it a little, which we find more clearly expressed in the oriental rites, had also become more pronounced in the Roman Mass.²⁴ Towards the end of the twelfth century²⁵ stories were in circulation of visions imparted at this very moment: the Host shone like the sun;²⁶ a tiny child appeared in the priest's hands as he was about to bless the host.²⁷

In some places the priest was accustomed to replace the host upon the altar after making the sign of the Cross over it, and only then to recite the words of consecration; in other places, on the contrary, he would hold it aloft as he spoke these words.²⁸ Thus the people were not to be blamed if, without making any further distinction, they revered the host as soon as they were able to see it.

²² The Cistercian Herbert of Sassari, *De miraculis*, III, 23 (PL, 185, 1371), about 1178, tells of a prescribed bow before the Blessed Sacrament after the breaking: *Et Agnus Dei iam dicto, cum iuxta illius ordinis consuetudinem super patenam corpus Domini posuit et coram ipso modice inclinando caput humiliasset* . . . Regarding Herbert's work, cf. now B. Griesser, "Herbert von Clairvaux und sein Liber miraculorum," *Cist.-Chr.*, 54 (1947), 21-39; 118-148.

²³ Regarding the ramifications of this movement see above, I, 120 ff. The history of the elevation was finally presented by E. Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, Paris, 1926; P. Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, (Munich, 1933, 26-69; = 2 Kap.: "Die Elevation," first published, *JL*, 9 (1929), 20-66). Cf. also Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 32 f., 100-105.

²⁴ This elevation was developed in the 12th century to such an extent that Radulphus Ardens d. 1215), *Homil.*, 47 (PL, 155) 1836 B), already regarded it as a representation of Christ's elevation on the cross. Further data in Browe, *Die Verehrung*,

29 f.; cf. Dumoutet, 47.

²⁵ An example cited among others by Dumoutet, 46 f., from Wibert of Nogent (d. about 1124), *De pignoris sanctorum*, I, 2, 1 (PL, 156, 616), can also refer to the elevation at the end of the canon.

²⁶ Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* (written about 1230), IX, 33 (Dumoutet, 42, n. 3): vision of the nun Richmudis. In vouching for the story, he adds the remarkable note: *ne dum puto factam fuisse transubstantiationem*.

²⁷ *Magna vita Hugonis Lincolnesis*, V, 3 (Dumoutet, 42, n. 2): This occurred at a Mass of the bishop, who died in 1200. The life was written by his chaplain.

²⁸ For the latter method see Hildebert of Le Mans (d. 1133), *Versus* (PL, 171, 1186); Stephan of Baugé (d. about 1140), *De sacris altaris*, c. 13 (PL, 172, 1292 D). Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 30. As numerous Mass-books testify, the practice continued for a long time: until into the 15th century: Dumoutet, 42 f. But, along with this practice, that of today was also followed; cf. Mass-ordo of York (about 1425; Simmons, 106): the *Qui pridie* is said *inclinato capite super linteamina*.

To forestall this impropriety, the bishop of Paris in 1210 ordered that the priests should hold the host breast-high, before the consecration, and only *after* the consecration should they lift it high enough to be seen by all.²⁹ This is the first authentic instance of that elevation of the Host which is so familiar to us.³⁰

The custom spread rapidly. A regulation of the year 1210 appears to have prescribed it for the Cistercians; for the Carthusians it was ordered in 1222.³¹ From then until the middle of the century it was mentioned in various synods as a usage already in vogue.³² At the same time, and on till the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, other synods continued in various ways to oppose any elevation before the consecration, "lest" (as a London synod of 1215 put it) "a creature be adored instead of the Creator."³³ The great theologians of Scholasticism speak of the elevation of the Host as a general practice of the Church.³⁴

But that does not mean that there was a similar elevation of the chalice. The elevation of the chalice is found, indeed, even as early as the thirteenth century, but the usage was rare and exceptional.³⁵ However, it forced its way through, but only slowly, especially outside of France.³⁶ Even the

²⁹ Among the *Præcepta synodalia* of Bishop Odo (d. 1208), c. 28 (Mansi, XXII, 628): *Præcipitur presbyteris ut cum in canone missæ inceperint: Qui pridie, tenentes hostiam, ne elevent eam statim nimis alte, ita quod possit ab omnibus videri a populo, sed quasi ante pectus detineant, donec dixerint: Hoc est corpus meum, et tunc elevent eam, ut possit ab omnibus videri.* Cf. regarding this, V. L. Kennedy, "The Date of the Parisian Decree on the Elevation of the Host," *Medieval Studies*, 8 (Toronto, 1946), 87-96. Dumoutet, 37 ff. and Browe, 31 ff. espouse the explanation given above regarding this measure against Thurston, who in several publications referred to the teachings of Peter Comestor (d. 1178) and Peter Cantor (d. 1197), according to whom the transubstantiation of the bread actually occurs only after the words over the chalice have also been said. To counteract this teaching, the elevation of the host is supposed to have been ordered immediately after the words of consecration had been said over it. As is shown with great thoroughness by V. L. Kennedy, "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host," *Medieval Studies* 6 (1944), 121-150, the controversy can have influenced the decree only insofar as, in accordance

with the opposing teaching, which gradually gained the ascendancy, the elevation, already sought for other reasons, was prescribed right after the words over the bread.

³⁰ It is possible that the practice was in vogue already elsewhere before 1200. In the year 1201 Cardinal Guido, O. Cist., came to Germany as Papal Legate and promulgated in Cologne the order: *Ut ad elevationem hostiæ omnis populus in ecclesia ad sonitum nolæ veniam peteret.* It seems that all the Cardinal did here was to re-establish the genuflection and perhaps also the signal with the bell. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, IX, 51; cf. Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 35; Franz, 678.

³¹ Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 34 f.

³² Browe, 35, 37.

³³ Browe, 38.

³⁴ Browe, 36.—Still the Papal chapel knows nothing of the practice even in 1290; instead the oblatory elevation before the words of consecration is still clearly stressed: *levet eam* [s. *hostiam*], *levet calicem*; Brinktrine (*Eph. liturg.*, 1937), 204 f.

³⁵ Durandus, IV, 41, 52, recognizes it.

³⁶ The history of this advance in Browe, 41-46.

printed Roman Missals of 1500, 1507, and 1526 make no mention of it. Various difficulties stood in the way of a rapid spread of the rite, especially the danger of spilling the contents of the chalice. Then there was the fact that the chalice used to be covered with the back part of the corporal folded up over it.³⁷ But particularly cogent was the objection that in seeing the chalice one does not “see” the Precious Blood.³⁸ For this last reason, even where the elevation of the chalice took place, it was little more than a mere suggestion: the chalice was merely lifted up to about the level of the eyes.³⁹ Not till the Missal of Pius V was the second elevation made to correspond with that of the Host.

The desire of gazing upon the Lord’s Body was the driving force which, since the twelfth century, brought about this intrusion of a very notable innovation into the canon which for ages had been regarded as an inviolable sanctuary. The oblatory elevation before the words of consecration lost its importance,⁴⁰ and the displaying of the Host after the words, instead became the new pivot and center of the canon of the Mass. From the intrusion of this new element a further development had to follow. It was at bottom only a pious idea to regard seeing the Host, “contacting” the species with the organs of sight, as a participation in the Sacrament and its streams of grace, and even to value it as a sort of Communion. But it was a logical conclusion that, the moment the consecration took place, all honor and reverence are owing to the Lord’s Body and Blood. This conclusion, as we have seen, was actually realized in oriental rites.⁴¹ So any further regulation of the new usage had to be directed to keeping

³⁷ Thus, a second corporal, or the pall that later developed from it, was required to be able to elevate the covered chalice; cf. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 210 f. Still, Durandus already recognizes the elevation of the uncovered chalice in his *Const. synodales* (ed. Berthelé, 69); Browe, 40. Both methods were still in existence in the 14-15th century; Browe, 47.

³⁸ Durandus, IV, 41, 52.

³⁹ Browe, 47; cf. Franz, 105, n. 1. To this day the Carthusians recognize only this restricted elevation; *Ordinarium Cart.* (1932), c. 27, 16. However, the chalice was frequently held aloft until the *Unde et memores*. Thus according to Italian Mass-books of the 13th century: Ebner, 315; 329; 349.

⁴⁰ Strictly speaking, there is still an oblatory elevation at the consecration, since the priest “takes” the host in his hands. In fact, this original idea is not excluded even in the elevation for the view of others; now the oblatory elevation takes

place with the consecrated gift in place of the unconsecrated one, and is performed in such a way that it might be seen by more people. But this idea has not generally been fostered since the 12th century. However, traces of this older conception are still found even in modern times. Thus, among the Reformers, Karlstadt not only insisted that the elevation be dropped, but considered it an expression of oblation and therefore abominable and sinful; L. Fendt, *Der lutherische Gottesdienst des 16 Jh.* (Munich, 1923), 95; cf. also Berthold of Chiemsee, *Keliggpuchel*, (Munich, 1535), c. 20, 7: “Wenn der Priester eleviert, d.i. die Hostie . . . sacramentlich opffert . . .” Similarly also Martin von Cochem, *Medulla missæ germanicæ*, c. 29 (3d ed., Cologne, 1724; 441): “Oh, what an excellent gift the priest presents to the all-holy Trinity when he lifts the divine Host on high!”

⁴¹ Above, 203 f.

this desire to gaze on the Host within proper limits⁴² and to working out suitable terms for honoring It. This, then, was substantially what was done.

The longing to look at the Host soon received ecclesiastical approval and support in several ways. This we see not only in the ruling that the Body of our Lord should be lifted high enough to enable the faithful to see It—to “show” It to the people, as our present-day rubric puts it: *ostendit populo*. There was even a tendency to emphasize this “showing” by lingering a moment while elevating the Host, or by turning to right and left. But a stop was soon put to such efforts, since they involved too large a break in the course of the action.⁴³ But then we hear of another custom, especially in French and English churches, the custom of drawing a dark curtain behind the altar in order to make the white Host stand out clearly against the background.⁴⁴ The consecration candle, from which in many places the *Sanctus* candle developed, was originally intended to be lighted and lifted aloft by the deacon or the Mass-server at the early Mass, when it was still dark, *ut corpus Christi . . . possit videri*.⁴⁵ We hear of admonitions directed to the thurifer not to let the clouds of incense obscure the view of the species.⁴⁶ In monastic churches the doors of the choir, which were ordinarily kept closed, were opened at the consecration.⁴⁷ The signal of the bell at the elevation was likewise introduced for similar reasons. The first evidence for such a practice comes from churches in Cologne as

⁴² Here we make mention only of those things which are of importance for the development of today's practice. Regarding other usages and customs elsewhere, see above I, 119 ff.

⁴³ *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 242): *Ipsam [sc. hostiam] vero non circumferat nec diu teneat elevatam*. Thus also in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 94 f.). Further data in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 63. It is only in the Papal Mass that the turning to the right and left at the elevation has been retained until the present time; Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 27.

⁴⁴ The practice was still retained in Chartres, Rouen, and other French cathedrals around 1700; de Moléon, 226 f., 367 f., 433, 435; Dumoutet, 58-60. In Spain it existed in some single instances even in the 19th century; Legg, *Tracts*, 234 f.

⁴⁵ Such was the arrangement of the Carthusians about the middle of the 13th century; DACL, III, 1057. According to the *Mass-ordo* of John Burchard (1502) the candle was to be lit at the *Hanc igitur* and extinguished after the elevation of the

chalice; Legg, *Tracts*, 155; 157; cf. Dumoutet, 57; Swiss church books of the 15-17th century mention “hebkertzen” and “kertzen der ufhebung” (elevation candles); Krömmler, *Der Kult der Eucharistie in Sprache und Volkstum der deutschen Schweiz* (Basle, 1949), 57. Elsewhere it was lit sooner, or also extinguished only after Communion. Hence it turned into an expression of veneration for the Blessed Sacrament; for this development see H. L. Verwilt, *Die Dominikanische Messe* (Düsseldorf, 1948), 25 f. Concerning the history of this consecration candle, see P. Browe, *Die Elevation in der Messe* (JL, 9 [1929], 20-66), 40-43.

⁴⁶ The Carmelite Ordinal of 1312 (Zimmermann, 81 f.). Cf. Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 56. The incensing of the Blessed Sacrament at the consecration on feast days is already provided for in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 241 f.). However, for a long time, it was not customary; see more details in Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 264-266.

⁴⁷ Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 55 f.

early as 1201.⁴⁸ It makes its appearance first as a signal accompanying the elevation of the Host, and then the corresponding elevation of the chalice.⁴⁹ Soon we hear of the signal's being anticipated, when the priest makes the sign of the Cross over the Host and the chalice.⁵⁰ Further, the bell was used not only to direct the attention to the moment of the "showing," but also to call the people in to worship the Sacrament. So by the end of the thirteenth century the signal with the little bell⁵¹ was augmented by a signal from the large church bell,⁵² so that those who were absent, busy at home or in the field, might pause at this moment, turn towards the church and adore our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament.

It was self-evident from the start that honor should be paid to the Sacrament when It was elevated, all the more so when heresy had made an assault on faith in the Eucharist.⁵³ Clergy and faithful were to kneel down—this was the admonition of the first decrees and synods that dealt with the new consecration practices.⁵⁴ Or at least a humble bow was ordered, as in a regulation of Honorius III in the year 1219,⁵⁵ and in several later decrees.⁵⁶ Especially canons in various cathedral churches continued

⁴⁸ Cf. above, p. 207, n. 30. Cf. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 573-575.

⁴⁹ Durandus, IV, 41, 53. In England this was called the "sacring bell."

⁵⁰ *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 94, 1, 29). Cf. H(erbert) T(hurston) "The 'Cross Bell' in the Mass," *The Month*, 172 (1938), 451-454. More details regarding the ringing of the bell at the consecration in Browe, *Die Elevation* (JL, 9), 37-40. According to many a report it would seem the ringing of the bell at the *Sanctus* was to serve the same purpose, *ut populus valeat levationis sacramenti . . . habere notitiam*, as is recorded in a foundation established in 1399 at Chartres for the ringing of the *Sanctus*; Du Cange-Favre, VII, 259. Cf. above, p. 131, n. 22.

⁵¹ Such a bell was, as a rule, fastened to the wall of the choir. Small hand bells, that the server used at the altar, are generally in evidence only since the 16th century. And only since then, so it would seem, was the signal given with these bells also in private Masses. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 573-580, especially 576.

⁵² Pertinent stipulations of 13-15th century synods in Browe, *Die Elevation*, 39 f.; Krömler, *op. cit.*, 33 f. gives examples of present-day customs in Switzerland.—The Holy See grants an indulgence of 300 days to all, wherever they may be, who adore the Blessed Sacrament at the sound of the

elevation bell. *Enchiridion Indulgentiarum* (Rome, 1950), n. 142.

⁵³ *Supra* I, 119.

⁵⁴ The oldest report is the disposition made by Cardinal Guido in the year 1201; above, p. 207, n. 30. Further reports in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 34-39 in the notes. However, there is evidence as early as 1208 for kneeling down sooner, at *accepit panem*; see Kennedy, *The Moment of Consecration*, 149.

⁵⁵ Gregory IX, *Decretales*, III, 41, 10 (Friedberg, II, 642); cf. Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 37.

⁵⁶ P. Browe, "L'atteggiamento del corpo durante la messa" (*Eph. liturg.*, 50 [1936], 402-414), 408 f. As a minimum requirement it was expected that those who, according to the custom of the time were squatted on the floor, would, as a mark of respect, at least stand up. Still in many a place the Beghards and Beguines refused even this, a condition that induced the Council of Vienne (1311-12) to take a hand in the matter; Denzinger-Umbert, *Enchiridion*, n. 478. Likewise, according to a report from Flanders in the year 1349, the Flagellants refused to remove their head covering at the consecration; Browe, *loc. cit.*, 403; cf. 411. On the other hand again, a complete *prostratio* often became customary, especially in monasteries; see, e.g., the Statutes of the Car-

for a long time to follow their age-old practice of bowing: at Chartres this was done as late as the eighteenth century.⁵⁷ Here and there, too, the wish was expressed or even insisted on, that while kneeling the arms be stretched out and the hands raised.⁵⁸ But merely kneeling was the general rule. According to the thirteenth Roman *ordo*, which was written under Gregory X (d. 1276), the choir of clerics was to remain stretched out on the floor *quousque sacerdos corpus et sanguinem sumat* (unless, because of a feast day or a festal season, standing was prescribed).⁵⁹ According to the choir rules now in effect, where the influence of the ancient custom of standing bowed during the canon is at work alongside the newer attitude of special honor for the Blessed Sacrament, the choir usually kneels down at the *Te igitur*. Among the people, too, the idea of looking at the Sacrament was in many ways curbed, so that they knelt not only during the consecration but, where possible, from the *Sanctus* on, and remained

thusians: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 633 C). Cf. also the illustration from S. Marco in Venice in Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, I (Paris, 1883), Tablet XVIII.

⁵⁷Browe, "L'atteggiamento," 409 f. In the diocese of Basle in 1581 the Canons of St. Ursitz could be forced to kneel at the consecration only when threatened with ecclesiastical penalties (*ibid.*). Concerning French cathedrals cf. Cl. de Vert, *Explication simple*, I (Paris, 1706), 238 ff.; Martène, I, 4, 8, 22 (I, 414 D); de Moléon, 230. This conservative retention of the older custom is explained by the recollection that from time immemorial the act of kneeling accompanied only prayers of petition and penance; cf. above I, 240. Even Durandus, VI, 86, 17, stresses the fact that one genuflected before the Blessed Sacrament only on Sundays and feast days and during the Pentecost season.

⁵⁸Constitutions of the Camaldolese of 1233, c. 2, in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 53, n. 160. In France about 1220 the poet of the "Queste del saint Graal" has the hero cry out, as he extends his hands towards the priest, who holds the Body of the Lord up to view: "Biaus douz pères, ne m'oubliez mie de me rente!" Dumoutet, 45, n. 1. In England the Christian of the 13th century was instructed to "hold up bothe thi handes" at the consecration; *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Simmons, 38. The canon picture in a Sacramentary of the 14th century from St. Peter's in Rome, in Ebner, 191, portrays the priest at the consecration

and "four figures seated, and one kneeling at the right, with their arms uplifted toward the altar." The same gesture of raising the hands is also seen in a miniature of Cod. 82 (14th cent.) in the Heidelberg University Library, fol. 158. Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect. 50, recommends *manus suas in caelum tendere*, as a mark of reverence at the consecration. Sixtus IV, in 1480, granted an indulgence for saying five Our Fathers and Hail Marys *flexis genibus et elevatis manibus* at the consecration; Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 55. It is not clear, however, whether in all these instances the arms were held *outstretched*; it could mean a gesture that implied taking part in the oblation; cf. Balth. Fischer, "Liturgiegeschichte" und Verkündigung" (*Die Messe in der Glaubensverkündigung*, 1-13, 12, note 14, where O. Reinaldus, *Annales eccl.*, XIV (Cologne, 1694), 204, is cited for a practice of the English King Henry I (d. 1272), who was wont at the consecration *manum sacerdotis tenere*. The extending of the arms after the consecration (in the manner described below, p. 220, n. 15) is still customary in the monasteries of the Capuchins. The extension of the arms, when looking at the host, is also reported as a present-day custom in a southern Slavic country; Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II), 360.

⁵⁹*Cæremoniale* of Gregory X (d. 1276), n. 19 (PL, 78, 1116).

on their knees till the Communion.⁶⁰ After the close of the Middle Ages the desire to honor the Sacrament, which led to this kneeling, had gained the ascendancy over the desire to see,⁶¹ so far, indeed, that by the beginning of the twentieth century it even became customary in almost all countries to bow the head while kneeling at the consecration. Even at the elevation hardly a thought was given to looking up at the Host,⁶² and this was not changed until Pius X, in 1907, gave a new incentive by granting an indulgence to those who, while contemplating the sacred Host, recited the prayer "My Lord and my God."⁶³

It would be quite natural to expect the celebrant also to participate in giving these signs of reverence to the Blessed Sacrament. Yet for a long time the only token thus given was a slight bow made to our Lord's Body after the words of consecration, just before elevating It.⁶⁴ Here and there the practice grew of kissing the Host;⁶⁵ this was during the thirteenth century, the time which witnessed the multiplication of the altar kisses.⁶⁶ But these well-intentioned efforts were countered at once by various prohibitions,⁶⁷ subsequently repeated.⁶⁸ Our form of genuflection—falling on one knee and then rising at once—was not at that time recognized as a religious practice, and therefore was not used at this moment.⁶⁹ To kneel on both knees during the consecration was demanded early of deacon and subdeacon, but appears to have been impracticable for the priest,

⁶⁰ This view apparently was far more generally accepted in countries outside of Germany than in any German territory; cf. Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern, 356 f. Here, 413 f., the reference to attempts to introduce among the people the complete *prostratio* after the consecration, cf. above note 56.

⁶¹ Dumoutet, 73 f.

⁶² Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit" (*StZ.*, 1926, II), 215 f. "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*ibid.*, 1927, II), 356.

⁶³ Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 68 f.

⁶⁴ *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 94, 1. 31): *aliquantulum inclinans*; likewise in the Dominican copy of the work done in 1256 (Guerrini, 242). The *Ordo* of Stefaneshi, which originated about 1311, also has the priest venerate the host *inclinato capite* just before the elevation, and likewise *inclinato paululum capite* before the elevation of the chalice. Numerous other proofs from the 13th century until about the 16th century in Browe, *Die Elevation*, 44-47.

⁶⁵ Missale of Evreux-Jumièges (14-15th cent.): Martène, 1, 4, XXVIII (I, 644 E). More examples in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 65. Cf. also below, n. 67.

⁶⁶ Above I, 316. In several places it became customary to kiss both the host and the chalice before the respective words of consecration; Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 65. The Pontifical of Laon, Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux*, (I, Paris, 1937), 167, notes a kissing of the chalice before the words *Accipite et bibite*.

⁶⁷ Synod of Sarum, 1217, can. 37 f. (Mansi, XXII, 1119 f.); Bonaventura, *Speculum disciplinae ad novitios*, I, 17 (Opp. ed. Peltier, XII [Paris, 1868], 467). Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 65 f.

⁶⁸ Examples until into the 17th century in Browe, 65 f.

⁶⁹ On the other hand, it was customary as a mark of respect before lay persons of rank. Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272), in a sermon, stresses this distinction and urges a double genuflection before the Blessed Sacrament; Berthold of Regensburg, *Predigten*, ed. Pfeiffer, I (1862), 457.

although the insertion of a lengthy prayer—as was sometimes done after the *Pater noster*—seems to have been thought desirable.⁷⁰ The first evidence of a short genuflection made by the priest at the consecration is found in Henry of Hesse (d. 1397), who was teaching theology at Vienna.⁷¹ Still, even in the fifteenth century the simple bow was still prevalent, and provision is made for it even in some of the Mass ordinaries of the sixteenth century.⁷² In Roman Mass books the genuflection appears from 1498 on, and from the start the arrangement is the one we have today, with a genuflection before and after the elevation of the species.⁷³ It was made definitive in 1570 by the Missal of Pius V.

While the priest genuflects, the Mass-server grasps the edge of the chasuble. Because of the shape which the chasuble has commonly assumed since the close of the Middle Ages, the precise sense of this little ceremony is no longer evident. Nowadays it gives the general impression of being a gesture of readiness, not at all out of keeping with the sacredness of the moment. The explanation usually offered is that the chasuble is lifted so the celebrant might not be impeded when genuflecting,⁷⁴ and this might be understandable on the supposition that—as was the case in the last years of the Middle Ages—the chasuble used to reach in back down to the heels.⁷⁵ But at that time this reason was not actually given,⁷⁶ but instead a very different one, the same reason still found in the Roman Missal. According to this, the server should take hold of the edge of the *planeta*, *ne ipsum Celebrantem impediatur in elevatione brachiorum*.⁷⁷ This explanation, it must be granted, is even less obvious today than the other. But that it is the true one can be deduced from the fact that the same gesture had already been prescribed for the deacon long before there was any thought of a genuflection.⁷⁸ And in the thirteenth century it was definitely

⁷⁰ Browe, *Die Elevation*, 47 f.

⁷¹ Browe, 48 f.

⁷² Thus, among others, in the *Ordinarium* of Coutances of 1557; in a Mass arrangement of the Cistercians in 1589; see Browe, *Die Elevation*, 46 f., 50. The Carthusians have retained only the bow to this day. *Ordinarium Carth.* (1932), c. 27, 5 f.; 9 f.; 12.

⁷³ Browe, 49 f. In several places, however, it was customary to elevate the host during the genuflection. Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 63. Cf. the Miniature of the *Legenda aurea* of Brussels in Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, Tablet 144.

⁷⁴ Cf. Ph. Hartmann, *Repertorium rituum* (11th ed.; Paderborn, 1908), 773. In Tyrol it is customary to explain this action of holding the chasuble as a symbol of popular participation.

⁷⁵ Cf. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*,

110, who records the average length about the year 1400 as 1,40m (about 4'6") and about the year 1600, 1,25m (about 4'2").

⁷⁶ Nevertheless at the end of the Middle Ages representations are found in which the server raises the chasuble as the priest genuflects; cf. the miniature cited above; a further representation in Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair et la vie liturgique au moyen-âge*, (Paris, 1932), p. 108-109.

⁷⁷ *Ritus serv.*, VIII, 6. Likewise in A. Castellani, *Sacerdotale Romanum* (appeared first in 1523; Venice, 1588), 68.

⁷⁸ *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (about 1285; Volk, 94, 1. 25): *diaconus retro sacerdotem levans eius casulam. Liber ordinarius* of the cathedral church of Essen (2nd half of the 14th century; Arens, 19): *levabit casulam presbyteri aliquantulum, ut eo facilius levet sacramentum*. Illustrations

in order. For then they still commonly used the bell-shaped chasuble, and when the arms were raised, the back part, being pulled away by the uplifted arms, presented a very ugly picture unless there was a helping hand to hold it neat. With the return of the ample chasuble the old ceremony is again regaining its full meaning, so that it is once more intelligible.

There remains yet another question: Should our worship of the Blessed Sacrament be manifested by prayers and songs? Prayers spoken aloud and songs during the consecration are not things that would explain themselves. The rule of silence during the canon had indeed been violated often enough in the thirteenth century, but it had not yet lost all its force. At all events, the celebrating priest was permitted to say special prayers, but only in a subdued tone.⁷⁹ Such an action was not at all strange in medieval times. True, the *apologiæ* which had cropped out everywhere between the various prayers had for the most part disappeared from the Mass books by the thirteenth century, and the injunctions, like those of Bernold of Constance, forbidding any and all insertions into the canon,⁸⁰ did not remain ineffective. But a short ejaculatory prayer right after the consecration still appeared admissible and was actually recommended and practiced by many,⁸¹ although others again absolutely prohibited any such interpolation,⁸² even before the appearance of the Missal of Pius V.⁸³

But the faithful, at any rate, were admonished to pray, at first using prayers which they would recite quietly to themselves. About 1215 William of Auxerre, in his *Summa aurea*, mentions such prayers and asserts: *Multorum petitiones exaudiuntur in ipsa visione corporis Christi*.⁸⁴ According to Berthold of Regensburg, the faithful ought at this moment to pray for three things: for forgiveness of sin, for a contrite reception of the last

from a French Missal of the 14th century in Leroquais, IV, Tablet LXVII, 1.

⁷⁹ Regarding the attempts in the 15th and 16th centuries to have the priest say prayers in a loud tone of voice in the presence of the people, see Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 54.

⁸⁰ Cf. above, p. 165, n. 31.

⁸¹ William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam*, ed. van Dijk (*Eph. liturg.*, 1939), 338, even as his predecessor, Alexander of Hales, has the priest saying: *Adoro te Domine Jesu Christe Salvator, qui per mortem tuam redemisti mundum, quem credo esse sub hac specie quam video*. Durand also as bishop in his *Constitutiones synodales* recommends prayers of this kind to his priests; Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 40; 53. A list of similar prayers in a Mass book of Valencia before 1411 (Ferrerres, 154f.). Cf. Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair*, 170-173. It is said of St. Francis Xavier

that he was accustomed to insert a prayer for the conversion of the heathens after the consecration; G. Schurhammer, *Der hl. Franz Xaver*, (Freiburg, 1925), 151.

⁸² A commentary on the Mass in a 15th century MS. of Stuttgart (in Franz, 611) threatens those priests with excommunication who interpolate prayers at the elevation of the sacred Host, e.g.: *Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori, or Propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum Domine, or O vere digna hostia*.

⁸³ Even Ph. Hartmann, *Repertorium rituum*, (11th ed.; Paderborn, 1908), 380 f., directs the celebrant at the elevation of the sacred host (and of the chalice): "let him then pray: *Dominus meus et Deus meus*." But a decree of the Congregation of Rites, Nov. 6, 1925, expressly forbids any such additions henceforth: *Acta Ap. Sed.*, 18 (1926), 22 f.

⁸⁴ Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, 18.

sacraments, and for eternal beatitude.⁸⁶ As outward expression of their prayer, the faithful might strike their breast or sign themselves with the sign of the Cross.⁸⁷ The only vocal prayers commonly recommended were the usual formulas,⁸⁸ or else a simple greeting or invocation. One such salutation which recurs in various versions, both Latin and vernacular, in many prayer books towards the end of the medieval era is the formula: *Ave salus mundi, verbum Patris, hostia vera*.⁸⁹ Another is the formula: *Te adoro, te verum corpus Christi confiteor*.⁹⁰ Other more elaborate formulas were probably products of the monasteries. Take, for instance, the fourteen-part invocation which starts with the verse: *Ave principium nostræ creationis, ave pretium nostræ redemptionis, ave viaticum nostræ peregrinationis*.⁹¹ Such pieces as *Adoro te devote*,⁹² *Anima*

⁸⁶ Berthold of Regensburg, *Predigten*, ed. Pfeiffer, II, 685 (Franz, 656): cf. I, 459, where he even gives the wording of a prayer. Berthold of Chiemsee, *Keligpuchel* (Munich, 1535), c. 20, 7, 8, presents comprehensive prayers for the oblation and the memory of the Passion.

⁸⁷ Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect. 50, among other marks of reverence, recommends *pectora tundere*. Durandus (d. 1296) in his Pontifical (Andrieu, 646; Martène, 1, 4, XXIII [I, 620 A]), prescribed a comprehensive ritual of external marks of reverence for a bishop while present at the Mass of a priest. When the Body of the Lord is elevated, he should kneel upon the floor before his prie-dieu and having raised his eyes in adoration, he should strike his breast three times and then kiss either the floor or the prie-dieu. At the elevation of the chalice, after having raised his eyes, he should make the sign of the cross and strike his breast once. Here one recognizes the beginnings of that unnatural accumulation of pious antics so common today at the consecration.

⁸⁸ Indulgences are granted if an Our Father and Hail Mary, or five Our Father's and Hail Mary's are said during the consecration. Browe, *L'atteggiamento*, 411 f. Cf. above, p. 211, n. 58. The English *Lay Folks Mass Book* recommends the devout person of the 13th century to say a *Pater* and *Credo* (Simmons, 40); a prayer in rhyme is also supplied. Even the *Te Deum* is mentioned; see reference, *JL*, 3 (1923), 206 (according to M. Frost).

⁸⁹ Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair*, 151-

154; already verified at 1212 in V. L. Kennedy, "The Handbook of Master Peter, Chancellor of Chartres," *Medieval Studies*, 5 (1943), 8. Cf. also Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 24. In Germany this invocation is certified in the 15th century in the form of a distichon: *Salve lux mundi, verbum Patris, hostia vera, viva caro, deitas integra, verus homo*; Franz, 22; German also *ibid.*, 703. A prayer at the consecration beginning with *Salve lux mundi*, also in England in the meditations of Longforde (15th cent.); Legg, *Tracts*, 24. A German rhymed prayer in 12 verses beginning with "Got, vater allir cristenheit" in a 13th century MS. of Weingarten in Franz, 23, n. 1. Cf. also the call of Parsifal in "Queste del saint Graal," note 58, above.

⁹⁰ Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair*, 166 f., with parallel French formulas of the 14-15th century.

⁹¹ Evidenced at the beginning of the 13th century in an English rule for nuns (Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 19; cf. also 53, n. 160) and in Peter the Chancellor of Chartres (Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 9). Cf. also Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 22 f.

⁹² F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, I, Freiburg, 1853, 275 f. The hymn appears for the first time in the 14th century, and precisely as a prayer at the consecration. The authorship of St. Thomas Aquinas is uncertain; see Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 361-414, especially 399 ff., and also the reference in *Bulletin Thomiste*, 7 (1943-46), n. 122 f. The last strophes (*Pie pelicane*) were at times combined with the elevation of the

Christi,⁹² and *Ave verum corpus*⁹³ also served to salute the Blessed Sacrament at the elevation.⁹⁴

Well-shaped texts of this sort were naturally an open invitation for common recitation and singing, even if they were not intended for this from the start. By the end of the Middle Ages a solemn salutation of the Blessed Sacrament at the elevation formed part of the ceremony of high Mass. According to a Strassburg statute of 1450, the antiphon *O sacrum convivium*, with versicle and oration, was to be sung on certain occasions *in elevatione immediate post Benedictus*.⁹⁵ A decree issued in 1512 by Louis XII of France ordained that at the daily high Mass in Notre Dame in Paris the *O salutaris hostia* was to be sung *in elevatione corporis Christi* between the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*. A Paris foundation of 1521 presupposes the *Ave verum*.⁹⁶ Other songs, too, are mentioned for the same occasion.⁹⁷ We must admit that these songs are all, in general, truly artistic works which fit into the setting with theological propriety. The break in the God-ward motion of the prayer and oblation made by the ceremony of elevating the sacred species and showing them to the people is intelligently shaped and filled out by these hymnic salutations, the product reminding one of a similar creation on Maundy Thursday where, after the holy oils are blessed, a greeting of veneration is likewise offered them.

Soon after the expiration of the Middle Ages, and with them, of the Gothic spirit, there was a rapid decline in the simple desire to contemplate the sacred Host at the moment of the consecration.⁹⁸ That meant the disappearance, too, of the hymns which had been sung in honor of the Blessed Sacrament.⁹⁹ The elevation ceremony was maintained, but was conducted in utter silence. Often even the organ was silenced, although

chalice; Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon le chair*, 165-169, especially 168, note.

⁹² Dumoutet, *op. cit.*, 160-165; P. Schepens, "Pour l'histoire de la prière Anima Christi," *Nouvelle Revue théol.*, 62 (1935), 699-710. Further references and data in Balth. Fischer, "Das Trierer Anima Christi," *Trierer Theol. Zeitschrift*, 60 (1951), 189-196; Fischer edits a Middle High German text of the early 14th century which probably represents the original. Cf. also H. Thurston, *Familiar Prayers* (Westminster, 1953), 38-52.

⁹³ Dumoutet, *op. cit.*, 169 f. The title in the MSS. commonly reads *In elevatione corporis Christi*. Mone, *op. cit.*, I, 280. Other hymns to the Blessed Sacrament with similar assignment (*In elevatione Corporis, Quando elevatur calix*), *ibid.*, 271 f., 281-293.

⁹⁴ More data in Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 53. Dumoutet, *Le Christ selon la chair*, 164,

speaks of more than 50 prayers at the elevation, that are handed down from the Middle Ages. Short invocations of the Body and Blood of Christ were common even at an earlier date before the Communion of the priest (see below). Some of these were then transferred to the elevation; *ibid.*, 158 f.

⁹⁵ Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 53, n. 161.

⁹⁶ Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, 60-62. Both hymns, as a matter of choice among the Cistercians; so also according to a prescription even as late as 1584; see J. Hau, "Statuten aus einem niederdeutschen Zisterzienserinnenkloster" (*Cist.-Chr.*, 1935), 132.

⁹⁷ *Gaudete flores*: Dumoutet, *Le désir*, 61. The *Benedictus* was also intoned with the same intent, above, p. 137, note 44.

⁹⁸ Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, 72-74.

⁹⁹ The Synods of Augsburg, 1548 and 1567,

the decrees still in force would permit a soft playing of the instrument. The only perceptible sound was the server's little bell. The faithful venerated the sacred species, but did so in silent prayer.¹⁰⁰ Still there were some countries which maintained the old practice of saying certain designated prayers aloud. Thus in Spanish churches the following salutations are customary: "My Lord and my God, we adore Thee, Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, because by Thy holy Cross Thou hast redeemed the world.— My Lord and my God, we adore Thee, sacred Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed on the Cross for the salvation of the world."¹⁰¹ So nicely suited are such prayers as these that they emerge, now here, now there, in other countries also, at least outside of high Mass.¹⁰²

already speak of *altissimum silentium* (Hartzheim, VI, 369), of an *altum sanctumque silentium* (ibid., VII, 172), that was not to be interrupted by hymns without reason. Elsewhere, though, they remained in use for a longer period. In the *Voyage liturgique* of de Moléon, which appeared in 1718, it is remarked as a peculiarity that in individual French cathedrals nothing is sung at the elevation of the host, but that it is adored in silence (117, 142, 147). Among the Premonstratensians the prescription of such a hymn (*O salutaris hostia*) was first incorporated in the *Liber ordinarius* in 1628 and again in 1739, where it still is found; Waefelghem, 122, n. 2. Even according to Roman directions hymns during the elevation were at first permitted. The question, *An in elevatione ss. sacramenti in missis sollempnibus cani possit, Tantum ergo, etc., vel aliqua antiphona tanti sacramenti propria*, was answered in the affirmative, April 14, 1753; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 2424 ad 6. A later decision of May 5, 1894, permits such hymns only *peracta ultima elevatione*, as soon as the *Benedictus* has been sung; *Decreta auth. SRC*, n. 3827 ad 3.

¹⁰⁰ The official *Enchiridion Indulgentiarum* (Vatican City, 1950), has a prayerful address in three parts, "Hail, saving victim offered upon the cross . . . (n. 132) and again the prayer which captivated St. Pius X, "My lord and my God" (n. 133). Cf. also *ibid.*, n. 142.

¹⁰¹ Kramp, "Messopfergebräuche der Gläubigen in den ausserdeutschen Ländern" (*StZ*, 1927, II), 361. In Portugal the prayer reads: "Here is the body, blood, and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, as true

and complete as in heaven"; "Here is the blood, body, soul, and divinity . . . ; *ibid.*, 362. In Colombia the prayer "My Lord and my God" is commonly said; *ibid.*, 365. B. Lebbe, *The Mass: A Historical Commentary* (Westminster, 1949), 81-82, lists several ejaculations traditional with the people of Eire, among them a curious expression: "All praise to thee, Lord Jesus, white and red."

¹⁰² Cf. Egyptian liturgies above, p. 204. A similar greeting as in Spain, only more carefully devised from a theological standpoint, is contained in the present German catechism, beginning with "My Lord and my God! Hail, true body of Christ that was offered for me on the cross." It was taken up, e.g., in the diocese of St. Pölten and also in the diocesan hymnal (*Heiliges Volk*, [2nd ed.; St. Pölten, 1936] 67 f.) and was used in congregational Mass devotions. Noteworthy discussions have taken place in Germany in the last years from the viewpoint of the children's Mass, among others in the *Katechetischen Blättern*, 40 (1939) and 41 (1940). The discussion turned partly on the assumption that the idea of sacrifice, perhaps even with an address to God the Father, should be plainly expressed, but they inclined to the solution indicated above. However, Victor Schurr, C.S.S.R., in *Paulus*, 23 (1951), 65, suggests prayers of offering like those at the offertory. With the regulating of the prayers at the elevation must be joined the arrangement of external signs of respect. As a general rule it may be stated that besides the raising of the eyes to the Blessed Sacrament, a sign of the cross at most would be proper.

14. *Unde et memores*

In reciting the account of the institution, the priest simply relates what then took place, and only the actions which are coupled with the words, and the veneration which follows upon them, make it clear that the scene is being re-enacted. But once the Great Prayer is resumed after the consecration, the very first thing done is to interpret the mystery thus accomplished. The link with the preceding account is made by the word *Unde*, harking back to our Saviour's injunction which closes the account.¹ Now what is it we are doing at the altar in conformity with this injunction?

In almost all the liturgies two ideas are used to define the mystery, the two being placed side by side and contrasted in various ways. The mystery is a *commemoration* or *anamnesis*; and it is an *oblation*, a sacrifice.² In some few instances the oblation is mentioned first, as in the Armenian Mass, where, after pronouncing the words of institution, the priest pursues and expands the thought of the command to do what Christ had done; he takes the gifts in his hands and says: *Et nos igitur, Domine, secundum illud mandatum, offerimus istud salutiferum sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Unigeniti tui, commemoramus salutares eius pro nobis passiones* . . .³ As a rule, however, the remembrance is mentioned first, but in participial form, so that, though it is first, yet the main stress will be on the oblation, expressed by means of a verb like *offerimus*, *προσφέρομεν*.⁴

For both ideas the connection with the command of our Lord is the same: we come before Thee, O God—that is the basic thought—with a grateful memorial of the redemptive work of Christ and offer up to Thee His Body and Blood. And both ideas contain an objective element as

¹ A similar link (*igitur, ergo*) in the oldest Roman formularies; above I, 29, 52; and mostly (τοίνυν, οὖν), though not without exception, in the oriental formularies; Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 50-55. The conjunction is missing for the most part in the Gallic texts, though they nevertheless establish, not infrequently, a close connection by the manner in which they take up the last word of Christ's injunction (. . . *facietis*, or something similar): *Hæc facimus, Hoc agentes* and the like; *ibid.*, 60-68.

² By way of exception, a definite enunciation of the anamnesis character of the celebration (frequently itself called anamnesis for short) is missing; thus, in the *Euchologium* of Serapion, 3, 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 62; see above I, 34-35), whereas the offering is announced twice therein, once after the consecration of the host and again after

the consecration of the chalice. In any event, the sacrifice in the first instance is designated at the same time as a Memento of the Dead: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ θανάτου ποιούμεντες τὸν ἄρτον προσπνέχκαμεν; cf. O. Casel, *JL*, 6 (1926), 116 f. On the other hand, either the anamnesis or the offering has been frequently omitted in Gallican formularies; cf. e.g., *Missale Gothicum*: Muratori, II, 518, 522, 526, 544, 548, etc.

³ Text according to Chosroe, *Explicatio precum missæ* (about 950) ed. Vetter (Freiburg, 1880), 32 f. For today's text see Brightman, 437: "We therefore, O Lord, presenting unto thee . . . do remember the saving sufferings" . . . —For the accompanying rite see Hanssens, III, 452.

⁴ The more ancient Byzantine liturgy (Brightman, 328 f.) has also the offering in the grammatical form of a participle:

well as a subjective one. What we hold here in our hands is a memorial⁶ and an oblation. But memorial as well as oblation must be realized within ourselves as our own remembrance and our offering. Then, and only then, can a “worship in spirit and truth” in the fullest sense arise to God from our hands.

The *memorial* is usually referred to here in just a short phrase. This is only natural, for the whole Prayer of Thanksgiving is, in substance, a memorial prayer, particularly the Christological portion.⁶ In fact, even the readings in the fore-Mass, especially the Gospel, have as their aim to revive the memory of our Lord, His word and His work.⁷ The whole purpose of the yearly round of Church feasts is, at bottom, nothing other than an enlargement of that recollection, making room for an ever-increasing store of memories. The basic theme of the Church year, too, is precisely the *passio Domini*, the redemption accomplished by Christ’s death and Resurrection. In the anamnesis this theme is treated very briefly, but its contents are not analyzed as a subjective memory, since it is taken for granted that the soul is already alive to everything contained therein. All that is stated here is that in the sacramental operation the divine charge to do this “in

Μεμνημένοι οὖν . . . τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σὺν σοὶ προσφέροντες, σὲ (the people) : σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν. Apparently the celebrant joined in with the people’s phrase.

⁶ O. Casel, “Das Mysteriengedächtnis der Messliturgie im Lichte der Tradition,” *JL*, 6 (1926), 113-204, has collected the testimonies for the real character of the commemoration from both liturgical and extra-liturgical sources, though Casel’s interpretation of the real commemoration is still an object of controversy; cf. above I, 183 f. However, individual liturgical formularies clearly bring out the fact that an objective commemoration is in some way present. Thus we read in the East Syrian anaphora of Nestorius, just before the words of the institution: *Et reliquit nobis commemorationem salutis nostrae, mysterium hoc, quod offerimus coram te*; Renaudot, II, 623. Cf. also the *Euchologion* of Serapion, above I, 34 f. Furthermore, many expressions of the Fathers are quite plain. Thus Chrysostom, *In Hebr. hom.*, 17, 3 (PG, 63, 131), says: We offer every day, inasmuch as we consummate the memory of His death, (ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμενοι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ); or Theodoret of Cyrus, *In Hebr.*, 8, 4 (PG, 82, 736): It is clear that we offer no other sacrifice (than that which Christ offered), but celebrate the sole and sancti-

fying memory of it (μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν). In the 9th century Florus Diaconus, *De actione miss.*, c. 63 (PL, 119, 54 D): *Illius ergo panis et calicis oblatio mortis Christi est commemoratio et annuntiatio, quae non tam verbis quam mysteriis ipsis agitur.*

⁷ Cf. above, p. 116. In this respect it is significant that in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 12, 35, the description of the redemptive Passion, which precedes the account of the institution, is summed up by means of μεμνημένοι οὖν εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, as the true anamnesis that begins after the institution: μεμνημένοι τοίνυν (προσφέροντες σοι). Cf. above I, 36 f. In the Armenian normal anaphora, the prayer of thanksgiving which was prolonged before the account of the institution to include the Passion of Christ, is brought to a close after it by a reference to the descent into hell and the destruction of its gates (a favorite way the Orient has of representing the Easter victory); Brightman, 437.

⁸ Cf. also R. Guardini, *Besinnung vor der Feier der hl. Messe*, II (Mainz, 1939), 111 f. For a study of the interpretation of the anamnesis in the preaching and services of ancient Christendom, cf. N. A. Dahl, “Anamnesis,” *Studia Theologica* I (Lund, 1948), 69-95.

remembrance of Me" (Luke 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24 f.) is being fulfilled, and that, moreover, we are thus doing what Paul had demanded in more detail, namely, to "proclaim the death of the Lord" (1 Cor. 11:26). Nevertheless, the concept of Christ's sacrificial death does undergo a certain development, for related—or shall we say component—concepts are disclosed in much the same way as in the ancient professions of faith.⁸ The death of the Lord is His victory, it is His triumph over death. The Gallic Mass appears to have mentioned originally only the Passion.⁹ Even in Hippolytus the Resurrection is already added: *Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius*.¹⁰ In Ambrose's text of the canon there is the further addition of the Ascension, and the *passio*—or rather, the triplet beginning with it—is characterized by the word *gloriosissima*.¹¹

The text of our present-day anamnesis follows the same lines.¹² The adjective *gloriosa* has been transferred to the Ascension, while the *passio* has acquired the attribute *tam beata*; we surely have reason for hailing the Passion as blessed, since it is the root of our salvation.¹³ The later Middle Ages sought to emphasize the memory of the Cross also in the outward gesture, by reciting the anamnesis prayer, and sometimes also the *Supra quæ*,¹⁴ with outstretched arms.¹⁵

⁸ Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 50 ff.

⁹ Lietzmann, 61 f. Cf. the first Mass in the Gothic Missal (Muratori, II, 518): *Hæc facimus Domine ... commemorantes et celebrantes passionem unici Filii tui Jesu Christi Domini nostri, qui tecum*. So, too, several Mozarabic Masses; Lietzmann, 63. For the rest it is precisely the anamnesis of the Gallic liturgies, where they did not disappear entirely, that show the most advanced deterioration; Lietzmann, 62 f. There is merely a general mention of the mysteries of our Redemption in the East Syrian anaphora of Theodorus; Renaudot, II (1847), 613.

¹⁰ Above I, 29.

¹¹ Above I, 52. For Mozarabic parallels see Lietzmann, 63.

¹² The wording, as it appears in the Sacramentaries, shows only insignificant variations; after *Unde et memores* there is an insertion of *sumus*. But that disturbs the construction. It is, moreover, missing in Hippolytus and Ambrose and was later crossed out, probably by Alcuin (Lietzmann, 59). Some of the old witnesses have inserted *Dei (nostri J. C.)* after *Domini*, *The eiusdem (Christi F. t.)* that still precedes today was first put in by the Humanists of the 16th century; Botte, 40 Ap-

paratus. The *eiusdem*, however, is still missing in the *Missale Romanum* of 1474; ed. Lippe, HBS, 17), 207. Neither is it noted in the later editions; see Lippe (HBS, 33), 111.

¹³ Because, of course, the term *passio* includes the death of Christ; see Chr. Mohrmann, *Vigiliæ christianæ*, 4 (1950), n. 21. The *tam* has been subjected to textual criticism, as if *quam* must have been omitted or lost. The criticisms, however, are not sound; see Botte, 63. It merely supplies an emotional re-enforcement in much the same manner as in the oriental anaphoras at the beginning of the preface: Ὡς (ἀληθῶς ἄξιον); see above, p. 125, n. 59. A Mozarabic anamnesis presents something similar with *Habentes ante oculos . . . tantæ passionis triumphos*; Férotin, *Le liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, p. 250.

¹⁴ A *Missale Ursinense* cited by Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica* I, 363, puts before *Supra quæ* the notation: *Hic extende brachia quantumcumque potes*.

¹⁵ End of the 12th century among the Premonstratensians (Waefelghem, 78); *Ordinarium*, O.P. of 1256 (Guerrini, 242); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 95). From then on the practice spread

In most of the oriental formulas the anamnesis underwent an extended evolution, but in the chief liturgies this did not go beyond a development of the theme of redemption. The three steps, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, continue as the permanent threesome around which every added thing is marshalled. Thus to the Passion is added, for example, “the life-giving Cross and the three-days’ stay in the tomb” (in the Byzantine Liturgy of St. James). And after the Ascension, is added in both these cases—and similarly in most of the others—the sitting at the right hand of the Father and “the glorious and awesome second coming.”¹⁶ It is the description of the second coming which bursts the limitations of the anamnesis as such, particularly in West-Syrian formulas, as (for instance) in the fourth-century addition: “when He comes with glory and power to judge the living and the dead and to reward everyone according to his deeds,”¹⁷ a description which grows ever richer and more fearsome¹⁸ and which, in the Greek anaphora of St. James, is supplemented by a plea for mercy.¹⁹ Later West-Syrian formulas even tacked on other events in Christ’s life.²⁰ Similarly, His birth is mentioned also in the Occident, but this is not found till long after, in late Carolingian Mass books.²¹

widely; cf. Franz, 612; Sölch, *Hugo*, 93 f.; Leroquais, I, 315; II, 182, 262, etc. St. Thomas Aquinas defends it, *Summa theol.*, III, 83, 5 ad 5. The first leaning towards this practice is found in Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 16 (PL, 151, 987); Cf. Luykx (*Anal. Præm.*, 1946-1947), 68 f., 89. Dominicans, Carmelites, and Carthusians still do it. Contrary to the statements copied by Lebrun I, 428, it must have prevailed for a long time also at Rome; the strange mode of expression in the *Ordo* of Stefaneschi (about 1311), c. 71 (PL, 78, 1189 A), that certainly goes beyond n. 53 (1166 D): *Hic ampliet manus et brachia*, proves it, even as the Roman rubric of 1534 cited by Lebrun himself, *loc. cit.*: *extensis manibus ante pectus more consueto*, which is almost equivalent to a suppression.—Regarding the attempt to pantomime the resurrection and ascension, see above I, 107.

¹⁶ Lietzmann, 50-57. The form in the *Apostolic Constitutions* is somewhat simpler; see above I, 37. The decorative adjectives in the Syrian formularies are worthy of note, e.g., in the anaphora of St. James (Brightman, 52 f.): Μεμνημένοι . . . τῶν ζυγοποιῶν αὐτοῦ παθημάτων, τοῦ σωτηρίου σταυροῦ, . . . τῆς δευτέρας ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβεροῦ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας.

¹⁷ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 38 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 223).

¹⁸ In some of the West Syrian anaphoras of later origin the terrors of the second advent are depicted in glaring colors. The description at times is spread over half, in fact over an entire printed page. Renaudot, II (1847), 147, 165, 190 f., 205, 216, etc.

¹⁹ Brightman, 53, l. 3: . . . κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσαι ἡμῶν, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. A like petition from the people follows: see below, n. 31.

²⁰ The anaphora of St. Ignatius mentions birth and baptism (Renaudot, II, 216), the anaphora of St. Mark the conception, birth, and baptism (*ibid.*, II, 178), the anaphora of Maruthas the birth, the lying in the manger, baptism fasting, and temptation, as well as various phases of the history of the Passion (*ibid.*, 263).

²¹ Botte, 40, Apparatus: *admirabilis nativitatis*. The adjectives vary. The *nativitas* was already read into the text by Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 25 (PL, 105, 1141 B). But Bernold of Constance (d. 1100), *Micrologus*, c. 13 (PL, 151, 985 C) fights against this expansion. Nevertheless it survived until the late Middle Ages; see Leroquais, III, 420; Ebner, 418. Regarding the question whether a citation by

The mention of various phases in the work of redemption which are to be kept in remembrance is often matched in oriental liturgies by a well-rounded expansion of the words incorporating Christ's injunction to do as He had done. At first only the words of St. Paul are put on Christ's lips.²² But then the addition is made of the Resurrection,²³ or of the Resurrection and Ascension, especially in Egyptian liturgies: "As often as you eat this bread . . . you shall manifest My death and profess My Resurrection and Ascension, until I come."²⁴ Similar formations made their way into the area of the Gallic liturgies; ²⁵ thus a Milanese formula reads as follows: *Hæc quotiescumque feceritis, in meam commemorationem facietis, mortem meam prædicabitis, resurrectionem meam annuntiabitis, adventum meum sperabitis, donec iterum de cælis veniam ad vos.*²⁶

The remembrance should be realized not only in and by the priest, but also in and by the entire congregation assembled. In the Roman Mass this is brought out by the fact that the subject of the anamnesis is defined as *nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta*. In Egypt, at an early date, it was revealed even more vividly; a solemn outcry of the people, corresponding to the expanded phrases of our Lord's injunction to do as He had done, followed immediately after it as a sort of response to it, and was then followed by the priest's prayer. Even today the Coptic Mass retains this anamnesis cry of the people, and since it still employs the Greek tongue it is evidently a heritage of at least the sixth century. Τὸν θάνατόν σου, κύριε, καὶ ἀγγέλλομεν καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν σου ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦμεν.²⁷ In Egypt the anamnesis of the priest has likewise acquired its own special pattern by the use of the Pauline formulation. The main Egyptian liturgies not only begin with a *Memores*, Μεμνημένοι, but in addition use a rather expanded schema for what follows by announcing (καταγγέλλοντες)

Arnobius the Younger (about 460), *In Ps. 110* (PL, 53, 497 B; Botte, 41), presupposes the addition in the Roman Mass, see Botte, 63 f. The probability is slight. More likely it was in some Gallic Masses (for Arnobius is generally regarded as a Gaul) that the birth was already then named. In any case, it is found in substance in the Gothic Missal of the 7th century (Muratori, II, 522): *Credimus, Domine, adventum tuum, recolimus passionem tuam*. Mozarabic examples stress the *venisse, incarnatum fuisse*, Lietzmann, 65 f. The *incarnatio* also appears here and there in Roman Mass books of the Middle Ages, e.g., in the Missal of Lagny (11th cent.; Leroquais, I, 171): *incarnationis, nativitatibus*.

²² Thus *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 37 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 223): . . . τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐμὸν καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθω. More refer-

ence and detailed analysis also for that which follows in Hamm, 90 f.

²³ The anaphora of St. James (Brightman, 52); Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil (*ibid.*, 328); Papyrus of Dêr-Balyzeh (Quasten, *Mon.*, 42).

²⁴ Egyptian anaphora of St. Mark (Brightman, 133).

²⁵ Hamm, 91 f.

²⁶ Hamm, 91.

²⁷ Brightman, 177. Cf. also in the Ethiopian liturgy: *ibid.*, 232 f. In a somewhat more original form (κύριε, ἀγία σου and καὶ ἀνάληψιν are missing) in the papyrus of Dêr-Balyzeh (Quasten, *Mon.*, 42). It is clear from the address to Christ that we have here a passage said by the people. The continuation after ὁμολογοῦμεν, which reads καὶ δεόμεθα is to be compared with the cry of the people in the Ethiopian Mass (Brightman, 233, I. 1).

His death, by confessing (ὁμολογούντες), His Resurrection . . . by awaiting (ἀπεκχέζόμενοι) His second coming, we offer up to Thee . . .²⁸

The second point that is expressed in the *Unde et memores* and then taken up and developed in the following prayers, is the *oblation* or offering. Here we have the central sacrificial prayer of the entire Mass, the foremost liturgical expression of the fact that the Mass is actually a sacrifice. In this connection it is to be noted that there is reference here exclusively to a sacrifice offered up by the Church. Christ, the high-priest, remains wholly in the background. It is only in the ceremonies of the consecration, when the priest all at once starts to present our Lord's actions step by step, acting as Christ's mouthpiece in reciting the words of transubstantiation—only here is the veil momentarily withdrawn from the profound depths of this mystery. But now it is once more the Church, the attendant congregation, that speaks and acts. And it is the Church *in concreto*, manifest plainly in its membership; it is the congregation composed of the "servants" of God and the "holy people," which has already appeared as the subject of the remembrance in the anamnesis. To show how aware the Church is of what she is, we must point to the significant words here used, *plebs sancta*, words which bring to the fore the sacerdotal dignity of the people of God in the sense implied by 1 Peter 2:5, 9.²⁹

In oriental liturgies the priest's prayer does not contain any equivalent expression which so clearly states that priest and people alike are subjects of the remembrance and the oblation. But instead, both for the remembrance and the oblation, they have exclamations by which the people ratify the action of the priest—and these in addition to the primitive and universal *Amen* at the end of the canon. In the Byzantine Mass the priest utters the words of remembrance and oblation in the form of participles: Μεμνημένοι . . . προσφέροντες; the people complete the sentence with the cry: σέ ὑμνοῦμεν, σέ εὐλογοῦμεν, σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, χύριε, καὶ δεόμεθα σου, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.³⁰ It is an oblation of praise, of thanksgiving, of petition.

²⁸ Brightman, 133; 178.—Related formulas appear also in the Gallican and especially in the Mozarabic liturgy, where the anamneses begin with *nuntiamus, prædicamus*, or with *credimus, confitemur*, respectively with (*venturum*) *præstolamur*. Lietzmann, 60-67.

²⁹ The phrase *ordo et plebs* for clerics and people, in Tertullian, *De exhort. cast.*, c. 7 (CSEL, 70, 138, l. 18); cf. Rütten, "Philologisches zum Canon missæ" (*StZ*, 1938, I) 44 f. For *plebs sancta*, cf. St. Augustine's address to the people, *sacritas vestra*, or also the designations *sacrata plebs, populus sanctus Dei*, in other passages of the Roman liturgy. See also the data in

Botte, 64 f. The clergy's designation of themselves as *servi* finds its justification in Scripture, especially in the Old Testament: *servi Domini* for the Levites (e.g., Ps. 133: 1), perhaps even in the Lord's parable of the *fidelis servus*. The plural *servi* is in accord not only with the conditions of the Roman station services, but also with the rule that the priest must celebrate at least with a deacon; cf. above I, 208.

³⁰ Thus already in the text of the 9th century: Brightman, 329 (as a cry of the people); cf. 386 (now given to the choir). The phrase was also taken up by the remaining liturgies of the Orient.

In the West-Syrian Mass, too, the people add a cry of petition after the oblation;³¹ this recurs in all West-Syrian anaphoras.

In the Roman Mass just a few impressive words are used for the oblation. In Hippolytus the terseness here as well as in the anamnesis borders on the extreme: *Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius offerimus tibi panem et calicem*. In the present Roman canon the expression has hardly blossomed out beyond this, and it is not till the concluding words, the five-part description of the sacrificial gifts, that the phrasing is caught up in the enveloping praise: *offerimus præclaræ maiestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam* . . . By the use of the words *maiestas tua* (which we encountered already in the preface) as a term of address, we are brought face to face with the divine greatness before which man crumbles into nothingness. In accordance with this consideration, the gifts which we undertake to present to Him must be regarded as already His own; they are *de tuis donis ac datis*. This is a biblical concept (1 Paral. 29:14) that reappears time and again in different forms on foundation inscriptions of Christian antiquity. Where the pagan founder of a sanctuary or a memorial, conscious of his own largess, has the words *de suo fecit* carved on the stone, the Christian benefactor humbly acknowledges that all he has given was granted him by God; his gift is *ex donis Dei*.³² Thus, too, every sacrificial gift which we can proffer to God is already “a gift and a present” which He had loaned us. And this is surely true in an eminent way of the gift on our altars. Another concept that might be a contributing factor here is the one proposed by Irenæus in his opposition to Gnosticism; with regard to the material components of our sacrifice, he argues that we do not offer up an uncreated being, but rather we sacrifice to the Lord of creation something that He himself has created.³³

Similar thoughts are given solemn utterance in the Byzantine Mass, where the priest, after softly finishing the anamnesis, continues in a loud voice: τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέροντες κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα; this is followed by the exclamation of the people already referred to.³⁴ The phrase is probably as old as the Roman *de tuis donis ac datis*. It even occurs, without any change whatever, on inscriptions. For instance, it

³¹ The priest: “We offer this fearful and unbloody sacrifice that Thou deal not with us after our sins . . . for Thy people and Thy church (ὁ γὰρ λαός σου καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία σου, and καὶ ἡ κληρονομία σου) entreat Thee . . .” And the people answer “Have mercy upon us, O God, the Father almighty!” Brightman, 53; 88; Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, 18 f.

³² Thus an evangeliary at Monza bears the inscription: *Ex donis Dei dedit Theo-*

delenda reg[ina] in basilica quam fundavit. More examples in H. Leclercq, “Donis Dei (de)”: DACL, IV, 1507-1510.

³³ Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.*, IV, 18, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 347): προσφέρομεν αὐτῷ τὰ ἴδια. Cf. above I, 23 f.

³⁴ Brightman, 329. From the Byzantine liturgy the phrase passed over into the Egyptian and the Armenian: *ibid.*, 133, l. 30; 178, l. 15; 438, l. 9.

decorates a silver chalice of the sixth century, discovered at Orontes. Later, it was to be found on the altar of the Hagia Sophia at Constantinople.³⁵ In either case, the words were meant to convey not only our acknowledgement that all we can offer God, whether it be celestial or terrestrial, comes from Him, but even more our proud satisfaction in being able to secure from this world of ours the visible garb for the sacred gifts that lie upon the altar.³⁶

Next the gifts themselves are given mention, just as they are found in our hands, and the mention turns into a short hymn on the Blessed Sacrament. First, the sacrament is described in three phrases which stress the spotless purity and holiness of the sacrifice: *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam*.³⁷ Our sacrifice is not like that of the heathens or even that of the Jews, who could offer God only a material and bloody sacrifice; ours is spiritualized and therefore clean. Its positive content is next suggested, first of all by the word *hostia*, which originally implied a living being. The subsequent words also continue the same line of thought,³⁸ for they are a two-part expression (corresponding to the double form of the sacrificial gifts) proclaiming the preciousness of these gifts, pointing to the results of partaking of them, the everlasting life towards which they tend: *panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et calicem salutis perpetuæ*.⁴⁰

³⁵ References in Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, 19 apparatus.

³⁶ Cf. Gilhr, 689. The same also in Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, II. 16, 1 (Schneider 203 f.). Similar expressions in the secreta formulas of the Leonianum: *Deus . . . accipe propitius quæ de tuis donis tibi nos offerre voluisti* (Muratori, I, 386); *Offerimus tibi, Domine, munera quæ dedisti* (*ibid.*, 370). It is therefore at least highly improbable that, as most interpreters declare, only the consecration gifts are meant by the *de tuis donis ac datis*.

³⁷ Less euphonious but theologically more precise is the terminology in the Armenian text of the canon (see above I, 52), where the Christian sacrifice is characterized as *immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam*. The word *rationabilis* describes the spirituality of the sacrifice (cf. above I, 24 f.); this same quality is indicated negatively in *incruenta* (*ἀναμαρτος*), an adjective also favored for the first word of the group; Casel, "Ein orientalisches Kultwort" (*JL*, 11, 1931), 2 f.

³⁸ H. Elfers, *Theologie und Glaube*, 33

(1941), 352 f., makes the whole expression refer to the gifts yet to be "transubstantiated," but this is an assumption without foundation in the text and against which Ambrose—here surely a reliable witness—firmly protests (cf. above I, 52). The oriental liturgies also are content in this prayer to designate the sacrifice as "clean," "unbloody," "fruitful"; cf. Hanssens, III, 451, who calls this mode of expression *vaga et obscura*. Is it not rather in substance a reverential reserve that prompted this mode of expression?

³⁹ Cf. John 6: 51 ff.

⁴⁰ This double expression, but in simpler form, is also in Ambrose's text of the canon; see above I, 52. Perhaps the text presented at this particular place in the fifth Sunday Mass of the Gothic Missal is the more original (Muratori, II, 654) . . . *offerimus tibi, Domine, hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationalem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem salutarem*. The designation of the chalice here according to Ps. 115: 13; it is evidently also the basis for the Roman text. Cf. Casel, *op. cit.*, 13 with n. 26.

In the *eucharistia* of Hippolytus the awareness that the possibility of offering such gifts is the greatest grace suggested the inclusion of a word of thanks at the close of the oblation: *gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare.*⁴¹ Some formularies in the East also contain a thanksgiving in the same position.⁴² And either then, or else right after the oblation, they make a transition to the epiklesis. The Roman Mass, on the contrary, lingers on the main theme, the oblation, without going into these subsidiary ideas.

15. *Supra quæ* and *Supplices*

For man—and even for the ecclesiastical congregation—to offer God gifts, no matter how holy these might be, is certainly the utmost daring. For this reason the oblation is expressed in yet another manner, in words that endeavor to show that it is nothing less than a grace of God to expect the acceptance of the gifts from our hands.

All we can do is make the offering; *offerimus*. It is up to God to cast a favorable glance¹ upon our offering (*respicere*) and to consider it with approval (*accepta habere*). Continuing in this figurative language, we add that it also pertains to God to have our gifts carried up to His heavenly altar of sacrifice.² The line of thinking manifested in these words follows easily and naturally from what precedes,³ and it therefore belongs to the

⁴¹ Cf. above I, 29, also retained in Greek in *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 38 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 223): ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἐστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ λειτουργεῖν σοί. The word λειτουργεῖν naturally signifies priestly service. But there is nothing here to prove that this word λειτουργεῖν refers only to the bishop and his priests, who with him spread their hands over the gift offerings (above I, 29), and still less, as Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 303 f., further argues, that the *offerimus* and lastly the prayer of thanksgiving in general is the function of the clerics only. If so, why, then, is the *Gratias agamus* addressed to all and answered by all? The λειτουργεῖν is the service of the λειτουργοί. And under this term of λειτουργοί not only Justin, but with special emphasis Origen, who is so close to Hippolytus, comprise the whole of God's people. Cf. E. Niebecker, *Das allgemeine Priestertum der Gläubigen* (Paderborn, 1936), 18-27; St. v. Dunin Borkowski, "Die Kirche als Stiftung Jesu" (*Religion, Christentum, Kirche*, edited by Esser and Mausbach, II; Kempten, 1913), 55-70.

⁴² Besides the *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 38 (foregoing note), the Byzantine liturgy of St. Basil (Brightman, 329, l. 14) and the Armenian liturgy (*ibid.*, 438, l. 16). In these last texts it is clearly the thanks of the official priests who thus in prayer distinguish themselves from the general community.

¹ *Propitio ac sereno vultu*: with inclined (eager) and joyful countenance. The same picture in Ps. 30: 17: *illustra faciem tuam*; Ps. 66: 2: *illuminet vultum suum*.

² In Ambrose's text of the canon only the latter of the two ideas is expressed; see above I, 52. It is, therefore, the more original.

³ A certain roughness of grammatical expression that was exploited by critics of the canon (Fortescue, *The Mass*, 153; cf. 348) does not really contradict this. It should, of course, read: *Supra quæ . . . respicere et quæ accepta habere digneris*, still this "more correct" sentence formation would be too draggy. A similar abbreviation of expression we found also at the beginning of the *Communicantes*.

most ancient portion of even the non-Roman liturgy.⁴ And yet it gives occasion for more than one problem.

The first thing that strikes us is the fact that these prayers linger wholly over the external performance of the sacrifice, tracing each step of it prayerfully. They are concerned that the symbol be properly executed and also acknowledged by God. But regarding what is symbolized, that sacrificial sentiment from which our action must proceed, that spirit of sacrifice which rightly plays so great a role (perhaps not yet sufficiently stressed) in our present-day religious thinking and in our pastoral monitions regarding attendance at Holy Mass, the wholehearted subjection of the creature to the Creator, the ever-growing conformity of our will with that of almighty God, the resolute surge of our mind towards that mind "which was in Christ Jesus"—all this is here given no special consideration. But this should in no way astonish us. After all, in view of the sacrificial activity of the community, such a state of mind in the individual is taken for granted; it is presupposed, if not as something already acquired, then surely as something to be sought. Expression must be given not to the subjective striving (which varies from soul to soul), but to the objective act which is valid for all.

A further surprise is the fact that even after the gifts have been consecrated and changed there should still be a plea for acceptance. For there is question here really of the most sacred gifts, of the sacrificial oblation which Christ Himself makes *ministerium sacerdotum*. Certainly there can be no thought of pleading for its acceptance, since it is antecedently valid in full. On the contrary, all the sacrifices which are cited from the Old Testament, those of Abel and Abraham and Melchisedech, are only earthly shadows of its heavenly grandeur.

As a matter of fact, the Reformers who raised their voices against the Mass and canon also pounced on this point, that the priest undertook to play the part of mediator between Christ and God. Right down to our own day, therefore, modern commentaries on the Mass have assumed a tone of apology when explaining this passage.⁵ But if we reflect for a moment that the sacrifice of the New Law, being an act of official worship,

⁴ Cf. *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 39 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 223): here, too, the προσφερόμεν is expanded: καὶ ἀξιούμεν σε ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς. Cf. above I, 37.

⁵ See the summary presentation in Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, II, 16, 10-22 (ed. Schneider, 208-216). The learned Pope refers, among others, to Bellarmine, *Controv.*, II, 6, 24 (= *De sacrific. missæ*, II, 24; ed. Rom. 1838: III, 802), who states: In the *Supra quæ* we do not pray *pro reconciliatione Christi ad Patrem*, but for our own weakness; *etsi enim oblatio*

consecrata ex parte rei quæ offertur et ex parte Christi principalis offerentis semper Deo placeat, tamen ex parte ministri vel populi adstantis, qui simul etiam offerunt, potest non placere. Similar views expressed by Gihl, 691-696. The attack against the reality of the sacrifice of the Mass in the controversy with the Reformers served to bring the Sacrifice of Christ to the fore. But a consideration of the liturgical texts leads back to the sacrifice of the Church. Cf. above I, 180 ff.

is essentially placed in the hands of the Church, which in turn relies on the sacrifice of Christ, then it becomes clear at once that we possess therein, despite the solemnity of its essential core, only an external symbol by which the Church—or more immediately, the congregation—honors God. And God can really receive it from her hands as a gift of homage only when at least the lowest degree of an internal will to give on the part of the participants accompanies and quickens the external offering. In this sense, then, it would be quite understandable that the harsh words of the prophets, in which God rejects the purely external and soulless offerings of His people,⁹ would refer with equal weight to the sacrifice of the New Law, were it offered by unworthy sacerdotal hands. Besides, in such a case little more would remain of this holiest of sacrifices than a new *hic et nunc* of Christ's sacrifice long since accomplished, a *hic et nunc* which is without its complete salvific meaning, since, contrary to its purpose, it is no longer the expression of a willing Christian mind, no longer has its roots in the earth, but hovers aimlessly in the air.⁷

Since corruptible and sinful man can never be sufficiently worthy of the great and holy God this humble plea for God's gracious glance is in any case well-grounded. Joined to it is a confident reference to the illustrative figures of the Old Testament, whose sacrifice had won God's pleasure. The outstanding types from the Old Dispensation are reviewed to encourage the soul, and a certain pride takes possession of our hearts as we link our action with the action of these biblical saints. Three figures are selected: innocent Abel,⁸ who made a sacrifice of the firstlings of his flock (Genesis: 4:4) and himself succumbed to his brother's hate—our gift is “the Lamb of God,” the first-born of all creation,⁹ who turned His death, suffered at the hands of His own people, into a sacrifice of redemption. Next, Abraham who, as ancestor of all “who are of faith,”¹⁰ is called “our patriarch,” the hero of obedience to God, ready to make a sacrifice of his very son, but receiving him back alive (cf. Hebrews, 11:19)—our sacrifice, too, the most perfect expression of obedience unto death, has risen again and returned to life. Finally, Melchisedech who, as priest of the most high God,¹¹ offers up bread and wine¹²—our oblation also is taken

⁹ Is. 1: 11; Jer. 6: 20; Amos 5: 21-23; Mal. 1: 10.

⁷ This extreme case is, however, not entirely present even in an unworthy celebration of the priest, not so long as at least one participant takes part with proper dispositions.

⁸ The adjective *justus* is applied to Abel by Christ Himself, Matt. 23: 35; cf. Herb. 11: 4. *Pueri tui* = of your servant, but as with *παῖς*, implying also a father-child relationship. In this sense the word is also applied to Israel in Luke 1: 54. Cf. also

J. Hennig, “Abel's Place in the Liturgy,” *Theological Studies*, 7 (1946), 126-141.

⁹ Cf. Hebr. 1: 6; Col. 1: 18; Romans 8: 29.

¹⁰ Gal. 3: 7; cf. Leo the Great, *Sermo*, 53, 3 (PL, 54, 318): *...os spiritale semen Abraham*. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 268.

¹¹ The canon calls him High Priest. Regarding the hypothesis which Baumstark builds upon this appellation, cf. I, 51, note 6.

¹² The biblical text of Gen 14: 18 speaks directly only of a “producing” or “bringing forward” by Melchisedech (Vulgate also:

from bread and wine.¹³ May God (such is our prayer) look down upon our oblation with the same pleasure as He looked upon the oblation of these men; *respexit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera ejus*, as we read concerning the first of them:¹⁴ on Abel, and on his offering, the Lord looked with favor. That prayer of ours will be fulfilled if the oblation proceeds from an intention pure as theirs, and if the temper of our own hearts accords in some measure with the incomparable holiness of our sacrifice.¹⁵

This comparative view of the Christian sacrifice in conjunction with the sacrifices of the Old Law, and in particular with those specially mentioned, was not alien to Christian antiquity. In fact, this consideration of the Old Testament as the antecedent shadow of the New was as self-evident to primitive Christianity as was the concept of the continuity of the history of grace. Abraham's sacrifice was one of the favorite subjects of ancient Christian iconography, and at least since the fourth century it appears predominantly as a type of the sacrifice of the Cross, and therefore, mediately at least, as a type of the eucharistic sacrifice.¹⁶ But there is immediate reference to the Eucharist in the representation of the three types mentioned in the canon found in the two large mosaics in the choir of San Vitale in Ravenna. One of these shows Abel and Melchisedech, the former bringing a lamb, the latter bread and wine to the altar. The other pictures Abraham in two different scenes, in one case at the point of sacrificing his son, in the other as host to the three mysterious strangers.¹⁷

proferens). Still the reference to the priesthood gives reason and substance to the supposition that his deed involved a sacrificial action. Cf. the excursus on this question in P. Heinisch, *Das Buch Genesis* (Bonn, 1930), 222, and J. E. Coleran, "The Sacrifice of Melchisedech," *Theological Studies*, I (1940), 27-36. There is probably a similar relationship between the offering to God and the feeding of the assembled people as in the Jewish meal rites; cf. above I, 21, n. 63; II, p. 202, n. 1.

¹³ The identity of the gift offering, which, as is known, is not mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews in the comparison of Christ with Melchisedech, is brought to the fore over and over again in Christian antiquity; thus Cyprian, *Ep.*, 63, 3; Ambrose, *De myst.*, VIII, 45 f.; Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, XVI, 22. Cf. also G. Wuttke, "Melchisedech der Priesterkönig von Salem. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Exegese" (*Beihfte z. Zietschrift f. d. neutest. Wiss.*, 5; Giessen, 1927), 46 f.; J. Danielou, *La catéchèse eucharistique chez les*

Pères de l'Eglise (Lex orandi, 7; Paris, 1947), 33-72, especially 45 f.; idem, *Bible et Liturgie* (Lex orandi, 11, Paris, 1951), 196-201).

¹⁴ Gen. 4: 4; cf. Deut. 26: 15. The expression is of course very common in the orations: *Respice quæsumus Domine*, etc.

¹⁵ It is worthy of note that in the prophecy of Malachy regarding the cult of the future the announcement of a purified priesthood should find its place alongside the announcement of a new, clean oblation, through which the name of the Lord God should be great among all nations (1: 11); "and he will purify the sons of Levi and shall refine them as gold and as silver, and they shall offer sacrifice to the Lord in justice. And the sacrifice of Juda and Jerusalem shall once more please the Lord . . ." (3: 3 f.). Cf. Gihir, 693 f.

¹⁶ Cf. Th. Klauser, "Abraham": RAC, I, 18-27, especially 25.

¹⁷ Cf. Beissel, *Bilder*, 170 f., 178; cf. *ibid.*, 189, regarding the related representation in S. Apollinare in Classe.

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 dicetur: 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 τοῦ λαοῦ, 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 orientali 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 arcana; 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 (προσδέξεται) 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, II": 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'épiclese 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'épiclese," 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 Consekrationsskanon* (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

tionnaire 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 Gehr, 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.⁶⁰ More simple was the thought as transmitted in the text of the Irish and Milanese canons, where we read: *ex hoc altari sanctificationis*,⁶¹ 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*,⁶² is at present required at *Supplices te rogamus*. Here it is a practice of long standing.⁶³ To the profound bow is added a kiss of the altar. This

⁶⁰ Cf. possibly the Postcommunio of the feast of the Ascension: *ut quæ visibilibus mysteriis sumenda percipimus, invisibili consequamur effectus*.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² 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, 1, 4, XXXI (I, 651 D) and in Premonstratensian sources since the 14th century: Waefelghem, 79, n. 1.

⁶³ 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, 1, 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, 1, 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸ 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*.

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 299. This restraint is perhaps explained by the fact that there is no demonstrative pronoun here with the words.

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ This interpretation, among others, in Brinktrine, 205 f.

⁶⁸ 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, 1, 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 *oblato* 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.⁹ 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

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ *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 dicticios, altera post lectionem nominum, et hoc quotidianis vel in agendis tantummodo diebus*. That the first part is to be said *super dicticia* 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.

¹¹ A Florentine Sacramentary of the 11th century has this rubric before the *Memen-*

to: Hæc non dicit in dominicis diebus nec in aliis festivitibus 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*.

¹² 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, *Mitræle*, 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*.

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ 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 (κοινωνούντες) 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 (Ἰαρυναλοῦμεν 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 commemo-retur*. 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. Prüm, *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 “stamped 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 χωρίς σφραγιδος.

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.³¹ Following our Lord's example,³² the Church of old was wont to call the death of the just, from which they would arise after a short while, a sleep.³³ 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*.³⁴ Countless are the inscriptions which employ the word peace: *requiescit in pace*,³⁵ *in somno pacis*,³⁶ *præcessit in somno pacis*.³⁷ 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*.³⁸

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 Ingehalt 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.

³¹ E. Diehl, *Lateinische altchristliche Inschriften*, 2 ed. (Kleine Texte 26-28; Bonn, 1913). n. 14; 71; cf. 20.

³² Matt. 9: 24 and parallel.; John 11: 11.

³³ 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.

³⁴ That the *pax* is to be understood as peace with the Church in opposition to heresy and excommunication, as Gihl, 709-10, assumes, is excluded by its original meaning and has absolutely no foundation in the wording here.

³⁵ Diehl, n. 2, 37, 41, 43, etc.

³⁶ Diehl, n. 34, 42, 81, 116, 173.

³⁷ Diehl, n. 96 (from Spoleto about 400).

³⁸ 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 præcesserunt . . .*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 lacunæ 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,⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

Until late in the Middle Ages we not infrequently find the rubric here: *Hic recitentur nomina defunctorum.*⁴⁸ Less often we find the heading *Super diptychia* placed above the *Memento etiam.*⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ The deacon's role

French Missals of 1702 and 1709 that do not have the *N. N.* in the text.

⁴⁶ For the present time Gühr, 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.

⁴⁷ 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 Creguy*. Elsewhere the choir boy had the

same task; Martène, 1, 4, 8, 24 (I, 415). Cf. de Moléon, 195; 374.

⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁹ 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 Bibliotheca Apost. Vaticana* (Freiburg, 1897), 394, 401, 409, 412, 451. Cf. also above, p. 164 f.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 239, n. 9.

⁵¹ 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,⁶⁰ or could even substitute them for the latter,⁶¹ 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.⁶² Finally, instead of all these interpolations, there remained a personal recollection by the priest according to his own judgment,⁶³ just as at the *Memento* of the living,⁶⁴ but for this, in turn—as in the case of the other *Memento*, too—special formulas to be used were worked out.⁶⁵

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*.⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁰ 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.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² Ebner, 401-403; 421 f.; cf. above, p. 164, n. 24.

⁶³ Thus in the Mass arrangement of Bec in the late Middle Ages: Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 674 B).

⁶⁴ Thus expressly Hugo of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Sölch, 40); cf. above, p. 165.

⁶⁵ The 1539 *Directorium divinorum 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.

⁶⁶ It is entered in the margin of the Cod. Ottobon. of the Gregorianum in its original form (Lietzmann, n. 1, 28, Apparatus):

preceding *Supplices*,⁸⁷ or even in front of it.⁸⁸ 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 . . .*⁸⁹ 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*.⁹⁰ In this instance, the phrase is accompanied by a bow on the part of the priest. That is unusual. Many explanations have been offered.⁹¹ 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.⁹² But why, then, is this the only place that the bow is prescribed?⁹³ 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 divina 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*.

⁸⁷ An example with intercession in Ebner, 418 f.

⁸⁸ 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.

⁸⁹ *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.

⁹⁰ Since the age of the Humanists: *Per eumdem Chr. D. n.*; see Botte, 44.

⁹¹ L. Brou, "L'inclination de la tête au 'Per eumdem Christum' du Memento des Morts," *Miscellanea Mohlberg*, I, (1948), 1-31; eleven different explanations are cited p. 3-9.

⁹² 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.

⁹³ 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 Gehr, 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 κοινωνιαν μαχαρίτητος ζωής αλωνλου*, 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 epiclesis: 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 cælesti 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.

⁶ 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*.⁸ 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 ἁμαρτωλῶν 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. Marquet, “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 ἑμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντος οὐδενός.

¹² Brightman, 55: Μνήσθητι, κύριε, κατὰ τὸ πληθὸς τοῦ ἔλεους σου καὶ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν 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 Gehr, 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: *ὁς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κληρὸν 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; " 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; Rucker, 35; the Armenian has: Mary, John, Stephen, apostles

(Rucker, 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,⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ In some places, since the thirteenth century, there is mention even of a triple striking of the breast.⁴⁷

And the custom of saying the first words aloud goes back even further. We hear of it already in the ninth century,⁴⁸ 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. Leroquaïs, *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 sollemnitatis 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. CCIII. —The Irish Stowe missal sets St. Patrick at the head of the list, with Peter and Paul; Kennedy, 62.

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ 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?

⁴⁸ 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 (likewise 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 ecclési.*, 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, l. 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 caelestis medicina 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-Pridie 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., inasfar 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 nisu monstrare tota fide me ita tenere, elevo praesentia 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 oblatory 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, benedictis*,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 $\tau\acute{\alpha} \ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha \ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ 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 $\psi\psi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma \ \tau\eta\varsigma \ \pi\alpha\nu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\varsigma$, 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 *Capitulare 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 Leroquis, 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*.⁴⁷

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*.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ The resulting sign of the Cross signified that the Crucified is desirous of drawing mankind to Himself from all the four winds.⁵⁰ 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 symbolical 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 Leroquis, 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.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ *Supra*, n. 40. *Ordo sec. Rom.*, n. 10 (Andrieu, II, 222; PL, 78, 974): *tangit e latere calicem cum oblatis duas faciens cruces*.

⁴⁹ John of Avranches (d. 1079), *De off. eccl.* (PL, 147, 36 B): *Sacerdos 'Per ipsum' dicendo oblata quattuor partes calicis tangat*.

⁵⁰ 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 prædixit: Cum exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum*.

four crosses was certainly widespread until the Missal of Pius V.⁴⁰ In the thirteenth century a four-part sentence from Augustine on God's infinity was linked with the ceremony⁴⁰ and given some circulation; in its turn, this had an influence on the rite of the four crosses.⁴¹ 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.⁴² To complete the representation of the five wounds, two more crosses had to be added to the three already in use.⁴³ These two complementary crosses appear in the manuscripts since the end of the eleventh century.⁴⁴ It is

⁴⁰ 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 Constance) of 1577 (Legg, *Tracts*, 64).

⁴¹ 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.

⁴² 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. deCavaleriis, *Statera 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.

⁴³ Cf. *supra* I, 109, 32; et al.

⁴⁴ 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).

⁴⁵ 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, 1, 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; Wacfelghem, 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 coaquatur. 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 (*Éph. 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 divinorum 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 levent 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 sæcula sæculorum*.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 sæcula sæculorum* 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, 1, 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, *Mitræ*, III, 6 (PL, 213, 134 C); in Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, V, 13 (PL, 217, 895); in Hugo of St. 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, 1, 4, XXIX (I, 647 C), where a kissing of the altar was joined with the kissing of the shoulder.

⁶⁸ 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, 1, 4, XXIV (I, 629 C), where it is a matter of folding back the corporal.

⁶⁹ Bernardus, *Ordo Clun.*, I, 72 (Herrgott, 265); Bernard of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 17, 23 (PL, 151, 988 B, 994 D); likewise about 1140 in the *Ordo* of the Lateran basilica (Fischer, 85).

⁷⁰ 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.

⁷¹ Stephan of Bauge (d. 1136), *De sacr. altaris*, c. 17 (PL, 172, 1301), is the earliest witness. Further proofs in Sölch, 104.

⁷² Through John Burchard; see Legg, *Tracts*, 159 f. Cf. P. Salmon, "Les 'Amens' du canon de la messe," (*Eph. liturg.*, 1928), 501 f., 506.

⁷³ 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 sæcula sæculorum*, 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 sæcula sæculorum* 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," *Miscellanca 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 sæcula sæculorum* 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 ἔν (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,⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ 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*.⁸

⁴ *Supra*, I, 476 f.

⁵ *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.

⁶ *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 sollempnibus, expletis missis*. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes*, 55, cf. 65.

⁷ 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 εὐχή) 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.

⁸ 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 prae-terminare 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, *Vigiliae christianae*, 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.⁶ Even in the non-Roman rites of the West the fraction comes before the *Pater noster*.⁷ 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 statuistis*. 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

⁶ 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 lity and preparatory prayer, is the Our Father said (Brightman, 288-296).

⁷ *Missale mixtum* (PL, 85, 558); *Missale Ambrosianum* (1902), 179. For the Gallican Mass see the comparative study in H. Lietzmann, *Ordo missæ 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 *Præx* as well as *oratio oblationis* are designations for the canon; cf. *supra*, p. 102.

⁸ 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 Bénédictine*, 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 *præx 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 Bénédictine*, 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 ἐστὶν 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: *Εὐρήνη πάνιν*. 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 καθαρίσάτω 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 Vaterun-sers* (Paderborn, 1911); cf. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer*, 42-53.—Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 6; Cyprian, *De or. Dom.*, c. 18; Juven-cus, *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 *supersubstantialiam* . . . *qui animæ nostræ substantialiam 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.¹⁶ 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;¹⁷ 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 præsanctificationum* (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

¹⁶Dölger, *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 Tauflinge in der Gemeinschaft der Brüder": *ibid.*, 142-155; A. Greiff, *Das älteste Pascha-ritual der Kirche* (Paderborn, 1929), 126-130.

¹⁷*Supra*, n. 7 and 1.

¹⁸Ambrose, *De sacr.*, V, 4, 24-26 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 168-170).

²¹Cf. the chapter "Das Pater noster im Kommunionritus," in Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 137-164.

²²According to the oldest Latin revision of the *Missæ Præsanctificationum* 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.

²³Jungmann, *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 orientaliū*, 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 auderent 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 Catechuminate 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., "Præceptis 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 ἐπιπείρας καὶ μεθοδείας 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 temptationem, 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 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 βασιλεῖα): ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεῖα 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: δι' 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.⁶⁰ 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,⁶¹ except in the Armenian Mass, where clerics were to sing it with arms outstretched.⁶² However, in the Byzantine Mass, too, it became customary for the choir to say it,⁶³ 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.

⁶⁰ 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*.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² 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*.

⁶³ 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: *cæpit sanctam orationem cum reliquis decantare*. Cf. Gregory of Tours *Vita 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 præsantificationum* 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 Pœnitentiale 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 cælo 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 Beleth, *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 cælo 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 sæcula sæculorum* 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, 1, 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, 1, 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 eleuet 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, 1, 4, XX (I, 608 E), the subdeacon raised the paten at the words *sicut in cælo 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.⁸⁶ A Mass *ordo* of Bec even demanded the *prostratio* of the celebrant at the embolism.⁸⁷

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.

⁸⁶ *Capitulare 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; *Mitræ*, 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).

⁸⁷ 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, 1, 4, XXXVI (I, 674 E; cf. 672 C, 673 B, 675 B).

⁸⁸ 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).

⁸⁹ 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.

⁹⁰ 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 Σὺ 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 Schlusssegen 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 ras benedictum benedictionis mysterium ingreditur*.

¹⁰ Already in Cæsarius 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 Puniat, *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 reappeared

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. Lüdtkke, "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, *Mitrale*, 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 often ²⁰

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 Cæsarius of Arles, *Sermo.*, 76, 2 (Morin, 303; PL, 39, 2284): *Quotiens clamatum fuerit, ut vos benedictioni humiliare debeatis, 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 Lüttke, *JL*, 5 (1925), 99 f., serve as an example: *Omnipotens Deus, cuius Unigeniti adventum et præteritum creditis et futurum expectatis, eiusdem adventus vos illustratione sanctificet et sua benedictione locupletet*.

Amen.—In præsentis vitæ 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 interriti. Amen.—Quod ipse præstare dignetur, cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in sæcula sæculorum. 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: *Inclinate 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 ἄγια τοῖς ἀγίοις!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: καθάπερ τι, κήρυξ τὴν χεῖρα ἄιρων. 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 disident 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 eternam. 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 Mausebach [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 Proskom-

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

made, the bread is cut; the knife used in this instance is called λόγχη, Slavic, 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.).

³⁶ 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 τιμιού 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.⁴⁶ 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,⁴⁷ is nowhere mentioned in the liturgies that have survived.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

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 bespeaks 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; Haussens, II, 235.

⁴⁶ 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."

⁴⁷ Above I, 11. Cf. also I Cor. 10: 17; Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Eph.*, 20, 2.

⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁹ 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 κλάμεν 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) κλάμενον, 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; Haussens, 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 Batifol, *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. Batifol, 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.); *Capitulare 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* = *πατάνη*). 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

patens' or (at least optionally) chalices^a 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).

^a *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).

⁹ *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 recipient 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).

¹⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 36.

¹¹ *Ordo Rom.*, VI, n. 11 f. (PL, 78, 993 f.).

¹² 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 oblate* 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 *cappa*; 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 archæology.

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,³³ 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 (Jávor, 118).

³³ The transition is evident in Robert Paululus (d. circa 1148), *De Cæemoniis*, 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 station 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 chrisimalis* 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 Bénédictine*, 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, *scorsum 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, I, 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 æqualitate 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'Archery, *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*.

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ Franz, 389 f.; 417; 435 f.; 463, n. 6. Durandus, IV, 51, 20-22.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ Franz, 435 f.; 464, n. 1; 669; 692 f.; 697; cf. 654.

¹ *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 Bénédictine*, 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."

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 conficendorum ius habent 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. 399), 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 mitat episcopus in calicem partem oblatae, ut presbyteri solent, sed expectet donec finita benedictione episcopus communicare debeat et tunc accipiens partem, quam antea frangat, 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 *Capitularc* 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.²⁵ 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: Ἡνωται καὶ ἡγιάσται καὶ τετελείωται εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς . . .²⁸ The act of commingling is here

²⁵ 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. Gehr, 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 Dominici sanguinis consecrationem*, where the word possibly means only the mingling of consecrated with unconsecrated wine. Haberstroth, 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. Leroquis (*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.); Leroquis, 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 saneto 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,³⁵ was associated with the latter by the Carolingian commentators on the liturgy,³⁶ and in this relationship remained as an element in the explanation of the Mass all through the Middle Ages³⁷ and even down to the present.³⁸ On the other hand, the fraction was not until somewhat more recent times linked to the Passion of Christ, as signifying Christ's death,³⁹ 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 *Τὰ ἅγια 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, 1, 4, 9, 2 (I, 419).

³⁵ *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.

³⁶ 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.

³⁷ Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 20 (PL, 151, 990); Durandus, IV, 51, 17, Cf. *supra*, the interpretation of the three portions of the broken host.

³⁸ Gihir, 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.

³⁹ 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 Missæ" (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, 1, 4, 9, 9 (I, 423); Statutes of the Carthusians: *ibid.*, 1, 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 prædictos, 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-ordeo* 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, 1, 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, 1, 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-ordeo* of Bec: Martène, 1, 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.⁶⁰

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

⁶⁰ Abbot Capelle arrives at the same conclusions, "Le rite de la fraction" (*Revue Bénédictine*, 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-

invitation 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: 'Η 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, *Mitræle*, 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.), *Vita patrum*, 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.*, I, 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 Walafried 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, *Compotus 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 usus 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 Messerklärung 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 *Capitulare 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 osculatur 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 missæ*, 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 Beleth, *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. Donœur, *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 *Cærimoniale 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 of 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 usuum*, c. 53 (PL, 166, 1426 C); Waefelghem, 87.—The German Augustinian, John Bechofen 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 (Hartzeim, 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 "Keliggpuchel" (Chalice Book) of Bishop Berthold of Chiemsee that appeared 1535: Franz, 727.

⁴⁵ *Missale Rom., Ritus serv.*, X, 3; *Cærimoniale 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 *intercessentibus missæ*, 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.”

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*.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

A prayer for peace before the *pax*⁴⁹ 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 *pacifcale* 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 Missale 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 *confractorium*,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): *Annuat archidiaconus schola ut dicatur Agnus Dei. Et interim, dum confranguntur, iterum respondent acolythi qui sciffos et annulas 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 inter 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.; Leroquis, 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. Künstele, *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. Nägle, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus* (Freiburg, 1900), 153 f.—Passio Andreæ (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 ἑστῆκεν ὡς ἐσπαγμένον*; 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: 'Ὁ ἀμνός τοῦ θεοῦ δ' ἔβρωσεν 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 quaedam 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 busy 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 Sééz, 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): *Intercea . . . 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 *litania*,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 *Par* 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 presta ut cum fiducia audcamus 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 Beleth, *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 Beleth, *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 clericus 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, 1, 4, XXXVI (I, 674 C).

⁴⁸ Cf. Martène, 1, 4, 9, 4 (I, 419 f.); *ibid.*, 1, 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 (Buennier, 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; Buennier, 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, misratio, Christe—miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei . . . mundi. Singula discutiens 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 stationary 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 ἀκοιῶντες: 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, 1. 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 Postcommunion. 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 missae* (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 Postcommunion *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); Walafried 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":* 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 stational 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

* 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 regionary 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 obsequiis praecipis 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 replei. 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 I, 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, I, 4, X (I, 551 D). A formula *Fiat mihi obsecro Domine* (corresponding to our *Perceptio* in content), among others in the Missa Illyrica; Martène, I, 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 Montecasino; Wilmart (previous note), 326. Likewise with another extension (*. . . esto peccatis meis per assumptionem corporis . . .*) in the Missal of Remiremont (12th cent.): Martène, I, 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).—Oftentimes 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, I, 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, I, 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. Kniewald: *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 permancetque 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, I, 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 Missal 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*; Ferrerres, 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. Sicard 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 Xavier* (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;²⁹ this is true less often of the second formula, *Perceptio*.³⁰

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.³¹ Since the last years of the eleventh century the two formulas appear at one or another time in Italy in the present-day arrangement,³² and even outside Italy the same arrangement had made its way before Pius V.³³

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.³⁴ 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.³⁵

²⁹ Ebner, 5; 20; 101; 102; 305; 311; 334; 339; 349; cf. 157 f. Similarly in old Italian Mass-orders; see, e.g., Martène, 1, 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, 1, 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 (1, 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 Pförtia (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, I 4, VI (I, 534). Similarly complete, but with an inversion and the

addition of other accompanying words, in the Missal of Remiremont; *ibid.*, I, 4, 9, 9 (I, 424).

¹² Shortened at the end: . . . *tutamentum anime 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, I, 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: Hoeynck, 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 caelestem 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, I, 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 *Crux 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, I, 4, IV (I, 515).—For

calicem salutaris we find substituted, in accordance with John 6: 32 f., the word *panem caelestem*, 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 Antiphony of Bangor; ed. Warren (HBS, 10), 30: *Corpus Domini accipimus 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 cælestem* 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 cælestem* 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; Ferreres, 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*,⁸¹ or a daring adaptation of St. Paul's words (1 Cor. 13:12): *Cognoscam te, cognitor meus, sicut a te cognitus sum* . . .⁸² or the trinitarian blessing (Matthew 28:19): *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.⁸³

However, the oldest of such phrases, combining both humility and confidence, is the *Domine non sum dignus* of the centurion of Capharnaum (Matthew 8:8). It had already been used since the tenth century as a reinforcement of longer prayers preceding the reception.⁸⁴ 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),⁸⁵ or the words from Matthew 8:2 already cited: *sed si vis, potes me mundare*,⁸⁶ or an allusion to the words of the promise (John 6:55 ff.): *sed tu Domine qui dixisti: Qui manducat carnem meam*.⁸⁷ 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,⁸⁸

⁸¹ Seckauer Missal of the 14th century: Köck, 129.

⁸² Sacramentary of Vich (11-12th cent.): Ferreres, 186.

⁸³ *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, I, 4, XXXV (I, 670 C).

⁸⁴ Sacramentary of S. Thierry (end of 10th cent.): Martène, I, 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, I, 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.*, I, 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).

⁸⁵ 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).

⁸⁶ Vorau Missale of the 15th century: Köck, 134.

⁸⁷ French Mass-books since the 12th century: Leroquais, I, 261, 328; II, 17, 60.

⁸⁸ 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; “it is most frequent in German Mass plans.” Even in Italy its ascendancy was only gradual.⁴¹ And striking the breast while saying the words seems to have come into vogue quite late.⁴²

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,⁴³ and the Byzantine liturgy contains amongst its semi-liturgical Communion prayers also some with the same beginning.⁴⁴ 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 besemeth 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: Ὁρολόγιον 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 Armenian 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 perducat in vitam æternam. Amen.*⁶³ Some Mass books even after the year 1000 still contain no sumption formula.⁶⁴ English Mass arrangements avoided them even in the later Middle Ages,⁶⁵ and the Carthusians even at the present have none.⁶⁶

But in general they crop up everywhere, usually for Host and chalice separately,⁶⁷ and sometimes accompanied by a third formula which originally was an independent chalice formula.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰

The formulas present almost the same picture which we will encounter in the formulas for the distribution. Within the basic framework there is

⁶³ 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.

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁸ In a central Italian Sacramentary of the 11th century in Ebner, 299 (with the rubric: *Ad calicem cum ceperit se confirmare*): *Communicatio et confirmatio s. sanguinis tui, Domine J. C., prosit mihi in remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum et perducat 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.

⁶⁹ 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.

⁷⁰ 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 *conserve*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 conserve 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. conserve 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. Bruningk, 88. Also in many Premonstratensian Missals of the 12th and 13th centuries; Sölch, *Hugo*, 144, n. 261.

⁶⁸ Præmonstratensian Missal of the 15th century from Stift Schägl: 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 gastes?* 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, *Icthyus*, 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 Lansiaca* (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 quotidiene": DACL, III, 2457-2462. P. Browe, *Die Häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter* (Münster, 1938); the same, *Die Pflichtkommunion im Mittelalter* (Münster, 1940); the same, *De frequentia 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 consuerunt*.

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 Walafried 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 11 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 Cæsarius 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 accedant 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 afore-said 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, cælestis 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 *præguatio*, 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 cœlestem 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 sumpsi 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 Bénéd.*, 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 Altertum 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, 1, 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, *Institutions*, 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 Altertum 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?* Ritualet 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 litúrgic en Català," *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia*, 12 (1936), 451-462. Further examples in Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion" (*ZkTh*, 1936), 213 ff.

²⁹ Browe, "Mittelalterliche Kommunion-riten" (*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 communionis catholicus* (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 Ordal 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 ordinalis*, 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 Mittelalter*, 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 canonorum*, (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 hostiae, 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 græcus 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 confirmant*.

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 dæmoniis corpora conferunt . . . O manus prædicandæ!*—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 *ἡθὺν ἔχων παλαμαῖς* (Quasten, *Mon.*, 26).—The last clear testimonies are from the 8th century: *Capitulare 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 catch.* VI (Ruecker, 36 f); Trullan 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. Stefanescu, *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.); Cæsarius of Arles, *Serm.*, 227, 5 (Morin, 854; PL, 39, 2168): *Omnes viri quando communicare desiderant, lavant manus suas, et omnes mulieres nitida exhibent lintamina, ubi corpus Christi accipiant.*—Cf. Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, 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 Cæsarius, *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): *acceptique 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; Udalricus, *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 accipiat corpus Christi*.—The later regulation in the Missa Illyrica: Martène, I, 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.⁶⁵ Perhaps the Council of Laodicea had something like this in view when it forbade the deacon to "bless the chalice," *ποτήριον εὐλογεῖν*.⁶⁶ At any rate, this custom is to be found in the Roman *ordines* since the seventh century: "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*."⁶⁷ In the same manner the Communion chalice was provided for in monastic *Consuetudines* up to the twelfth century:⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹

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*)⁷⁰ or reed, also called *calamus* or *fistula*.⁷¹ For the

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ 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).

⁶⁷ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 20 (Andrieu, II, 103, 1. 7; PL, 8, 947 A). Even plainer is the description of the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Andrieu, III, 107): *per omnia vasa quod acolythi tenere videntur, de calice sacro ponit [archidiaconus] ad confirmandum populum*.

⁶⁸ 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 sanctificatum 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.

⁶⁹ Mabillon, *In ord. Rom. commentarius*, 8, 14 (PL, 78, 882).

⁷⁰ Also at Mass.

⁷¹ *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).

⁷² 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.); Hoffmann, *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.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ 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 pœnitens* was permitted to communicate in this

ductio, 103-107; L. Corciani, *Eph. liturg.*, 58 (1944), 197 f.

⁷⁶ Funk, 306-308; Corblet, I, 613-619.

⁷⁷ 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 f.

⁸³ Cf. *supra*, p. 384; Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Laienkommunion*, 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 sacræ communis*.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, I, 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 $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$,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: $\text{Αἷμα Χριστοῦ ποτήριον ζωῆς}$.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: $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ (resp. Αἷμα τίμιον) 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 $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu \text{ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον}$.

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, I, 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, I, 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, I, 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)* *D. n. J. C.* we sometimes find *Perceptio corporis . . .*; ¹²⁶ for *custodiat*, as we saw before, we often find *sanctificet* or *conserve* or (with a dative construction) *prosit* or *proficiat*¹²⁸ 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 Vorau, 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 Sééz (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 (ὁ πιστοὶ ἀλλοῦσι) 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 cælesti 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): παυσαμένον 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 (“ἦ” pronounced like “i” δ 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 Hespert, 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 sæcula sæculorum. 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 alleluiatic Psalm 148,¹⁴ and in the Coptic which employs the alleluiatic 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*. Buenger, 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: *Ymnus 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 dedica* (*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 sanctæ 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 catholica 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 ἐνύκλιος τῆς δόξης περιφορά 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 salutarem*;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. Heiming, *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 paenitentiae 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 Communion 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 Lerouquais, 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 *Ordinarium* II (1489), ed. by Stapper (Opuscula et Textus, ser. liturg., 7-8), 69.—It goes back to a Byzantine hymn of Maundy Thursday (Δεῦτε 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 πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλαθετε; 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 Masses⁶³ 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.⁶⁴

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 shown⁶⁵ 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 118.⁶⁶ 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,⁶⁷ which could have but little relevance to Communion. However, for festive seasons and on feast days some reference to the thought of

nacular 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.*).

⁶³ This was emphatically stipulated, just as in the case of the Introit, by the *Capitulare eccl. ord.* (Silva-Tarouca, 207).

⁶⁴ 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).

⁶⁵ *Supra*, p. 294.

⁶⁶ 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. LXXIV f.

⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁷ 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 33.⁶⁸

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.

⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁸ 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 sumpsi, 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 suppliant 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, I, 4, 9, 9 (I, 424 D).

¹⁶ In the Missal of Troyes (about 1050): Martène, I, 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.; Leroquis, 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, I, 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, I, 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, I, 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 facienti, 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, I, 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): *Conservent; 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: *Conservent*.—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.); Ferrerres, 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, 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 Chiemsee 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, *Sancta 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, I, 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 convivia 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 Mâcon (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 præsantificatorum*, 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 *Consuet. 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. Gülden, "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 *ζύμω* is used, mixed with a little wine, and a bit of bread from the prosphora. The Slavic term for this is "zapivka," 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 Kyrillos 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, 1, 9): *cum post communionem corporis Christi et sanguinis manu propria eis misceret*.

³⁷ Thegan, *Vita Chludowici*, c. 61 (MGH, Scriptores, II, 648, 1, 1): *lussit . . . communionem sacram sibi tradi et post hæc cuiusdam potiunculæ calidulæ 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 *Capitularæ 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 Kommunion-riten, 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 ablendum 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 Hense, the transition went in part unnoticed. The new practice was merely an enfeebled continuation of the other.⁴⁷ But in some

⁴¹ John Beleth, *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 Beleth 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 usum* (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. Lerouquais, *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, *Gesetzsammlung 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 Pflichtkommunion*, 140-142. My confrere and teacher, O. Seywald, S.J., born in 1845 at Weitensfeld 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. Srienc).

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); *Ceremoniale 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ It was considered praiseworthy to wash the vessel not only once, but three times, as was customary amongst the Premonstratensians,⁶⁸ and as is particularly recorded about Blessed Herman Joseph (d. 1241).⁶⁹

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 and 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.

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ So, too, in the 9th century the *Admonitio synodalis* (PL, 96, 1376 B).

⁶⁷ 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, *vino 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*.

⁶⁸ See the *Liber ordinarius* of the 12th century: Lefèvre, 13 f.; cf. Waefelghem, 95 f.

⁶⁹ *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 abluit 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; Wäefelghem, 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 patenæ* (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 sollempnia manus ablueretur*. 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 usuum 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 iterum 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,⁶⁶ or in some other manner,⁶⁷ 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

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ *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 *ablution 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.⁷⁶ In the pontifical *ritus* of today it has been added to the ancient manner of washing the hands.⁷⁷

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 laui 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, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 671 A); Maskell, 194. This custom also in the *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusians: Martène, 1, 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.

⁷⁶ 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*.

⁷⁷ *Cæremoniale ep.*, II, 8, 76.

⁷⁸ Gabriel Biel, *Canonis expositio*, lect., 83.

⁷⁹ 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 *Lava-bo* 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, 1, 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.

⁸⁰ 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, 1, 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.

⁷⁹ 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 sempiternus 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.); *Aqua*

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 Ecclesiae persolvas.*

gratiarum actio, the thanksgiving after Communion.² Chrysostom thrusts sharply at those who cannot wait for the εὐχαριστήριοι ὥδαι, 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,

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).

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

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 Postcommunion 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,¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹

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 day²⁰ or some special needs.²¹ 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 cœlesti, 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.

¹⁷ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 21 (Andrieu II, 107; PL, 78, 948 A).

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ Cf. *supra*, I, 369.

²⁰ 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).

²¹ 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*.²² 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*,²³ *ut inter eius membra numeremur, cuius corpori communicamus et sanguini*.²⁴ As part of this, deliverance from both internal and external obstacles enters in: *et a nostris mundemur occultis at ab hostium liberemur insidiis*.²⁵ Our bodily welfare is also mentioned time and again in the constant recurrence²⁶ of the antithesis of body and soul, present and future, internal and external: *et spiritualibus nos repleant alimentis et corporalibus tueantur auxiliis*.²⁷ But the essential effect is inward. The Sacrament must heal and strengthen us: *salvet et in tuæ veritatis luce confirmet*,²⁸ it must produce in us, *ut non noster sensus in nobis, sed iugiter eius præveniat effectus*.²⁹ But above all, this Sacrament of fellowship is to increase love in our hearts: *ut quos uno cælesti pane satiasti, tua*

²² *Rituale Rom.* IV, 1, 4; cf. *Cod. Iur. Can.*, can., 810.

²³ Sources from the oldest sacramentaries in Mohlberg-Manz, n. 975; *Missale Rom.*, July 2.

²⁴ *Gregorianum* (Lietzmann, n. 58, 3); *ibid.*, further references. *Missale Rom.*, Saturday of the third week of Lent.

²⁵ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 295; *Missale Rom.*, Wednesday of the first week of Lent.

²⁶ Cf. *supra* I, 378 f.

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ Mohlberg-Manz, n. 1080; *Missale Rom.*, Aug. 13.

²⁹ 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 *Conservent* 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 ὑποστάβωνος. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 521 f.

⁵ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 15, 6-11 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 232 f.).—Euchologion of Serapion (*ibid.*, 67); here the χειροθεσ(η) 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": ἐκλιναν.

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. Eizenhöfer, *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 Eizenhofer, *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, *Quaestiones 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 sumendam*.

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 Eizenhöfer, *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, *Mitræle*, 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 removentes*) 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: 'Εν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν.⁵ Among the West Syrians the religious tone is even stronger: 'Εν 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: 'Εν δόματι 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 *fnis 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): 'Απολύεσθε 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 μύσσα 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 *Illicet* = *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 Virgin, *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 ἄρεσις*, 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 Gihl 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 benedicientes 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. carnob.*, 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.⁸⁸

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.⁸⁹

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.⁵ In this covenant I put my confidence."⁶

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.

⁸⁸ 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.

⁸⁹ 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: *Meritis 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 Misal 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 Misal 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 Misal of 1368 (Hoeynck, 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: *Meritis 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 stationary 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 (*milites 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 Sééz: PL, 78, 251 A; cf. the related Mass arrangements: Martène, IV, XV (I 517 B, 594 C); 1, 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, 1, 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 *Aetheria 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 extens 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 χειρᾶ, 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 Schlussgegen 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, *fnita 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,¹² 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 *Placet*; 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 (Hoeyneck, 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, *Mitrale*, 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 *Ceremoniale episc.*, I, 25; I, 29, 11. In the solemn pontifical Mass, when no sermon was preached after the Gospel, the *publicatio indulgentiarum* (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, XXVIII (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, *Institutiones 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." 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 Mass⁴¹ or a particle of the true cross, and to use these to impart the blessing at the end of Mass.⁴² Durandus advises the priest to make this sign of the cross with a crucifix or with the paten or with the corporal.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ This gesture is explained by the medieval allegorism, which saw in this blessing the last blessing of our Lord before He ascended into heaven⁴⁶ when He blessed His disciples, *elevatis manibus* (Luke 24:50).⁴⁷

³⁹ John Bechofen (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.⁶⁰ On the other hand, in Germany, where the *Placeat* was introduced only later, the blessing was as a rule given before.⁶¹ This latter sequence was for a time the prevailing one also in Rome.⁶² It is found even in various editions of the Roman Missal, e. g., in those of 1474, 1530 and 1540.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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*.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ In

⁶⁰ Durandus, IV, 59, 8; Martène, I, 4, XXVIII; XXXI (I, 645 E, 652 E); Legg, *Tracts*, 67; cf. 228.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² Ordo of Stefaneschi, n. 53 (PL, 78, 1169 D).

⁶³ 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).

⁶⁴ 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."

⁶⁵ Missale of Rouen and *Alphabetum sacerdotum*, above, n. 38.

⁶⁶ Lippe, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ Above, n. 36.

⁶⁸ Lippe, 115; also see Ferreres, 212.

⁶⁹ Lippe, 115.

⁷⁰ 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.¹

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.²

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.³ In the year 1022 the synod of Seligstadt 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. Michaelis*. 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*.⁴

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,⁵ or after baptism over the newly baptized child.⁶ 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 Almannica*, I, 405 f.
¹ An immediate derivation is not possible because of the time interval—the *Requiescant in pace* appears 300 years earlier.

² Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, X, 29 (CSEL, 40, 1, p. 499).

³ Cf. A. Jacoby, "Johannisevangelium":

Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, edited by Baechtold-Stäubli, IV (1931-32), 731-733.

⁴ Can. 10 (Mansi, XIX, 397 f.).

⁵ 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.

⁶ *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, I, 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, I, 4, XXXV ([I, 761 C]) it is said *redeundo* by the priest, just as today in the Rite of Lyons (Buenger, 258) and also in the Roman rite at the Pontifical Mass (*Cærimoniale episc.*, II, 8, 80). In Germany about 1494, as Balthasar of Pförta 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 verses.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 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. *Evangile*.

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, I, 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, I, 4, XXXVII (I, 678); still these four orations, as the Mass Ordo of Bec (Martène, I, 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 *eulogiæ*, 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 ἀντίδωρα.⁷ These are the pieces left from the host-breads from which are taken the particles used for consecration. The name *antidoron*, ἀντίδωρον, 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 ἀντίδωρον 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 *eulogiæ* 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 *eulogiæ*. 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 *eulogiæ* 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 ἀντιδωρα 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 sollempnia, 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 Francriche gewihet 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, *Mitræle*, 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.²⁸ 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.²⁹

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.

²⁸ 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, 1, 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.

²⁹ 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 præsentibus 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 *eundem* 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 *flectis 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, I, 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 antiphony (Hesbert, n. 5, 7, bis, 33), that is, in the basic text of the antiphony 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, I, 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 vestibibus*; thus e.g., Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 23 (PL, 151, 995).

⁷ Mass arrangement of Séez (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, I, 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.—Missa 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 Missa 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 Missa 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: *Infirmittatem nostram, Deus qui conspicias, 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, *Murale*, 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 sacerdote 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 sollempnitate 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.

INDEX

A. Sources

I. Christian Sources

- Canones Apostolorum* (Funk) II—10⁶².
Canones Basilii (Riedel) I—238³³, 258³³, 262⁶, 460²⁸, 476⁷; II—37⁴¹, 44¹⁶, 62¹⁰⁸, 76¹, 115¹, 118¹⁶, 276⁴, 388¹⁰⁸.
Canones Hippolyti (Riedel) I—15³⁷, 197¹¹.
Constitutiones Apostolorum (Funk, Quasten) I—32¹⁹, 35f., 51⁶, 57²⁹, 119⁶¹, 195¹, 203⁶⁶, 243⁶¹, 246¹⁴, 262⁶, 296²⁷, 334¹⁰, 347⁶, 350¹², 352²², 364¹⁷, 368⁴³, 374⁶, 393, 394³, 411⁶², 423¹⁰, 443⁶, 448⁴⁰, 457⁷, 476^{6,9,11}, 481⁷, 483²⁰; II—5¹¹, 15⁷⁶, 54⁶², 76³, 93¹⁶, 109⁴⁷, 113²¹, 114²⁷, 125⁶⁹, 128^{3,4}, 133²⁶, 136⁴¹, 154¹⁶, 171⁷, 173¹⁹, 192, 200³⁴, 219⁶, 221^{16,17}, 222²², 226^{41,42}, 227⁴, 230¹⁹, 231³¹, 235⁴⁷, 238⁷, 250¹¹, 276⁶, 279¹³, 283²⁹, 297^{23,27}, 321¹, 344⁴, 386²², 388^{102,107}, 392⁴, 393¹⁷, 407², 420⁶, 428⁶, 433².
Didache I—11f., 13²⁸, 16, 17⁴⁶, 18, 19^{66,60}, 22, 25^{16,17}, 30⁸, 170, 191⁶¹, 213, 216²⁶, 352²⁴; II—154, 264, 297²⁴.
Didascalia (Funk, Quasten) I—32, 195¹, 218⁴⁰, 241³¹, 245³; II—19f.
Doctrina Apostolorum I—245³.
Peregrinatio Aetheriae I—41, 170, 174³⁸, 262², 263⁸, 318³, 398, 408, 429⁶², 443⁷, 445¹⁹, 457⁷, 477¹⁶, 481⁹; II—133²⁶, 433¹³, 440⁶.
Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canones (Brightman) I—475⁶; II—388^{107,108}, 407.
Testamentum Domini (Rahmani, Quasten) I—235, 368⁴³, 433³¹, 468³⁸; II—4¹⁰, 5¹¹, 114²⁷, 147⁴⁴, 276⁶, 363²³, 380³⁸, 386⁹², 388¹⁰⁵, 453¹⁴.
—Arabian *Testamentum Domini* (Baumstark) II—241²⁰, 250¹⁴, 380³⁹, 388¹⁰⁶.
—Syrian *Testamentum Domini* (Quasten) II—388¹⁰⁶.
Traditio Apostolica of Hippolytus of Rome (Dix, Hauler) I—13²⁹, 14³⁶, 15f., 19⁶⁰,

26ff., 195, 245³, 247²⁰, 393¹⁴, 422⁶, 441¹²⁴, 456, 457⁷, 473⁷⁴, 475^{4,5}, 480, 482¹⁶; II—5, 76¹, 111⁶, 119²⁴, 125⁵⁷, 132, 145³⁷, 147, 187, 192, 195, 220, 224, 226, 235, 261f., 265, 301⁴⁶, 322⁴, 360², 366³⁴, 380⁴⁴, 382⁵⁸, 386⁹⁴, 388¹⁰⁸.

II. Non-Roman Liturgies

1. Egyptian Liturgies

- Serapion's *Euchologion* (Quasten) I—31¹⁶, 33ff., 171²³, 408²⁸, 476⁸, 477¹⁶, 480³; II—4¹⁰, 102², 109⁴⁷, 116⁹, 132, 135³⁹, 191²⁴, 193³¹, 195, 218², 219⁶, 238¹, 241²¹, 276⁶, 301⁴⁶, 420⁶, 428⁶, 453¹⁴.
Egyptian Church Order II—276⁶, 433³.
Papyrus of Dér-Balyzeh I—41; II—193³¹, 222^{23,27}.
Coptic Liturgy (Brightman, Renaudot) I—41, 325²⁴, 366³⁶, 367f., 405, 407¹⁸, 423¹³, 424, 430⁶⁰, 445, 447³⁴, 449⁶³, 457¹³; II—4¹⁰, 37⁴¹, 114²⁶, 145³⁷, 202, 204, 222, 250ff., 251²⁰, 274⁷⁹, 276⁶, 279¹⁰, 284⁴⁰, 286⁴⁹, 297^{22,26}, 328, 380³⁹, 389, 393, 411, 419, 453¹².
—Coptic Anaphora of St. Gregory Nazianzen I—42; II—334¹⁵.
Ethiopian Liturgy (Brightman) I—42, 352²¹, 366³⁶, 384⁴², 405¹⁰, 406¹⁸, 423¹¹, 443⁷, 445²⁰, 486³²; II—35, 77⁶, 118, 145³⁷, 160⁸, 200³⁴, 203⁷, 204, 222²⁷, 235⁴⁷, 261¹⁴, 276⁶, 286⁴⁹, 299^{34,36}, 356, 380³⁹, 382, 388¹⁰⁸, 393¹⁶, 420.
Greek Liturgy of St. Mark (Brightman) I—42, 362⁹, 395¹⁶, 406¹⁴, 423¹²; II—54⁶², 82², 125⁶⁹, 135, 148³, 149¹⁰, 151¹⁶, 159², 193³¹, 195, 198²², 222²⁴, 223f., 234⁴², 248², 250f., 282^{26f.}, 294⁶, 299³⁴.
—Papyrus fragments I—42²⁷; II—241²³, 251f.
See also Index B: Alexandria; Egyptian Liturgy.

A change will be made to the Ordinary
Form of the Holy Mass
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