

HANDBOOK TO THE CHRISTIAN LITURGY

BY

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CONTENTS

PART I

INTRODUCTION	1
REGIONAL RITES	26
Syria (<i>a</i>) Jerusalem	31
(<i>b</i>) Antioch	32
Egypt	40
The Byzantine Church	43
Armenia	48
THE WESTERN CHURCHES	49
Innocent I	57
Liber Pontificalis	63
THE ROMAN MISSAL: FIRST STAGE—COLLECTIONS OF OCCASIONAL MASSES	67
THE GALLICAN FAMILY	74
Spain	74
Gaul	76
THE EARLY GALLICAN RITE	81
THE ROMANO-GALLICAN RITE—FIRST STAGE	83
THE ROMANO-GALLICAN RITE—SECOND STAGE (GELASIAN)	86
THE ROMANO-GALLICAN RITE—THIRD STAGE	91
CONCLUSION	96
THE AMBROSIAN LITURGY	101
WESTERN CHURCHES SEPARATED FROM THE ROMAN CHURCH	102
CHARACTERISTICS OF REGIONAL RITES	104

PART II. COMMENTARY

Introductory Rites	107
The Making of the Bread	107
The Ordering of the Church	111

The Preparation of the Ministers	113
The Vesting of the Ministers	116
The Lavatory	119
The <i>Prothesis</i>	120
The <i>Enarxis</i>	129
MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS	138
The Entrance of the Ministers	140
The Introit	141
The Little Entrance	144
The Censing	147
The Hymn <i>Trisagion</i>	151
The <i>Kyrie Eleison</i> (of the Roman Liturgy)	155
The Prophecy (<i>Benedictus Domine Deus</i>)	159
The <i>Gloria in Excelsis</i>	160
The Collect	163
The Lections	166
The Old Testament Lection	167
The <i>Benedicite</i>	169
The Epistle	171
The Respond (Gradual)	172
The Alleluia	175
The Tract	176
The Sequence	178
The Gospel	180
The Sermon	183
Dismissal of the Catechumens	185
THE MASS OF THE FAITHFUL	189
The Prayers of the Faithful	191
The Litany	191
<i>Ephonesis</i>	193

CONTENTS

v

The Prayers of the Faithful	194
The Inclination	199
The Creed	200
The Kiss of Peace	205
The Great Entrance	210
The <i>Cheroubicon</i>	213
The Offertory	216
The <i>Lavabo</i>	222
The Prayer of the Veil	223
The Diptychs of the Departed	225
The <i>Collectio Post Nomina</i>	229
THE ANAPHORA	230
The Great Thanksgiving (Eucharist)	234
The Western Preface	240
The Sanctus	242
The Thanksgiving (Resumed)	244
The <i>Anamnesis</i>	252
The Oblation	256
The Invocation or <i>Epiclesis</i>	259
The Blessing of Oils, etc.	265
The Great Intercession	265
The Blessing	273
Introduction to the Lord's Prayer	274
The Inclination	278
The Elevation	279
The Fraction	282
The Commixture	286
The Consignation	287
The Agnus Dei	288
The <i>Zeon</i>	290
The Communion	291

The Thanksgiving	297
The Inclination	299
The Dismissal	301
APPENDIX A. Clement of Rome	304
B. The Mozarabic Variables for the Epiphany	306
C. Important Passages for the History of the <i>Epiclesis</i>	311
D. The Heavenly Altar	318
E. The Peace	321
INDEX	323

ABBREVIATIONS

THE meaning of most of the abbreviations used in this book will be apparent. The following require some explanation.

LITURGIES

Angl	The English Rite since the Reformation (including 1927-8).
B-Coutt	Burdett-Coutts MS. iii. 42.
Berl	MSS. at Berlin.
Berg	The Bergamo Sacramentary.
Biasc	The Sacramentary of Biasca.
Bobb	The Bobbio Missal.
Bodl	MSS. in the Bodleian Library.
B.M.	MSS. in the British Museum.
C-H	Canons of Hippolytus.
Copt	Coptic Liturgy of St. Cyril. The other Coptic liturgies are indicated by Copt-Bas, Copt-Greg.
Deir-B	Fragments discovered at Deir-Balyzeh.
Eng	English Rites before the Reformation.
Eth	Ethiopian Liturgy with the Anaphora of the Apostles. Subordinate Anaphoras are indicated thus: Eth-Chrys (St. John Chrysostom); Eth-Greg (Gregory of Alexandria); Eth-Greg-Arm (Gregory of Armenia); Eth-Jo (John the Evangelist); Eth-318 (The 318 Fathers); Eth-var (several Anaphoras).
Franc	<i>Missale Francorum.</i>
Gall	Gallican Rite.
Gall-vet	<i>Missale Gallicanum vetus.</i>
Gel	Gelasian Sacramentary.
Gel-Rhein	„ „ Rheinau MS.
Illyr	The Mass of Flacius Illyricus.
Mer-3	Ethiopian MS. published and translated by S. A. B. Mercer.
Mess	Messina MS. (James and Mark).
Nic	The Creed of the Council of Nicaea.
P. or Par.	MSS. at Paris.
Ross	MS. Rossanensis. (James and Mark).

Rum	The Rumanian Rite.
Ruth	The Ruthenian Rite.
Sar	Sarum Missal.
Severus	The Syrian Anaphora of Severus.
Tasfa	Tasfa-Sion edition of the Ethiopian Liturgy.
Test-D	Testamentum Domini.

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO

Br. or Brightm.	F. E. Brightman, <i>Liturgies Eastern & Western.</i>
C.Q.R.	<i>Church Quarterly Review.</i>
D.A.C.L.	Cabrol & Leclercq, <i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie.</i>
H.B.S.	Henry Bradshaw Society publications.
J.T.S.	<i>Journal of Theological Studies.</i>
P.G.	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca.</i>
P.L.	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina.</i>

PART I

INTRODUCTION

WHEN our Lord Jesus Christ, having gathered his disciples round him to supper on the night before he suffered death, solemnly broke bread before them and blessed a cup of wine and gave them to his disciples, he enjoined them to continue this thenceforward as a continual memorial of his death and passion undergone for the redemption of the world. This command was obeyed from the time that the Holy Spirit descended upon the Church shortly after our Lord's ascension into heaven. We are told, of those who were converted by the preaching of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, that 'they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of bread, and in the prayers'.¹

The first liturgy of the type which later became universal does not appear, in the records that have come down to us, until two centuries after this. We have a certain number of notices in the literature of those centuries, from which it is possible to learn something of the nature of the prayers and ceremonies which accompanied the 'breaking of the bread'; and these we must examine. The evidence is, however, at almost every point confused by the absence at that period of any clear definitions of religious ideas, and of the technical language in which they would at a later date be expressed. It is with the utmost caution that we should form conclusions based on words and phrases which have a very definite meaning to us, but which were probably used more loosely in a primitive age. The sentence quoted in the last paragraph is an example. We shall see later on that a great deal of uncertainty in the interpreta-

¹ Acts ii. 42.

tion of evidence arises from doubt as to whether words like 'prex', 'orationes', &c., have in any particular case a specialized meaning such as they often acquired, or are used quite generally. In the Acts of the Apostles 'the prayers' may mean, as it would later, the prayers that were used on the occasion of the breaking of the bread; on the other hand, with more probability, the writer may be referring to some other occasion on which the congregation met for prayer. This ambiguity will pursue us for some centuries.

The evidence about the Eucharist is also confused by the fact that at first it was sometimes, if not always, celebrated in connexion with, and following, a social meal known as the Agape or Love-feast, so that any description of the prayers used at the breaking of the bread may be taken to refer either to the Agape or material feast, or to the Eucharist or spiritual feast. This would not have much significance if it were not for the fact that before long—the date is difficult to determine—the two functions were separated, and we may suppose that any prayers belonging to the Agape, such, for instance, as the thanksgiving for the food consumed, would normally disappear, but might in some cases continue, probably with modifications adapting them to the liturgy. And indeed there are scholars, as we shall see, who hold that two of the prayers of the *Didache* are such, and that they do make sporadic appearances in the ancient liturgies.

THE AGAPE

Two passages, one at the beginning of this primitive period and one near the end, when the Agape must have been near its extinction, will suffice to show its nature.

St. Paul, writing to the Church of Corinth,¹ rebukes the brethren there for disorders which have happened at their

¹ 1 Cor. xi, 17 ff.

religious gatherings. There are dissensions among them on these occasions. First he speaks at some length on improper customs among the women attending worship. Then he censures their differences, without indicating their cause, though they seem to be connected with the supper itself.

When ye come together in the congregation (*ἐκκλησία*) I hear that dissensions (*σχίσματα*) prevail among you, and I partly believe it. Indeed there must be parties (*αἵρέσεις*) among you, that the trustworthy may be manifest. When therefore ye assemble yourselves together, it is not the Lord's Supper that ye eat (*οὐκ ἔστι κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν*), for in your eating each one taketh before other his own supper, and one is hungry and another drunken. Have ye no houses in which to eat and drink? Or do ye despise the congregation of God, and humiliate the poor? What am I to say to you? Am I to praise you? I cannot praise you in this; for I myself received from the Lord that which I delivered to you, &c.

Here follows the account of the Institution of the Eucharist. Then there are warnings against unworthy partaking of the bread and the cup, 'not discerning the body', and a final exhortation:

Wherefore my brethren, when ye come together to eat, wait one for another. If anyone is hungry, let him eat at home; so that your coming together may not bring judgment upon you.

In this passage the meeting of the faithful was for the purpose of celebrating the Eucharist. The language leaves no doubt about that. On the other hand, it is equally certain that it was also a social feast, held in close connexion with the Eucharist. The mention of the dissensions at this point must mean that they were caused by the inconsiderate and self-indulgent behaviour described. The most natural explanation is that resentment was caused

by the fact that some had too much to eat and drink, while others went hungry and thirsty. There is an explicit reference to the poor (τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας). St. Paul does not discourage the holding of these meals, but suggests that those who have their own means should satisfy their hunger at home, in order, no doubt, that they should still participate, but as an expression of social fellowship, rather than for their bodily requirements. He does not indicate whether the feast or the sacrament came first, but the nature of the improper behaviour suggests that the Eucharist followed.

From this passage of St. Paul it will be as well to pass to the best account we have of the Agape, written by Tertullian in Africa at the end of the second century. It is in his *Apology*, where he is defending the Church to the heathen. After describing the charity and love that Christians show to one another, he proceeds:

Why wonder then if such love takes a social form (convivatur)? For even our little suppers (cenulae) you revile as extravagant, as well as scandalous from vice.

He then reminds them of the orgies which accompany heathen festivities, and continues:

It is only with the dining-room of the Christians that men find fault. Our feast shows its nature by its name; it is called by the Greek word for 'love' ('dilectio', not 'amor'). Whatever it may cost, what is spent in the name of piety is well spent; if by this refreshment we help a number of poor people, it is not, as with your parasites, for the satisfaction of enslaving their liberty through corrupting a belly by stuffing it to the accompaniment of insults, but by what is better in the eyes of God, consideration of the lowly. . . . Our people do not sit down to meat until prayer to God has been tasted. That is eaten which hungry men need; that drunk which is sufficient for the sober. They are so filled, as men who remember that God is to be praised by them during the night; they speak, as those who know that God is listening. After

water for the hands and lights have been brought, each is called upon to sing in the company, as well as he can, to God, either out of the Holy Scriptures, or that which is of his own composition. This shows to what extent he is drunk! In the same way the company dismisses with prayer.¹

There is no reference to the Eucharist in Tertullian's account of the Agape; they had perhaps been separated by this time, though the reserve Christians were bound to maintain concerning the mysteries would naturally account for his silence. But his description enables us to understand the conditions under which the Eucharist was celebrated at an earlier time.

There are reasons for supposing that there was not at first any other public Office than the Eucharist.² The *Didache* prescribes the use of the Lord's Prayer three times a day in private devotions.³ The 'Stations' mentioned by Tertullian⁴ were not meetings, but half-day fasts.

THE EUCHARIST IN THE FIRST CENTURY

The New Testament gives us incidental information about the worship of the Church, but scarcely ever is it definitely related to any particular type of gathering. It is therefore only by analogy with the liturgy as later developed that we can conjecture whether any particular acts of worship mentioned were made in connexion with the Eucharist or on some other occasion. Such conjectural associations will be noted in the Commentary. It will be sufficient here to mention that the Scriptures were read, and also, on certain occasions, the letters of the Apostles; psalms and hymns were sung, sermons delivered, prayers offered for all sorts of men, sins publicly confessed, and

¹ *Apol.* i. 39.

² Swete, *J.T.S.* iii (1902), 162. Others, however, hold that there was a meeting, corresponding to the Synagogue service, which later became the Mass of the Catechumens.

³ *c.* 8.

⁴ *De oratione*, 19.

open professions of faith made. There were also prophesyings, sometimes quite unintelligible, and acts of healing, and of course baptisms and confirmations. We read as well of some ceremonies. They prayed standing, with hands uplifted, and heads bared; except the women, who were veiled. The kiss of peace was exchanged.

There will be no need to notice incidental allusions to worship in the apostolic age, except such as throw light on the liturgy. Quite early, however, either towards the end of the first century, or perhaps as late as the end of the second century, as some scholars think,¹ prayers of a eucharistic flavour are prescribed in the *Didache*, a little book in whose second half is a manual of Church life, the precursor of the Church Orders, which will have to be considered later on.

In chapter 7 of this work directions are given for baptism; then there is a short passage about prayer and fasting, after which comes the following:

9. Concerning the thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία, but it probably does not mean 'Eucharist') thus shall ye give thanks: First, concerning the cup:

We give thee thanks, our Father, for the holy Vine of David thy servant (παιδός), which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy servant. Thine is the glory for ever.

And concerning that which is broken:

We give thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge, which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy servant. Thine is the glory for ever. For as this broken bread (τὸ κλάσμα), scattered over the mountains and gathered together, is one, so may thy Church be

¹ It has generally been placed between 80 and 90, or not much later; Woolley, in its present form, 110-30; Harnack 131-60; J. A. Robinson and R. H. Connolly make it dependent on the Epistle of Barnabas and place it well on in the second century.

gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy Kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ for ever.

Let no one eat or drink of your thanksgiving (or Eucharist?) but those who have been baptized into the name of the Lord. For the Lord also has said about this: 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs'.

10. And after ye are satisfied give thanks thus:

We give thee thanks, Holy Father, for thy holy Name, which thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which thou hast made known unto us through Jesus thy servant: thine is the glory for ever. Thou, Almighty Master, 'didst create all things' 'for thy Name's sake', and didst give food and drink unto men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy servant. Before all things we give thee thanks that thou art mighty; thine is the glory for ever. Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from all evil, and to perfect it in thy love, and gather it together 'from the four winds'—even thy Church which has been sanctified—into thy Kingdom, which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory for ever.

May grace come and may this world pass away. 'Hosanna to the God of David.' If any man is holy let him come; if any man is not, let him repent. 'Maran-Atha.' Amen.

But permit the prophets to offer thanksgiving as much as they desire.

Chapters 11 to 13 are about apostles and prophets. Chapter 14 reads thus:

And on the Lord's own day gather yourselves together and

break bread and give thanks, first confessing your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. And if any man have a dispute with his fellow, let him not join your assembly until they have been reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled; for this sacrifice it is that was spoken of by the Lord: 'In every place and in every time offer me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great king, saith the Lord, and my Name is wonderful among the nations.'

At first sight these passages all seem to refer to the Eucharist, and so most scholars have taken them. Woolley says: 'That the forms given in chapters 9 and 10 are a form or part of a form of the Eucharistic liturgy can hardly be seriously doubted. The expression *πνευματικὴ τροφή* in chapter 10 cannot be used of anything but the Eucharist, and the compiler of Apostolic Constitutions certainly regarded these forms as liturgical.'¹ Vernon Bartlet was so sure of it that he considered that the order of the cup and bread, agreeing with St. Luke against the other Gospels, was evidence that when this book was written St. Matthew's Gospel could not have yet become well known in Syria.²

Many scholars, however, have found difficulty about these prayers. Chapter 14 certainly speaks of the Eucharist, but 9 and 10 are at least doubtful. Duchesne, without questioning their eucharistic character, says that they have 'altogether the aspect of an anomaly', and 'are outside the main stream'.³ Fortescue thinks that they give 'an incomplete description of an abnormal type of Eucharistic service'.⁴ A German scholar, Greiff, considers that they are true eucharistic prayers, used only at the Paschal Eucharist, when the newly baptized communicated for the first time.⁵ Dom Casel thinks they belong to the Eucharist,

¹ *Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, 49. ² Hastings, *D.B.* ext. vol. 448.

³ *Christian Worship*, 53.

⁴ *The Mass*, 9.

⁵ *Johanneische Studien*, i (See *J.T.S.* Apr. 1931, p. 290).

but that they are prayers to be said by the people.¹ Drews and von der Golze took the earlier to be an old survival of a Eucharist-Agape, and the last a later eucharistic form. Lietzmann holds that they are an introductory celebration to an Agape.²

Some, however, look upon these passages as belonging to the Agape. Leclercq,³ following Cagin⁴ and other writers, marshals a great array of evidence in favour of their being the 'grace before and after meals' of the Agape. The question depends very much on the date and circumstances of the writer of the book. Opinion seems to be moving in the direction of a late date, but in that case it cannot be considered a normal Christian document. It is full of anachronisms for the end of the second century, though it may have been that the community which produced it was itself an anachronism.⁵ In this case all these prayers may be truly eucharistic, but eccentric. If, on the other hand, it comes from the end of the first century, the first two prayers seem to belong to the Agape.

This was still the age of the composition of the New Testament, which was hardly completed. In the books of the New Testament the word *εὐχαριστία* always means 'thanksgiving' in its general sense. In the *Didache* the thanksgiving is made, not for the life and death of our Lord, but for certain benefits made known to us through him. The 'Vine of David' seems to mean the Church throughout the ages. The 'spiritual food' does not seem to be the body and blood of our Lord, but, as the parallel of the preceding sentence shows, 'knowledge and faith and

¹ *Jahrb. f. Lit.* vi. 217 sqq.

² *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 233.

³ *D.A.C.L.* xi. 539-52. But cf. art. 'Agape'.

⁴ *L'Euchologie latine*, 2; 'L'Eucharistia', 259 f.; also Schuster, *Sacr.* i.

64.

⁵ F. E. Vokes in *The Riddle of the Didache*, following Connolly, considers it a Montanist work. This might explain its oddity.

immortality'; the thanksgiving is quite general—for bodily sustenance and spiritual food. When *Apostolic Constitutions*, which incorporates the whole of the *Didache*, applies this language to the Eucharist it has to supplement it with suitable terms. A hearty meal is also implied by the word ἐμπλησθῆναι—'after ye are satisfied (filled)', for this is a plain direction, not a phrase of devotional rapture. Moreover, these prayers are found in much the same form (given below) in a tract *De Virginitate* of the fourth century, often attributed to St. Athanasius, where they are prayers of 'Grace' at ordinary meals.

They are distinctly Jewish in type. The following blessings of the Jewish prayers before the Sabbath meal may be noted:

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who createst the fruit of the vine.

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King eternal, who bringest forth bread from the earth.

The prayers of the *Didache* are therefore, if its date is early, probably not eucharistic; from Chapter 14, moreover, we should expect some reference to the sacrifice.

These thanksgivings, however, have their own interest, and some of the language will be found in the later forms. The prayers in *De Virginitate* mentioned above are as follows:

We thank thee, our Father, for thy holy resurrection. For through Jesus thy servant thou hast made it known to us. And as this bread, having been scattered, is that which is upon this table, and, having been gathered together, has become one, so may thy Church be gathered together, from the ends of the earth, into thy kingdom, for thine is the power and the glory for ever, Amen.

(After the meal) O God, the almighty, and our Lord Jesus Christ, the Name that is above every name, we thank thee

and praise thee, because thou hast considered us worthy to share thy good things, the material food. We pray and beseech thee, O Lord, that thou wilt give us also the heavenly food.¹

The *Didache* is mentioned in this work, and these prayers may therefore have been adapted from it.

The question of the extent to which Jewish worship has influenced or moulded the Christian Liturgy is one to which much attention has been directed. Unfortunately most of the available information about the Jewish forms of worship comes from dates which are too late to give a safe indication of the prayers used in the time of the Apostles. That there was any conscious adoption or imitation of Jewish services can hardly be supposed, in view of the antipathy of the early Church to 'Judaising'. On the other hand, the adherents of Christianity in the earliest days must have unconsciously formed their devotions according to the methods to which they were accustomed. The Eucharist may at first have been moulded somewhat on the lines of the Kiddush, a ceremonial meal held on the eve of the Sabbath and of festivals; if so, it is of little significance, for the Christian sacrament had an inspiration and ideal of its own. More certain is the relationship of the early part of the liturgy with the Sabbath morning Synagogue worship. The purposes and the materials at hand for these services of praise, instruction, and prayer were so similar that it was but natural that the Christian system should follow in the accustomed paths, as we shall see it did.

THE SECOND CENTURY

The writings of Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch give much interesting information about the Eucharist, but throw no light on the development of the rite. There

¹ Ath. *De Virg.* 13, 14.

is a long passage in St. Clement's Epistle to the Romans (cc. 96-8) which has a general resemblance to the Great Thanksgiving of the liturgy, but there is no reason to suppose that it is anything more than a fervent prayer which the author composed for the purpose of the epistle, and it has no close affinity to any specifically liturgical formula¹ (see Appendix A).

PLINY. There is, however, a much quoted and important letter, written to the Emperor Trajan, about A.D. 112 by the Roman orator, Pliny the younger, governor at that time of Bithynia. In the course of this letter, in which he consults the Emperor on how he ought to treat the Christians, he describes their worship, as it has been reported to him by the Christians themselves.

But they declared that this was the extent of their crime or error, that they were accustomed on a regular day to meet before dawn to sing the praise (*carmen dicere*) of Christ as a god, and mutually to bind themselves by an oath (*sacramentum*), not to any crime, but to commit no theft or robbery or adultery, nor to break faith, and, 'if challenged, not to deny that a trust has been committed to them'. After this they were accustomed to separate, and meet again later to take food, which however is of an ordinary and harmless kind (*promiscuum et innoxium*). Even this, however, they gave up after I published my edict, by which in accordance with your orders associations (*hetaeriae*) had been forbidden.²

Here there were two gatherings of the Christians, one in the early morning and another later in the day. Of the first we are only told that a hymn was sung and an oath made. The second meeting was for the purpose of a meal. It is impossible from the data to come to any definite conclusion as to what these meetings respectively were. The second certainly looks like the Agape rather than the

¹ cc. 59-61.

² *Ep.* x. 96.

Eucharist, though it may well be the Agape-Eucharist. The hymn of the morning is probably a psalm accompanied by Scripture reading, or a series of acts of worship. The interesting item is the 'sacramentum'; one is tempted to see here already the technical term 'sacrament', and to suppose that this is therefore the Eucharist already transferred to the morning. It is indeed quite possible that this morning service is the Eucharist, but the word is probably a coincidence, and we cannot say what was the feature which has thus impressed itself on Pliny's mind. The fact that the Christians gave up the evening feast points to its being an Agape only. The Agape might well be described to a heathen as an ordinary meal; it is more than likely that the witnesses would have said nothing about the essential character of the Eucharist.

JUSTIN MARTYR. In the next piece of evidence, however, we find a writer, in defending the Church against the crimes attributed to it, revealing to the heathen something of the nature of the Eucharist, and here we find in Rome for the first time an outline of the liturgy in its main line of descent. St. Justin the Martyr, writing in Rome about A.D. 145, says:

But, after having washed (i.e. baptized) him who has believed and has been joined to us, we lead him to the place where those we call brethren are assembled, earnestly to offer common prayers for ourselves and for him who has been enlightened, and for all others everywhere, that having learned the truth, we may be accounted as men who practise good lives and keep the commandments, and thus may obtain everlasting salvation. Then breaking off the prayers we salute one another with a kiss. After that, bread is brought to him who presides over the brethren, and a cup of water mixed with wine (*ὑδατος καὶ κράματος*). And he, when he has received them, sends up praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and

makes a thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστίαν ποιεῖται*) at some length, because God has deigned to give us these things. And when he has finished the prayers and the thanksgivings, all those present assent to what he has said by repeating 'Amen', a Hebrew word signifying: 'So be it'. When the president has given thanks, and all the people have assented, those who with us are called deacons give to each of those present a portion of the bread and wine and water, over which the thanksgiving has been made, to partake of them, and they carry away some for those who are not present.

And this food is called among us 'Eucharist'. It is not lawful for any one to partake of it unless he believes that the things that are taught by us are true, and he has been washed in the washing which is for the forgiveness of sins and the new birth, and thus is living as Christ commanded. For we do not receive these things as ordinary bread and ordinary drink, but, as through the word of God Jesus Christ our Saviour became incarnate, and took on flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food over which the thanksgiving has been made by a word of prayer which comes from him (*τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν*),¹ the very food, that is, by which our blood and flesh are nourished by transformation, are the body and blood of the same incarnate Jesus. For the apostles, in the memoirs which have been made by them, and which are called 'Gospels', have thus handed down that Jesus gave them commandment: having taken bread he gave thanks and said: 'This do in remembrance of me; this is my body'. Likewise also taking the cup and having given thanks he said: 'This is my blood', and he gave of it to them alone.

And from that time we always recall these things to memory among ourselves, and those of us that have take care of those that lack, and we always help one another. And in all the offerings we make we praise the Creator of all things through his Son, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. And on

¹ The absence of articles makes the rendering of this phrase doubtful. It may mean 'by a prayer of the word'.

the day which is called Sunday, there is an assembly (*συνέλευσις*) of all who live in the city and the country into one place, and the Memoirs of the Apostles and the Writings of the Prophets are read as long as there is time. Then, when the reader stops, the president admonishes and exhorts those present to the imitation of these good things. Then we all stand up together and send up prayers, and, as we have said before, when our prayers have ceased, bread is offered, and wine and water, and the president likewise sends up prayers and thanksgivings as much as he is able, and the people assent, saying 'Amen'. And the distribution and reception is made for each from the things over which thanksgiving has been made, and some is sent by the deacons to those who are not present.¹

There is no doubt whatever that these two accounts are descriptions of the same rite, the former being for the communion of the newly baptized. If the prayers in the *Didache* are prayers for the baptismal love-feast, it is a striking fact that in Justin also we have first the neophytes' Eucharist, and later that of the ordinary Sunday, but Justin makes no mention of the Agape, and the reception of the newly baptized might well have become attached to the eucharistic portion of the double feast instead of to the Agape.

There is now a distinct order of service:

1. Lections (only mentioned for Sunday).
2. Sermon " "
3. Prayers.
4. Kiss of Peace (only mentioned in the Baptismal Eucharist).
5. The Offering of bread and wine mixed with water.
6. The Prayers and Thanksgivings with Amen.
7. Communion.

The Lections mentioned are 'the Memoirs of the Apostles or the Writings of the Prophets'; but the η can hardly be

¹ *Apol.* i. 67.

pressed, especially in view of *μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ*. The 'Memoirs' are certainly the Gospels, as Justin explains this in chapter 66. It is a little unusual that the Prophet should follow the Gospel, but there is no reason for supposing that the phrase refers to Christian prophets, as we find the prophetic lection holding a place in the earliest liturgies. The expression probably indicates the Old Testament in general.

The Sermon is an explanation of the Lection and its application to the life of the congregation.

Prayers are mentioned twice; in the Baptismal Eucharist we are told that the first prayers (this account does not mention prayer with the thanksgiving) were for all Christian people, that they may live good lives. Indeed, the prayer is apparently not restricted to Christians, for elsewhere Justin says that the Church prayed for the Jews and for all men.

Next comes the Kiss of Peace; though only mentioned in the baptismal form, it was probably used in the general Eucharist also.

Here then we have in broad outline the substance of the later liturgy. Apparently the catechumens have as yet no part in the sacred mysteries, not even in the preparatory portions, so that we can only divide the rite into two parts; the first, down to the Kiss of Peace, is the *Pre-Anaphora*, containing the Lections, Prayers, Offertory, and Kiss of Peace; the *Anaphora*, as it will be called later, i.e. the central formula of Consecration, is represented by the 'Thanksgiving'. What was the form of the Thanksgiving there is no indication. If the words, 'by a word of prayer which comes from him', are to be pressed, it will mean the Lord's Prayer, rather than the narrative of the Institution, for the latter interpretation is inconsistent with the next sentence, where our Lord's words are a commandment and not a prayer. This is not to say that the account of the

Institution was not included in the prayer, but it is unlikely that it was 'the word of prayer'.

We may notice the early date of the mixed chalice, and the reservation for the absent. In the rite also the mention of the Holy Spirit in connexion with the offerings should be noted.

OTHER WRITERS. St. Irenaeus also mentions the Lectures, Sermon, Hymns, Offertory, Prayers, and Amen. Two important passages dealing with the consecration will be considered in connexion with the *Epiclesis*. He gives us none of the forms used in the liturgy, except short formulae like 'for ever and ever'.

St. Clement of Alexandria has the same features, and in addition he may refer to the Sanctus: 'We always give thanks to God, as do the creatures (ζῶα) who sing to him hymns of praise', referring to the Seraphim.¹

There are some apocryphal works, which must also be quoted, for they contain eucharistic prayers. The first of these is the *Acts of John*, the authorship of which was attributed by Eusebius, Epiphanius, and others to Leucius Charinus. It belongs to late in the second century, and seems to come from Encratite circles.² This has several eucharistic prayers, of which this is an example:

And having asked for bread he gave thanks thus:

What praise, or what offering (προσφορά) or what thanksgiving shall we mention in breaking this bread, but thee alone, Lord Jesus? We glorify thy Name which was spoken by the Father. We glorify thy Name, which was spoken by the Son. We glorify thy opening of 'the door'. We glorify the Resurrection which has been manifested to us by thee. We glorify thy 'way'. We glorify thy 'sowing thy Word', thy grace, thy faith, thy 'salt', thy 'pearl of great price', thy 'treasure', thy 'plough', thy 'net', thy

¹ *Strom.* vii. 12.

² Woolley dates it A.D. 160.

greatness, thy crown, thy being called for us the 'Son of Man', thy gift of truth, thy peace, thy knowledge, thy power, thy commandment, thy confidence, thy hope, thy love, thy freedom, the refuge that there is in thee. For thou, Lord, only art the root of immortality, and the fountain of incorruption, and the throne of eternity. And thou hast been called all this for us now, in order that we, calling thee by these names, may know thy greatness unperceived by us until now, and recognized by the pure only, and reflected in thy manhood alone.¹

This prayer, and the others given in the *Acts of John*,² have little relation to the later liturgy, except a faint resemblance to the Anamnesis; but its method has some likeness to similar prayers to be found in the *Acts of Thomas*, a Syriac Gnostic work, also used by the Encratites and other heretics. Its date is late second or early third century. Here the eucharistic conception is more developed.

He brought bread and wine and placed it on the table, and began to bless it and said:

'Living bread', the eaters of which die not, bread that fillest hungry souls with thy blessing, thou that art worthy to receive the gift, and to be for the remission of sins, that those who eat thee may not die, we name the Name of the Father over thee. We name the Name of the Son over thee. We name the Name of the Spirit over thee, the exalted Name that is hidden from all.

And he said:

In thy Name, Jesus, may the power of the blessing and the thanksgiving come upon this bread, that all the souls which take of it may be renewed, and their sins forgiven them.³

¹ *Acta Johannis*, c. 109.

³ Wright, *Apoc. Acts of App.* ii. 268.

² *Ibid.*, cc. 85, 110.

And he brake and gave to Sifur and to his wife and his daughter.

A further example from this book is interesting as providing an example of an Invocation.

And he began to say:

Come, gift of the exalted; come, perfect mercy; come, Holy Spirit; come, revealer of the mysteries of the chosen among the prophets; come, proclaimer by his Apostles of the combats of our victorious athlete; come, treasure of majesty; come, beloved of the mercy of the Most High; come, thou silent one, revealer of the mysteries of the exalted; come, utterer of hidden things and shewer of the works of our God; come, giver of life in secret, and manifold in thy deeds; come, giver of joy and rest to all who cleave unto thee; come, power of the Father, and wisdom of the Son, for ye are one in all; come and communicate with us in this Eucharist which we celebrate, and in this offering which we offer, and in this commemoration which we make.

There are several forms of words of Administration:

Let it be unto thee for a remission of transgressions and sins, and for the everlasting resurrection.

Let this Eucharist be unto you for life and rest, and not for judgment and vengeance.

Let this Eucharist be unto you for grace and mercy, and not for judgment and vengeance.

Let this Eucharist be to you for life and rest and joy and health and for the healing of your souls and your bodies.¹

It is evident that these forms, which differ considerably among themselves, are not in the regular line of development, for the *Acts of Thomas* was probably written in the

¹ These and other illustrative texts will be found in Woolley, *Liturgy of the Primitive Church*.

early years of the third century, when the normal type of liturgy, still very flexible and adaptable, had already attained a general outline and substance which is recognizably the same as it has in its varying forms to-day. But, with the data at present available, it is impossible to say to what extent at this time those who celebrated the Eucharist in the orthodox Churches were at liberty to depart from the more usual type, and improvise their own prayers; nor can we say whether the type of rite which was ultimately to become universal was always predominant, or whether it was only one of several, and eventually ousted the others.

Woolley suggests that there were three or perhaps four forms current in the second century; one of the ordinary type, one based on Grace before meals, one based on the baptismal formula, blessing the bread and wine in the name of the Holy Trinity, and perhaps one based on the Lord's Prayer.¹

THE THIRD CENTURY

At the end of the second century and in the earlier part of the third century the information about the liturgy becomes more abundant, and we can gather from Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, and other writers many details about the contents of the service. But in none of these are the texts of the rite given. The details derived from them will best be noticed when we consider the liturgy in its separate parts. It is early in the third century that we first come upon a text of at least the central portion of the liturgy, which is reinforced within a few years by other texts and commentaries, which make it clear that at the beginning of the century a certain uniformity of plan had established itself in various parts of the

¹ Op. cit. 45.

world, and that that plan was a development of what we have already seen in Justin Martyr.

THE 'APOSTOLIC TRADITION' OF HIPPOLYTUS. The account referred to is that contained in what was till recently known as the *Egyptian Church Order*, but is now more suitably called the *Apostolic Tradition*. This is one of a number of manuals which existed in the early Church, of which the *Didache* may be considered the earliest; most of them were later than the 'Apostolic Tradition'. They contain directions for carrying out the social and religious work of the Church, and some of them give the text of the rites to be used. The *Apostolic Tradition* is known in several forms.

(a) In the great Ethiopian law book called the *Sinodos*. This is usually known as the *Ethiopic Church Ordinances or Statutes of the Apostles*. (b) In the Coptic *Ecclesiastical Canons*¹ there is a section generally known as the *Egyptian Church Ordinances*, which corresponds to (a). (c) A Latin translation, probably of the fourth century, of the same document, commonly referred to as the 'Verona Latin Fragments', is also known from a palimpsest of the late fifth century. (d) There is an Arabic version of the Coptic edition. Closely connected with these are two other works, one (e) which has only survived in Arabic, known as the *Canons of Hippolytus*, and (f) *Testamentum Domini*, of which a Syriac and an Ethiopian version are known.² There are other Orders of the same nature as these, and related to them, but only one, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, to be considered later, is of liturgical interest.

That these works were in some way dependent upon one another has long been known. It was at first thought that

¹ Sahidic *Ecc. Canons*, and Bohairic *Apost. Const. and Canons of App.*

² Dom Gregory Dix, *The Apostolic Tradition*, is now the most convenient edition for English readers. He gives the Latin text as well as the English translation with variants of other versions.

the *Canons of Hippolytus* was the earliest, and that the others derived from it. But of recent years, mainly as a result of the careful work of Dom R. H. Connolly,¹ it has become fairly well established that the original is the *Apostolic Tradition* mentioned above, and that this is the work of Hippolytus, a scholar of great renown in Rome early in the third century, who contributed many important theological works, and whose own life is somewhat a mystery. Eusebius, who wrote about A.D. 325, says that he was 'bishop of another Church (than Jerusalem) somewhere'; but there is evidence that he himself claimed to be Bishop of Rome, though he is not mentioned in any of the lists of the Bishops of Rome. He was certainly in strong opposition to Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus, but he was exiled with Pope Pontianus, and apparently their bodies were brought back together to Rome. It is generally assumed that he was the first Roman Antipope, but it is hard to reconcile that with the fact that he was canonized by the Roman Church. In 1551 there was found in the cemetery of St. Hippolytus in Rome a marble statue of a man seated on a chair which, from the inscription on the chair, was learned to be that of Hippolytus. On the side of the chair is engraved a list of his works and the kalendar that he is known to have constructed. Among the works is included ἀποστολική παράδοσις, which is evidently the work we are now considering. The book must be dated not far from A.D. 217.

In view of the importance of the liturgy set out in this document it is given here in full. The Coptic and Arabic versions and *Canons of Hippolytus* do not preserve the

¹ Camb. Texts and Studies, vol. viii: *The so-called Eg. Ch. Order*. Connolly was anticipated by Prof. E. Schwartz, but to him is due the conviction now general. R. Lorenz, *De Eg. Kerkord. en Hipp. van Rome*, challenges his conclusions.

liturgy, though the last refers to it. The following is from the Latin version. It immediately follows after the form for the Consecration of a bishop; but although it is the liturgy used in connexion with that function, it seems also to be the one used on ordinary occasions.

And when he has been made bishop all offer him the Kiss of Peace (*os pacis*), saluting him because of the dignity he has been given. Then the deacons offer the oblation to him, and he, laying his hands on it with the whole presbytery, giving thanks, says:

The Lord be with you.

And all say: And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

It is meet and right.

And so now he goes on:

We give thanks to thee, O God, through thy beloved Servant,¹ Jesus Christ, whom in the last times thou didst send to us as Saviour and Redeemer and Messenger (*angelus*) of thy will; who is thine inseparable Word, through whom thou hast made all things, and in whom thou wast well pleased;

Whom thou didst send from heaven into the womb of the Virgin, and who having been contained in the womb was incarnate, and was manifested to be thy Son, being born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin, who fulfilling thy will and purchasing for thee a holy people, stretched out his arms when he was to suffer, that by his passion he might free those who believed in thee;

And when he was betrayed to a voluntary passion, that

¹ I have used the word 'servant' to translate 'puer' as also 'παῖς' to preserve the connexion with the many passages where 'servant' is required; but here 'son' would be better.

he might end death, and break the chains of the devil, and tread down hell, and illuminate the righteous, and determine the end, and manifest the resurrection;

Taking bread and giving thanks to thee, he said: Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you; likewise also the cup saying: this is my blood, which is shed for you; as often as ye do this do it in remembrance of me:

Remembering therefore his death and resurrection, we offer to thee the bread and the cup, giving thanks to thee, because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minister to thee;

And we pray that thou wilt send thy Holy Spirit upon the oblation of thy holy Church, that uniting them into one (in unum congregans) thou wouldst grant to all thy saints that receive it the fulness of the Holy Spirit for the confirmation of faith in truth, that we may praise and glorify thee;

Through thy servant Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and honour to thee, Father and Son with the Holy Spirit, in thy holy Church, now and ever, Amen.¹

In the Latin version there is then a blessing of oil, cheese, and olives, and in the Ethiopian version a series of communion prayers follow, which are not part of the original, though probably early. These will be noticed in their proper place.

Connolly's argument for assigning the authorship to Hippolytus chiefly depends on the frequent coincidences in language and thought between this and his other writings. This means that the wording is his own, but it may not be so in the Eucharistic prayer. The following passage, however, shows that the great importance Hippolytus attaches to the apostolic tradition concerns the general

¹ Dix, p. 6, for Latin original.

structure and contents of the rite, and not the mode of expression:

It is not altogether necessary for him to recite the same words as we gave before in his thanksgiving to God, as though he had learned to say them by heart; but let each one pray according to his ability. If indeed he is able to pray suitably a prayer of elevated style, that is well; but if he is only able to pray according to a fixed form (so Dix, lit. 'in measure'; cf. 'canonical') no one may prevent him, so long as his prayer is doctrinally sound.¹

We shall see this modified liberty of improvisation echoed at a later date.

Baumstark thinks that Hippolytus was so reactionary as to turn back from current practice to a state of things prior to the fusion of the Jewish morning prayers (the Mass of the Catechumens) with the thanksgiving after a feast (the Anaphora), and that this was due to his opposition to the Pope.² The book does speak of a morning 'instruction' (catechizatio) which the faithful are to attend, when it is held, before going to work; but they are also told to partake of the Eucharist before eating anything else. There is no reason to suppose that there was no 'Mass of the Catechumens' preceding Hippolytus's Anaphora; it is naturally not mentioned in the Mass described, as that follows the bishop's consecration. There are indeed slight indications of the 'Mass of the Catechumens'.

There can be no doubt that this work of Hippolytus was widely known, at any rate in the fourth century. Its influence has, however, often been exaggerated; for, while it does probably represent fairly well the liturgy in use in both East and West at the end of the second century, and has formed the core of the chief Ethiopian Anaphora, it

¹ *Eth. vers. Stat.* 25. See Dix, 19.

² *Irénikon*, xi (May-June 1934), 146.

does not appear to have directly affected the other Eastern liturgies. It is a witness for them rather than a source.

An examination of the Consecration Prayer of the *Apostolic Tradition* shows a considerable advance on that of Justin. We have now:

1. The Prayers (mentioned in xxii. 6, 'after the prayers let them give the Kiss of Peace').
2. Kiss of Peace.
3. Offertory.
4. Sursum Corda.
5. Thanksgiving.
6. An account of the Incarnation.
7. The Institution of the Sacrament.
8. A Memorial of our Lord's death and resurrection (Anamnesis).
9. The Oblation of the bread and cup.
10. The Invocation of the Holy Spirit.

It will be seen that 5-10 make only one compound sentence with the Oblation and the Invocation as the principal verbs (we offer . . . and we pray).

REGIONAL RITES

WHILE the liturgy was developing during the first two centuries of the Christian era there must have been not only individual variations but also local customs and traditions. The tendency in forms of worship is always in the direction of stereotyping certain modes of expression which have pleased the mind or the ear of those who have heard them. Those religious bodies which have rejected set liturgies nevertheless fall into the almost unconscious habit of forming collections of stock phrases, which often frame themselves into quite long prayers, in which the variation is more by way of differing selections and per-

mutations than by original composition. It is but natural therefore that the presence in any particular local Church of a bishop with talent in the happy expression of the spiritual needs of the Church would set a fashion, which would be followed by those who heard him. In fact, in spite of the meagreness of our early evidence, we can see the operation of this tendency, though, because we know so little that is certain of the *provenance* or history of the documents, we cannot readily relate it to its proper locality. But it will be useful to illustrate this point.

We have seen in the *Didache* the following passage:

For as this broken bread scattered over the mountains and gathered together is one, &c.

This is a curious and striking phrase, expressing rather mystically the union in Christ of an infinite variety of different people. It has no place in the normal liturgy, but we find the phrase with variations cropping up here and there. We have already seen it in the 'Grace at meals' of the *De Virginitate*; but it is also used by Bishop Sarapion of Egypt in the middle of the fourth century at the Oblation:

And as this bread has been scattered on the top of the mountains and when gathered together came to be one, so also gather thy holy Church out of every nation and every country and every city and village and house and make one living Catholic Church.

No doubt Sarapion has simply borrowed this from the *Didache*, which has by some been associated, though without much to go on, with Egypt. But this figure is also found in some of the Ethiopian Anaphoras. That of St. John has, at the Anamnesis, after mentioning the resurrection:

As the bread was gathered when it was scattered over

mountains and hills and in the desert and valleys, and being gathered was made one perfect loaf, even so gather us from every evil thought of sin into thy perfect faith, and as the mingling of this wine with water cannot be separated into two parts, even so may thy Godhead be joined with our manhood.

The Anaphora of St. James of Serug, after the Fraction, has:

As thou didst gather this bread while it was scattered amidst the mountains and hills and in the valleys and the field, and as it being gathered became one *prosphora* (oblation) . . . (here this sentence seems to break off abruptly).

Other examples of these local peculiarities will be found in this interesting group of Anaphoras which have been preserved in the Ethiopian liturgy. Some of them are, in their present state, evidently late in date, but most of them show signs of an ancient and complicated ancestry. An interesting example is given in the opening of the *Epiclesis* (or Invocation of the Holy Ghost) of three of these Anaphoras, those of St. John, St. James of Serug, and the 318 Fathers (of Nicaea). The differences are no less striking than the resemblances. The last two only will be given here.

James of Serug: Flung wide be the gates of light, and opened the doors of glory, and drawn back the veil that is before the Father's face, and let him descend; behold the Lamb of God, &c.

The 318: Flung wide be the doors of light, and opened the gates of glory, and thy living and holy Spirit shall be sent from the place of his secret essence.

This tendency towards local peculiarities, which might well have ended in a multiplicity of entirely different forms of worship instead of the universal 'Christian Liturgy', which exhibits under manifold modes of expression the

same organic structure, was counteracted by two impulses in the opposite direction. The first was due to the authority and influence of the great metropolitan and patriarchal sees; the second to the prestige which certain liturgies obtained through their association with the names of great figures in Church history. These influences led to the establishment of national liturgical characteristics, and along with them, and to a certain extent cutting across them, of rites which, while not altogether ousting others, obtained an ascendancy which placed them in the position of being looked on as the national or regional rite. It will be necessary to study these movements in detail.

The conversion of Constantine to Christianity, and the consequent peace of the Church, was an event of the highest importance for the liturgy. For the future the mysteries would be celebrated openly, and with all and more than the splendour which characterized civil celebrations. Moreover, as the world flocked into the doors of the Church, the character of the Church, and of its liturgy, changed. Hitherto the Church was a messenger from another world; now it was to be, or hoped to be, the soul of the world, guiding it to righteousness. Previously, as we are frequently told, it prayed for the Emperors and rulers as possible enemies who were to be softened, and guided in spite of themselves; henceforward it prayed for them as the first of her sons. And as the world became more conspicuously and generally Christian, the reserve of the 'Mysteries' and the discipline of those who sought admission to the Faith, or departed from it, became less real, and gradually disappeared, with considerable effect on the liturgy itself. From this time too we should probably date the beginning of national rites and regional customs, the sentiment towards common Christian tradition being replaced by local unity and patriotism. The distinction

which first arose between East and West was due to the weakening of the sense of unity of the whole body of Christians, and a closer association of the Church with the Eastern and Western Empires.

The early Christian world was entirely dominated by the Roman Empire; but this Empire was unable for long to maintain unity. It was too unwieldy. Thus at the end of the third century a plan, which had already been tentatively used by Marcus Aurelius in 161—that of dividing the Empire amongst two or more rulers in an independent partnership—was permanently established; and the Eastern and Western Empires came into existence. This division of the ancient world into East and West, with its capitals in Constantinople and Rome, or more frequently a Gallic or north Italian city, corresponded roughly to a real distinction in the character of the peoples who comprised them. There had been, during the last years of the Republic, and still more during the Empire, a flood pouring into the northern shores of the Mediterranean of peoples from the East, bringing with them the pomp and luxury and barbaric splendour of Egypt, Persia, and the Far East. While Rome itself was infected with this new civilization, it specially established itself in the new capital city of Constantinople and throughout Asia, giving the East and consequently Eastern Christianity a character quite distinct from that exhibited by the West. Nowhere has this shown itself more clearly than in the theological literature and the liturgy of the Church. The Eastern liturgies are marked by a great profusion of rhetorical and exuberant language and ideas, often heaping up strange and rare compound adjectives, and never tiring in expressions of self-abasement. The Western liturgies, although in Spain and Gaul they were not uninfluenced by similar tendencies,¹ retained

¹ The exuberance of these rites is of a different character, pedantic

the austerity and conciseness which was so great a beauty in the classical languages.

There were also three well-marked divisions of Eastern Christianity—Syria, which may be subdivided into Western and Eastern Syria; Egypt, of which region Abyssinia forms a subdivision; and the Byzantine world, which comprised the eastern portion of Europe and so much of Asia as was directly under the influence of Constantinople.

SYRIA

(a) JERUSALEM.

The Holy City of Jerusalem was at first the centre of the Church, and throughout the ages has always had a special claim on the affections and loyalty of Christians. But its fortunes deprived it of that supreme position which it might have held in Christian organization. In the year 70 it was destroyed by Titus, and again in 132 by Julius Severus. Shortly after this the Emperor Hadrian rebuilt the city under the name of Aelia Capitolina, forbidding Jews to occupy it, but allowing Christians to live there. Little is known about the Church there up to the end of the third century, but it was already the object of pilgrimages. We read that Justin and Melito, Bishop of Sardis, visited it in the second century, and Clement of Alexandria, Julius Africanus, Firmilian, and Gregory of Neocæsarea in the third. But with the conversion of Constantine a new era dawned for the Holy City. By his orders the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Cross (now disappeared) were erected, and the Church at Jerusalem from this time exercised an influence out of proportion to the importance of the city. In 349 and again in 399 General Councils were held there, as well as many in rather than majestic; in spite of their extravagance, they cultivated an excessive conciseness in individual phrases. See App. B.

later centuries. In 325 the Council of Nicaea gave to the Bishop of Jerusalem (still called Aelia), according to ancient tradition, the second place of honour (next to Rome), but preserving as a matter of jurisdiction the authority over him of his Metropolitan the Bishop of Caesarea. Macarius, the bishop at this time, was a man of great influence. The position of the Church became in the time of Cyril, bishop in 351, a cause of strife. Cyril claimed priority by virtue of the apostolic nature of his see, and refused to obey a summons of his Metropolitan, Acacius, to Caesarea. He was therefore deposed, and only after a long and stormy career was he at last confirmed in his possession of the see, though not of his independence of Caesarea. Juvenal, however, bishop from 420 to 458, did succeed at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 in settling the matter, and Jerusalem was created a Patriarchate over the 'three Palestines' (Caesarea, Scythopolis, and Petra); Arabia was added later. The Bishop of Jerusalem is now one of the four ancient Patriarchs who preside over the Eastern Churches.

The Cyril mentioned above has preserved to us valuable information of the liturgy in Jerusalem in his time in a series of catechetical lectures given by him in which he explains the sacred mysteries to the catechumens. During his episcopate also a lady from Spain, named Etheria, a relation of the Emperor Theodosius, paid a visit to Jerusalem and wrote an account of the services she attended there during the Holy Week of 380. Frequent pilgrimages at this time gained Jerusalem a special influence. From St. Cyril we learn much of the rite in use, and from Etheria a great deal about the ceremonies.

(b) ANTIOCH.

The city of Antioch on the river Orontes, founded in 300 B.C., had been the capital of the Syrian Empire. It was

a great and magnificent city, with a population estimated by St. Chrysostom in the fourth century at 200,000, not including slaves. There was a tradition, on which the Church still founds its patriarchal claim, that St. Peter first preached there and became its bishop, and the converts there were the first to be called Christians. St. Paul made Antioch the centre of his missionary activities. Later it became the chief centre of Christianity in Asia, until its importance was somewhat eclipsed by the growth of Constantinople. It included in its sphere the regions of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace. With the rise of Constantinople, Thrace became independent, while the Council of Chalcedon definitely transferred these three provinces to Constantinople by requiring that their metropolitans should be consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople.¹

Antioch was distinguished by a brilliant succession of great Churchmen, Ignatius the martyr, Theophilus the Apologist, Serapion, an eminent theologian, Babylas, saint and martyr, the heretic Paul of Samosata (260-8), and the group of teachers known as the School of Antioch, followers of Origen, who taught there for some time, Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, and, for a part of his life, John Chrysostom. The school mentioned stood, in opposition to the mystical and allegorical School of Alexandria, for the literal interpretation of Scripture, and for the humanity and historical character of our Lord.

The Church of Antioch was unfortunately divided during the last half of the fourth century by one of the most serious of the ancient schisms, owing to the appointment as bishop in 361 of Meletius, an orthodox bishop, who had, however, been consecrated by Arians. The strict Catholics of Antioch would not accept him, and Paulinus was consecrated in his place. This schism was not healed till about

¹ Canon 28.



A.D. 415. Before this, however, a new subject of division had broken out, due chiefly to the unwise emphasis which the School of Antioch were giving to their humanistic tendencies in theology, which seemed to the theologians of Alexandria to divide Christ into two separate beings. Their teaching, not itself heretical, was exaggerated by Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in order to counteract the excessive honour given to the Blessed Virgin by the Egyptian party, of which he disapproved. The controversy became embittered, and ended in the condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431. John, Patriarch of Antioch, was also excommunicated, but reconciled two years later. In 435 stern laws were enacted against Nestorians, and they were forced out of the Empire. Barsumas, Bishop of Nisibis, became its apostle in the Far East, and Nestorianism became and has continued to be the teaching of the Church of Persia.

The opponents of Nestorius had gone too far; their revulsion from that heresy led them into the opposite extreme, which received from an archimandrite in Constantinople the name of Eutychianism. Another but shorter, though even more disastrous, wrangle began. It ended by the condemnation of the Eutychians at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, was exiled, and the Emperor Marcian issued harsh edicts against the Eutychians, or as their successors came to be known, Monophysites.

This proscription of the Monophysites had not the same success as that of their opponents. A monk, Theodosius, hurried from the Council to Jerusalem and stirred up the people there against their Patriarch Juvenal, who only just escaped assassination on his return, and had to flee. Theodosius usurped the episcopate at Jerusalem, organized a reign of terror, and, when threatened by the Emperor,

repaired to Mount Sinai, and spread disaffection there. In Egypt the bishop who was chosen to succeed Dioscorus was killed, and, in spite of the efforts of the Court, the dispute continued, and involved a breach between Constantinople and Rome, though without any difference in doctrine. Gradually the Monophysites prevailed in Syria, excepting Jerusalem, and in Egypt; while the Catholics were predominant in Constantinople and the West. Eventually, between the years 565 and 622, separate Monophysite national Churches were established in Syria, Armenia, and Egypt. They were called in derision 'Jacobites' after Jacob Baradaeus, who was consecrated a bishop in Syria in 541; but they have themselves proudly retained that name, deriving it from the Apostle James.

There are therefore in the Syrian Church three ancient divisions. (a) The Orthodox, once called Melchites, a term now usually applied to Syrian and Egyptian Uniats of the Byzantine rite. They still use the Greek liturgy, but an Arabic version is also used. (b) The Jacobites, using a Syrian liturgy. (c) The East Syrian or Persian Nestorian Church.

(I) THE SYRIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. This is in communion with, and subject to the primacy of, the 'Great Church' of Constantinople. There are still the two Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. The former lives at Damascus and presides over Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, and portions of Asia Minor. Till recently he was always a Greek. The Patriarch of Jerusalem has authority from the Lebanon to Sinai. He also is a Greek. In both these Churches the people and most of the clergy are Arabs.

The earliest Syrian liturgy preserved is that of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book VIII. This work dates from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth, and was compiled in Syria. The eighth book is based on the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, but in sections

5-14, which give the liturgy, though here and there the phraseology of Hippolytus is apparent, a different source is drawn upon, and it is mainly independent. The text is given in Brightman, pp. 1-27. The prayers are largely the composition of the compiler, but the framework and much of the language probably go back to the third century. The writer, who seems to be the interpolator of the Ignatian epistles, makes special use of Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, whence it is often known as the Clementine liturgy, though the Mass of the Catechumens is attributed to St. Andrew, and the Anaphora to St. James of Zebedee.¹ This liturgy also contains parallels with other writers, Justin Martyr, and especially Novatian (c. 250). This can be explained by its being compiled by a learned writer familiar with the Christian literature, but to some it seems more natural to suppose that it is based on a widespread primitive rite used by all its apparent sources.² The last theory, however, is improbable.

The ancient liturgy of the Church of Syria bears the name of *St. James*. It was of Palestinian origin, and seems to have replaced the native rite in Antioch at an early date. The earliest manuscripts extant are a roll of the tenth century (Vat. gr. 2282), which represents an eighth-century text of Damascus, and a manuscript in Messina University (Graec. 177), of the tenth or early eleventh century. The latter is printed in Swainson, pp. 224-328. Brightman's text, pp. 31-68, is from a fourteenth-century manuscript (Paris Bib. Nat. graec. 2509).

This liturgy is mentioned as the composition of St. James, brother of our Lord, in Canon 32 of the Council of Constantinople (*in Trullo*), A.D. 692, but it must be much older than that, for the Jacobites, who separated from the Orthodox c. 550, used it and must have looked on it as

¹ Brightm. 3, l. 10; 13, l. 24.

² Leclercq, *D.A.C.L.* xi. 617.

ancient. It seems to have been known by Jerome, who says 'The mouths of the priests daily proclaim "ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος" that is to say in our tongue, "who alone is without sin"',¹ a phrase which occurs in the Greek James.² In the eighth and ninth centuries it was much drawn on in the West, and must have had a fairly wide range, but by the twelfth century it was becoming very restricted, and about the thirteenth century the Byzantine rite took its place. It is, however, still used at Jerusalem on the Sunday after Christmas and St. James's Day, and in Cyprus and Zante.

(2) THE SYRIAN JACOBITE CHURCH. The first Patriarch of the Monophysite Church, Sergius of Tella, was consecrated by James Baradaeus in 543, which may be taken as the date of the definite schism with the Orthodox Church. The Arab conquest of Syria in 638 prevented the Jacobites from increasing, but at times they have flourished. They are under a Patriarch of Antioch, who lives in Mardin. The liturgy is a Syriac form of the Greek St. James, with a good deal of adaptation. There are also a large number of anaphoras in existence, which have been used for special occasions, but are little used now. One of these is of special interest as it is believed to contain an ancient tradition before the influence of Jerusalem. It is named after St. Athanasius.³ Many other manuscripts date from the eighth century onwards. Brightman constructs his text from a number of sources (pp. 69-109). There is also in existence a letter from James of Edessa (late 7th cent.) to Thomas the Presbyter which gives an account of the Jacobite rite of that time.⁴

A branch of the Jacobite Church is that of the SYRIANS OF MALABAR, who have a curious history. The Church was founded as a result of Nestorian evangelization in the sixth

¹ *contra Pelagium*, ii. 23.

² Brightm. *Lit. E. & W.* 57, l. 31.

³ Baumstark, *Oriens Christ.* ii. 90-129.

⁴ Brightm. l.c. 490.

century. In the fifteenth century it suffered much persecution from the Moslems, and in 1490 being without clergy applied for help to the Catholicos of the Nestorians.¹ Two bishops were consecrated, and the Church renewed. During the Portuguese rule in southern India in the sixteenth century the Church was compelled to submit to Rome; all their books were burned, and the ancient liturgy revised, though not extensively. When the Dutch seized the Malabar coast in the seventeenth century the non-Uniat remnant led the way to gaining independence again, but instead of securing consecration for their bishop from the Nestorians, they arranged for a Syrian bishop from Jerusalem to go to India and consecrate him. Thus the Malabar Church became Jacobite instead of Nestorian, and has remained so since. They use the Syrian Jacobite liturgy with six variable anaphoras. But the term 'Malabar Liturgy' refers to the ancient liturgy. No copy of the unrevised rite exists and it has to be reconstructed by comparison with that of *Addai and Mari* (see next section). The Nestorian liturgy is also used by a small remnant of the old Malabar Church.

There is also a SYRIAN UNIAT Church (subject to the Roman obedience) with a Patriarch of Antioch living at Beirut, and a Syrian liturgy in Arabic. This body dates from 1781 as a result of a schism. There is a Uniat Church of Malabar with a much romanized Nestorian rite in Syriac.

(3) THE NESTORIAN CHURCH. Before the separation of the Nestorians from the Orthodox bodies as related above, the small Persian Church was under the Patriarch of Antioch. In 410 the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon took the title of Catholicos and became Patriarch of the East, and a few years later the Church declared its independence. There are three ancient liturgies used by Nestorians.

¹ J. A. Assemani, *Bibl. or.* iii. 1, 590.

(i) The *Liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, which is supposed to have been finally edited by the Patriarch Jesuyab III (645-7). It has been suggested that this is a primitive type of Eucharist, and addressed to the Son; it is unique in not containing the Words of Institution.¹ (ii) *Theodore the Interpreter* (of Mopsuestia), which is probably Cilician in origin, of the fourth century.² (iii) *Nestorius*, which is Byzantine much expanded, with theological tendencies. Baumstark thinks it may be the work of the heresiarch.² The last two were revised on the lines of the Jerusalem rite in the sixth century.

There is also a fragment of an anaphora of the sixth century.³ Light is thrown on the history of the rite by the *Homilies of Narsai* (d. 502), of which No. 17 is an exposition of the 'Mysterics'.⁴

In the Middle Ages the Nestorian missionaries founded Churches far and wide through eastern Asia, as far as China and Tibet, but in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Mohammedan conquests almost extinguished Christianity in these regions. Since the Great War the small Christian community that remained has again been almost exterminated by the Arabs. The hereditary Patriarch of the East had his seat in a remote village, Qudshanis.

There is a UNIAT 'CHALDAEAN' Church which seceded in the sixteenth century, with a Patriarch of Babylon. They use a slightly revised Syriac Nestorian liturgy with three anaphoras.

Another Uniat body, the MARONITES, originally a Monothelite sect connected with the monasteries of the Lebanon, and founded by John Maro in the fifth century, became

¹ E. C. Ratcliff, *J.T.S.* (Oct. 1928), 23-32.

² Both in Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.* ii; Baumst. *Irenikon*, xi (July-Aug. 1934), 296. For evidence of Theodore's authorship, see Brightm. *J.T.S.* xxxi (Jan. 1930), 160.

³ Brightm. *Lit. E. & W.* 511.

⁴ Connolly, *Camb. Texts & Studies*, viii, No. 1.

united to the Roman See in the twelfth century. Their head is called 'Patriarch of Antioch and all the East'. Their liturgy is a form of *St. James* in Syriac, much romanized, and with eight anaphoras. It has some points of resemblance to Nestorian rites.

EGYPT

The Patriarch of Alexandria in the earliest times held an authority unequalled in the Eastern Church. The city of Alexandria was, after Rome, the first city in the world, and in scholarship and philosophy was the recognized centre of learning. Throughout the early centuries of the Church it produced a series of scholars, theologians, and ecclesiastics who were always in the front rank. And it had its own character. It was the home of the mystical and allegorical school, which was the Christian representative of the philosophic thought which had made its heathen schools famous. The Patriarch of Alexandria was, at the Council of Nicaea, recognized as second only to the Bishop of Rome; but the growth of Constantinople as the imperial city caused the Council of Chalcedon in 451 to place Constantinople second.

The Eutychian controversy, which has been referred to, was the occasion of schism in Egypt as in Syria. When the Patriarch Dioscorus was banished as a Eutychian, an Orthodox succeeded him; but the people of Egypt were predominantly inclined towards Monophysitism, and racial differences added force to the theological divisions, the Orthodox being mainly Greek. As in Syria, the difference first showed itself in a fight for control, now the Orthodox and now the Monophysites gaining possession of the patriarchal throne; in most cases there were two rivals. These conflicts lasted till 642, when Egypt was conquered by the Islamites, and the native

Copts who refused to accept that religion were now at least free from ecclesiastical aggression, and their Church attained independence. It is historically interesting to notice that the *Trisagion* in the Coptic liturgy is in a Greek text but in a Monophysite form, showing that the translation to the vernacular was made after the schism.

There are therefore in Egypt, as in Syria, an Orthodox and a Jacobite Church, the former mainly Greek and the latter Coptic.

(I) THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA. This is a small body. The Patriarch, whose jurisdiction extends over Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Nubia, lives in Alexandria with his seven Metropolitans, and most of his flock are in the large Egyptian cities.

The liturgy used is called after the patron Saint Mark, but is, according to Coptic tradition, due to St. Cyril. It is of very ancient date, perhaps fifth century, of Alexandrian origin, but it has been much affected by Byzantine influences. The first mention of this liturgy is not till the twelfth century, when it was about to be superseded. Isaac, the Catholicos of Armenia, then said that the Rites of *James* and *Mark* both had the Commixture. Theodore Balsamon of Antioch tells that the Patriarch Mark (c. 1190) on a visit to Constantinople inquired why they did not use the *Liturgies of St. James* or *St. Mark* there, and was told that the Catholic Church of the Ecumenical throne did not know them, and that all Churches were by imperial legislation bound to use the rites of New Rome. Being impressed by this, he followed from that time the Byzantine custom.

The earliest manuscript is that of Messina, also containing *James*, of the twelfth century. Swainson gives this with two other manuscripts, Rossanensis and Vaticanus,¹

¹ *Greek Lit.* 349-95.

and Brightman uses his text with additions (pp. 113-43). There are two other manuscripts at Mount Sinai and Cairo.

There are also two other anaphoras: (a) *St. Basil*; (b) *St. Gregory* (of Mopsuestia), which is addressed to the Son. Both are printed in Renaudot from a fourteenth-century manuscript.

Another interesting anaphora has recently been discovered on some fragments of papyri from Deir Balyzeh in Upper Egypt of the seventh or eighth century. There are portions of the prayers of the Faithful, a Creed (not Nicene), the *Sanctus* with its Preface, and the Words of Institution preceded by an Invocation.¹

An early liturgy from Egypt is preserved with the name of Bishop Sarapion of Thmuis.² It has peculiar features which will be noticed later.

(2) THE COPTIC (JACOBITE) CHURCH. There is a Patriarch of Alexandria with a flock of somewhat under a million, mostly peasants. The clergy are very uneducated, and the deacons are usually boys. The liturgies are: (i) *St. Cyril* (also called *St. Mark*), representing the Greek *St. Mark*. Brightman (pp. 144-8) gives a translation from a thirteenth-century manuscript. This is the most ancient rite; it is used in Advent and Lent. (ii) *St. Basil*. Translated in Bute, *Coptic Liturgy*. It is adapted from the *Byz. Basil*. This is the most commonly used. (iii) *St. Gregory*, from the Greek Gregory, and, like it, addressed to the Son.³ It is used at Festivals.

The Uniat Copts are under a Patriarch of Alexandria

¹ Text in *D.A.C.L.* xi. 624.

² G. Wobbermin, *Texte und Untersuch.* n.F. ii. 3b. English version by John Wordsworth (S.P.C.K.).

³ Lat. trans. in Renaudot, i. 9-51.

who lives in Cairo ; they use a modified form of the Coptic Rite. The Greek Uniats (Melchites) are under the Patriarch of Antioch.

(3) THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH. Abyssinia was converted in the fourth century by the efforts of Frumentius, who was consecrated bishop c. A.D. 340. It was early infected with Monophysitism. With the conquest of the north of Africa by Islam, it became isolated, and we know little of its history, except that its metropolitan was dependent on the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, and consecrated by him. During the time of Portuguese colonial activity (16th cent.) the Jesuits made their way into the country, and in 1626 the Negus accepted a Jesuit Patriarch, but ten years later the Church returned to its Monophysite character and Coptic allegiance.

The oldest form of the liturgy is that printed in Rome in an edition of the New Testament, edited by Petrus Ethiops (Tasfa Sion), but it has some Latin alterations. This contains the *Anaphora of the Apostles*, which is based on the *Apostolic Tradition*. Besides this there is a number of manuscripts, none of them earlier than the seventeenth century. Brightman's translation is from five manuscripts in the British Museum with additions (pp. 194-244).

There are no less than sixteen anaphoras extant, but only one pre-anaphora, and the *Anaphora of the Apostles* is used except on rare occasions.¹ The present use of the Ethiopian Church is given in Mercer.²

THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

The founding of New Rome, the Imperial Capital of Constantinople, in the year 328 almost immediately

¹ Harden, *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy*.

² *Ethiopic Liturgy*.

placed it in a position of supremacy over the Eastern world, and the interest taken by the Christian Emperors in Church affairs, and their readiness to interfere in the disputes which marked the centuries following the reign of Constantine, gave exceptional authority to the Patriarchs of the great city. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon decreed 'the same things respecting the privileges of the most holy city of Constantinople, the new Rome', as had been given by the Fathers of Nicaea to old Rome, 'so that she should be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matters, and be second after her'.¹

The same Council also deprived the Patriarch of Antioch of much of his importance and influence, by transferring from his authority to that of Constantinople the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace. As Christianity spread northwards so did the influence of the Ecumenical Patriarch, as the Patriarch of Constantinople came to be known, increase; and to-day he is recognized as the Primate of the whole of the Orthodox Churches, which are for the most part autonomous.

In addition to the Syrian and Egyptian Churches there are the following well-established autonomous Churches:

THE CHURCH OF RUSSIA. The Patriarch of Moscow is the fifth Patriarch, but the Soviet Government has prevented the Office from being filled since 1926. The liturgical language is Old Slavonic.

THE CHURCH OF CYPRUS, which was originally included in the Patriarchate of Antioch, but was made independent on the ground of ancient usage at the Council of Ephesus in 431. Its head is the Archbishop of Nova Justiniana and all Cyprus, who has his seat at Nicosia.

THE MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE on Mount Sinai.

¹ Canon 28.

The Hegumen is a bishop with the title of Archbishop of Mount Sinai. He was subject to the Patriarch of Jerusalem till 1782, since which time he has been independent. He lives in the daughter monastery at Cairo.

THE CHURCH OF GREECE, which was proclaimed to be independent when the nation attained its freedom in 1833, though its autonomy was only recognized by Constantinople in 1850. It is presided over by the Metropolitan of Athens.

THE CHURCH OF BULGARIA. After its conversion it was attached to Constantinople, but with the establishment of the Bulgarian Empire in the tenth century it attained independence, which, however, it lost again at the conquest by the Turks in 1398, and not till 1870 was it made into an Exarchate, independent of Constantinople. The conflict which led to this was so heated that the Church of Bulgaria is not in communion with the Ecumenical Patriarch, though it is with the rest of the Orthodox Church. The language is Old Slavonic.

THE CHURCH OF SERVIA was in the thirteenth century under the Servian Empire a Patriarchate (of Ypek). In 1804 the country revolted against the Turks, and in 1879 the Church became autonomous. After the Great War, in 1920 the Patriarchate of Karlovcy, the dioceses of Bosnia and Herzegovina, parts of Dalmatia and Macedonia, and the ancient Church of Montenegro, were included in the Patriarchate of Belgrade.

THE CHURCH OF RUMANIA, which became autonomous in 1885, with two Metropolitans, those of Bucharest and Jassy; but the Great War increased the country and a Patriarchate was constituted in 1925 at Bucharest. The vernacular is used.

Since the War the constitution of some of these Churches has been very unsettled and it is likely to remain so for

some time. The persecution of the Russian Church by the Soviet Government has led to schism. There are now several bodies not in communion with one another, often covering the same ground and working against one another. The following are the chief: (a) Within Russia: (i) THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH under the *locum tenens*. (ii) THE SYNODAL CHURCH, established under the aegis of the Government. (b) Outside Russia amongst the exiles: (i) THE SYNOD OF KARLOVY in Yugoslavia, (ii) THE WESTERN EXARCHATE under a Metropolitan at Paris.

A number of smaller independent Churches have also been formed, which will only be mentioned, with the liturgical language: Finland (Finnish and Slavonic), Estonia (Estonian and Slavonic), Poland (vernacular), Latvia (vernacular), Lithuania (vernacular), Albania (Greek), and Georgia (vernacular).

There are also Russian missionary Churches in Siberia and the Far East and in other countries, and in several of the countries already mentioned there are Uniat Churches.

The following are the Byzantine liturgies:

(i) *ST. BASIL*. The first mention of this liturgy seems to be in the history of the Armenian nation by Faustus of Byzantium (early 5th cent.), who quotes the passage *ἀλλὰ παρακούσαντα . . . τῆς εἰκόνας τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ* of the Great Thanksgiving.¹ Peter the Deacon (c. 520) in a letter written for the monks of Scythia to the African bishops in exile in Sardinia says: 'Hence the blessed Basil, bishop of Caesarea, in a prayer at the sacred altar, which almost the whole East uses, says: ". . . Make, we beseech thee, the evil good, and keep the good in their goodness".'² Leontius of Byzantium (c. 531)³ and the 32nd Canon *in Trullo*

¹ Brightm. 324 l. 22-326 l. 7. So De Meester, *D.A.C.L.* vi. 1599.

² *Ep.* xvi. (*De incarn. et gratia*, 8). ³ *Adv. Nest. et Eutychn.* iii. 19.

also speak of the liturgy as Basil's. There seems no reason to doubt that its nucleus comes from St. Basil, and therefore from Caesarea. It was in great vogue in the early centuries, and was translated and adapted into Armenian, Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic. Not till after the ninth century did the rite of St. Chrysostom oust it from its place in the normal Greek liturgy. It has the most prominent position in the Barberini manuscript (c. 800), and is referred to in the time of Charles the Bald (823-77) as the 'Constantinopolitan liturgy'.

The most important manuscript is the Barberini.¹ This is printed in Brightman, pp. 309-44. As it is a living rite there are numerous printed books of the present form. The prayers are given in Brightman, pp. 400-II. It is now used only on the first five Sundays in Lent, Maundy Thursday, the Eves of Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter, and the Feast of St. Basil.

(ii) *ST. CHRYSOSTOM*. It is not probable that St. Chrysostom had any important part in the formation of this liturgy, but it may well go back to his time or not long after. It has now superseded *St. Basil* as the ordinary liturgy. It is contained in the Barberini manuscript mentioned above, though only three of the prayers are there attributed to Chrysostom,² and the modern form is given in Brightman, pp. 353-99.

(iii) *ST. GREGORY DIALOGOS* (i.e. Gregory the Great of Rome). This is also in Barberini. It is the Liturgy of the Presanctified, used at Vespers to communicate with the reserved Sacrament. It is first mentioned in *Chronicon Paschale* (ann. A.D. 645). The text is in Brightman, pp. 345-52.

¹ Rome Bibl. Barb. MS. iii. 55.

² Brightman thinks this is an oversight and that the writer intended to illuminate a title, but omitted to do so (op. cit. xcii).

There is another Greek liturgy, that of *ST. PETER*, compiled for the use of the Greek residents in Latin areas. Baumstark suggested Illyricum as its source. Codrington shows that it is translated from a Latin text used by the Lombards of south or south-central Italy, for the use of Greek-speaking priests who celebrated in Latin¹. It is a mixture of Byzantine and Roman rites; the Roman Canon is substituted for the Eastern Anaphora. It is contained in a ninth-century manuscript of Grottaferrata.

ARMENIA

The conversion of Armenia was due to St. Gregory the Illuminator, an Armenian who himself was converted in Caesarea of Cappadocia, and returned to be the Apostle of his native land in 302. In 491 the Church refused to accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and became Monophysite. The country has had a disastrous history, and in successive tyrannies the Armenians have been wellnigh exterminated. The Catholicos has his seat at Etchmiadzin. Under him are four other ecclesiasts bearing the name of Patriarch, one at Sis in Armenia and one each at Constantinople and Jerusalem, and a titular Patriarch of Agthamar.

The liturgy seems to have been established in Armenia not later than the fourth century. It was, however, worked over again in the fifth century, when the Armenian alphabet had been perfected, and about the ninth century it became more distinctly Byzantine. As the result of Dominican activities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it has been infected with Roman elements. It is apart from this one of the most beautiful liturgies in Christendom. The oldest manuscripts are of the thirteenth

¹ *J.T.S.* xxxviii (July 1937), 280-1.

and fourteenth centuries. Brightman's text, pp. 412-57, is translated from modern books.

THE WESTERN CHURCHES

When the Gospel was preached in Rome it was among Greek-speaking people that converts were first made. Most of the names mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans are Greek. The Greek language had in the early years of the Empire become a means of communication along the Mediterranean coasts. It was the language of commerce. The people who spoke it had come to form a large part of the population of the cities. In Africa Greek inscriptions are very common, and Latin inscriptions are to be found written in Greek characters. In Rome it was the fashion to write in the language of Homer, Thucydides, and Demosthenes. Suetonius, Aelian, and Marcus Aurelius, all true Latins, wrote books in Greek.

The Christian Church in Rome in the first ages was essentially Greek. This is clearly shown by the names of the bishops of Rome; of the first twelve ten had Greek names. It is the same with the early martyrs. Clement, Hermas, and Justin wrote in Greek, the last for Roman Christians, and, as late as the third century, Hippolytus. Not until well on in that century does Latin begin to predominate.

It is also certain that the liturgy in the West was in Greek. One form has been preserved by Victorinus (p. 52). When Polycarp went to Rome in 155, he seems to have celebrated in the congregation in his own tongue.¹ And it was not only in Rome that this was so. We know that there were considerable Greek colonies on the coasts of Gaul and Spain. When the Churches of Lyons and Vienne

¹ For further evidence see Fortescue, *The Mass*, 127.

wrote their celebrated letter about the martyrdoms they wrote to Rome in the Greek language.

It is in Africa that the Western Church seems first to have acquired a Latin character. Tertullian wrote in Latin, and, while he generally uses the Greek Bible, he seems to have had a Latin translation. It would appear also that Africa was the first to have a Latin liturgy, though the early Western liturgy is shrouded in mystery. When it emerges in the sixth century it has been so much recast that only in general structure does it resemble the Eastern rites, and in particular the Anaphora is in so disjointed a form that it is difficult to recognize the relation of the various parts. It is possible that this process was already beginning in the time of Hippolytus, and that his *Apostolic Tradition* was a protest against the tendencies which ended in this result.

The Oriental type of liturgy was preserved longer in the Churches of Spain, Gaul, and Lombardy; but in all these regions the Roman Canon replaced the ancient Anaphora in time. The divergence which took place between the East and the West in liturgical matters was due to a number of causes, of which the substitution of Latin for Greek, leading to mutual ignorance of one another's rites, and the fact that the Western Empire decayed much earlier than the Eastern, are perhaps the chief. When eventually the Carolingian Empire restored to the West a central political authority the change had been completed.

The Bishop of Rome was, without any rival, the Patriarch of the whole West from the beginning until the Reformation took place in the sixteenth century. Then the great body of Protestant Reformers left the Catholic Church, and only in a few places did the reforming Churches retain their succession with the primitive

Church; these were the Churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Sweden.

It would be valuable if we could determine when Latin definitely took the place of Greek in the official language of the Roman Church. There is some reason to believe that Greek held its own officially and liturgically some time after the people of the Church had ceased to be preponderantly Greek-speaking. The epitaphs of the Popes, with the exception of that of Cornelius, were in Greek up to the end of the third century; but Latin must have been the common speech of most of the members of the Church before that.

We can see traces of the use of the vernacular during the second and third centuries. Somewhere about A.D. 150, the heretic Marcion arrived in Rome, and he probably died before 165. During this time he showed the greatest activity in converting Christians to his beliefs and his sect. From Tertullian we can gather that he had translated the Pauline Epistles into Latin, for where Tertullian ordinarily uses one text, when refuting Marcion he quotes St. Paul in a different text, and sometimes even explains the unfamiliar word, which must be that used by Marcion. For example, Tertullian quotes Gal. iv. 22 thus: 'There are two covenants (*testamenta*) or two manifestations (*ostensiones*), as we find it interpreted, one on Mount Sinai, etc.' Here the form known to him is *testamenta*; that used by Marcion *ostensiones*.¹ This implies that Marcion wrote for the Roman people in Latin; in Africa also there was at least a Latin version of the New Testament current among the Catholics, as indeed must have been the case. We also begin to see in the third century Latin used in semi-official documents. About 250 Novatian

¹ *Adv. Marcionem*, v. 4. Further examples are given by G. Bardy, *Irénikon*, xiv (Mar.-Apr. 1937), 122.

wrote in the name of the clergy of Rome a letter to St. Cyprian in Latin, and a little later the Pope Cornelius did the same.¹

When the Greek liturgy was replaced in Rome by one in Latin we do not know but there are signs of it late in the fourth century. A book, usually printed with the works of St. Augustine, the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novae Testamenti*, which dates itself 300 years after the destruction of Jerusalem (i.e. c. A.D. 370) says:

But Christ is the representative (*vicarius*) and bishop (*antistes*), and therefore he is called 'priest' (*sacerdos*). In the same way also the Holy Ghost sent like a bishop, is called 'priest of the most high God', not High Priest (*summus sacerdos*) as our people presume to do in the oblation.'²

This passage has a double interest. It shows that the Roman Mass already had in its 'Oblation' the passage about Melchizedek: 'which thy high priest Melchizedek offered to thee'; but also that it had been drawn from a Greek original which evidently ran τὴν προσφορὰν Μελχισεδὲκ τοῦ ἱερέως σου τοῦ ὑψίστου. The word ὑψίστου has been wrongly taken to qualify ἱερέως instead of σου, an error to which the author of *Quaestiones* naturally objects. The Epistle to the Hebrews calls Melchizedek ἀρχιερεύς, which might possibly have been the source of 'summus sacerdos'; but it is unlikely, as *pontifex* is the usual word, and Heb. vii. 1 quotes the word from Genesis.

Another reference of about the same date also seems to show that the Greek liturgy was not yet obsolete. Caius Marius Victorinus, a recent convert to Christianity,

¹ Cypr. *Ep.* 30, 49.

² *Quaestiones*, qu. 109. P.L. xxxv. 2329. It is now believed to be the work of Isaac of Armenia.

speaks (c. 365) of the Mass thus: 'The prayer of Oblation prays in the same sense to him (Christ): *σῶσον περιούσιον λαὸν ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων*,' referring to Tit. ii. 14. In another passage he comments on the adjective, and gives the passage from the Oblation in Latin, translating *περιούσιον λαὸν* by *populum circa substantiam*, which he goes on to explain as equivalent to *circa vitam consistentem populum*; 'As it is said in the Oblation: *Munda tibi populum circumvitalem, aemulatorem bonorum operum, circa tuam substantiam venientem.*'¹

This suggests that the Mass was at this time used in both the Greek and Latin versions. The words quoted are not in any Latin text of the Canon at present known. Tit. ii. 14 is quoted in the liturgy of St. Basil in the Anaphora in the words: *κτησάμενος ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον*,² and in the Prayers of the Faithful of the Nestorian,³ but neither of these explains this passage.

We may thus place the substitution of the older Greek liturgy in Rome by a Latin rite somewhere about the end of the fourth century. It was probably a process which took a long time, and the Latin form must have been in use long before that. The evidence just quoted, slender though it is, also implies that the Latin was an adaptation of the Greek, though perhaps a very free adaptation. But when we next get any information of the Roman Mass it has already assumed much of the character of the modern Latin rite, and there is an entirely different rationale from the Eastern rites and from the form of Hippolytus. In those, and almost certainly in the early Roman liturgy, the text, so far as it was fixed at all, did not vary from day to day, except in the lections and perhaps the psalms; while in the Western form, as it finally took shape, many parts varied with the season and the occasion, and in its

¹ *Adv. Arium*, i. 30.

² *Brightm.* p. 326, 26.

³ *l.c.* 264, 3.

extreme form, that in use in Spain, the variable portion was considerably longer than what was fixed, which was little more than a framework.¹ The development of variables should be dated from about the latter half of the fourth century.

Beside this difference a great change had taken place in the anaphora. That of Hippolytus follows an orderly sequence of thought: thanksgiving for the goodness and mercies of God, a statement of the Incarnation and Passion, the account of the Institution of the Sacrament, a solemn remembrance of the events to which it witnessed, an offering of the gifts with a prayer that the Holy Spirit (or at least God) should come and sanctify them. The later Roman Canon has some of these elements, but in no intelligible order, and it presents every appearance of dislocation.

At this point it will be well to give for reference the various parts of the completed Canon under their opening words. The full text will appear in its proper place in the Commentary (see Index).

- I. *Sursum Corda*.
- II. Preface (variable).
- III. *Sanctus, Hosanna, and Benedictus*.
- IV. *Te igitur*,
 - (a) a commendation of the offerings.
 - (b) a prayer for the Church.
- V. *Memento Domine*, a Commemoration of the living.
- VI. *Communicantes* (variable), a Commemoration of the Saints.
- VII. *Hanc igitur* (variable), an Oblation and prayer for salvation.
- VIII. *Quam oblationem*, a prayer for the blessing and changing of the elements.

¹ See Appendix B, p. 306.

- IX. *Qui pridie*, the account of the Institution.
- X. *Unde et memores*,
 (a) the memorial of the Passion, or Anamnesis.
 (b) the Oblation.
- XI. *Supra quae*, a prayer for the acceptance of the Oblation, as the Old Testament sacrifices were accepted.
- XII. *Supplices te rogamus*,
 (a) that the sacrifice may be accepted at the heavenly altar.
 (b) that the communicants may be filled with grace.
- XIII. *Memento etiam*, the commemoration of the departed.
- XIV. *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, for fellowship with the Saints.
- XV. *Per quem*, a Blessing and Doxology.

It will be seen that of these *Apostolic Tradition* had: I, II (fixed), IX, X, XV, and also XII (b) as part of an Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

We first meet forms which show a close affinity to this Canon in a tract *De Sacramentis*, whose authorship is unknown. It has been thought to be by St. Ambrose, amongst whose works it has been traditionally included. It contains much of the contents of another little work, *De Mysteriis*, which probably was written by St. Ambrose; but there are some differences in style and interpretation, and it is difficult to understand why a writer like St. Ambrose should repeat so much of his own language. The writer expressly states his desire to follow the Roman Church in everything, though he adds 'yet we too are not without discernment, and what other places have done well to retain, we do well to maintain'.¹ Here he is referring to

¹ III. i. 5.

the practice of foot-washing, which he tells us was not in use in the Roman Church, but which he defends as a command from the Lord. Such an excuse for divergence from the Roman Church would not hold good in the matter of the liturgy, so I think we are bound to conclude that he believes that the liturgy he records is that of Rome.

It is usually held that this document comes from the fifth century, and preferably from the early part of that century; but some scholars have placed it in the sixth and even the seventh centuries.¹ The grounds on which this late date has been adopted are chiefly indications of more developed sacramental conceptions, but also the character of the liturgy, and especially the absence of an Invocation. These considerations seem to me to be outweighed by internal evidence of a less subjective nature pointing to a date not very much later than Ambrose. The writer gives us no more than the formula of consecration: 'Wilt thou know that it is consecrated by heavenly words? Hear what the words are.' The following is the portion of the Mass that this book has preserved:

a. Make for us this oblation, approved (*ratam*), consecrated (*ascriptam*), acceptable, and reasonable, for it is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

b. Who, the day before he suffered, took bread in his holy hands and looked up to heaven to thee, Holy Father, almighty everlasting God, and giving thanks he blessed, brake, and delivered (*tradidit*) what he had broken to his apostles and disciples saying, Take and eat ye all of this; for this is my body which shall be broken (*confringetur*) for many. Likewise also after supper the day before he suffered he took the cup, looked up to heaven to thee, holy Father, almighty everlasting God, and giving thanks blessed it and delivered it to his apostles and disciples

¹ Atchley, *J.T.S.* Apr. 1929 (xxx. 281); Frere, *The Anaphora*, 129-32.

saying, Take and drink ye all of this ; for this is my blood. As often as ye do this, so often will ye make a memorial of me until I come again ;

c. Therefore having in remembrance his most glorious passion and resurrection from the dead and ascension into heaven,

d. We offer to thee this spotless victim, reasonable victim, unbloody victim, the holy bread and chalice of eternal life,

e. And we beg and pray that thou wouldst receive this oblation on thine altar on high by the hands of thine angels,

f. As thou didst vouchsafe to receive the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our father Abraham, and that which thy High-priest Melchizedech offered unto thee.¹

When we compare this with the corresponding part of *Apostolic Tradition* we see two important changes. First another Oblation has come in before the Institution (*a* above), and then there is no Invocation of the Holy Ghost, but instead we have *e* and *f*, which give the idea that the offerings are to be conveyed to the heavenly altar for acceptance. For the rest the language is very much altered, while the ideas remain the same.

This gives us VIII, IX, X, XII (in part) and XI (in part).

INNOCENT I

About the same time as *De Sacramentis*, or a little before, if we are to date that book as above, important information is given by Pope Innocent (401-17), in a letter written by him to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, a town of Umbria near Perugia. Decentius had asked Innocent to advise him on certain matters, and the letter

¹ IV. v, vi.

is his reply. Two of these questions will be mentioned later on, but there is one passage which is important for the history of the Canon. It runs thus:

Now about reciting the names before the priest says the prayer (*preces* or *prex*, the text is uncertain), and commends in his own prayer (*sua oratione*) the oblation of those whose names should be recited. Your own sagacity tells you how superfluous it is to insert the names of the persons before you are making the offering to God, though of course he knows everything. The oblations therefore ought to be commended first, and then the names of those whose they are should be mentioned, so that they may be named within the sacred mysteries, and not among the things we place before, so that by the mysteries themselves we may open the way for the prayers to come (*ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus*).

This refers to the practice of naming in the Mass those who made offerings of bread and wine, and perhaps of other gifts also. Most scholars take it to mean that the Gallican rite was in use at Gubbio. In that liturgy the offerers were mentioned during the reciting of the Dptychs which *preceded* the Canon. Innocent, according to them, is objecting to this, and urging that the Roman custom of reciting the names *within* the Canon should be adopted. This interpretation has, however, some considerable difficulties, and the passage must be carefully examined.

There are evidently two things in the practice of Gubbio to which Innocent objects: first that the names of those who offer are mentioned before the offerings are made, so that it is not clear to those who hear why they are mentioned (though God knows), and secondly that they are not mentioned 'within the mysteries', but in 'the things we place before'. The ordinary interpretation would

paraphrase the passage somewhat like this: 'With you the names are mentioned before the Canon and before the priest's own prayer of commendation of the offerings, but the offerings should be commended first and then the names mentioned, so that they may be named within the Canon.' According to this, the prayer of commendation is *Te igitur* (IV); the names would be in *Memento Domine* (V), and *prex* would have its usual meaning of 'Canon'. So far this is satisfactory. The word 'superfluous' is a difficulty in any case. Schuster supposes that the practice at Gubbio involved a double praying for those who made the offerings,¹ but that is not what Innocent says is superfluous. It is the fact that the names are mentioned before the commendation that he calls by that name. It is clear that the word 'superfluous' is not quite the word Innocent wanted, and that he means it is out of place to mention names before the prayer which explains why they are mentioned.

But the explanation given above is unsatisfactory. In the first place Innocent's words do not describe the Gallican use, which is untouched by his chief criticism.² In that rite we have quite regularly (1) a commendation of the offerings, (2) the names, (3) the prayer *Post nomina*. The Gubbian practice is therefore not the Gallican use, but apparently a local peculiarity. Moreover, Gubbio was only a little more than a hundred miles from Rome on the wall of the Tiber basin, and, though it had relations with Ravenna, it is very improbable that it would have had true Gallican features in its liturgy. Its custom in this matter must be a divergence from Rome which

¹ *The Sacramentary*, i. 266.

² Dom Cagin and Dom Morin hold that Rome had originally a Gallican type of liturgy, and that Innocent had the Diptychs before the Canon. The latter opinion does not involve the former, which is probably unsound.

has been noticed by Decentius. It is even possible that it was preserving an older Roman tradition.

The important question, however, is what the Roman use was. It is very difficult on the ordinary interpretation to give any meaning to the last subordinate sentence of the passage quoted. If 'mysteriis' is restricted to the *Qui pridie*, the 'prayers to come' are the last part of the Canon; but how can the position of the names, which in any case come before the *Qui pridie*, affect the relation of these two parts? If, on the other hand, it means the whole Canon, how does their inclusion in the Canon open the way for the 'prayers to come', i.e. the Communion prayers?

Dom Connolly avoids this difficulty by a new translation of the last clause.¹ He would take 'futuris', not with 'precibus', but with 'mysteriis', thus reading 'that by the prayers we may open up the way for the mysteries themselves which are yet to follow'. If *ut* is taken as consecutive, the most natural interpretation, this does not much improve matters; but if, as Connolly prefers, the clause is taken to give a reason for 'placing some things before' this removes the objection. His suggestion has received the approval of Dr. Armitage Robinson and Dom Wilmart, so it is with hesitation that I have preferred the usual rendering. It seems to me that *futuris* must go with *precibus*, and that the *ut* clause must be a reason for the position of the names and not for the 'things placed before'.

Battifol has suggested the reading *oblationibus* for *mysteriis*, but this is not necessary. He is probably right in saying that 'l'obscurité tient uniquement au mot *mysteriis*'². That word is always assumed to mean the Canon, but I would suggest that Innocent uses it in a

¹ *J.T.S.* xx (Apr. 1919), 215 ff.

² *Leçons sur la messe* (1927), p. 219, n. 1.

wider sense for the whole of the 'Mass of the Faithful'. The Dismissal of the Catechumens was still in force, as *De Sacramentis* shows, and Innocent himself says of the mysteries, '*quia aperire non debeo*'. Innocent's phrase '*ante confecta mysteria*' (p. 166), implying that the Gubbian Kiss of Peace was within instead of after the *mysteria*, supports this view.

On this interpretation Innocent is not speaking of the Canon at all, except when he mentions 'the prayers to come'. He too, like the Gallican and Mozarabic Churches, and some, if not all, of those in the East that mention the offerers by name, is accustomed to the reading of the Diptychs of the living before the Canon. In Gubbio the practice is to read the names at an earlier stage, before the Dismissal of the Catechumens. There are Eastern parallels to this, as in the Syrian Jacobite and Coptic Offertory prayers, and those who believe that the Roman liturgy was influenced from Egypt through Ravenna might find in this a trace of the passage from Ravenna to Rome.

However this may be, Innocent objects to this mention of names which is unrelated to the act of offering, and wishes it to be placed after the Offertory. I would therefore paraphrase thus: 'Now about reciting the names before the priest says the prayers [of the faithful] and commends in his own prayer [i.e. the Secret] the oblation of those whose names ought to be mentioned . . . the Secret should be said first, and then the names, so that they may be mentioned within the Mass of the Faithful, and not as with you in the Mass of the Catechumens, and thus the most sacred part of the rite (*futuris precibus*) may be prepared for by that portion of the service which is reserved for the faithful.' The reading of the names before the dismissals is looked upon

as something inconsistent with the reserve with which the mysteries should be treated.

The objection to this interpretation would be that the words *prex* and *mysteria* had already become technical terms for the Canon, but it is doubtful whether this is so.

With this passage of Innocent we may associate two others of a little later date.

BONIFACE I, writing to the Emperor Honorius, c. 420, says:

Behold among the very mysteries, among their prayers, the Christian people beseech with pleading voices for your prosperity.¹

CELESTINE I (422-32), in a letter to Theodosius II:

They (the faithful) commend your Empire to our God throughout all the Churches when the sacrifices have been offered (*oblatis sacrificiis*).²

If *mysteria*, *sacrificia*, and *preces* are at this period always to be identified with the Canon, these passages support the theory that the Diptychs of the living were already within the Canon. But the last passage would make it almost necessary to hold that they came towards the end, in the position they hold in the Byzantine rite. There is, however, no evidence that they were ever in that position at Rome. It is more natural to take them as used in a wider sense of the Mass of the Faithful. The Secrets are full of this kind of language, as for example '*Sacrificiis Domine placatus oblatis opem tuam . . . impende*'. Battifol says, 'In the language of the Secrets the sacrifice is the offering which the faithful have brought',³ as in that for the seventh Sunday after Pentecost:

Accept the sacrifice from thy servants who are devoted to thee, and sanctify them with such a blessing as the offer-

¹ Ep. vii.

² Ep. xxiii. 1.

³ *Leçons sur la messe*, p. 164.

ings of Abel, that what they have severally offered to the honour of thy majesty may promote the salvation of all.

Dom Connolly takes the words of Boniface '*inter ipsa mysteria*' as including the Prayers of the Faithful, though he says that 'Innocent certainly employs *mysteria* to describe the Canon', on the ground that he is expressly dealing with the different parts of the Mass, and he says that Celestine's '*oblatis sacrificiis*' cannot be pressed to mean 'after the consecration'.¹ But *mysteria* adequately describes that part of the Mass which we call 'the Mass of the Faithful'.

A great deal of space has been given to this question because on the interpretation of Innocent's words depends the view we are to hold as to the time when the sections IV to VII became part of the Canon. On the usual view V and something at least corresponding to IV must have been there in the third century; if it is as I suggest, then the commemoration of the living was before the Canon until, at the earliest, the middle of the fifth century.

LIBER PONTIFICALIS

About the year 530 a compilation was made of the records of the doings of the Popes, chiefly their works of building, of collecting and burying the bodies of the martyrs, and notices of their own places of burial. From time to time up to the ninth century continuations of this work were added; then the work, which had become more biographical, was abandoned for memoirs of a more literary style. There are many manuscripts of this work, which Mommsen and Duchesne have collected and edited in modern times.

Liber Pontificalis is of great importance for the history of the Church of Rome, but from its method of compila-

¹ *J.T.S.* xxi (Apr. 1920), 228.

tion its notices are of unequal value. Those of the earliest times cannot be relied on, but from the end of the fourth century they must be taken into consideration, and from the sixth century they are contemporary. There are a number of valuable statements which throw light on the development of the liturgy. It is only necessary here to mention those which lie between the papacies of Leo the Great and Gregory II. They are as follows:

1. LEO (440-60). 'He ordered that within the *actio* of the sacrifice the words "*sanctum sacrificium &c.*" should be added.' These are the last words of the *Supraquae* (XI), and come immediately after the final words quoted in *De Sacramentis*. *Supplices te rogamus*, which in *De Sacr.* preceded this portion, now follows. We have no indication whether this was so in Leo's time.

2. HILARY (461-8). 'He established sacred vessels (*ministra*) in the city of Rome which were to pass round the established stations.'

If this is correct, and there is no reason to doubt it, the attribution of the establishment of the Stational Churches, at which the whole Church of Rome met on stated days for Mass with the Pope, to St. Gregory, as is customary, following John the Deacon,¹ puts them too late.

3. GELASIUS (492-6). 'He made prayers and prefaces of the sacraments in a restrained style.' This is the first statement of the use of variable parts of the Mass, but they must have gone back beyond this to Leo, and possibly to Damasus (366-84).

4. SYMMACHUS (498-514). 'He ordered that every Sunday and Feast of the Martyrs the hymn "*Gloria in excelsis*" should be said.'

5. GREGORY I (590-604). 'He added to the text of the Canon the words "*diesque nostros in tua pace disponas*,

¹ *Vita S. Greg.* ii. 18.

&c." This is also recorded by Bede (*d.* 735).¹ It is the first mention of *Hanc igitur* (VII) and shows that its framework had been for some time fixed.

6. BONIFACE IV (608-15). 'He acquired from Phocas the temple which is called Pantheon, which he made into the Church of the blessed ever-Virgin Mary and all the Martyrs.'

7. SERGIUS (687-701). (a) He ordered that the Cross 'should be kissed and adored on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross'. (b) 'That at the time of the fraction of our Lord's body "*Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*" should be said by the clergy and people.' (c) 'On the days of the Annunciation of our Lord, of the Dormitio and Nativity of the holy Mother of God, ever-Virgin Mary, and that of the holy Simeon, which the Greeks call "*Ypapanti*", the people should go in procession from the Church of St. Hadrian to Santa Maria Maggiore.'

8. GREGORY II (715-31). 'He instituted that on the Thursdays in Lent Masses should be celebrated in Church, which had not been done before.'

It is interesting to notice that the chants of these new Masses of Gregory II were none of them new; it would appear that the arrangement of St. Gregory was looked upon as sacrosanct.

There are also in *Liber Pontificalis* a number of statements about the dedication of Churches to recently canonized Saints, which might help to fix the date of their being furnished with proper Masses, but they do not concern us here.

Two other notices of the changes taking place during this period should be mentioned.

POPE VIGILIUS (537-55), in a letter to Justinian, quotes

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica* ii. 1: 'tria verba maximae perfectionis plena superadjecit: Diesque, &c.'

the words from *Te igitur* (IV) '*pro ecclesia quam adunare, regere, custodire digneris*'.¹

ST. GREGORY (590-604):

But we say the Lord's Prayer immediately after the Canon (*precem*), because it was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the Host with the prayer of oblation only (*ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent*; this may also mean 'consecrate the host of the oblation by that prayer alone'). And it seemed to me very improper that we should say over the oblation a prayer which some man of learning (*scholasticus*) had composed, and that we should not say over his body and blood that which has been handed down as our redeemer's own composition.²

This is a very difficult passage. Four interpretations have been put forward. (1) Taking *oblationis* with *hostia*. This has been till lately the usual method; but it makes Gregory assert that the Apostles had consecrated by the Lord's Prayer only, which one would think a very unlikely statement for him to make in view of the veneration attached to the traditional Canon. (2) Taking *oblationis* with *oratio*, identifying this with *prex*, and supposing that the Lord's Prayer was not previously used in the Roman Mass. This and the next explanation are under the very serious difficulty that they make Gregory justify the use of the Lord's Prayer by the fact that the Apostles did not use it. It is also objected to by some scholars on the ground that the Canon, considered at Rome as being of apostolic origin, could scarcely be attributed to a *scholasticus*. (3) A similar view is that Rome had the Lord's Prayer, as in Africa, after the Fraction and before Communion, and that Gregory moved it to its place immediately following the Canon. But in any position between the Canon and Communion it would

¹ P.L. lxi. 15.

² Ep. ix. 26.

be said over the Oblation. (4) Brightman, also taking *oblationis* with *oratio*, suggests that *super oblationem* is equivalent to *super oblata* or the Secret.¹ There is no difficulty then on the score of *scholasticus* or of the words being 'over the oblation'. It then means, 'If we are adding anything to the apostolic custom, the Lord's Prayer should take priority to all else.'

It is difficult to decide between (1) and (4), and I think the difficulties of (3) are overwhelming. (1) certainly gives by far the best sense, and after all we do not know that Gregory may not have had some good reason to suppose that the Lord's Prayer was the primitive Consecration, though if so he was mistaken. The difficulty of *scholasticus* does not seem to be serious; even the Apostles were only ordinary persons compared with our Lord. (4) does not read so easily, and uses *oratio* in two senses, but overcomes the historical difficulty. The chief stumbling-block may be reduced by connecting 'because' closely with 'immediately after' (*mox post*). 'We put it next to the *prex* because we must retain the custom of the Apostles, who consecrated by the *prex*, but it must have the next place, for it would be wrong to use a prayer made by his followers and not to use his own.'

On either of these two interpretations Gregory says that he introduced the Lord's Prayer into the Canon.

THE ROMAN MISSAL

FIRST STAGE—COLLECTIONS OF OCCASIONAL MASSES

THE LEONIAN SACRAMENTARY. Not till the seventh century do we come to the first text of an undoubtedly Roman liturgy, though unfortunately the Canon, which is our principal concern here, is missing. This important

¹ *J.T.S.* xxix (Jan. 1928), 169.

document is contained in a single manuscript in the Library of the Chapter of Verona. Its first publisher, Joseph Bianchini, believed it to be the work of St. Leo (440-61), whence it came to be known as the Leonian Sacramentary.

The word 'Sacramentary' denotes the books used from this time till the twelfth century, containing only the portions of the liturgy said by the bishop and priest. The chants were gathered into another book, the 'Antiphonary' (or *Liber Gradualis*); the lessons into two others, the Epistolary and the Evangeliary; while the rubrics, giving an account of how the ceremonies were to be carried out, are contained in the *Ordo*. In the twelfth century all these separate parts were combined in the *Missale plenum*. The Sacramentary, however, as the name suggests, had not only the forms for the Mass, but also those for any other episcopal or priestly functions.¹

It is generally agreed by experts that the Verona manuscript was written in the seventh century, but the place of origin is uncertain. It is not likely to have been Verona; many think it was Bobbio. Some scholars have also believed that they can see in it some Gallican features, though it is more purely Roman than any other text known.

When Feltoe published his excellent edition in 1896 he believed, from its incompleteness and confused order, and from the nature of many of the expressions used, that it must have been an original document, though using a large quantity of matter of an earlier date. Two years later the Italian scholar Mercati drew attention to a manuscript fragment containing seventeen prayers

¹ As the custom of saying Masses without deacon and other ministers came into use, it was necessary to add the parts the priest would say instead of them; so in later Sacramentaries we find the chants noted.

which were written in the seventh or eighth century as notes on a manuscript of the sixth or seventh century. All but one of these prayers are in the Leonian manuscript, and their arrangement suggests that there was previously in use a collection similar to, but not identical with, that document. It is therefore probable that *Leonianum* has been copied, probably with additions and alterations, from an earlier compilation. This hypothesis is confirmed by the internal indications of the dates of the formulas themselves.

The book consists of groups of prayers and prefaces gathered for separate Masses; usually there are six items, three prayers, which were probably two Collects and a Secret, a Preface, and two Post-communions, though in some cases there are only one prayer and a preface, while in others there are as many as nine, including two or even three prefaces. They are arranged according to the month; all up to the middle of April is lost. There are large numbers of Masses for Saints' days, but these are chiefly gathered together under the names of a very few of the most prominent Saints; e.g. there are twenty-eight for the feast of SS. Peter and Paul. This grouping clearly shows that the original collection was made in Rome; St. Laurence, e.g., has fourteen Masses. There are also many references to Rome, her enemies, her safety, and her rulers (*principes*), the tombs of the martyrs, the Station Churches, and one or two Churches that were not Stations. On the other hand, the Masses for St. Stephen the Proto-martyr are given on 2 August with the indication: '*in cymeterio Callisti via Appia*'. This date and burial-place are those of Pope Stephen (254-7). The compiler therefore does not seem to be well acquainted with Roman Church life, though his material is Roman.

There is a prayer for the anniversary of Simplicius,

who died in 483, and a reference to a victory which took place somewhere very near to Easter, for it speaks of the victory enabling the Church to receive the Easter Sacrament with a quiet mind. Duchesne sees in this a reference to the raising by Belisarius of the siege of Rome under Vitiges in March 538.¹ This is still perhaps the best conjecture. A preface for Maundy Thursday mentions the fact that the reigning Pope had entered on his pontificate on that day. Lietzmann has calculated that this only happened in 538 and 549, Vigilius having been consecrated on 29 March, and in 558, the anniversary of Pelagius's consecration on 16 March.² There are two references to Gregory, but it is not the Pope.

There are two problems here: the date of the collection, as distinct from the date of the manuscript, and the period of the writer of the Collects and other prayers which are so typical of the Roman rite and so clearly to be distinguished from those of Gallican descent. No doubt there were many persons who composed prayers which found a place in this collection, but there must have been one man whose creative genius is responsible for the artistry which is characteristic of the prayers of the Roman Sacramentaries, and it is probable that most of the oldest and best prayers come from his hand. But who he was we can only at present conjecture. There is, however, no one to whom we can point with more likelihood than the Pope to whom the first editors attributed this collection, St. Leo (440-61). Gore says: 'There is no early Western writer to whose style it [i.e. the Collect] bears a closer resemblance, and with whose character it is more consonant than that of Leo, its reputed inventor.'³ *Liber Pontificalis* only credits him with the words in the Canon

¹ *Christian Worship*, 137.

² *Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, 21-4.

³ *D.C.B.*, Leo.

sanctum sacrificium et cetera; but many of the prayers in *Leonianum* show close resemblance to his writings. There are some prefaces which seem to be earlier than Leo, but they are but few and not sufficient in number to enable us to test this opinion from their literary style.

The collection itself is much later than Leo. Duchesne puts it towards the end of the sixth century;¹ Probst thinks it was collected by a layman about the end of the fifth century;² M. Rule, applying a method of measuring the letters in the lines, sees in it three layers, the first of the time of St. Leo (440-61), the second of the time of Hilary (461-8), the third under Pope Simplicius (468-83);³ Buchwald attributes it to Gregory of Tours (d. 594).⁴ The late fifth or early sixth century seems the most likely.

The Canon is unfortunately missing, but it had the two variable portions *Communicantes* (VI) and *Hanc igitur* (VII). The latter is without the words *diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, &c.*, which were added by Gregory. This is also wanting in another Sacramentary of later date (10th cent.) in the Arsenal Library in Paris, from Worms Cathedral. One of the *Hanc igitur* forms ends, however, with the words 'diesque meos clementissima gubernatione disponas'. Feltoe⁵ sees in this an indication that it is later than Gregory, but it is possible that Gregory found these or similar words already in a *Hanc igitur* and adopted them as official. Another peculiarity is that *Hanc igitur* precedes, instead of following, *Communicantes*.

Though the Verona manuscript gives a private collection, it was not unique. Beside Mercati's fragments already mentioned there is a manuscript of similar

¹ *Christian Worship*, 139.

² *Die ältest. röm. Sacram.* 46-143.

³ *J.T.S.* ix (1908), 551-6.

⁴ *Das sogennante Sacr. Leon.*

⁵ Feltoe, *Sacr. Leon.*, p. 24, l. 30.

character in the British Museum. In none of these is the Canon preserved. It may be that some day a copy will come to light which does contain it; that would throw much light on the history of the Roman rite. But as it is we can see that the distinctively Roman liturgy was already, in the latter part of the fifth century, fairly well developed. The Leonian Sacramentary contains the *Communicantes* and *Hanc igitur* (without its ending) and these presume the greater part of the Canon. But it is also evident that there were not at that time Masses provided in full for every day of the year, or even for every Sunday. There must have been a Common Mass for ordinary days, of which there is no indication, or there was great liberty of choice, and perhaps also of composition, as is indeed implied in the later history of the Sacramentaries.

Some light is thrown on this matter by a letter written by Pope Vigilius in 538 to Profuturus, Bishop of Braga in Portugal. In response to a request, a copy of the Roman Canon of that day was sent with the following remarks:

We have no variation in the series of prayers (*ordinem precum*) for the celebration of Mass either because of season or on account of a festival; but we always consecrate the oblations in the same form (*eodem tenore*). But when a festival like Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Epiphany or a Saint's day is to be celebrated, we add separate sections (*singula capita*) suitable for the day, by which we commemorate the sacred solemnity or keep the festival of those whose day it is, but on other occasions we proceed in the usual way. Wherefore we are sending you the accompanying text of the Canon (*ipsius canonicae precis*) which we received from the tradition of the Apostles. And that your Benevolence may know in what places you may insert other prayers suited for festivals, we add in the same way the prayers for Easter.¹

¹ *Ep. ad Profut.: P.L. lxi. 18.*

These *capita* have generally been taken to be the Collect, Secret, &c., but it seems more likely, as Baumstark suggests, that they are slight changes to be made in the Canon itself, that is the *Communicantes* and *Hanc igitur*. Vigilius also quotes in another letter the words *pro ecclesia quam adunare, regere, custodire digneris* of the *Te igitur* (IV).¹

It would seem, then, that while there was as yet no complete and settled liturgy, certain portions were being stereotyped, and collections being made of variable formulae such as Collects, Prefaces, &c. This is borne out by the uncertainty which exists as to certain rubrical titles. For example, *infra actionem*, which is now printed in the text of the Canon of the Mass before *Communicantes*, has no meaning there. It was originally prefixed to variables which were written, not in the Canon, but in the Mass for the day, to indicate that it was to be said in its proper place in the Canon. It was thus used before the *Hanc igitur*. In the Gelasian Sacramentary in one Mass it precedes both the *Memento* and the *Hanc Igitur*.

Already the prayers had apparently made progress in Africa, though no collection from that region is known; for the Councils of Carthage (397) and Milevis (402) limit the composition of prayers, Collects, Prefaces, and Benedictions to *instructioribus* or *prudentialibus*, 'lest anything contrary to the faith should be drawn up through ignorance or individual zeal'. It is evident that some formulae had been approved and some forbidden, but that they did not supply all the needs of the time.

We now have evidence of the existence in the Roman Canon of the following portions: I *Sursum Corda* (A.D. 217), II Preface—variable (495), III *Sanctus* (mentioned in *Lib. Pont.* for 119–28, but probably not introduced till 3rd cent.), IV *Te igitur* (c. 545), VI *Communicantes* (538),

¹ *Ep. ad Justinianum*, *Ibid.* 22.

VII *Hanc igitur* (538, the final words 595), VIII *Quam oblationem* (425), IX *Qui pridie* 217—in this form 425), X *Unde et memores* (217—in later form 425), XI *Supra quae* (in part 370, rest 450), XII *Supplices* (in part 425).¹

There is no evidence so far for the order of these parts except that the Canon begins with I, II, III, and that VIII–XII run in that order. No reference has yet been found for V and XIII–XV (*Memento Domine, Memento etiam, Nobis quoque, and Per quem*).

THE GALLICAN FAMILY

Before proceeding further with the history of the Roman rite it will be necessary to turn to the other Western Churches, whose rites had an important influence on the later development of that of Rome.

SPAIN

This country was one of the later conquests of the Roman Empire in the West; it was not till the century before Christ that it became romanized, and then mostly in the large coastal cities. It was probably the least subject to Hellenic civilization of the Mediterranean coastal areas. In the second century most of the leading Latin writers came from Spain, but the prosperity which marked the period of the great Emperors of the first and second centuries declined during the next two hundred years, and in the first years of the fifth century the invasion of the Vandals, who burst through the German frontier and rapidly passed through Gaul, began the series of barbarian ravages which occupied that and the following century until the Visigothic Empire reached its culmination under Reccared (585–601).

We have little information about the Church in Spain

¹ For these parts, see p. 54.

in the early days, though Spanish bishops are often mentioned. In the fourth century the Gnostic Marcus found a home in Spain, and gained a pupil whose enthusiasm won many adherents, so that the Priscillian heresy gave much alarm and trouble to the bishops. Its leaders were put to death in 385, but it continued to have even greater influence till late in the sixth century. In 538 Vigilius sent Profuturus of Braga in Galicia a copy of the Roman Canon, leaving him to construct his own Sacramentary. In 561 this document was made obligatory on the Church of the Suevic kingdom by the Council of Braga. This does not seem to have left any trace. In 588 the country was annexed by the Visigoths.

The Vandals, Suevi, and Visigoths were Arians, so far as they were Christians at all; but it was only the last named that had any permanent influence on the Church. They had associations with Constantinople; Ataulphus, who first entered Spain as an ally of the Empire, had married the daughter of the Emperor Theodosius. They had lived in Northern Italy, founded a kingdom at Toulouse, and had come under the influence of the Gallican civilization. The Church, before their kingdom was established, was of the usual semi-Greek type characteristic of the Latin Mediterranean countries, with a liturgy of the same nature as that of early Rome. Under the Visigoths the Mozarabic liturgy was developed. The name comes from a later date, signifying a Christian living under Mohammedan rule.

The principal source for the early Mozarabic rite is a treatise by St. Isidore (560-636), who describes it as being composed of seven prayers as follows:¹

1. An admonition to the people, urging them to prayer (see Missa, p. 307).

¹ *De eccles. officiis* I. xv, P.L. lxxxiii, 752-3.

2. An invocation to God, to receive the prayers and the oblation of the faithful (Second *Oratio*, p. 307).
3. For those who offer and the faithful departed (*Post nomina*).
4. For the Kiss of Peace (*Ad pacem Oratio*).
5. For the sanctification of the Oblation (*Illatio*).
6. That the oblation may be 'conformed' to the body and blood of Christ (*Post pridie*, p. 310).
7. The Lord's Prayer (*Ad orationem dominicam*).

By the eighth century the Mozarabic rite was fully developed, but the books known to us come from the tenth and eleventh centuries, and almost all from Toledo, the rite having fallen into disuse in the other dioceses.

About A.D. 712 the Moslems conquered Spain, except Castile, and the national liturgy lost its prestige; in 1063 Gregory VII ordered that the Roman rite should take its place, and after a good deal of resistance abolished the Mozarabic liturgy from the greater part of Spain. It was restored in Toledo about 1508 by the efforts of the learned Ximenes, the Archbishop of that city, and with the consent of the Pope. Later it was also allowed in other Churches.

The only known Sacramentary of the Mozarabic rite is the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*¹ of the ninth century, edited by Dom Férotin in 1912. There is also a Missal, the *Missale mixtum* (i.e. *plenum*, containing the chants, &c.) *secundum regulam Beati Isidori dictum mozarabes*, compiled by Cardinal Ximenes from a revision of older books.²

GAUL

The history of the Gallic Church is far too complicated even to summarize here. There was no unity in the country until the establishment of the Carolingian Empire, successive barbarian incursions sweeping through the

¹ MS. 35.3 of Toledo Chapter Library. ² P.L. lxxxv.

land, but not succeeding in founding any permanent rule. Certain great sees acquired an extended influence, either from the importance of the city or through the reputation of the bishop. Such were Milan in Cisalpine Gaul, and Arles in Provence. According to Duchesne it is from the former of these that the Gallican liturgy took its origin, probably in the fourth century.¹ At this time the city of Milan had acquired a special importance from the Imperial residence there after the abandonment of Trèves in 388, and before the court was transferred to Ravenna. For a time it seemed to threaten the primacy of Rome, especially when the commanding personality of Ambrose presided over it. Ambrose played a leading part in the settlement of many doctrinal and constitutional disputes; he was appealed to by bishops from all parts of the West, and even from the East, to adjust their differences, and was recognized as having an authority of the highest order, though without any sense of belittling that of Rome. 'For a short but important period it would thus appear that the Western episcopate recognized a twofold hegemony—that of the Pope and that of the Bishop of Milan.'²

The Gallican liturgy displays many Eastern characteristics, which, if it were developing in northern Italy, can well be explained by the close association with the Imperial city of Constantinople and the Western Court. Auxentius, the predecessor of Ambrose, was himself a Cappadocian and an Arian, and therefore had special sympathy with the East, the home of Arianism. He was also a man of great force and talent. Six out of his nine predecessors had Greek names, so that Milan had a Greek tradition as well as being the centre of what was, in fact, an Oriental Court.

We have to remember the danger of seeing Eastern

¹ *Christian Worship*, 91 ff.

² *Ibid* 32.

influences where there is nothing else than a common tradition. It is certain that the Roman liturgy changed more than any Eastern rite, so that features which we now call Eastern may be nothing more than original traits possessed by both East and West. But in the rites of Milan there are Eastern features which could not have been in existence until the fourth century, and the same is true of the Gallican. Nor is it only the East to which the Gallican rites have affinities; the Church of Africa had practices which we find elsewhere only in Gaul, e.g. the Rogation Days and the Paschal Candle.¹ These must have been imported into Africa.

However it originated, the Gallican rite rapidly spread over Gaul, developing new features and acquiring local characteristics. It certainly influenced the formation of the Spanish rite, and was in turn at a later date influenced by it. It must not be supposed that a new rite replaced an old one. The Eastern influence directed the development of primitive, simple, and plastic forms in these countries, just as the Gallican later on, but to a less degree, influenced that of Rome. The divergence which so rapidly grew between the Gallican and Roman uses does not justify in the early stages the assumption of either an original Gallican type in Rome or a Roman type in Gaul and Spain. But there is always the possibility, and the evidence provides actual examples, of early developments in either region being replaced by importations from the other. A wholesale conversion from one mode to the other will be seen to be out of the question, until the final success of the Roman rite gives it a victory, which is nevertheless qualified by the fact that it both had been and still was to be penetrated by Gallican elements.

As the Gallican rite made its way through Gaul,

¹ See W. C. Bishop, 'The African Rite', *J.T.S.* xiii. 250-77.

Britain, Ireland, and such parts of Germany as had accepted the Christian faith, it took a characteristic form, though never clearly fixed. Some attempts were made from time to time to establish uniformity, at least in certain provinces, but without much success. There was no sufficient authority. The prominence of Milan was only temporary, and no Gallican see attained a commanding position, while the barbarian invasions prevented Rome from attempting any effective control.

The Council of Vannes (465) ordered that the same manner of saying the daily offices should be observed throughout the province of Lyons; at Agde (506) the same rule was made for Gaul, under the Visigoths. Innocent I, claiming that St. Peter and his successors had founded all the Churches in the West, said: 'What has been given by Peter, the prince of the Apostles, to the Church of Rome, and is now preserved by it, ought to be kept by all, and nothing should be done or inserted without authority.'¹ But this, though comprehensive, was addressed to Gubbio, not to Gaul. On the other hand, St. Gregory, who was credited with the reform of the Mass in Rome, was tolerant of divergencies to suit local needs, for in his reply to St. Augustine's question about the difference of usage between Rome and Gaul (597) he replied:

I am willing that whatever you find likely to be more pleasing to God, whether in Rome or in the Church of the Gauls, or in any other Church, you should carefully select, and that you should instil into the Church of the English, which so far is new to the faith, what you have been able to cull from many Churches. For we are not to esteem what is done from its association with places, but places from the good that is done in them (*non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt*).²

¹ *Ep. xxv. ad Decentium.*

² Bede, *H.E.* i. xxvii. 2.

Rome always had an influence greater than any other Church, and from time to time local Gallican uses were attuned to the Roman use. We have seen how Vigilius sent the Roman Canon to Spain and that it was adopted by a Spanish Council, though a new invasion caused it to be superseded again. Such references to Rome as that of Profuturus by zealous admirers of her authority or her rites must have been frequent. Even more effective were the visits to Rome of scholars, who constantly brought back to their homes volumes of liturgical books, which would become standards. Missionaries also like Boniface were often industrious in spreading conformity to Rome. The Benedictine Order was specially prominent in this work. But all this could not happen until there were books of the Roman rite, and that was not before the end of the sixth century.

There was one consideration which tended to counteract the great advantage the Roman liturgy had from the high authority of the Apostolic See. The Roman rite was essentially restrained and unemotional; that is ultimately a great virtue. But the more fervent and eloquent formularies of the Gauls, Franks, and Celts, and especially the richness of their ceremonies, were better adapted to popular use. It proved impossible altogether to suppress this warmth of emotion. When at last the Roman rite did force its way into its rival's field, it had to accept additions to make it acceptable, additions which found their way back into the local Roman worship.

The establishment of the Frankish kingdom in Gaul in the fifth century led to a series of civil wars which continued with little respite until the Carolingian dynasty was established under Pippin (751-68) and Charlemagne (768-814) and founded the new Empire. It is worth noticing that, when Clovis was baptized by Remigius (496),

Gelasius, who is traditionally the compiler of many Collects and Prefaces, was Pope. Pippin and his son believed that the best security for their Empire was union with Rome, and they endeavoured to cement that union by liturgical unity. Charlemagne interested himself in the liturgy. The Pope Stephen II himself visited France in 754, and used the occasion to foster a better knowledge of the Roman Chant, which was apparently not then popular, but seems to have become so after this. A School of Music was established at Metz and provided with Roman books. Charlemagne was not indeed himself over-scrupulous in his adherence to the Roman rites. As we shall see in dealing with the Gregorian Sacramentary, it was in his time, and probably under his eye, that it was infused with Gallican features, and it is recorded that he gave instructions to Paul the Deacon to draw up a collection of lessons for the Office, because those of the night-vigil were unsatisfactory.

A letter has been preserved from Pope Hadrian to the Emperor, written somewhere between 784 and 791, in which he says:

As to the Sacramentary drawn up (*disposito*) by our holy predecessor, the godly Pope Gregory, Paul the grammarian asked us on your behalf to send you a pure text, according to the tradition of our holy Church, so we have sent one to your royal excellence by John, a monk and Abbot of the city of Ravenna.¹

What this text was we have yet to see.

THE EARLY GALLICAN RITE

The pure Gallican rite has scarcely come down to us; but there is a description of it in two letters usually attributed to Germanus, Bishop of Paris (555-76), the relevant

¹ *P.L.* xcvi. 435.

parts of which are printed by Duchesne.¹ They are contained in a manuscript of the Municipal Library of Autun of the ninth century (c. 830). Dom Wilmart thinks that the name of Germanus has been inserted in an ancestral text and that they are later, much of their matter having been borrowed from St. Isidore.² The reasons given by him are not conclusive, and do not much affect the witness of the document to the Gallican use. These letters are not so much an account of the liturgy as a mystical explanation.

All the Gallican books that have been preserved, except the 'fragments of Mone', either include Roman elements or are based on the Roman rite with Gallican prayers added. The following are the purest and most important:

1. THE MASSES OF MONE (Karlsruhe MS. Aug. 253). This is a palimpsest from Reichenau containing eleven Masses published by F. J. Mone.³ It is probably of the seventh century. Wilmart, by rearranging them, has shown that there are only seven Masses in all, six for Sundays and one for St. Germain.⁴ It is purely Gallican, but only a fragment. One Mass is remarkable from being entirely in hexameter verse.

2. MISSALE GOTHICUM (MS. Vat. Reg. 317) of about 700. It is not certain where it was written; some scholars think it was Luxeuil, others Autun, in Burgundy. The title 'gothic' was added to the manuscript in the fifteenth century by an unknown hand; it is really a Gallican document. It contains Masses for the great festivals, Lent, Rogation days, six Masses for Sunday, and those for Saints' days. The variable portions of these Masses alone are given, but they constitute almost the whole

¹ *Christian Worship*, pp. 190-224. For the complete text, see Migne, *P.L.* lxxii, 89-98.

² *D.A.C.L.* vi. 1049 ff. ³ Printed in Migne, *P.L.* cxxxviii. 863-82.

⁴ *Rev. Bénédict.* xxviii (1911), 377-90. See also *D.A.C.L.* vi. 1049 ff.

Mass, the only considerable formula missing being the Words of Institution, which were apparently too well known to be inserted. There is therefore no Canon in the Roman sense of the word, but the Mass resembles that of St. Isidore already described.

If we combine the directions given by St. Germain with the forms contained in this book, the liturgy of Gaul, before admixture with the Roman rite, is fairly complete. But even this, which, except for the above fragments, is the best example we have of the older Gallic rite, contains a number of Roman forms. It cannot be said with any certainty that they represent any greater Roman influence than the natural borrowing that must take place in the early stages of the construction of 'Proper' Masses. In other words, it is not to be assumed that these Roman prayers displaced earlier Gallican forms.

A full Mass in this book contains the following prayers: *Collectio post prophetiam*, *Collectio post preces*, *Praefatio Missae* and its *Collectio*, *Collectio post nomina*, *Collectio ad pacem*, *Immolatio* (also called *Contestatio*) *Missae*, *Post Sanctus*, *Post Secreta*, *Ante Orationem dominicam*, *Post Orationem Dominicam*, *Benedictio populi*, *Post Communionem* and its *Collectio*, fourteen pieces in all. For the function of these see Commentary (through the Index). Ordinary Sundays omit the first two and the Benediction. A comparison with the Mozarabic Mass given on page 306 will show how close the resemblance is.

3. *MISSALE GALLICANUM VETUS* (Vat. Pal. lat. 493). It is of about the same date as the above, and probably has some relationship. It is much mutilated.

THE ROMANO-GALLICAN RITE—FIRST STAGE

4. *THE BOBBIO MISSAL* (Par. Bib. Nat. 13246). This most interesting document is still to a great extent a

mystery. Dom Wilmart, who has given much study to it, says: 'From the liturgical point of view it is generally admitted that the Bobbio Missal is a disconcerting compilation, rebellious to investigation';¹ to palaeographers it is equally puzzling. It was discovered by Mabillon at Bobbio in northern Italy, and he thought it had been written at Luxeuil in the seventh century; E. A. Lowe dates it eighth century.² Its *provenance* is important to enable us to place it in its historical relation with other liturgies, but it is variously assigned to Bobbio or its environs, to the region of Narbonne, to Milanese territory, and to 'an obscure village in France'. E. Bishop was convinced that it was written at Bobbio by Irish scholars, and that it was an Irish rite.³ It is a strange mixture of Irish, Gallican, Roman, and Spanish elements.

A curious feature of the book is that out of its sixty-one Masses, which usually have two Collects, a *Post Nomina*, an *Ad pacem*, and a *Contestatio*, rather more than one quarter have instead one Collect, a Secret, and a *Contestatio*. This suggests Roman borrowing, but while there are many Roman forms in the other Masses, there are few in this group, which must be taken from some unknown source. The Secret here seems to correspond to the '*ad pacem*', but nowhere in this book are the prayers which are headed '*ad pacem*' and '*post nomina*' true to type.

This Sacramentary (for it is not a Missal in the later sense of the word) contains the Roman Canon with slight variants, and calls it 'Roman'. The words added by St. Gregory are included, so it is not earlier than the seventh century.

5. THE STOWE MISSAL (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin). This, too, has caused much difficulty. It is placed in the seventh century by some scholars, by others in the eighth,

¹ H.B.S. lxi. 56.

² Ibid. 98.

³ *Liturgica hist.* 62 sqq.

ninth, or tenth. It is Irish with Roman admixtures. The Canon, with the words '*diesque &c.*', is called by Moelcaich, its corrector, '*Canon dominicus Papae Gilasi*', which Burkitt takes to mean simply that it was known to be 'old-fashioned' by those who knew the Gregorian Sacramentary, which succeeded the Gelasian Sacramentary, shortly to be considered.¹

6. MISSALE FRANCORUM (Vat. Reg. lat. 257). This comes from France, as is shown by frequent references to the King and Kingdom of the Franks. It is seventh or eighth century, and only a fragment. The Roman element is so strong that Duchesne includes it among the Roman books;² but it should be classed as Gallican mixed with Roman.

This group of Sacramentaries shows a very definite Romanizing of the Gallican liturgy. Coming from Italy (or SE. France), Ireland, and France, respectively, they are independent of one another; yet they have behind them one original Roman text, which may, however, consist only of the Canon. Bishop sees a common ancestor of Bobbio and Stowe in a supposed manuscript current in Ireland about 600.³ The existence of Gregory's addition does not date the original, for the words may have been added, but certain slight divergencies suggest that it was earlier than those used by the documents to be considered later, and prior to Gregory I. For example, in the *Hanc igitur*, Stowe and Francorum, with *De Sacr.*, two early north Italian manuscripts, and a corrector of Bobbio, have '*suscipias*' instead of '*accipias*', and the same pair add '*et petimus*' after '*Supplices te rogamus*' also with *De Sacr.*; and in *Hanc igitur* all these add '*quam tibi offerimus in honorem*'.

Bishop's conclusion that an Irish original lies behind

¹ J.T.S. Apr. 1931 (xxxii), 281.

² *Christian Worship*, p. 134.

³ *Liturgica hist.* pp. 62 sqq.

all is hardly consistent with the evidence he adduces, though Irish scholars may have had a hand in the Bobbio Missal. Stowe and Franc. are closer to one another than to Bobb., which, with the later Biasca and Bergamo Sacramentaries, represents a north Italian tradition.

THE ROMANO-GALLICAN RITE—SECOND STAGE (GELASIAN)

THE GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY (Vat. Reg. lat 316). This was for a long time looked upon as a Roman Sacramentary, but it must now be included in the Gallican books of the time when the Roman liturgy had made considerable advance in the Gallican regions.

It was written in the seventh century or perhaps the beginning of the eighth, probably for the Abbey of St. Denis. The place of its origin is not known, but it was somewhere in the north of France. The name by which it is always known is not to be found in the manuscript, where it is called '*Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae*'; but the title 'Gelasian' was given to it, or rather to its type, as far back as the ninth century, for several inventories of monastic libraries from the year 830 onwards mention both 'Gregorian' and 'Gelasian' Missals; at St. Riquier there were no less than nineteen of the latter.

There is no reason for believing that Gelasius (492-6) compiled such a collection of Masses as this book contains. The attribution of its authorship to him is no doubt due to a notice in *Liber Pontificalis*, which says of Gelasius: 'He also made prefaces and prayers of the sacraments in restrained language (*cauto sermone*)', and to an early life of Gelasius by Gennadius, who says that 'he wrote expositions of divers passages of Scripture and the Sacraments in polished language (*delimata sermone*)'.¹ These

¹ *De viris illustr.* The passage is apparently an addition. *D.A.C.L.* xi, 709.

statements do not suggest that he composed or collected a whole Sacramentary. Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) tells us that Gelasius 'is said to have' arranged prayers composed by himself and others, and that the Churches of God made use of his prayers.¹

The Sacramentary is divided into three books. The first is '*Liber sacramentorum Romanae ordinis anni circuli*'; but it has no Masses for Sundays after Pentecost and contains, besides Masses for the Church's seasons, forms of ordination, reconciliation of penitents, consecration of oils, &c. It also includes among the ordination prayers a '*capitulum S. Gregorii Papae*', warning against unworthily seeking orders, which shows that even this part as a whole could not have come from Gelasius. The second part contains Masses for the Saints' days; the third those for Sundays outside the great Festivals and for special occasions, and also the Canon. Here we have, very roughly it is true, the triple arrangement of the later Missal: the Propers of the Season, the *Sanctorale*, and the *Commune* and Votive Masses.

The Canon includes the words '*diesque nostros, &c.*', which are said to have been added by Gregory, another indication that some portions at least are more than 100 years later than Gelasius. There are other evidences of date. That there are no Masses for Thursdays in Lent, which were made Stations by Gregory II (715-31), shows that the Roman collection which forms the nucleus of the book cannot have been made later than his death. But there are Masses for the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays in Lent, which were established as Stations by Gregory I. The Lord's Prayer is also in the position in which it was placed by this Pope, and he is mentioned as a Saint in a prayer for the fruitfulness of a woman. In the same

¹ *De rebus ecclesiast. xxii.*

book there is a Mass for the Exaltation of the Cross, a Festival created to commemorate the discovery of what was believed to be the true Cross in 628. There are now fewer Prefaces and Post-communions than in previous books, and usually only two Collects, often only one.

The collection from which the Vatican MS. was copied must therefore have been made somewhere between 628 and the early years of the eighth century. But this is not necessarily the date of the Roman source which underlies it. The manuscript shows a Gallican rite which is far removed from that described by Germanus. All the features which characterize the Gallican liturgy as compared with others have gone. The *Memento etiam* (XIII) is absent, but otherwise the Canon is scarcely different from that of the Missal. Yet it is a liturgy which was used in Gaul and contained many Gallic features which show themselves in secondary matters instead of in the main structure of the Mass. There are a certain number of pages which are Gallican in style, and some forms which occur in other Gallican Sacramentaries but not in Rome. Certain ordination forms are also probably of Gallican origin. The absence of any indication of Roman 'Station Churches' also points this way, and so do terms such as '*post clausum Paschae*' for the Sundays between Low Sunday and Whitsunday. The solemn prayers for Good Friday have '*Romanum sive Francorum imperium*', though the Masses for kings in Part III only read '*Romanum*'.

Before attempting any answer to the problems set by the data given by this document, the books which are now to be described, and which also bear the name of 'Gelasian', will need to be considered.

THE RHEINAU SACRAMENTARY (Zürich 30). This manuscript is one of a group which, with the Vatican MS.

are usually all included in the term 'Gelasian', but there are sufficiently important differences to require a distinguishing term. These are often referred to as the 'Eighth-century Gelasian' books. The arrangement is quite different from that of the Vatican document. The Saints' days and the movable feasts are, in general, placed in order of date throughout the Church's year, forming the first part; those matters which are not strictly Masses are in the second part together with the votive Masses. It appears that this manuscript was compiled for the use of a priest, since the pontifical forms are generally omitted. It is, however, distinctly more Gallican than Vaticanus. It has the Rogation days, ordered by a Council of Orleans in 511, and not introduced into Rome till about 866. Frankish Saints are mentioned in the Canon, which unlike Vatican and St. Gall (to be described next) has the *Memento etiam* (XIII). In one Mass, instead of the Secret, there is a bidding which implies the recitation of names, at this date and in this part of the Mass a Gallican feature,¹ and probably a similar commemoration of the departed in the Canon is also local. On the other hand, the Roman 'Stations' are mentioned in this book.

THE ST. GALL SACRAMENTARY (St. Gall. Bibl. Canton. 348). Eighth century or beginning of ninth. A note in a handwriting of the same period says: 'Remember, O Lord, thy servant Remedius', who is probably the notable Bishop of Chur in Raetia c. 800. The order of this book is much the same as in Rheinau, with which it is more closely allied than with Vat.; but it lacks the second part, and shows few signs of Gallicanism, as is to be expected from its birthplace. The Franks are not mentioned; there are no Rogation days. Some of the Saints mentioned may be Gallican, but the Kalendar shows little French or

¹ For it belongs to *Memento Domine* (V), which is now in the Canon.

Teuton influence. The names of St. Hilary and St. Martin are in the *Communicantes*, but their prominence would explain that. There are large numbers of Saints commemorated, who are not found in the early Roman Kalendars; but they are chiefly Italian.

There are a few other texts of the Gelasian type; they do not add much to our knowledge of the history of the rite.

A careful study of these Sacramentaries shows that Vaticanus is not only an earlier manuscript but represents an earlier stage of development. Besides rearranging the matter, Rheinau and St. Gall have mixed it with further Gallican forms, including a number which seem to belong to the next stage, the Gregorian. The Gelasian Sacramentaries thus overlap the Gregorian.

The Canon is that of St. Gregory, except that *Memento etiam* is absent from the earlier editions. It is worthy of note that in the best manuscripts it appears at the end of the book, or followed only by obvious additions to the original book. The form of Canon that is given in these documents is probably later than the date of the original collection. It has either been substituted for the original, or more probably there was no Canon in the original; it was merely a collection of variable Masses. This may also have been the case with *Leonianum*. Even if that document had a Canon it could well have been Gregory's, since the manuscript, though not the original collection, was later than that Pope. It is certain that in copying old manuscripts it is the Canon that would be most carefully brought up to date.

As to the date of the original Gelasian collection, Duchesne puts it between 628 and 731, as above.¹ There is a difficulty about this, for, if it is as late as that, it is hard to explain the existence of the Gregorian book, which is so

¹ *Christian Worship*, p. 130.

different from this, and could not be much later. Wilson's conclusion is that it was a pre-Gregorian book with post-Gregorian additions and insertions, and that a revision had taken place after Vaticanus had been copied, from which Reich and St. Gall were made.¹ Cabrol takes the earlier phase back to c. 500.²

The Gelasian Sacramentary does not give the Ordinary of the Mass,³ but each separate Mass has generally two Collects, a Secret, and a Post-communion, and many have a proper Preface. In Lent there are also *Ad populum* prayers.

THE MONTE CASSINO PALIMPSEST. Manuscripts of the Roman rite after *Leonianum* are very rare, but there is one which is thought by some scholars to give an example of the liturgy as revised by St. Gregory and current in Rome in the second half of the seventh century (Monte Cassino 271 or 348). It consists of seven fragments which were erased in the eleventh century to make way for another writing. It was taken to Monte Cassino early in the eighth century. It includes the Canon, which was by this time fixed.

THE ROMANO-GALLICAN RITE—THIRD STAGE

THE GREGORIAN SACRAMENTARY. A later stage in the development of the Roman rite, as well as that of Gaul, is given us by the Gregorian Sacramentary. The origin of this is recorded in the letter from Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne (see p. 81), about 790. None of the manuscripts that survive is the document sent by Hadrian. It would appear that the Roman Mass was too austere for the Gallican Church, which was accustomed to give freer rein to the expression of its religious feelings than the more

¹ *Gelas. Sacr.* Introd.

² *D.A.C.L.* vi. 768.

³ The word 'Ordinary' is sometimes used for the whole Mass; but I have used it for that portion which precedes the Canon.

dignified and restrained Church of Rome, and which also had many customs unknown in Rome but dear to the people of the north. No sooner, then, had the Emperor prescribed Hadrian's book for use in his dominions than the copies distributed began to be supplemented for local needs. The manuscripts of the Gregorian Sacramentary, which should rather be called the 'Hadrian Sacramentary', give us the expanded editions current in divers regions.

E. Bishop has shown that the original document of Hadrian has been preserved in substance in the oldest type of Gregorian books, for there is in them a first part, which he considers to be that of Hadrian, generally followed by supplements giving the additions required for Gallican use.¹ These supplements include Prefaces for each Mass and the Benedictions which Gallican bishops were accustomed to give with great solemnity at the Communion.

In one group of manuscripts (Ottobonianus MS. 313, and many like it) there is a special Preface (*Praefatiuncula*) between these two portions, probably written by Alcuin, the English scholar who was the liturgical adviser of the Emperor. Micrologus (11th cent.) definitely attributed it to him.² In this Preface he states that the preceding portion, with some few exceptions, which he marks, had been put forth by Gregory, and also that the text had become corrupt, and had now been corrected. But there were other materials which the Church 'necessarily' used, and which Gregory had left aside, knowing that they had already been put forth by others, and these 'like spring flowers in the meadows' were placed in this book apart, so that the reader might find all things that were necessary. The writer is careful to add that if any one thinks the work superfluous, he can still use Gregory's work alone.

¹ *Liturgica hist.*; 'The Roman Rite'.

² c. 60.

There are, however, in all extant copies more alterations to the first part than Alcuin indicates by his marks. This portion has been interpolated with Gelasian texts.

There are several classes of Gregorian MSS.

1. Those which contain Hadrian's book alone, though probably not without some interpolation. They are Cambrai MS. 164, which according to Bishop is earliest of all (790-816), and Nonantolensis (Par. Bibl. Nat. lat. 2292), c. 870.

Cambrai says in the title that it is '*ex authentico libro bibliothecae cubiculi scriptum*', and Reg. (see below) and others have the same notice. These words do not occur in manuscripts which have the *Praefatiuncula*. It would seem that they were in the title of Hadrian's book, or else that all these manuscripts used a copy of that work, in which the title appeared; otherwise it is difficult to explain how they all used the same words. One manuscript has '*Romanae ecclesiae*' for '*cubiculi*'. Lietzmann thinks that Cambr. was copied from the '*authenticum*'.

2. Those which have the *Praefatiuncula*, and one or more supplements. A good example of this is Vat. Ottonensis 313, whose readings are given by H. A. Wilson.

3. Those which have not this Preface, but have the supplement separately as 2. This group includes one of the best manuscripts, Vat. Reginensis 337, which Wilson takes as his text.

4. The above groups 2 and 3 would not be very convenient for use. A rearrangement would naturally be made, and so we find in the later Gregorian MSS. that the matter is so redistributed as to fuse the Roman and Gallican elements, and place the Masses in an order suitable for use.

It is clear, then, that the first part of the Gregorian Sacramentary is the book, slightly altered, which Hadrian

sent to Charlemagne. The supplementary Masses drew their matter from the Gelasian books then in use, and from the older Gallican books. But there remains the question whether that document was, as the writer of the *Praefatiuncula* says, the work of St. Gregory.

That Gregory was responsible for a number of changes and additions to the Mass is certain. He inserted the words '*diesque nostros, &c.*' into the Canon; from his own letters we learn that he either brought the Lord's Prayer into the Canon or moved its position; he had Alleluia sung in other seasons than Easter; he organized processions. Aldhelm (d. 709)¹ and Egbert of York (d. 766)² in England attribute the Missals brought over by St. Augustine for use there to St. Gregory. Walafrid Strabo (807-49)³ ascribes to him a missal, and both he and John the Deacon (c. 872) say that Gregory constructed the Antiphony.⁴ The last-named also credits him with the foundation of the *Schola cantorum*, though wrongly, for it must have been earlier. There are other evidences of his liturgical interest and activity.

Duchesne, on the ground of the inclusion in the first part of the Gregorian Sacramentary of several Masses which must be later than Gregory, says: 'It would be hazardous to cite the Gregorian Sacramentary as an authority belonging to the end of the sixth century.'⁵ This is not conclusive. It is possible that Gregory revised and rearranged the Mass, that it was later added to, and that Hadrian's book was a later edition of Gregory's work. The Gregorian compilation of the original document is upheld by the great majority of liturgiologists, Bishop, Morin, Cagin, Probst, Cabrol, Wilmart, Lietzmann, and others.

¹ *De laudibus virginitatis*, xlii.

² *Dialogus*, xv.

³ *De ecclesiast. rerum exordiis*, xxi.

⁴ *Ibid.* and *Vita B. Gregori*, ii. 6.

⁵ *Christian Worship*, p. 124.

One strange feature of Hadrian's Missal is the absence of Masses for the ordinary Sundays of the year such as the Sundays after Epiphany, after Easter, and after Pentecost. This supports the suggestion that it was not actually the Missal of the Church of Rome but a private collection for the use of the Pope. If so, it is probable that the Missal in use in Roman parishes was different and fuller. The Monte Cassino fragments indicate that in its time, about 650, the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* were mingled as in Hadrian's book, and that there was a fairly complete year. But it does not seem to me to have been satisfactorily explained how, if Gregory made a book of the whole year—'*liber sacramentorum ordinis anni circuli*'—Hadrian's could lack so much. Duchesne's theory of two books, one for the Pope and one for the priests, does not explain this; nor does Bishop's suggestion that there was a supplement which Hadrian failed to send. Could a Pope providing an empire with the Church's liturgy have been guilty of such carelessness as either implies, and would it not have been rectified? We are almost compelled to the conclusion that there were still in Hadrian's time no Masses set forth by authority for some Sundays in the year.

Perhaps we ought to go farther and ask whether there was any official Mass-book before Hadrian made his authoritative by giving it to the Emperor as a standard. Hadrian's Sacramentary is a very different book from that which lies behind the Gelasian. If the latter was produced before the episcopate of St. Gregory, and had an official character, it is difficult to believe that he would have made such drastic changes, involving not only the redistribution of the prayers that are common to the two books, but in many cases the alteration in function of some of the prayers. If, on the other hand, it is later than St.

Gregory, it is scarcely possible that Hadrian's book, if it is due to St. Gregory, could have been official. Either of them would have precluded the other.

Putting these considerations side by side with the silence of contemporary writers on Gregory's authorship of a Sacramentary, it seems better to suppose that the Gelasian original was a private collection, possibly the collection used by a Pope but not issued for the use of the Church, and that St. Gregory's was a similar but different collection, which may be his work, but which was not, at least in his time, put forth as official. If this is so, it was handed down to his successors, came into the hands of Hadrian as the work of Gregory, and thus passed into the Gallican Church as the Gregorian Sacramentary.

CONCLUSION

We have now before us all the principal evidence available for the reconstruction of the course of development of the Roman Mass. It is the Canon that most concerns us for comparative purposes, for the pre-Anaphora as yet consists of little more than the variables.

The problems are of amazing complexity. Most of the incidental evidence is equivocal. At each stage of the inquiry we are called on to balance probabilities, with the result that the truth of any complete theory of development has a very small probability in its favour. Nevertheless, we can form some opinion of the merits of the various theories that have been put forward, and arrive at some conclusions which are likely to be not far from the truth. The following are some of the chief explanations of the facts:

1. That the Canon is an amalgamation of the two sets of prayers which we still find separate in the Eastern Church, those that belong to the priest, and those which

were said by the deacon. Bunsen advocated this explanation in 1854.¹ In the fourth century, when Latin was adopted for the liturgy, a scheme similar to that of the Eastern and Gallican Churches was in use in Rome, and the greater part of the Canon was composed by that time. St. Gregory at the end of the sixth century fused the two sets and put them all into the mouth of the priest. According to this theory IV and VI–XII belonged to the priest, V, XIII, XIV, XV to the deacon (see p. 54). It is obvious now that this is no adequate explanation of the phenomena of the Canon, though it recognizes some important facts.

2. Owing to the establishment of the system of variables by Pope Damasus (366–84), the Preface and *Sanctus* attained a status of their own instead of being a preliminary to the Words of Institution, and so lost touch with the latter. The *Sanctus* was looked on as a secondary climax. To fill the gap the Offertory prayers IV, VII, and VIII were inserted. (This requires the usual interpretation of Innocent.) Such a theory has been maintained chiefly by German scholars, notably Probst.²

3. That the Gallican rite represents the old Roman Mass. Before the Preface came the Diptychs (V, VI, XIII, XIV), the Kiss of Peace, and the Secret. After the Preface and *Sanctus*, VII, VIII, and IX; these three made a *Post-Sanctus*. Then came a group equivalent to the Gallic *Post-Pridie*, X, IV, XI, XII, XV. So Dom Cagin³ and Dom Cabrol.⁴

4. That the original Canon itself has been dislocated and transformed. It was originally similar to that of St. James (Syrian), and took this form: VIII–XII (including

¹ *Analecta Antenicæana*, vol. iii.

² *Die abendländische Messe* and other works.

³ *Paléographie musicale*, vol. v.

⁴ *Origines liturgiques*, app. I. Cabrol accepts this with some diffidence.

an Epiclesis) followed by the great Intercession IV, V, VI, XIII, XIV (once more we must take the usual interpretation of Innocent). *De Sacramentis* gives us the original form of XI and XII. *Hanc igitur* VII partly belongs to VIII and partly to XIV. The rearrangement was made by Gelasius (492-6) to assimilate the rite to that of Alexandria. This is the theory of Drews.¹ Except for some details it has had much support.

5. The German liturgist Baumstark has constructed a scheme somewhat similar to that of Drews.² The original Canon passed from the *Sanctus* by a usual type of Thanksgiving to the Institution IX and X and an Oblation IVa, an Epiclesis (lost), and an Intercession IVb, V, VI, XIII, XIV. The even and logical sequence of this prayer was disturbed by the insertion of VII and VIII before the Institution, and of XII and XIII into the Intercession. This was done under the influence of the Court at Ravenna, and in the time of Leo (440-61), in conformity with the Alexandrian use. Gregory revised the Canon, omitting some repetitions. Hadrian's Sacramentary was the first official book put forth by Rome. The Gelasian is based on an unofficial Roman source. The eighth-century Gelasian is independent, compiled in Wessex, and established by the efforts of St. Boniface. It was based on an existent manuscript (Padua D 47), and was already established when Charlemagne's reform took place. Boniface's book held its own side by side with Gregory's, and it, not the Gregorian, became the foundation of the Roman Missal.

6. That an original Epiclesis was contained in VIII, which then followed the Anamnesis X; that it was modified to suit the belief in the consecratory effect of the Words of Institution, and a rearrangement was made. This is the

¹ *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe* (1902).

² *Liturgia romana e liturgia dell' Esarcato* (1904).

theory of W. C. Bishop.¹ The original Canon was IV, VII, XII, IX, X (but later than the rest), and VIII. It will be seen that according to this VIII, which contained an Invocation of the Holy Spirit, has exchanged places with XII.

7. Buchwald saw in the *Supra quae* XI the primitive Epiclesis. According to him the Roman Canon was taken from Alexandria through Aquileia, and consisted of VIII, IX, X, part of IV, XI, with Epiclesis. Gregory omitted the Epiclesis and broke up the prayer, putting fragments here and there.²

These are only a few of the many explanations, varying in details, which have been made. Naturally some of the scholars mentioned have modified some of their ideas. The various theories are very confusing and can scarcely be classified. It would be rash to venture on any attempt to decide between them; but some remarks may be made.

At any stage, when once improvisation has become unusual, gradual changes are much more likely to have taken place than a thoroughgoing recasting of the liturgy. Throughout the history we see signs of great reverence for tradition. It is therefore more probable that alterations, when made, did not seem to involve a radical change. On the whole this suggests that extensive rearrangement is more likely to be early than late.

It seems to me that *De Sacramentis* must substantially preserve the act of consecration of the Roman liturgy of that date, and that it must be prior to Gelasius; but that Pope clearly refers to an Invocation in his time. It would be too much to suppose that the Epiclesis of *Apostolic Tradition*, if genuine, was dropped and then at a later date a new one inserted. We can only account for both

¹ C.Q.R. lxvi (July 1908), 385-403.

² *Die Epiklese*, 21-56. I have been indebted to Fortescue, *The Mass*, 128-71, for much that is contained in these summaries.

appearances by the hypothesis that *De Sacramentis*, which certainly does not give the whole Canon, had an Epiclesis before the Words of Institution, and that that was also its position with Gelasius. If this is so neither VIII nor the first part of XII will be the remains of the original Epiclesis; but the beginning of IV and the end of XII do look very like an Epiclesis, the middle of which has dropped out. And we know that there has been a recasting of XII. It is then quite reasonable to imagine that an Invocation, such as appears in *Apostolic Tradition*, was either moved to a place before the Institution at some time before the fifth century, or was always there, and that it continued there till the end of the fifth century. What form it took one cannot tell.

We have seen too, if the conclusions come to on p. 6r are correct, that the Intercessions were not in the Canon at the beginning of the fifth century. In fact there is no sound evidence that any changes in the Canon, except a few words added by Leo, were made during that century. But the change of the Intercession could hardly have been made later than Symmachus (498-514), for Vigilius (538) has evidently been used to it all his life.

After the establishment of the Gregorian Sacramentary in Gaul, with all the Gallican elements which had been introduced into Hadrian's model, it began to find its way back into Rome, and gradually the local Roman use adopted much of its non-Roman contents, thereby receiving enrichment, though of an exotic flavour.

About the ninth and tenth centuries there sprang up, principally as the result of the multiplication of Masses, which had brought about the Low Mass, where the priest had to supply the parts properly belonging to the deacon and other ministers, the practice of gathering together into one book all the words of the Mass. Thus the Sacramentary, so far as the Mass was concerned, the Lectionary

(or its divisions, Epistles, Gospels, &c.), and the books containing the chants, formed the Missal proper—*Missale plenum*. During the next few centuries the increasing authority of the Papacy prevented any fundamental changes, but every important Church had its own variations, until the Council of Trent appointed a Commission to revise the Missal. In 1570 this Missal of Pius V was issued, and became the only book to be used in the Roman Catholic Churches, with the exception of a few places where an ancient rite is still allowed, as, e.g., Toledo and Milan. Since then it has again been revised in 1604 (Clement VIII), in 1634 (Urban VIII), and in 1884 (Leo XIII) and 1911 (Pius X).

The whole of the Roman Catholic Church, not including the Uniats, use the Roman rite in Latin, though Slavonic is allowed in some places, and Greek on occasions in Rome. There are, however, modified rites used by certain Orders (Dominicans, Carthusians, and Carmelites), and in some dioceses.¹ These mostly differ in the ceremonies and occasions on which certain optional forms may be used. Amongst the Uniats Greek, Palaeoslavonic, Georgian, Rumanian, and Arabic are allowed.

THE AMBROSIAN LITURGY

The Church of Milan, as we have seen, was to a certain extent independent of Rome, and at an early time developed a rite which has marked Gallican characteristics. The nearness of Milan to Rome caused it to adopt with greater ease Roman customs, while perhaps the same cause saved it from extinction, so that to-day it still retains the Ambrosian rite in its modified form. The most important of the early Sacramentaries of this type is that of Biasca, of the tenth century.

¹ Viz. Lyon, and since 1929 also Braga.

A convenient English version of the Ambrosian liturgy has been edited by E. G. Cuthbert Atchley.¹

WESTERN CHURCHES SEPARATED FROM THE ROMAN CHURCH

I. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. This Church repudiated the authority of the Pope in the year 1534. In 1549 the liturgy was reconstructed, effecting a compromise between the Eastern and Western types by retaining the Western variable system, but restoring the Epiclesis, placing it before the Institution. Three years later the Book of Common Prayer, in which the Mass was contained, was altered in a Protestant direction, and, though in 1559 it was to some extent restored, the rite has since remained much reduced. In 1928 an attempt was made to induce Parliament to legalize a new book containing a more complete liturgy than that of 1549, but without success. It placed the Epiclesis after the Institution and Anamnesis, and put the Lord's Prayer in its ancient place before Communion. Though Parliament refused to authorize it by law, it had received the assent of the Convocations of the Church, and expressed the mind of the Church.

The Church of England consists of two Provinces, Canterbury and York. Both Archbishops have the title of Primate, but in practice they work harmoniously, the Archbishop of Canterbury having a quasi-patriarchal position in the whole Anglican communion.

The Church of England has given rise to numerous other Churches both within and outside the British Empire, the former by the establishment of colonies of British people, the latter through missionary activities. Many of these Churches are autonomous, and all use the English liturgy, with small alterations, in the language of the country.

¹ The modern Latin *editio typica* is the *Missale Ambrosianum* of 1902.

2. THE CHURCH OF WALES was founded in the fourth century. From 1107 till 1920 it was joined to the Province of Canterbury; but since the latter date it has been autonomous.

3. THE CHURCH OF IRELAND. The Reformation in Ireland proceeded from the Government, and did not make much way among the people, but the Episcopal succession was maintained, so that the reformed Church, while numbering less than one-sixth of the population, is the true representative of the ancient Church. The Archbishop of Armagh is Primate.

4. THE SCOTTISH CHURCH. After the Reformation the Scottish Church for some time retained Episcopacy, but was forced into Presbyterian government during two periods, at which times Episcopalians suffered much persecution. Eventually Episcopacy was restored; but in 1689 the Church was disestablished, and a Presbyterian Church established by law. The small body which remained loyal to Catholic traditions assumed the title of 'Episcopal Church in Scotland'. The present liturgy is similar to that of the English Prayer Book, but on more traditional lines. The Church is under the leadership of a Primus, who is elected from among the Bishops, retaining his see.

5. THE CHURCH OF AMERICA, having been refused by the English Government permission for the consecration of a bishop, received its succession from the Scottish Church in 1785. The liturgy is, with few alterations, that of the Church of England.

These Churches in England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, America, and their colonial and missionary offshoots, form the 'Anglican Communion'.

6. THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN. This Church is Lutheran in theology and practice, but has retained the apostolic ministry. Its liturgy has little resemblance to the normal rites.

7. THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH is the result of the Vatican Council of 1870. Those members of the Roman Church who could not accept the dogma of Papal Infallibility seceded, and set up their own organization. The Roman rite is in use with modifications, and said in the common tongue, chiefly Dutch and German.

CHARACTERISTICS OF REGIONAL RITES

There are two features which clearly distinguish the Western rites from those of the East. The first is the manner in which special occasions are expressed in the worship of the Church. The Lections and Chants everywhere vary with the season or day. For the rest the East has either an invariable liturgy, or, more frequently, uses an entirely different rite, or one of several different Anaphoras, on certain occasions. In the West there is a fixed framework, but a number of parts of the liturgy vary with the season or occasion. In Rome these variables are few; in Gallican and Mozarabic rites they form the bulk of the liturgy.

The second difference is one of style. The Eastern Churches are diffuse and rhetorical; they abound in adjectives and superlatives, in honorific titles, in quotations from Scripture, in expressions of humility. They are, for example, very fond of privative adjectives, as in this passage: *ὃ γὰρ εἰ ἀνεκφραστός ἀπερινώητος ἀόρατος ἀκατάληπτος* (Chrys: Thanksgiving). The Western texts are simpler, more concise, more direct; but there is a great difference between those of Rome and those of Gaul and Spain. Bishop succinctly characterizes the 'genius of the Roman rite' as being 'marked by simplicity, practicality, a great sobriety and self-control, gravity and dignity'. The Mozarabic forms given in Appendix B show the profusion of expression belonging to that rite. Exclamations and apostrophe, parallelism, and play on words, are frequent,

and a mystery or scriptural incident is often illustrated by a wealth of analogies. Long series of parallel phrases often lead to obscurity and extravagance. Yet the phrases show the same conciseness as in Rome, or even greater.

A. SYRIAN. The Eastern rites have a close similarity in structure, but each region has its own character. The following are the principal features of the Syrian liturgy:

1. The Anaphora begins with the salutation, 'The Grace of our Lord', &c., instead of 'The Lord be with you'.
2. The Great Thanksgiving takes up the word 'Holy' in the *Sanctus* instead of one of the other modes of connexion.
3. The Intercession comes after the Invocation.

B. EGYPTIAN.

1. The Anaphora begins with 'The Lord be with you'.
2. The Great Thanksgiving uses the word 'full' as the link between the *Sanctus* and what follows.
3. The Intercession comes between the *Sursum Corda* and the *Sanctus*.
4. The word *μόνη* is used in describing the Church.
5. The Anamnesis begins, 'Proclaiming the death', instead of 'remembering'.
6. Prayers addressed to God the Son are frequent.

C. NESTORIAN.

1. There is no Institution-narrative or Anamnesis.
2. The Invocation contains no prayer for the change of the elements.
3. The Diptychs of the departed precede the Anaphora, and there is no true Intercession in the Anaphora, a prayer for the whole Church precedes the Invocation, which is the central rite of the Anaphora.
4. Incense is used at the Preface.

5. Communion is in both kinds.

D. BYZANTINE. The ancient form is much the same as the Syrian, but in the modern form it is distinguished by:

1. The elaborate *Prothesis* and *Enarxis*.
2. The use of the *Zeon* (warm water in the chalice).

E. ARMENIAN.

1. The Roman Preparatory Prayers.
2. The Last Gospel (as Rome).
3. No water in the Chalice.

F. ROMAN.

1. The use of variable prayers such as the Collect, Secret, and Post-communion instead of variable anaphoras as in the East.
2. The dislocation of the Canon.
3. The dating of the Institution 'the day before he suffered' instead of 'the same night that he was betrayed'.
4. The absence of the Invocation.
5. The reduction of the Intercession to a few phrases, and the separation of the Intercessions for living and departed.
6. The position of the Kiss of Peace after the Consecration.
7. The absence of the deacon's litanies and proclamations.

PART II
COMMENTARY

INTRODUCTORY RITES

BEFORE the Christian community assembles to offer to God the worship of the Divine Liturgy there are a number of preparations to be made, many of which are carried out with ordered solemnity and appointed rites. All these preparatory services are of a comparatively late date, and for this reason are peculiar in structure and text to the regions in which they have developed. They have therefore little value for purposes of comparison, and need not be described with much detail. They are concerned with (1) the making of the bread needed for the offering; (2) the spiritual preparation of the ministers; (3) their vesting in the appropriate garments; (4) the preparing of the bread and wine for the moment when they will be offered.

The order of these preliminary rites depends on the degree in which they enter into the public worship. Where a preparatory rite is carried out in the sacristy, or other place separated from the congregation, it will be executed before the more public preparations. In some Churches the *Prothesis*, the rite in which the elements are prepared beforehand, is part of the public worship, and is scarcely separated from the liturgy proper.

THE MAKING OF THE BREAD

It is in the Nestorian Church of Persia that the bread for the Eucharist is most solemnly made by the priest. The rite is printed in Brightman (p. 247). The dough is made of fine flour, olive oil, warm water, and leaven, with a little salt. Psalms are said while it is being made. The leaven, according to the Nestorian tradition, has been derived

from the Apostles. It is preserved in two ways, first by incorporating in each batch a portion of the dough from the last batch, and secondly by renewing the supply every Maundy Thursday.

When the dough is made, a portion is set apart for the *Mecáprana* or *Eulogia*, then the portion intended for the priest's loaf is hollowed at the top, and a little olive oil placed in it. A small portion of the *Malca*, or holy leaven, is poured into it, and it is taken to the altar. The form used in signing the dough with the *Malca* is:

This dough is signed and hallowed with the old and holy leaven of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given and handed down to us by our holy Fathers Mar Addai and Mar Mari and Mar Tuma, the Apostles, who made disciples of this eastern region : in the name, &c.

Meanwhile Psalms and appropriate formulas are said, and the *Gloria in excelsis* and Lord's Prayer follow. When the oven is ready the *Trisagion* (see p. 151) is said, five loaves are placed in the oven, with the priest's loaf in the centre, and the oven is censed. At this point the *Prothesis* begins, during which the loaves are taken from the oven and prepared for the liturgy.

The Syrian Jacobites also have a form for making the bread. It consists only of the Lord's Prayer, Ps. li, and a chant, which will be found in Woolley.¹ With the Copts the bread is made by a Sacristan appointed for the purpose. In Armenia the priest makes the bread, in a room attached to the church, with specified prayers. In all the Eastern Churches, except with the Maronites, the bread must be made on the day it is to be consecrated.

In the early Church leavened bread was always used for the Eucharist both in the East and in the West, as is

¹ *The Bread of the Eucharist*, 49.

shown by the practice of the offering of bread and wine by the members of the congregation. It cannot be determined when unleavened bread first came into use in the Western Church, but it is not till the ninth century that there is any clear evidence for it, while it is certain that in that century leavened bread was still largely used. Woolley attributes the change to three reasons: the need to keep the Host in a fresh condition, the avoidance of irreverent use of domestic bread, and the desire to mark the sanctity of the sacramental element.¹ Once the practice was established, the belief, almost certainly erroneous, that the Last Supper was made with unleavened bread, would confirm and fix it. The utility and convenience of unleavened bread are, however, sufficient justification for its general use.

The Eastern Church, with the exception of Armenia, has always used leavened bread. The first to notice and object to the growing Western custom was Michael Caerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1043 to 1058. The question would probably never have caused much dissension had it not been for other differences. The Easterns had nine hundred years of tradition on their side; in favour of the Western practice was its convenience. The question was not vital, but the Roman Church resented the criticism directed at it, and the Eastern Church was jealous of its independence and its orthodoxy; thus a trivial matter became one of the chief subjects for controversy and occasions for division. The English Church, in reaction against Roman customs, in 1552 allowed the use of ordinary bread, but, especially in the form which the rubric took in 1662, it is implied that this is only for occasions where dissension or superstition make it advisable. Behind this rubric is that of 1549 ordering the use of unleavened bread.

¹ Ibid. 20.

The **Orthodox Eastern Churches** use a round bread 5 inches across and 2 inches thick.¹ It is stamped with a square, which is divided by a Cross into four sections, marked respectively IC, XC, NI, KA, making the legend 'Jesus Christ conquers'; in the Russian Church the bottom of the loaf is larger, and can be more readily detached. Five loaves are used.

The **Syrian Jacobite Church** has a much smaller loaf, not 3 inches across and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick. It is round, and divided into eight segments in the outer half and four in the inner. As with the Nestorians, the continuity of the leaven is carried on by putting aside a portion from each batch for the next, but there is nothing corresponding to the *Malca*. The number of loaves is always odd.

With the **Copts** the bread is round, about 4 inches across and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick. It has a Cross divided into small crosses in such a way that there are four in the intersection and two in each arm; these represent the twelve Apostles. This cross is closely inscribed in a circle round which runs the inscription, 'Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal', the words of the *Trisagion*. The Copts do not, like the Orthodox and the Syrians, use oil and salt in making their bread. The four central squares, the *Asbadikon*, are used for the Commixture.

The **Ethiopian bread** is of the same size as the Coptic, but it has a cross of thirteen squares, nine making a large central square, the other four being attached to the middle of each side.

The **Armenians**, alone of the ancient Eastern Churches, use unleavened bread. The custom is not a Roman introduction. Traditionally it goes back to Gregory the Illuminator (302-32), but, together with the rejection of

¹ The different breads are fully described and illustrated in Woolley, *op. cit.*

the use of water with the wine, it is probably a protest against the Chalcedonian orthodoxy. It was made binding by the Council of Manazkert (727). The bread is a thin wafer, round, and 3 inches across and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick, much resembling the Western priest's wafer. On either side of the Crucifix is a small circle, bearing respectively the letters JS and KHS (Christ). Above the cross is I.N.R.I.

The **Nestorian** is somewhat smaller and thinner than the West Syrian. It carries a cross with narrow arms, and there are four smaller ones in the corners.

Rome uses a thin unleavened wafer with the Crucifix impressed. Until about the tenth century it was leavened and thicker, at first bearing a simple cross, later (6th to 8th cent.) a crown, then the Crucifix and an inscription. The Roman use of white wine only dates from the fourteenth century.

The **Uniat** rites in the East use the Roman wafer of unleavened bread, a thin wafer stamped with the Crucifix on one side, and IHS on the other.

THE EULOGIA. At the end of the liturgy bread which has been blessed is often distributed amongst the congregation. In the Orthodox Church there are no special loaves for this purpose, but the portions of the loaf used which are not actually required for consecration, form the *Antidoron* or *Eulogia*, and are distributed at the end of the liturgy. The Nestorians use for the loaves of the Eulogia the first portion of the dough set apart. The West Syrians only use it in Lent and on vigils. The Copts have a special bread in the form of a cross, which is distributed on Maundy Thursday. The Armenians use a wafer, softer and thinner than the Host.

THE ORDERING OF THE CHURCH

Generally in the East there is only one altar in the

church. Behind it is the Bishop's throne. In theory at least the Sanctuary is separated from the rest of the church by a screen. The altar is on the chord of the apse. Nestorian churches usually have a square end, the altar being partly recessed into the wall. The Copts have three apses, each with an altar; thus also Syr-Jac. The Abyssinians have a curious arrangement. The church is usually round, and within it is a domed building of rectangular form, containing an altar. The Armenian resembles the Greek, with one altar only.

The Sanctuary is, or is supposed to be, separated from the rest of the church by a screen (*Cancelli*), originally of stone lattice, but later of more solid structure, with three doors of entry. It is often of wood in Greek churches, and from the custom of hanging the icons on it is called the *Iconostasis*. The Copts have also a solid screen of wood; sometimes it takes the form of a folding door. Nest usually have one of stone; sometimes the openings have no doors. There is no screen in Arm and Maronite Churches; but in the former there are two curtains, a small one surrounding the altar and separating the celebrant from the assistants, a large one which takes the place of the screen. Nest and Copt also have veils which close the Sanctuary.

In the Byz rite the northern portion of the Sanctuary is occupied by the Chapel of the *Prothesis*, where the elements are prepared at a table before the liturgy. The Nest churches have an oven where the loaves are baked in some chamber handy to the Sanctuary; the vessels when prepared are placed in the *Treasury*, a recess in the north wall of the Sanctuary.

The only other feature in the church to be noticed is the *Ambo*, a large platform with railings, originally in the centre of the church, but later on the north side. In the Byz rite the wide raised step before the screen is now used

instead of the *Ambo* for the reading of the Lections and the singing of the Psalms.¹

THE PREPARATION OF THE MINISTERS

In many liturgies forms of devotion for the celebrant and his assistants are prescribed. These are always late, and they have no connexion with one another. In the West and Armenia the priest vests in the Sacristy, and his preparation is of a private nature, though in both cases the original private prayers have been transferred to the public service, and additional ones have been provided for the Sacristy. In the East the priest generally enters the church and then makes his preparation and that of the altar and vessels. It will here be sufficient briefly to describe the devotions appointed by the Orthodox and Roman churches and to mention a few features of other rites.

In the Orthodox Church, while the Choir sings the *Orthros*, or Morning Prayer, the priest and deacon enter and bow three times before the Holy Door (the central door of the Sanctuary). After a blessing the deacon offers a short series of Supplications, ending with the threefold *Kyrie* and the Lord's Prayer, to which the priest responds with the Doxology, and together they say the following:

'Have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us':
for inasmuch as we are sinners without excuse, we offer to thee, O Master, this supplication: have mercy upon us.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost.

'Have mercy upon us, O Lord; for in thee have we put

¹ An excellent detailed account of the arrangement and furnishing of Eastern Churches will be found in Salaville, *Introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies* (Eng. trans.), 101, &c.

our trust' ; and 'be not angry with us overmuch : neither remember our transgressions' ; but look down upon us in thy tender compassion, and 'deliver us from our enemies' : for thou art our God, and 'we are all thy people, and the works of thy hand', and we call upon thy Name :

Now and for ever, world without end, Amen.

Open unto us the door of thy loving-kindness, O blessed Mother of God ; we have set our hope on thee, may we not be disappointed, but through thee may we be delivered from the things which beset us, for thou art the salvation of all Christian people.

Then coming to the Icon of Christ, on the right of the Holy Door, they kiss it and say a Hymn to Christ, and then go to the Icon of Our Lady on the left side, kiss it, and say a Hymn to the Virgin. After another short prayer for strength for the coming service, they enter the Sanctuary, saying Psalm v. 7 to end,

But as for me I will come into thy house, &c.

The Roman Missal prescribes certain Psalms and prayers to be said '*pro opportunitate sacerdotis*', but a preparation is also made with the ministers when, after having vested in the Sacristy, they have arrived at the altar and made their reverence. It begins with the Invocation: **In the Name, &c.** ; Ps. xliii. 1-5, **Give sentence with me, O God, is said with antiphon, I will go in unto the altar of God, &c.** ; then the versicle:

Our help is in the Name of the Lord ;

R̄ Who hath made heaven and earth.

Sarum and Bangor used, while vesting in the Sacristy, the hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and the prayer: 'O God, unto whom all hearts be open', which is the Roman

Collect for the '*Missa ad postulandam gratiam*'.¹ This is in **Engl** used with the Lord's Prayer in the preparation at the altar. At this point **Eng** had the *Kyrie* and Lord's Prayer, still in the Sacristy, and the rest of the preparation at the altar.

The priest and ministers alternately say a Confession to which the reply is a prayer for forgiveness, the priest then giving Absolution. After four further versicles and their responses the priest says aloud: 'Let us pray', and going up to the altar says secretly these prayers:

Take from us, we beseech thee, O Lord, our iniquities, that we may be worthy with pure minds to enter the holy of holies, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Before this prayer in Sarum and Bangor the priest gives the Kiss of Peace to the deacon and subdeacon.

We pray thee, O Lord, by the merits of thy Saints, whose relics are here, and of all the Saints, to vouchsafe to pardon all my sins, Amen.

This last prayer is not in Sarum and other **Eng** uses, which have instead, '*In nomine &c.*'

Syr uses Ps. li, 'Have mercy upon me, O God', and, on entering to the altar, Ps. v. 7, as above, and Ps. cxviii. 27, 'Bind the sacrifice with cords' &c. **Eth** has a long preparation said at the altar, consisting of several Psalms and prayers. **Arm** has a long form consisting of prayers for the intercession of our Lady, confession, and absolution; a request by the people: 'Remember us before the immorta

¹ An early translation of this prayer in a manuscript of c. 1420 is printed by Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, p. 7: 'God, unto whome alle hertes bene opene, and unto whome alle wylle spekyth, and unto whome no prive thing is hyd, I beseche the for to cence the entent of myn herte wt. the unspekeable gift of the holy goste, that I may perfytely love the and worthyliche prayse the, and also have the here by grace and in hevене be joy everlastynge. Amen.'

Lamb of God', with the reply: 'Ye shall be remembered before the immortal Lamb of God', Ps. c, 'O be joyful in the Lord', Ps. xliiii, 'Give sentence with me, O God' in antiphon, and prayers.

THE VESTING OF THE MINISTERS

In the earliest days of the Church the clergy in ministering wore no special apparel, but it was soon felt that the majesty of the liturgy called for an appropriate garb to do honour to the Divine presence which was being invoked. At first this merely took the form of requiring that the ministers should wear pure white vestments, as we see in Origen.¹ But, in accordance with a natural instinct which shows itself in all human ceremony, dignity of apparel was attained by a conservatism which retained fashions that were passing away, rather than by adopting any special dress. As the vestments thus became archaic they were also made more ornate, and precious and splendid materials were used. Gradually, too, the vestments, which were originally merely ordinary articles of wear, were given symbolic meanings and associated with scriptural analogues.

In the East the vesting is usually at the altar; but in **Arm** in the vestry. Often there was a prayer before vesting, sometimes of great length, as in **Eth, Arm**. In **Eth** after the prayer the vestments are blessed and put on, the Lord's Prayer being said. In **Arm** there is a beautiful hymn sung during the prayer and vesting:

O, mystery, deep, unsearchable, eternal, which hast decked with splendid glory the heavenly dominions, the legions of fiery spirits in the chamber of 'light unapproachable'.

¹ *In Lev. hom. iv. 6.*

With wonderful power didst thou create Adam in a lordly image, and didst clothe him with gracious glory in the garden of Eden, the abode of delights.

Through the sufferings of thine only-begotten all creatures are renewed, and man hath again been made immortal, clad in a garment that none can take from him.

O chalice of rain of fire that wast poured on the apostles in the holy upper-room, O holy Ghost, pour thy wisdom on us also along with the vestment.

'Holiness becometh thy house', who 'art clothed with majesty'. Like as thou art girt about with the glory of holiness, so also 'gird us about with truth'.

Thou who didst spread thy creating arms to the stars, strengthen our arms with power to intercede when we lift up our hands unto thee.

Bind our thoughts as the crown wreathes our head and our senses with the cross-decked stole woven with gold and flowers like Aaron's for the honour of the sanctuary.

Supreme divine Sovereign of all beings, thou hast covered us with a robe as with love to be ministers of thine holy mystery.

Heavenly King, keep thy Church immovable and maintain in peace the worshippers of thy holy Name.¹

There is sometimes a prayer at the putting off of the ordinary clothes, as **Syr-Jac** (alluding to Zech. iii. 3).

I. THE CROWN OR AMICE. The former is the Eastern, the latter the Western, form of what seems to be a similar vestment, but in some Eastern rites the Crown is only used by bishops. In the East it is a crown, bonnet, hood, or helmet-like head-gear; in the West a piece of linen arranged round the neck like a hood, and tied under the arms or round the waist, before the alb is put on. The **Arm**

¹ Translation from Br. 412 ff.

and Eastern Uniats wear it over the alb, the Arm having a metal collar.

Lord, put upon me the 'helmet of salvation' to fight against 'the power of the enemy' (*diabolicos incursus*, Rom) by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

Arm (for the Crown—*Saghavart*) **Rom**. For the Amice (*Vacas*) **Arm** has 'clothe my neck, O Lord, with righteousness, and cleanse my heart from all filthiness of sin'.

2. THE ALB.

'Clothe me, O Lord, with the garment of salvation, and with the robe' of gladness.

Arm. Similar **Byz** and **Syr-Jac**. **Rom** asks to be made white in the blood of the Lamb.

3. THE GIRDLE.

This is usually included in the prayer for the Alb, but **Rom** thus:

Gird me, O Lord, with the girdle of purity, and quell the power of lust in my loins, that the virtues of continence and chastity may dwell within me.

Arm similar; **Syr-Jac** is for girding with strength (Ps. xviii. 39-40). So **Byz** (Ps. xviii. 32).

4. THE STOLE.

Return to me, O Lord, the robe of immortality which I lost in the depravity of the first parent; and although I go unworthy to thy sacred mystery let me nevertheless obtain eternal joy.

Rom; **Chrys** refers to the myrrh that goes down to Aaron's beard (Ps. cxxxiii. 2); **Arm** has same as for the Amice; **Syr-Jac** 'Gird me with thy sword', &c. (Ps. xlv. 3), as for the **Genual** in **Byz**.

5. THE CUFFS,

which, though not connected with the Western Maniple, take its place in the East. The forms differ entirely in their interpretation of these ornaments.

Usually there are separate prayers for the left and right. **Byz** refers to the work of God's hands; **Syr-Jac** asks that the priest's hands should be instruments of righteousness, and adds 'teach my hands to fight', &c. (Ps. xviii. 34-6). **Arm** asks for strength, and that filthiness may be washed away. **Rom** (for the maniple) speaks of carrying it with a tearful mind.

6. THE CHASUBLE.

'Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness, and thy saints sing with joyfulness' (Ps. cxxxii. 9).

Byz; so **Syr-Jac**. **Arm** speaks of a robe of splendour for protection against the wiles of the evil one. **Rom** asks for worthiness to carry the yoke of the Lord.

Prayers are also provided for other vestments peculiar to particular churches or to other assistants. There is the *Byz Genual*, originally a napkin or pouch hanging from the girdle, which seems to symbolize the sword; the *Tunicle* of the Western subdeacon, which in the prayer for the bishop's vesting is associated with joy (*jucunditas*), and the *Dalmatic*, which is made to symbolize salvation and joy (*laetitia*) and righteousness. There are numerous episcopal vestments, the *Shoes*, for the 'preparation of the Gospel of peace'; the *Cope*, for 'putting on the new man'; the *Pectoral Cross*; the *Gloves*, which are associated with the goat-skins placed on Jacob's hands; the *Mitre*, the 'helmet of salvation'.

After all the vestments have been assumed there is in **Arm** a prayer for the whole, which is the same as that in **Byz** and **Syr-Jac** for the alb.

THE LAVATORY

The ceremonial washing of the hands is a natural action preparatory to the handling of the sacred offerings. In

early Churches, both in the East and the West, vessels of water were placed in the atrium of the church, in which the people used to wash their hands and their faces. The practice disappeared at an early date, and in the East only the priest retained it after, or in some cases before, the vesting. In the West also the priest washes his hands before Mass with a prayer; here it precedes the vesting. The **Byz** form is Ps. xxvi. 6-12, which **Arm** also uses: 'I will wash my hands in innocency', &c.; **Rom** has a prayer:

Grant me, O Lord, the power to wash away every spot from my hands, that I may be able to serve thee without defilement of mind or body.

York had a different prayer.

THE *PROTHESIS*

Originally the elements used in the Eucharist were brought to the church by the faithful, and presented before the Anaphora. At first this would be at the Offertory, but it must in time have been necessary to present them to the church officers on arrival. From these offerings the deacons selected what was required for use, prepared them for consecration, and placed them upon the altar. In course of time this became inconvenient, and the desire arose to prepare the oblations before the service and with some solemnity. Consequently the faithful no longer brought the bread and wine for consecration, but made their offerings symbolically in the form of money or otherwise. At the same time the oblations were prepared by the deacons or priest with varying degrees of solemnity. In the East the bread and wine were 'set forth' in the *Prothesis*, or northern part of the Sanctuary¹; in the West they

¹ Thus the term *Prothesis* is used both for the 'setting forth' of the elements, and for the part of the Church in which they are set forth (see p. 112).

were less formally prepared, no ceremonial being appointed in the Roman Missal, though the Gallican rites provide for a preparation before the service. The **Moz** rite also has a ritual of preparation of the elements before Mass, but it is not ancient. Originally the offering was made at the Offertory.

The *Prothesis* is thus late in date, and in its most developed form seems to be a Byzantine product, the other churches of the East having adopted a *Prothesis* under the same influence, though quite different in form. The stages of growth of the **Byz** rite can be seen from the texts given in the Appendix to Brightman, pp. 539 ff. In the eighth and ninth centuries the offerings had come to be prepared before the liturgy began, as St. Theodore the Studite (d. 826) witnesses: 'The whole preparation (τελεία προσκομιδή) is made at the beginning';¹ he also mentions the spear.² This procedure only became possible after the disuse of the discipline of the penitents and catechumens. During the next few centuries the prayers and ceremonies were elaborated, and it was not till the sixteenth century that it had reached its present form.

THE BYZANTINE PROTHESIS

(The following omits many of the deacon's requests and other late additions.)

On entering the *Prothesis* the priest and his assistants say a prayer for purity privately, and then the priest gives a blessing:

Blessed be our God at all times, now and ever, world without end.

He takes the whole loaf in his left hand and with the *Spear*, a small instrument used for cutting up the holy

¹ *De Praesanctif.*

² *Adv. Iconomach. i.*

bread, signs it three times with the sign of the Cross, saying each time:

In remembrance of our God and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ.

This is mentioned by Nicolas Cabasilas (c. 1350),¹ and **Arm** has it when the bread is placed on the paten, and wine in the chalice.

He thrusts the spear into the right side of the *Seal* (or *Lamb*, the square central portion), then the left, then the top and the bottom, saying:

(Right) 'He was led as a sheep to the slaughter.'

(Left) 'And as a spotless lamb before his shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth.'

(Above) 'In his humiliation his judgment was taken away.'

(Below) 'For his generation who shall declare it.'

These words, from which the name 'Lamb' was given to the portion consecrated, are found in **Peter** (12th cent. at latest), **Chrys** (12th cent.), and **Mk** (13th cent., probably imported from **Byz**, 11th cent.). **Syr-Jac** uses them when the *Seal* is arranged in the paten.

He then removes the *Lamb*, lays it on the paten, and cuts it crossways, saying:

Sacrificed is the 'Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world', for the life of the world and its salvation.

The order and accompanying acts for this and the following texts vary. Originally this seems to have been said when the bread was signed, while 'as a sheep', &c., was used when it was cut (so **Bodl. MS.**, 13th cent.). In the Latin translation (**Br. 544**) the order is as here, but

¹ *Lit. exposito*, **Br. 546**.

the division is made at '*sicut ovis*', and so in the fifteenth century (Br. 545) and Nicolas Cabasilas. The differences may have arisen from the development of the complex bread requiring two texts, one for the removing of the Lamb and one for dividing it.

Then he turns up the other side, which bears the emblem of the Cross, and pierces the right side with the Spear, saying:

'One of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and there came forth blood and water. And he that saw it bare witness, and his witness is true.'

So also Paris MS. (Br. 549) and Cabasilas, but it was originally used when the water and wine were mixed. So Peter, Leo Thuscus (Br. 544), Paris (545), Goar (548). **Syr-Jac** also uses this for mixing the chalice. **Nest** has it immediately after the mixing, when a second pouring of wine into the chalice takes place.

The deacon pours wine and water into the chalice, and the priest blesses it.

Blessed be the union of these holy things, now and ever.

The only parallel to this is 'The unity of the Holy Ghost' of Grottaferrata MS. (Ital., 14th cent.). **Nest** has 'Water is mixed with wine and wine with water, and let them be one'. But see *Commixture*, p. 286. The mixture is mentioned by Justin,¹ Iren.,² Clem-Alex.³ The latter says that some heretics used water only. This mixture was originally not in **Chrys**, but is referred to in *Trull.* 32 as being in **Jas** and **Bas**.

He takes the first portion in his hands and says:

In honour of and for the commemoration of our most

¹ *Apol.* i. lxxv. 5.

² *Adv. haer.* iv. xxxiii. 2 '*temperamentum calicis*'; *ibid.* v. i. 3.

³ *Strom.* i. 19.

blessed Lady Mary, Mother of God and ever-Virgin, through whose intercession we beseech thee, O God, to accept this sacrifice upon thy most heavenly altar.

He cuts out a portion with the Spear and lays it on the right side of the holy bread:

‘On thy right hand stood the queen in a garment wrought about with gold and divers colours.’

Nine particles are now removed and placed in three rows on the left of the holy bread, in commemoration of various groups of Saints; further particles are placed below the holy bread for the king, and any persons to be remembered, whether living or departed, and for the priest. The particles below the holy bread are then swept into the paten. Next incense is blessed:

We offer incense unto thee, O Christ our God, for a sweet-smelling odour; accept it upon thy heavenly altar, and in its stead vouchsafe to us the grace of thine all-holy Spirit.

The *Asterisk*, a star-shaped cover for the paten, is censed, and placed over the holy bread, with the words:

‘The star came and stood over the place where the young child was.’

Three veils are censed (only two in Russ) and placed over the paten and chalice with the words of Ps. xciii. 1-5; ‘The Lord is king’, and Hab. iii. 3, ‘His glory covereth the heavens’, and Ps. xvii. 8, ‘Hide me under the shadow of thy wings’ respectively, the Table of Oblation is censed, and the following prayers said:

O God our God, who didst send forth the heavenly bread, the life of the whole world, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, to be our saviour, our redeemer, and benefactor, and to bless and sanctify us; bless this oblation

and receive it upon thy heavenly altar. Remember of thy goodness and loving-kindness those who offer it and those for whom it is offered, and keep us without sin in the celebration of thy holy mysteries ; for thy most honoured and majestic Name is hallowed and glorified, &c.

Chrys from **Bas-Barb**, where it is called 'the prayer which the priest makes when the bread is placed on the paten in the sacristy'. **Chrys-Barb** has a prayer which is interesting:

O Lord our God, who didst offer thyself as a 'lamb without blemish' for the life of the world, look upon us and upon this bread and upon this cup, and make it thy pure body and precious blood for the communion of souls and bodies.

St. Nicephorus (806-15) says that the signing must not be made over the holy cup at the prayer in the Sacristy.¹ The first of these two prayers is used in **Jas** as the Prayer of the Great Entrance.

There is an *ἀπόλυσις* consisting of the following, with a blessing varying with the season. It is the lesser Apolysis used also at the Offices.

Glory to thee, O Christ our God and Hope, Glory to thee.

The **Armenian Prothesis** is based on an early form of the Byzantine, being much shorter, and having no ceremonies connected with the ordering of the bread and of the veils. A hymn (*Meghedi*) proper to the day is sung by the clerks, the prayer given above ('O God our God') is said after the wine is put in the chalice. Ps. xciii is used as above, and there is a prayer of incense.

The **Syrian Protheses** are quite different; whatever occasional parallels occur have been noted above. **Jas** has a

¹ Canon 12, P.G. c. 855.

prayer of penitence and a petition for the sending of the Holy Ghost. In **Syr-Jac** Ps. cxvi. 12 to end is sung after the mixing of the chalice ('I will receive the cup of salvation'). There is a *Sedro* of penitence with triple Kyrie and Lord's Prayer. Then follows the *Qurbono*, consisting of penitential prayers, and a long prayer commemorating the living and departed.

THE EGYPTIAN PROTHESIS

The *Protheses* of the Coptic and Ethiopian rites are closely related, and must go back to a much earlier date than the modern form of the Byzantine. In both liturgies it begins with the 'Prayer of Severus' (so-called in **Copt**), during which the altar is prepared. This confesses the unworthiness of the ministers, but asks for grace and mercy to fulfil the holy ministry and that it (in **Eth** the incense) may be a sweet-smelling savour. The priest in the **Copt-Bas** rubric now uncovers the *masob*, cleans the chalice, and puts both in their proper places. The *masob* (pot) is a round box with a cover, in which the bread is brought to the altar, originally, as the prayer indicates, the paten.

Next is the prayer after the preparation 'to the Father'. It is in **Copt-Cyr-Bas** and **Eth** (not **Tasfa**), and there is a similar one in **Copt-Greg**. It is that they may be meet in the power of the Holy Ghost to present the sacrifice of praise and glory and beauty. In the middle of this prayer in **Copt** the priest takes the Lamb, places it on the altar, washes his hands, and afterwards says Ps. li. 7, 'Thou shalt purge me with hyssop', and xxvi. 6, 'I will wash my hands in innocency', and rubs the Lamb with his hand above and below. In the present **Eth** (Mercer 3) there is a long address to the communicants not to leave the church during the service, which, with a rubric that occurs a little later, suggests that this was a habit that had to be

forbidden with some severity. It does not occur in the other manuscripts, though the rubric is in all (not *Tasfa*). The Lord's Prayer follows in *Eth*.

At this point in *Eth* the veil is drawn, and the priest says this prayer, which is really an Exhortation:

How awful is this day, and how marvellous this hour, wherein the Holy Ghost will come down and overshadow this oblation and hallow it. In quietness and fear and trembling stand ye up and pray that the peace of God be with me and with you all.

In both *Copt* and the present *Eth* (Mercer 3) there is a *memento*:

Remember those who have brought to thee this oblation, &c.

The *Eth* form ends curiously:

Hail, holy Church, the decoration of whose wall and ceiling is of stone and topaz; now hail, holy Church, possessor of the Cross . . . 'Joseph and Nicodemus wrapped Jesus in linen clothing and spices', who rose from the dead in a marvellous manner.

In *Eth* there is a prayer over the *masob*: 'Lord our God, that saidst unto Moses', &c., to which the people reply:

Thou art the 'pot of pure gold', wherein is hidden the Manna, 'the bread which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the whole world'.

In *Eth* there is here a Blessing of Christ as God, while a sign is made over the bread. The Lamb is then put in the paten (*Eth masob*); it is before doing this that the *Eth* priest rubs the bread. The wine and water are poured into the chalice. There is a short prayer, 'Christ our very God', for a blessing on the bread for the remission of sins, and the oblation is wrapped in a veil by the assistant, who

says, 'Like as Joseph and Nicodemus', &c., and the priest says, 'The hallowing is accepted', &c.

Here comes the procession in both liturgies while 'Alleluia' is sung. In **Copt** practice the singing often starts at the beginning of the prayers and is continued during this procession. With it is sung Ps. lxxvi. 10, 'The fierceness of man shall turn to thy praise', and 'Alleluia'. Other words are used for the chant in Lent, the fast of the Ninevites, and at Easter. The Lamb, wrapped in a silk veil in the hands of the priest, and the cruet, borne by the deacon, are carried on their heads round the altar.

There now follow in **Eth** a number of prayers: (1) That the oblation may be accepted, as were those of Abel, Noah, Abraham, Elijah, David, and the widow who gave her mite; (2) as the host is placed in the paten, that it may be 'filled with live coal, even thine own holy body'; (3) over the chalice, that Christ may place his hand on the cup and cleanse it; (4) a 'Prayer of the nuptials', based on the Wedding-feast at Cana, and asking that the chalice may be our joy and life; (5) Prayer over the Cross-spoon, based on Isaiah's vision of the Seraph taking with the tongs a coal from the altar; (6) an exclamation: 'Purity and sweetness and blessing be to them that drink of thy precious and true blood'.

In both **Copt** and **Eth** there is, after the circuit, or in the latter case after these prayers, a series of salutations and responses: (1) A threefold blessing, of the respective persons of the blessed Trinity, with *Amens*, said over the bread and the chalice; (2) a *Gloria* to the Trinity. After these two the **Copts** place the host on the paten, and the wine in the chalice. (3) 'One is the Holy Father, one is the Holy Son, one is the Holy Ghost' (see Elevation, p. 279). In **Copt** it is said by the deacon during the signing which precedes (1); **Eth**, by the priest after (2); (4) Ps. cxvii.

'O praise the Lord, all ye heathen', with *Gloria*; (5) Alleluia.

The Nestorian liturgy has also a developed *Prothesis*, which is closely connected with the making of the loaves. It has little relation to the other rites; but the *Trisagion* is repeated, having already been used at the making of the bread; there is a series of intercessions, the passage 'One of the soldiers with a spear pierced the side of the Lord', &c., is said as in Byz, but here for the pouring into the chalice, as in Syr-Jac, and not as in Byz for the piercing of the Lamb.

THE ENARXIS

Before the liturgy proper begins, an Office is sung called the *Enarxis*. It has now become so closely incorporated with the liturgy as to be looked upon as the beginning of the rite, as the name, which is possibly borrowed from an earlier introduction such as exists in parallel liturgies, indicates. It has a close resemblance to the Office *τυπικά* which is said on ordinary days after Sext. The *τυπικά* consists of Ps. ciii and cxlv (both 'Praise the Lord, O my soul'), the chant *Monogenes*, the Beatitudes, the Epistle and Gospel for the day, the *ἀπόλνους*, the *Benedictus qui venit* and Ps. xxxiv, 'I will always give thanks'. Its structure suggests that it was formed for use on days on which the liturgy was not celebrated, and as a substitute for it; later the portions which were not already in the liturgy were placed there at the beginning. A *typicon* of the ninth century says that when there is a litany (*λιτή*) there are no antiphons. The *τυπικά* is, indeed, almost the liturgy without the Anaphora.

It is peculiarly Byzantine; the Egyptian and Nestorian

Enarxes are of different origin, and the word *Enarxis* used by Brightman in other liturgies, has the more primitive sense of 'Opening prayers'. Baumstark believes that the *Typicon* corresponds to the triple *synaxis* of prayers and chants of Etheria,¹ but De Meester says that the triple antiphon corresponds simply to the three stages of the division of the Psalter.² It will be necessary to show the various *Enarxes* separately, as they have nothing in common, except that the Egyptian form in **Mk** shows also a triple arrangement as in **Byz**.

THE BYZANTINE *ENARXIS*

The **Byzantine** *Enarxis* begins with a Blessing, preceded by the deacon's usual request 'Bless, sir'.

Blessed be the kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost now and ever. Chorus, Amen.

So **Barb** and **Arm**. **Russ** adds a versicle at Easter. Next follows a litany (*συναπτή*).

Deacon: In peace let us beseech the Lord. Chorus: Lord, have mercy.

There are nine petitions beginning with *ὑπέρ*, as follows: (1) For the peace and salvation of souls, (2) the peace of the world, (3) this house, (4) the clergy, (5) the kings, (6) the monastery or city, (7) the season and fruits, (8) those in difficulties, and (9) preservation from injuries. A petition for safe protection (*ἀντιλαβοῦ σῶσον κ.τ.λ.*) is added, and a memorial of the Saints, to which the reply is, 'To thee, O Lord'.

Jas has this litany after the Little Entrance; it contains 1, 2, 4, 9, and the memorial. This litany and the *Mono-genes* must have entered the **Byz** and **Syr** liturgies before the Office of *Enarxis* was added; **Egypt** is doubtful. The

¹ *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 80-2.

² *D.A.C.L.* vi. 1627.

litany is repeated in **Jas** after the Alleluia, and after the Gospel with some differences.

Then follows an *ecphonesis*¹ by the priest:

For unto thee are due all glory, honour, and worship,
Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and ever.

This litany is not set out in **Barb**, which gives only the priest's parts; but it is found, without the petition for the king, in **B-Cout**; it is also in **Peter**. **Arm** has the same litany later, after the *Trisagion*. It is the *Great Litany* (ἡ μεγάλη ἐκτενή). At this point **Arm** has the two petitions which are repeated below in **Byz**, also a Blessing and the Pax. Before these petitions there is the *Shamamout*, an antiphon proper to the day, for festivals; and on ordinary Sundays the *Monogenes* (see p. 133).

For variations in the *ecphonesis* see below.

THE TRIPLE ANTIPHON.

This consists of three antiphons,² each of a Psalm, refrain, and Doxology, together with a prayer of the antiphon, and a short *ectene* (litany).

ANTIPHON I—Psalm ciii, 'Praise the Lord, O my soul', and Doxology, with the refrain:

By the intercessions of the Mother of God, O Saviour,
save us.

On great festivals some other passages of Scripture are substituted for the Psalm, and often it seems to be omitted from all the antiphons, which are sung thrice. **Arm** has a Psalm also, but after the first Prayer of the Antiphon. **Bas-Barb** has only the prayers, choral parts and those of the deacon not being given, but **Chrys-Barb** has no *Enarxis*.

PRAYER OF THE FIRST ANTIPHON: Lord our God,

¹ The 'ecphonesis' is the ending of a prayer, said in a loud voice by the priest.

² See Introit, p. 141.

whose power is boundless, whose glory is immeasurable, and whose mercy is infinite, whose love for mankind is ineffable, look down, O Lord, in thy tender mercy upon us and upon this holy house, and abundantly perform thy mercies and goodness upon us and upon those who worship with us.

For thine is the might and 'the kingdom and the power and the glory' of the Father, &c.

The prayer is in **Bas-Barb, Chrys, Arm**; but the position and order of the ecphoneses of these antiphons vary. That given above for the litany is in that place in the present **Chrys** and **Russ**; in **Bas-Barb, B-Cout, Arm** it is here, while **Russ** has none here. This one is, in **Bas-Barb, B-Cout, Russ, and Arm**, after the second antiphon, while that given in the text in that position appears in these liturgies after the third, where **Chrys** has none; in **Arm** it is after the Prayer of Little Entrance.

Meanwhile the deacon repeats the following two clauses of the Great Litany, which was no doubt originally said in full before each antiphon,

Again in peace let us bless the Lord. *℟.* Lord have mercy. Help, save, pity, and guard us, O God, in thy love. *℟.* Lord have mercy.

and the commemoration of the Saints mentioned above, with the response, 'To thee, O Lord'.

These two petitions are frequently used instead of the whole litany, or as part of other litanies which differ from that of the *Enarxis*. Both are used with each of the Prayers of the Faithful. The second is, with others of the *ectene*, in the litany at the Offertory; both at the Lord's Prayer, and the latter at the Thanksgiving after communion. They, with the Blessing, are all that remain of the litany in the **Arm Enarxis**, and there they are not repeated.

ANTIPHON II: Ps. cxlv. 'Praise the Lord, O my soul', and Doxology with the following refrain:

Save us, O Son of God, as we sing to thee, Alleluia.

On great festivals some other scriptural passage is substituted.

THE SONG *MONOGENES*: Only-begotten Son and Word of God, who art immortal, yet didst deign (*καταδεξάμενος*) for our salvation to become incarnate of the Holy Mother of God, the ever-Virgin Mary, and without change became man, and wast crucified, O Christ our God, and by death didst conquer death, being one of the Holy Trinity, and glorified together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, save us.

Theophanes the Chronographer (d. 817) says that Justinian (527-65) ordered the use of the *Monogenes*.¹ Later it was supposed to have been written by Justinian. Cod. Vat. gr. 367 calls it 'ὁ μονογενῆς . . . τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ'. It is probably the work of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (512-19), being attributed to him in a Jacobite liturgy.² It seems first to have entered into the Offices, and about the seventh or eighth century into the liturgy, before the antiphons were included. Leo Thuscus (12th cent.) has them both. It is used in **Arm** in place of the litany above on ordinary Sundays. **Jas** and **Mk** have it at the Little Entrance; it was introduced into them about the 12th century. The text is the same in all.

Arm has here the only real antiphon, a Psalm proper to the day with a hymn, which is of several stanzas, a Gloria and refrain.

PRAYER OF THE SECOND ANTIPHON: O Lord our God, 'save thy people and bless thine inheritance'. Preserve

¹ D.A.C.L. vi. 1613.

² Dom Puyade, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1912, p. 253 ff.

the fulness of thy Church ; sanctify those that love the beauty of thy house, and in recompense glorify them with thy divine power, and forsake not them that put their trust in thee.

For thou art a good and loving God, and we render glory to thee, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, for ever.

Bas-Barb, B-Cout, Russ, Arm have the same *ecphonesis* as given above for the first antiphon.

While this is being said the deacon and choir recite the same clauses of the litany as before.

ANTIPHON III: Ps. cxviii. 1-4, 'Let them now that fear the Lord confess', Doxology and refrain:

When thou wert baptizing in Jordan, O Lord, the worship of the Holy Trinity was foreshadowed, for the voice of the Father witnessed to thee, calling thee his 'beloved Son', and the Spirit 'in the form of a dove' confirmed the certainty of the Word. Glory be to thee, O Christ, God made manifest, who didst give light to the world.

Instead of this the Beatitudes are sung on Sundays.

PRAYER OF THE THIRD ANTIPHON: O thou, who hast given us grace with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee, and hast promised that, when two or three are agreed together in thy name thou wilt grant their requests, fulfil now, O Lord, the desires of thy servants as may be most expedient for them, granting them, in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting.

Bas-Barb, Arm. The latter has the *ecphonesis* given above for the second antiphon. This prayer has been taken from the *Typica* into the Anglican daily Offices as a final Collect. It is unexpectedly Western in form.

Here the *Enarxis* runs into the Little Entrance without any distinctive boundary; the Entrance is made while the choir is still singing the third antiphon.

NOTE. Owing to the simultaneous action of priest, deacon, and choir, the order of the rite is a little confusing. **Russ** has directions that, while the choir sings the first antiphon, the priest says the prayer; then the priest says the second prayer while the short *ectene* is recited, and the second antiphon is sung after that, and so on. The difference is that with **Russ** the first prayer is with the first antiphon, the second and third with the litany before the antiphon, while **Chrys** keeps to the same procedure throughout, except that the third prayer has no litany. It is probably all a matter of the time occupied with each item, and that in practice there is little, if any, difference.

Peter has only the Litany with the Prayer of Entrance: 'Master Lord, our God' followed by *Monogenes*.

THE EGYPTIAN ENARXES

This has no relation to the Byzantine rite given above. It may come from the Office of Lauds, as the first prayer is called the 'First Prayer of the Morning'; if that is so, this was originally a shorter office substituted for Lauds when the liturgy was celebrated. It would then serve the opposite motive of the Byzantine form, which is an invasion of the liturgy by an office originally constructed to be used instead of the liturgy.

1. It begins with a proclamation and salutation.

Deacon: Stand up for prayer. *R.* Lord have mercy upon us.

This is in *Eth* only.

Priest: Peace be to all. *R.* And to thy spirit.

These salutations, which are said in Greek in several

places in these liturgies, which otherwise are in Coptic and Ethiopian, are evidences of their Greek origin.

For the use of the Peace in various positions in the liturgy see Appendix E.

2. Prayer of Thanksgiving, 'the First Prayer of the morning' (Copt), with a preliminary exhortation in Copt, Eth.

Let us give thanks unto the doer of good and the merciful, &c.

It thanks God for his goodness unto this day, and prays him to fulfil it all the days of our life, to remove all that is wrong, not to lead into temptation, but to deliver from evil.

Copt and Eth expand Mk and interpolate exhortations by both priest and deacon. Sarap has also a 'First Prayer of the Lord's day', which has no relation to this, and is more likely a prayer of the Trisagion.

3. A long prayer for those who are offering, forming a dialogue between the assistant priest, the deacon, and the people, with a final prayer by the priest. Eth only (but also in Mk-Vat).

4. 'Prayer over the Prothesis' Copt or 'Prayer of the Mystery' Eth 'Master Lord Jesus Christ'. Not in Mk. As it is recited the elements are placed on the altar and covered. It is an interesting prayer, for it closely resembles the Oblation of the *Anaphora* (in Mercer 3 it is called the 'Prayer of the *Anaphora*'). It includes the following words:

Cause thy face to shine upon this bread and upon this cup, which we have set upon this thy holy table, bless them, sanctify them, hallow and change them, that this bread may indeed become thine own holy body, and the mingled wine and water in this cup thine own precious blood, that they may be to us all for participation and health and salvation for our souls and bodies and spirits.

5. 'Prayer of St. Basil': 'Lord our God, who of thine unspeakable love', a prayer that this mystery be not for condemnation but for profit. It is in **Eth-Berl** 36 and in **Mer-3**, but immediately after the dismissal of catechumens, where it is more appropriate. Not in **Mk**, **Copt**, or **Tasfa**.

6. 'Prayer of Absolution, to the Son.' 'Master Lord Jesus the only Son.' Its name adequately describes its nature, but it invokes the absolution not only of God, but of a large number of Saints. **Copt** and **Eth**.

7. A long and comprehensive Litany with the response *Kiralayeson*. Only in **Eth**.

Mk's *Enarxis* consists of three prayers, each introduced by the Peace and its Response, a proclamation, 'Pray ye', and threefold *Kyrie*. The first prayer is 2 above. The second is a prayer for the king, the third for the Pope (of Alexandria) and the bishop. In **Mk-Vat** there are antiphons, which heightens the resemblance to **Byz**.

OTHER ENARXES

Nest also has an *Enarxis* of some length. After the invocation of the Holy Trinity there is *Gloria in excelsis*, almost exactly scriptural, Lord's Prayer, a 'Prayer before the *marmitha*', the *marmitha* itself (a subdivision of the Psalter) of two or three Psalms, with Alleluia as an antiphon, and one *Gloria*. Then comes the 'Anthem of the Sanctuary', preceded by a prayer. This is a sort of *Cheroubicon*. Also on festivals the *Lachumara* (= 'Thee, O Lord') which is a verse, 'I will wash my hands', &c., with *Gloria* and Antiphons ('Thee, O Lord, we confess', &c.). This is preceded and followed by prayer, of which the former is a prayer of incense.

Jas has before the Entrance a *εὐχή τῆς παραστάσεως*, which is a Doxology to the Holy Trinity. Brightman thinks it accompanied a formal assembling of the ministers

in the Sanctuary before beginning the *Enarxis*.¹ The word *παράστασις* is elsewhere used in this liturgy of standing before the altar ministering, e.g. at the Entrance: 'complete the *παράστασις* of our liturgy.' It seems to mean little more than 'celebration'.

After this there is a 'Prayer of Incense of the Entrance of the *Enarxis*', and a 'Prayer of the *Enarxis*', for acceptance and completion of the service. It is obvious that '*Enarxis*' here means nothing but 'Beginning'.

MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS

In the Eastern liturgies there is not usually a clearly defined line between the preparatory rites and the actual beginning of the Mass. The *Enarxis* and similar devotions are separate services which have merged into the liturgy. In the West there is no preliminary Office. The difference is more significant than at first appears. It indicates a somewhat different outlook. In the East the great period of Eucharistic liturgical development coincided with a great expansion of monasticism. The liturgy grew up in a monastic atmosphere, and has been profoundly influenced by this environment. In the West monasticism came rather later. The Mass was, at its best, the worship of the parishes of Rome gathered together round the Pope. The medieval 'Uses' of the great Churches were essentially for the most part monastic, but the Mass itself was an expression of the devotion of the people of the Church. This explains to some extent the different manner of beginning the liturgy in the two regions. In the East there was a tendency to place it in close connexion with the Offices; in the West it began with the solemn entry of the bishop and clergy into the church where the faithful had gathered together, sometimes in ordered procession, from

¹ *Lit. E. & W.* 601.

their own local churches. The retention in the West to a much later date of the personal offering by the members of the congregation of bread and wine for the Eucharist is also probably due to the same cause.

In primitive times what is now the Mass of the Catechumens was probably a morning service, independent of the Eucharist, but preliminary to it when the Eucharist was celebrated in the morning. There is not much evidence for this, but the form taken by the Mass of the Catechumens when it first appears suggests it. Such a morning service would be open to all adherents of the Church, and would be largely instructional. The Eucharist proper, to which only the faithful would be admitted, began with the Kiss of Peace. When a baptism, or the consecration of a bishop, or an ordination, was held, it would take the place of the morning service, and be followed by the Kiss, as in Justin¹ and *Apostolic Tradition*. The permanent union of the two took place in the fifth century. Tertullian speaks of two Christian services: 'aut sacrificium offertur aut Dei verbum administratur'; the latter was the service on 'station' days when 'orationes sacrificiorum' were omitted.² In Jerusalem in the fourth century it was held in one church, and the people proceeded to another for the Eucharist. Etheria's account is not very clear, but the usual procedure on Sunday seems to have been to gather at the Church behind the Cross at Golgotha, where sermons were preached, 'in order that the people may always be instructed in the Scriptures and in the love of God', and then to proceed to the Church of the Resurrection, 'and the people, that is the faithful, enter, but not the catechumens'. This is evidently for the Eucharist.

This service of instruction survived without the Eucharist in Alexandria on Wednesdays and Fridays: 'Again in

¹ *Apol.* i. 65.

² *De cult. fem.* ii. 11; *de orat.* 14.

Alexandria on the fourth day of the week, and on that which is called the "Preparation", the Scriptures are read, and the teachers interpret them, and all the things that belong to the *Synaxis* are done except the celebration of the Mysteries.' So says Socrates, and he adds that it is an ancient custom.¹ It also seems to have developed into the Mass of the Presanctified through the step of reserving the Host, and dipping it into unconsecrated wine, thus consecrating it.² Augustine speaks of the 'Missa catechumenorum'.³

Baumstark's theory is that an aliturgical Jewish Synagogue morning devotion similar to the '*Joser*' was in use in early Christian circles, and that it is represented by the passage in Clement of Rome (see p. 304); that the Eucharist was originally joined to the Agape; but after separation the Eucharist, which represented the Jewish thanksgiving after a feast, was attached to the morning service. Hence the Mass of the Catechumens and the *Anaphora*. In this case the *Sanctus*, to which Clement seems to refer, must have been transferred from one to the other.⁴ This theory has little evidence to support it, but may represent the actual facts.

THE ENTRANCE OF THE MINISTERS

The Roman Rite in its early history developed out of the Papal Mass, descriptions of which are given in great detail for the seventh and eighth centuries and onwards in the Roman *Ordines*. The whole Christian congregation was supposed to assemble each Sunday and Holy Day at one or other of the regional churches selected for that day, to which they had proceeded from their own parish churches. The Pope, accompanied by a brilliant retinue of assistants,

¹ *H.E.* v. 22.

² *J.T.S.* iv. 69; v. 369, 535.

³ *Serm.* xlix. 8.

⁴ *Irenikon*, xi. 146 (May 1934).

set out from the Lateran, and on arrival at the stational church, vested in the Sacristy, and, when prepared, entered the church in state. During this entry the Introit was sung.

THE INTROIT

Liber Pontificalis seems to ascribe this to Celestine I (422-32): 'The 150 Psalms of David were to be chanted before the sacrifice, antiphonally by all, which had not been done before, but only the Epistle of St. Paul was read and the Holy Gospel.' But this cannot be relied on, and the writer probably thinks of an Office which preceded Mass, and possibly does not mean that the whole Psalter was recited in one day. The words 'antiphonally by all' seem to have been added in the second recension.

Socrates attributes to Ignatius of Antioch (m. c. 110) the first use of antiphonal chanting there: 'I must tell the origin of the custom of antiphonal hymns (ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους συνήθεια) in the Church. Ignatius, third bishop of Antioch from the Apostle Peter, who had been familiar with the apostles, had a vision of angels praising the Holy Trinity in antiphonal hymns, and he introduced into the Church of Antioch the method of the dream, whence also this tradition has spread to all the Churches.'¹ Socrates was too late for his statement to be of much value on this point. The method was, however, in use amongst the Jews and the heathen. Pliny speaks of it as a Christian custom in Bithynia (see p. 12). Theodoret attributes its introduction in Antioch to Flavian and Diodorus, while still laymen (344-57). 'They first, dividing the choirs into two parts, taught them to sing the melody of David in turn.'² A fragment of Theodore of Mopsuestia, however, says that they translated Syrian antiphons into Greek.

¹ *H.E.* vi. 8.

² *Ibid.* ii. 19.

Edessa seems to have been the centre from which the practice was disseminated.¹

From Syria it spread to Constantinople, to Milan, and to the West.

The Antiphon was originally sung at an interval of an octave. The innovation of Flavian and Diodorus was possibly that of non-scriptural antiphons composed in the East and used with verses of Psalms. *Testamentum Domini* makes it clear that the choir consisted of three presbyters, three deacons, two virgins, and some little boys. Athanasius tells of a woman singer who was dragged out of church in a riot, but her Psalter was left behind.² The word 'antiphon' is restricted in the Greek Church to the chants of the Eucharist, and to some in the Night Office. At the same time as the antiphonal chant was introduced into Antioch the *Gloria Patri* appeared.

The eighth century attributed the Antiphon to Gregory I (590–604), and there is no reference to one in Augustine or Ambrose; it is not likely to be much older. The oldest manuscript of the Milanese Mass has *Incipit missa canonica* after the *Gloria in excelsis* and *Kyrie*, which suggests that when they were introduced there was no introductory Psalm.

In *Ordo Romanus I* (which probably represents conditions existing before 680) the Antiphons were sung before the Psalm, which was chanted until the Pope gave the sign, when the *Gloria Patri* was sung. The latter was added not later than the first half of the fifth century. The Antiphon was repeated after each verse of the Psalm and Doxology, though already the latter was only divided by the Antiphon on Feast Days. In some places there was also a festal addition—*versus ad respondendum*, or *versus ad repetendum*, or *versus prophetalis*. In smaller churches there was no

¹ D.A.C.L. i. 2284.

² *Apol. de fuga*, 24.

need for a long Introit, so it must have been reduced and modified. Eventually there was only the Antiphon, one verse of the Psalm, and the *Gloria*, as now; but in some places the Antiphon was sung three times at the end, as still with the Carmelites.¹ The whole of the Introit, with rare exceptions, which Schuster suspects of having a Byzantine origin, is scriptural. The verses are always from a Psalm; occasionally the Antiphon is from some other book. The text of all the Roman chants is taken from the Old Itala version, and not from the Vulgate. One, the Common for the Blessed Virgin, is from the poet Sedulius.

The Roman chant was originally called *Antiphona ad introitum*; in *Ordo VI* it is *Introitus*; in *Ordo V*, *Invitorium*. At Milan it is *Ingressa*. Here it was reduced to the Antiphon alone. Moreover, the Antiphon is frequently drawn from the Lives of the Saints.

In Spain and in England the Introit was called *Officium*. The word is explained by the use in ancient missals of the heading to the Mass, 'ad missam officium', which was taken to refer to the Introit that followed. It is still used in the Carthusian, Carmelite, and Dominican Missals. Like the Introit, the *Officium* had only one verse with Antiphon and *Gloria*.

The Gallican *Antiphona ad praelegendum* mentioned in Germain is not an Introit, but corresponds to the Greek *Monogenes*; yet it occupies the same place and serves the same purpose: 'Psallentibus clericis procedit sacerdos in specie Christi de sacrario.'

The Roman chants throughout the Mass are given with

¹ The Introit given p. 306 is a good illustration of the fact that a single verse is only the remnant of a whole Psalm (lxii), for this verse has no special applicability to the feast. It was chosen for vv. 9-15, which have now disappeared.

the Mozarabic Rite in Appendix B, for purposes of comparison. In this section the Ambrosian forms will be given, the feast of the Epiphany being selected in each case. The following is the Milanese text for the *Ingressa*.

Apoc. xxi. 23-4. 'The city hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine upon it, for the brightness of God doth lighten it. And the nations shall walk in the light of it : and the kings of the earth offer up their glory in it.'

THE LITTLE ENTRANCE

In the Eastern Churches the priests and ministers are usually in the church before the Mass of the Catechumens begins, either preparing the elements in the *Prothesis*, or engaged in the *Enarxis*. There is therefore no ceremonial entrance of the celebrant corresponding to the Introit of the West. But almost at the same place there is a solemn bringing in of the sacred books of Scripture, or at least of the Gospel, for the lections which are to follow. This is called 'The Little Entrance'.

Baumstark would relate this to the procession to the Holy Sepulchre related by Etheria.¹ More probably it originally marked the entrance of the bishop, who took no part in the *Prothesis*, from the *Narthex*; if so, it is the same ceremony as that of the West, but the growth of the later subsidiary rites has given it a different character. Or it may have developed from the earlier entrance of the priest at this point, the emphasis now being placed on the Gospels because the original entry lost its meaning when the *Prothesis* and *Enarxis* were added. It is noteworthy that the Prayers of the Entry seldom mention the books. St. Maximus has, 'The entrance into the Sanctuary of the ἀρχιερέως and the people with the hierarchy into the

¹ *Die Messe im Morgenland*, 80-2.

Church'. In **Jas** and **Mk** there is no suggestion that the priest had already been in the Sanctuary. In **Jas-Par-476** the previous prayers are to be said 'while the clergy are about to make their procession' (*προέλευσις*); and the Prayer of Little Entrance is 'after the procession, from the doors of the Church to the altar'. In those churches where the elements are prepared at the Offertory the Little Entrance has no further purpose than to give honour to the Gospel.

In **Chrys** the bishop still enters here in the Pontifical Mass, being met by the priest and deacons; but ordinarily, while the *Gloria* of the third Antiphon of the *Enarxis* is being sung, the priest and deacon make three bows, and the former gives to the deacon the Gospel, and they go with it preceded by lights, by way of the *Prothesis* and the north door, into the Church, and back through the centre to the altar. In the Presanctified the Entrance is still made, but, except in Holy Week and a few other days, without the Gospel. **Syr-Jac** has nothing to correspond with the Little Entrance, nor **Copt**, **Eth**, and **Nest**; but **Arm** has a procession which dimly reflects the Greek ceremony, for the deacon only takes the Gospel from the altar, goes round the altar, and offers the book to one of the people to kiss.

PRAYER OF ENTRANCE. St. Chrysostom¹ and Maximus² both mention that the Peace is said at the beginning. 'When the head of the Church enters he straightway says, "Peace to all"; . . . you say, "And to thy spirit".' See Appendix E. **Mk** has this here, and **Jas** after the Prayer.

O Master, Lord our God, who hast appointed in heaven battalions and armies of angels and archangels for the service of thy glory, make with our entrance the entrance

¹ *Adv. Jud.* iii. 6; *de S. Pentecoste*, i. 4; *in Matt.* xxxii. 6 (Antioch).

² *Quaest. et dubia*, 68.

also of the holy angels to assist us in worshipping and glorifying thy goodness.

For unto thee are due, &c., as above at *Enarxis* (p. 131).

This, which is from **Bas-Barb**, had already in the eleventh century taken the place in **Chrys** of its prayer in **Barb**, which is rather colourless. **Jas** has, before the Entrance, a prayer of incense, 'O God, who didst receive the gifts of Abel', called 'A prayer of the incense of the entrance of the *Synaxis*'. This is followed by a blessing of the deacon and his 'Answering Prayer' (εὐχὴ ἀποκριτικῆ). It is interesting to note that this prayer is for fitness to offer 'seraphically' and to sing the 'much-hymned song of the ἐνθρααστικόν and the *Trisagion*'. Is ἐνθρααστικόν for 'Incarnation', and does it refer to the *Monogenes*, which precedes the *Trisagion*? Or do both refer to the *Trisagion*? In the latter case the *Monogenes* is a later addition. Then **Jas** continues with the *Prayer of Entrance*. **Mk**, after recalling the Mission of the Apostles, asks for forgiveness and purification, and ends with the offering of incense. **Mk** and **Jas** both have *Monogenes* here.

Byz also has a blessing:

Blessed be the entrance of Thy saints now and for ever.

Jas has a blessing of the people by the priest (see p. 155).

Then the *Εἰσοδικόν* is sung. Though it has no relation to the Western Introit it has the same function in the Little Entrance. It ends with an ἀπολυτίκιον as does the Communion Hymn later. It is not in **Arm**. In **Chrys-B-Cout** it is called τροπάριον καὶ κοντάκιον. It has the *ecphonesis*:

For holy art thou, our God, and to thee we give glory, to Father, &c.

THE CENSING

Incense has been used in worship by almost all races in which religious ceremony has been highly developed. It is generally associated with the offering of prayer. It played a great part in the Jewish temple worship, but the Christian use owes nothing directly to this, though it has been influenced by scriptural allusions.

There is no evidence for the ceremonial use of incense in the early Christian centuries. *Liber Pontificalis* ascribes to Pope Soter (166-74) the rule that no monk should offer incense, but this was written in the sixth century. St. Justin,¹ Athenagoras,² and Tertullian³ explicitly say that incense had no part in Christian worship, and so Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Arnobius, Lactantius, and even Augustine. This is not surprising seeing that the usual method of apostasizing was by offering incense at the heathen altars. It appears first in funeral ceremonies, apparently in sign of joyful celebration of the *natalis* of the deceased, and to do him honour. Evidence of this comes from Alexandria in the fourth century, and St. Chrysostom. It was in these times a mark of honour and not of religious worship. St. Ephrem in his *Testament* shows it as appearing in church also, for he asks that when he dies, which he did in 373, incense should not be offered at his funeral, as he was not worthy, but in the Sanctuary.⁴ This is still not, it would seem, ceremonious, though already customary. From the desire to render the sacred place pleasant with sweet-smelling odours a step had yet to be taken to its symbolic use as a figure of the ascent of prayer or the acceptance of sacrifice. St. Chrysostom late in the fourth century asks what is the use of filling the church with incense if the mind is not purified.⁵

¹ *Apol.* i. 13; ii. 5.

² *Legatio pro Christ.* 13.

³ *Apol.* 30.

⁴ The 'Testament' is probably not genuine, but almost contemporary.

⁵ *Hom. in Matth.* 89.

The first clear evidence in the East is that of Etheria, who testifies to its use in Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century, when it is used at the Gospel in the Sunday vigils. Pseudo-Dionys (*c.* 500) tells us that the choir and Sanctuary were censed at the beginning of the liturgy.¹ These are both Syrian practices. At the end of the sixth century Eustathius indicates that it was used in **Byz** at the beginning of the ceremonies of Easter night.² In the ninth century at the Mass of the Presanctified it was used at the *Prothesis*, at the beginning of the Mass of the Catechumens, and at the Little Entrance.

St. Ambrose, at the end of the fourth century, is the first to give witness to its use in the West.³ There are sporadic references during the next three centuries, but not till *Ordo I*, representing the seventh century, is there any evidence of the manner of its use. Then incense precedes the Pope at the Introit, the deacon in going to the ambo for the Gospel, and the Pope at leaving the church, all honorific. In *Ordo II*, which is subject to Gallican influence (9th cent.), the altar and the assistants are censed at the Creed, and the Oblations are censed, in addition to the processional use. In *Ordo V* (9th–10th cent.) the bishop is censed after kissing the Gospel-book, and there is a clear statement of the censing of the altar and ministers at the Creed.

The origin of the Christian use of incense is therefore not Jewish or scriptural. It seems to have been honorary. Certain Roman civil authorities had the privilege on official occasions of being preceded by their insignia, viz. lights and the *liber mandatorum*, and in the case of the Emperor by incense also. On arrival at the court of justice the book

¹ *Eccl. Hier.* iii. 2.

² *Vita S. Eutychii*, x. 92.

³ *Exposit. in Luc.* 1; *De Cain et Abel*, i. 5; *De Joseph patriarcha*, iii. 17. See discussion of these passages by E. Fehrenbach, *D.A.C.L.* v. 20.

was placed on the table with the lights around. This has considerable resemblance to the Introit, with the placing of the Gospel on the altar. The pure Roman use seems to have been simply processional. The censuring of the altar, according to Atchley, comes from the Gallican rite of the *Dedication*, which has Byzantine affinities.¹

There were no prayers or blessings of the incense till later.

The following are the principal places at which incense is offered in the different rites:

1. Making of the loaves Nest.
2. *Prothesis*, Syr-Jac, Nest, Chrys, Arm.
3. Before the *Enarxis*, Jas, Chrys, Arm.
4. Beginning of Mass of Catechumens, Jas, Syr-Jac, Copt, Eth, Byz, Rom.
5. Little Entrance Mark, Byz-Pres.
6. Pauline Epistle, Eth.
7. Acts of the Apostles, Copt and Eth (at the *Trisagion*).
8. Gospel, Jas, Mk, Eth, Nest, Chrys, Rom.
9. Greater Entrance (or Prayers), Jas, Syr-Jac, Nest, Mk, Eth, Chrys, Arm, Rom.
10. Kiss of Peace, Mk.
11. *Anaphora*, Nest.
12. Diptychs of Departed, Mk, Chrys.
13. Fraction, Nest.
14. After Communion, Chrys, Jas, Syr-Jac.

These group themselves roughly into (a) the censuring of the elements when preparing, carrying, or offering them; (b) censuring the altar, church, and people; and (c) censuring the Gospel and other books.

We are here concerned with the censuring at the beginning, which usually takes the form of censuring the altar. The Roman form is:

Deacon: Bless, reverend father, this incense.

¹ *Hist. of use of Incense*, 159 f., 188 f.

Priest: **Mayest thou be blessed by him in whose honour thou art to be burned.**

The altar is censed in silence. The Eastern forms are much longer and usually include a prayer. **Jas** refers to the sacrifices of Abel, Noah, and Abraham, and the incense of Aaron and Zacharias. **Mk** incorporates this prayer of incense into a Prayer of Entrance (see p. 146) based on the Mission given to the Apostles. **Syr-Jac**, after the frequent 'Stand we well' and *Kurrilison*, has a *Sedro*, based on the sweetness typified by incense as springing from the root of Mary, and illustrated by Aaron's staying of the plague; and offers the savour of spices on behalf of all men from Adam down to the recently departed. The altar is censed to a triple adoration, the centre representing the type of the Father, the north of the Son, and the south of the Holy Ghost. An elaborate censuring of the mysteries is associated with the commemoration of various classes of saints.

Copt has a prayer for the purifying of the heart to offer a sweet savour. It is said within the Veil, and, after a series of intercessions, a beautiful prayer is said without the Veil incorporating Mal. i. 11, 'in every place incense shall be offered', and Ps. cxli. 2, 'Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as incense'. **Eth** the same, set in a long series of petitions, They also have an anthem:

This is the censer of pure gold, bearing the sweet spice that was in the hand of Aaron the priest, while he offered a sweet savour upon the altar.

If there is time the following is added:

The 'censer of gold' is the Virgin, her sweet cloud is our Saviour; she hath borne him: he hath saved us; may he forgive our sins.

Thou art the censer of pure gold, holding live coals of blessed fire.

Nest has a prayer before the *Lachumara*, which seems to be a prayer of incense, though incense is not mentioned in the rubrics. In Byz, as the deacon censes the altar at the *Prothesis*, he says:

Thou wert in the tomb as to the body, but in Hades as to the soul, for thou art God; and thou wert in Paradise with the robber, and on the throne with the Father and the Spirit, O Christ, who art everywhere and fulfillest all things.

Then Ps. li, during which he censes the Sanctuary and Church.

THE HYMN *TRISAGION*

A legend states that this hymn was revealed in Constantinople during the episcopate of Proclus (434-6). It is quoted in a work attributed to Caesarius of Nazianzus (*d.* 369), but it is not his work, and must be later, though it may well be before the fifth century.¹ During an earthquake the Emperor Theodosius with the patriarch and the people were reciting litanies, when a child was suddenly taken up into the air, and on being restored to the ground, ordered the recitation of the *Trisagion*, whereupon he died and the earthquake ceased. The hymn was sung before the Gospel at the Council of Constantinople (536).

It is addressed to the Holy Trinity in the Nest form, which has a threefold repetition with the *Gloria* between. Copt, Eth too have three repetitions, but addressed to the Son: (1) 'Thou who wast born of a Virgin'; (2) 'Thou who wast crucified for us'; (3) 'Thou who didst rise from the dead and ascend into heaven'. Syr-Jac has 'thou who wast

¹ *Quaest. de rebus divinis*, i. 29.

crucified for us' each time. **Arm** also addresses them to the Son, but with varying clauses according to the season.

This formula thus became a banner of the faith, the Monophysites addressing it to the Son, and associating His Manhood with His Divine attributes; the Nestorians emphasizing their refusal to worship the Manhood by naming the Persons of the Holy Trinity. In 470 Peter the Fuller, the usurping Bishop of Antioch, introduced the words 'who wast crucified for us'; when Timotheus ordered the use of these words in Constantinople in 511 there was bitter opposition, and they were condemned by the Council *in Trullo* in 692.¹

**Holy God, Holy and mighty, Holy and immortal,
Have mercy upon us.**

It is before the lections in **Jas, Mk, Byz, Arm, Nest, and Gall (Germain)**; between Old Testament and Acts in **Syr-Jac**; before Gospel in **Copt** and **Eth**.

Chrys does not, however, always use the *Trisagion*; on festivals 'As many as have been baptized unto Christ have put on Christ' is substituted. In **Byz-Greg** a τροπάριον is sung during the Little Entry and after it φῶς ἱλαρόν; it is the evening hymn for the lighting of the lamps, and is quoted by St. Basil (330-79).² There is a well-known translation into English by John Keble, 'Hail, gladdening light'.

The *Trisagion* is not in **Rom** in the Mass, but forms part of the *Veneration of the Cross* of Good Friday, when it is the response by the deacon in Greek, and by the subdeacon in Latin, to the Reproaches. This association in Rome with Good Friday points, in the mind of Baumstark, to the inclusion of the words 'who was crucified for us', and thus to Jerusalem before the theological doubts about

¹ Canon 81.

² *De Sp. sanct.* xxix. 73.

this phrase were raised.¹ According to Bishop it was part of the Good Friday Office in Rome in the twelfth and probably eleventh centuries, but certainly not the ninth. He thinks it was a revival in the ninth century in France of the old Gallic form, and traces the Reproaches to the Bobbio Missal, which had them from Spain. The *Ajus* (see below) came, he thinks, through Burgundy (Germain and Bobbio) from Constantinople, with which the Burgundian rulers were associated.

Gall had it as the first of a series of canticles before the lections, saying it in Latin and Greek (*Ajus*), and also, according to Germain only, at the Gospel procession. It was preceded by the bishop. In Lent it was not sung. In Moz and Amb *Gloria in excelsis* takes its place, but Dom. Férotin shows that it was at some time used in Spain also.

PRAYER OF THE TRISAGION:

O holy God, 'who dost dwell in the holy place', who art hymned in the Trisagion by the Seraphim, and glorified by the Cherubim, and worshipped by every heavenly power, who didst out of nothing bring all things into being . . . receive from the mouths of us sinners the hymn of the Trisagion . . . 'grant that we may serve thee in holiness all the days of our life', through the intercessions of the holy Mother of God, and of all the Saints that have pleased thee from the beginning.

For holy art thou, O our God, and dwellest in holy places, and we give thee glory, &c.

The prayer is a Byz feature, which has been adopted by Mk, Arm, and Jas. It is not found in any of the Monophysite Churches, but, as there is no indication of doctrinal tendencies in any of the forms, it must be dated long after the separation of those Churches, and its vogue be due

¹ *Irenikon*, xi (July-Aug. 1934), 323.

to the intercourse of the Greek-speaking Christians of the East. The above form was in the **Bas-Barb**, **Chrys** having a similar but different prayer, 'Holy of holies'; it has the same *ecphonesis*. **Mk** and **Jas** have a penitential tone, especially the latter, and have nothing in common with the Byzantine forms, but the *ecphonesis* betrays their common origin. **Sarap's** 'First Prayer of the Lord's Day' (p. 136) resembles **Mk's**; they may be related. There were many forms current towards the end of the first millennium.

Eth, which has the *Trisagion* after the Acts, has a long rite here. A Trinitarian *Tersanctus* follows the Acts, and then incense is offered with the litany which previously accompanied the censuring, but a different prayer. This prayer of incense and litany are also in **Copt** (see p. 150). Next follows a prayer addressed to the Blessed Virgin, and a chant (outside the Veil) in her honour and that of our Lord, leading up to the *Trisagion*, which is succeeded by a threefold invocation of the Holy Trinity, and the 'Hail Mary'. The other liturgies have nothing corresponding to this. In **Arm** a litany, which is that of the *Enarxis* in **Byz**, follows the *Trisagion* and in **Jas** a similar litany, also equivalent to that of the *Enarxis*, accompanies the Prayer of the *Trisagion*.

Bobb shows that a prayer followed the *Trisagion* in **Gall**, for it gives, after the Canon and the concluding prayers, a series of forms which were evidently meant for frequent use. These include two *Post Aios*, possibly for the twofold use mentioned by Germain. One of these prayers begins: 'Tu summe deus aios ipse sanctus omnipotens sabaoth, qui venisti ab excelsis pati pro nobis miserere nobis', thus containing the phrase objected to in the Monophysite liturgies.

THE BLESSING OF THE PEOPLE. After the Prayer of the

Trisagion, in **Byz** follows a ceremonial setting of the priest on the throne, mentioned by St. Maximus:

The ἀρχιερεύς enters the sanctuary, and goes up to the priestly throne (τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἱερατικόν). The priest says, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord' (and after a deacon's request), 'Blessed art thou that sittest on the throne of the glory of thy kingdom with the Cherubim for ever.'¹

This is in the present rite, but not in **Barb**, which has a prayer called the 'Prayer of the chair on high' (τῆς ἄνω καθέδρας), and (in **Chrys**) 'of the sanctuary chair'. **B-Coutt** has neither. **Jas** also has a blessing, but before the *Trisagion*.

After the Gospel the priest leaves the throne.

THE KYRIE ELEISON (OF THE ROMAN LITURGY)

Κύριε ἐλέησον occurs several times in the Septuagint, though more often in the form ἐλέησόν με κύριε.² It is also used as an address to our Lord in Mt. xvii. 15; xx. 30 and 31, and ἐλέησον occurs with other forms of address frequently. Strangely enough, early Christian literature gives no instance of its use, though Arrian, a heathen of the second century, says, 'Invoking God, we say, κύριε ἐλέησον'.³ The Latin equivalent, 'Miserere domine', was in use in the West, for Etheria (4th cent.), who is the first witness for the *Kyrie* in Jerusalem, speaks as though she were translating it by a familiar phrase: '*Kyrie eleison*, or as we say, Miserere domine.' This was the response to the commemoration of individuals at Vespers, so the litanic use of the phrase was already established. The third Canon of the Council of Vaison says:

Because both in the apostolic See and also through the

¹ *Mystagogia*, 8, 9.

² Ps. xli. 4, 10; cxxiii. 3.

³ *Diatribae Epicteti*, ii. 7.

whole of the Eastern Churches and the Italian provinces the pleasing and very healthy (*salutaris*) practice has been introduced of saying *Kyrie eleison* very frequently with great devotion and compunction, we also are agreed that in all our Churches so holy a custom as this should be introduced into our matins, masses, and vespers.

This is almost certainly due to the Roman influence of Caesarius of Arles. Gregory of Tours (591) says that when St. Gregory was elected Pope he ordered litanies to be sung for the removal of the plague, and that choirs should sing *Kyrie eleison*.¹ St. Gregory himself wrote to John of Syracuse as follows:

Some one coming from Sicily has told me that some of his friends, whether Greeks or Latins I know not, doubtless full of zeal (*quasi sub zelo*) for the Holy Roman Church, grumble about my measures, saying: 'A fine way surely to put the Church of Constantinople in its place, when he is following its customs in everything.' I said to him, 'What are these customs we follow?' He replied, 'Why, you have ordered (among other things) *Kyrie eleison* to be said.' And I answered, 'In none of these things have we followed the example of another Church.' We have neither said nor do we say *Kyrie eleison* as it is said by the Greeks, for among them all sing it together, but with us it is sung by the clerks, and the people answer. And *Christe eleison*, which is never sung by the Greeks, is sung as many times. But in non-festal masses we omit some things usually sung, and sing only *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, so that we may be engaged somewhat longer in these words of supplication. In what therefore have we followed the customs of the Greeks, since we have either renewed our old customs, or have established new and useful ones, in which however we cannot be shown to imitate others?²

As usual with these allusions to the liturgy, it is not

¹ *Hist. Franc.* x. 1.

² *Ep.* ix. 12.

clear what lay behind this. 'Aliqua quae dici solent' seems to refer to the Litany. On station days it was sung in procession with *Kyrie*; on these days the Mass would begin with 'Pax vobis'; on non-station days *Kyrie* would be sung without the Litany and with more elaborate music. But if this is so, how was the *Kyrie* used with the Litany? The Roman response to the Litany seems to have been 'Te rogamus, audi nos'. When *Kyrie* was introduced it may have been placed at the beginning with the *Christe*, and also at the end, and said alternately by clerks and people. Cabrol thinks that the omission of 'other things' refers to prayers usually attached to *Kyrie*, and that Gregory's innovation was the shortening of the Introit to the single verse.¹ It would be interesting to know just what were the old customs renewed, and what the useful new ones introduced. Gregory gives the impression here and elsewhere that he likes experimenting, but is a little sensitive about appearing to be copying the East.

It is just possible that the ninefold *Kyrie* came from Egypt, as it occurs there in the *Enarxis*; but as it is not in the Monophysite liturgies, it was probably not introduced there early enough to have influenced Rome. St. Benedict adopted the *Kyrie* freely in his rule, calling it 'supplicatio litaniae'.²

Bishop's summing up of the evidence is that it came into the Eastern services in the fourth century, spread to Italy in the fifth, later in the century rather than earlier; that it was imported into Gaul from Italy early in the sixth century, or perhaps a little earlier, from Constantinople; and was chiefly spread by the Benedictines.³

It seems to be clear that Rome adopted it in her litanies,

¹ *D.A.C.L.* viii. 912-13.

² *Regula*, c. ix.

³ *Liturgica historica*, pp. 124 ff.

and had a litany with the *Kyrie* in the Mass at an early date, and that the litany dropped out. It is still in occasional use in the eighth century, for in **Gal** at the Ordination Mass—after the *Antiphona ad introitum*, the *Oratio*, the *Si quis*, and a short interval—‘they all begin *Kyrie eleison* with the Litany’. The Litany was older than the Greek *Kyrie*, which is not a remnant of the Greek rite of Rome, but must have been introduced in the fifth century. By the time of the *Ordines* the Litany had disappeared except on Easter Eve, Whitsun Eve, and Ordinations, and then its position had moved. In *Ordo I* the *Kyrie* is called *Litania*; it was repeated as often as the Pope directed. In the *Ordo of St. Amand* the ninefold *Kyrie* as now used was established. On Easter Eve and Whitsun Eve there is no Introit, and the Litany of the Saints is sung with ninefold *Kyrie*, this litany having replaced the original, which on other days has yielded to the introit.

Kyrie eleison three times

Christe eleison three times

Kyrie eleison three times.

The *Kyrie* was not in use in Gaul up to the sixth century; but it was sung by three boys in the time of St. Germain (c. 560), and had no connexion with a litany. This may have resulted from the Council of Vaison (529). In Milan it was already used in Greek at the time of that council, and it may have been introduced from there to Rome. But the *Christe* was not said there, and there was, as in Gaul, only a threefold repetition. In this form it appears in Lent twice—after the place of the *Gloria in excelsis* (itself omitted), as usual, and also after the litanies, which are said in that season. It has a Latin ‘Domine miserere’. In **Moz** it dropped out, if it ever had a footing in early days in Spain; but it has been introduced into that liturgy from

Rome in the priest's preparation and in Masses for the dead.

The Greek liturgies have the *Kyrie* frequently as the people's acclamation; but it is specially the response to the numerous litanies. **Angl** adopted the ninefold *Kyrie* with *Christe* in 1549, but in 1552 it was to be said without the *Christe*, as a response to the commandments at the beginning of the service in the form: 'Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.' A tenth was added for the last commandment: 'Lord have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.' This is curious, for it is, though it could never have been intended to be, a revival of the medieval 'farcing', to which the *Kyrie* was more subjected than any other part of the Mass. The Sarum Missal gives nine sets of farced *Kyries*. In many verses of these the *Kyrie* or *Christe* disappears, and only *eleison* is left. That for the Epiphany, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi began thus:

Kyrie, fons bonitatis, Pater ingenite, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, eleison.

It is becoming customary in Anglican Churches to omit the Commandments. The 1927 proposed revision allowed the use on occasion of the threefold *Kyrie*, with *Christe* in the second place, either in Greek or English.

THE PROPHECY (*BENEDICTUS DOMINE DEUS*)

This is peculiar to non-Roman Western rites. At the Council of Constantinople (*sub Menna*, 536) the congregation sang *Benedictus* before the liturgy, apparently separated by a considerable amount of singing of Psalms from the *Trisagion*, which came after; so it was not really part of the rite. Gregory of Tours mentions that Palladius, Bishop of Saintes, began the singing of the *Prophecy*,

which shows that it was not the lection from the Prophets, which would not be read by the bishop.¹ In Germain it was sung antiphonally. In Moz the *Benedictus* is used, between the *Officium* and the Prophetic Lesson, on the Feast of St. John Baptist only. Bobb, Goth, Franc, and Gel-Rhein also have Collects *Post prophetiam*. They are very few; in Goth only two, for Christmas and Easter. In Bobb five prayers are headed *Post prophetiam*. The following is an example:

'Blessed' holy 'God of Israel' 'visit thy people' and bless them and 'redeem' them from their sins, and grant, O Lord of might, that we may be 'delivered out of the hands of our enemies' and 'serve thee' alone, 'in righteousness and holiness all the days of our life', and 'guide our feet into the way of peace', that we may be able in all things to do thy will, through &c.

Some of these prayers make the occasion of the day the principal subject, but weave into it the ideas of the *Benedictus*, as in the example given by Duchesne.² In Moz the *Collectio* is often based on the *Gloria in excelsis*, and must be looked on as of the same nature as the *Post prophetiam*.

In Lent, instead of the *Benedictus*, a canticle *Sanctus Deus Archangelorum* was sung, according to Germain. In Amb and Moz *Gloria in excelsis*, taken from Rome, ousted *Benedictus*, if it was ever used in Milan.

THE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS

There is no very early evidence for the liturgical use of the Angelic Hymn of the Nativity. It was frequently included in epitaphs in Africa, leading us to suppose that it was in common use there as a devotional ejaculation.

¹ *Hist. Franc.* viii. 7.

² *Christian Worship*, 193.

As the form used is 'in excelsis' instead of 'in altissimis', as in the Vulgate, it must go behind the establishment of that version (5th cent.). St. Athanasius mentions it as part of the morning prayer. Codex Alexandrinus has it as an appendix to the Psalter. In **Ap-Const** it is a morning prayer, and it is now in the **Byz** Morning Office. The scriptural portion occurs in several liturgies; in **Ap-Const** with *εἰς ἄγιος* and *Benedictus qui venit* before communion; **Jas** as the beginning of a cento of scriptural passages before the Offertory; **Byz** has the first two of these at the censing after the *Prothesis*; **Nest** also has it there and at the beginning of the *Enarxis*, in each followed by the Lord's Prayer; **Eth** incorporates it, with a repetition by the people, in the prayer of the Kiss of Peace.

In the West also it has been used at Lauds, but it is chiefly associated with the Mass. *Liber Pontificalis* attributes its introduction into Rome to Telesphorus (c. 130), but this statement has no historical value. Symmachus (498-514) is said to have ordered it to be said every Sunday and on the Feasts of the Martyrs after *Kyrie*; this is its first introduction.

St. Gregory of Tours (573-94) tells that it was sung by the people on the discovery of the body of a martyr;¹ when Charlemagne visited Leo III (800) the Pope sang it. It is not mentioned in **Gel**; but in **Greg** it is episcopal. It was gradually extended from the Pope to bishops, and later to priests. From the eighth to eleventh century priests could say it only at Easter, and only then if they were acting for the Pope, and also on their own ordination day. Berno of Reichenau objected to this restriction (d. 1048); he says that in practice priests commonly recited it.² By the time of Bernold of Constance (c. 1080) the present use was in vogue.³ Its place was always after the *Kyrie*.

¹ *De gloria confessorum*, i. 63. ² *De quibusdam rebus*, 2. ³ *Micrologus*, 2.

The latter part, from 'Laudamus te', is said to have been composed by St. Hilary; if this is true, the use of the full text in the East may be due to his exile there about A.D. 360.

In the books it first appears in **Greg** as above. It does not seem to have belonged to **Gall**, but **Amb** and **Moz** adopted it from Rome. Its appearance in **Bobb** is no doubt an importation. **Amb**, however, has two coincidences against Rome with **Ap-Const**. It is probable, therefore, that while it took its use in the Mass from Rome, the text came from the East and was previously used in the morning prayer. **Amb** does not use it in Lent, when a litany with Latin *Kyries* is substituted, but followed, as when the *Gloria* is used, by Greek *Kyries*. In **Moz** it is used on Sundays and Feast-days except in Lent, as ordered in the fourth Council of Toledo (589).

Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace to men of good will.

We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly king, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesu Christ, O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord; thou only, Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Ap-Const adds after 'glorify thee' 'we hymn thee through the great High Priest, thee the living God, one, unbegotten, unapproachable and alone'. **Amb** here has

'hymnum dicimus tibi'. The passage relating to our Lord is, in **Ap-Const**, addressed to the Father, thus: 'O Lord God, the Father of Christ, the spotless Lamb, that taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, thou that sittest upon the cherubim; for thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord Jesus, the Christ of the God of all created nature and of our king, through whom to thee is glory, honour and worship.'¹ **Amb** omits 'the only-begotten son' and 'have mercy upon us; thou that takest away the sins of the world'. It is obvious that **Ap-Const** represents a more primitive form, but it has an heretical flavour. **Stowe** also adds 'magnificamus te' and 'domine filii dei unigeniti', on which Warner notes that it is for 'fili dei unigenite';² but it is a strange coincidence with **Ap-Const**, and suggests a connexion. However, **Stowe** goes on after this, 'Jesu Christe sancte spiritus dei et omnes dicimus Amen domine filii dei patris agne dei', where 'filii' must stand for 'fili'. It also omits 'qui tollis peccata mundi.' In **Bobb** the *Gloria* is accompanied by two alternative prayers, based on the Hymn, as in **Moz**, where the Collect (*Oratio*, p. 306) often depends on the *Gloria* in the same way. As mentioned in the next section, this *Oratio* is not strictly a Collect, but, as the **Gall** prayer at this point is connected with *Benedictus*, so this is inspired by the kindred song.

THE COLLECT

Here there occurs in the Western liturgies a prayer with different titles. The **Roman** name is *Oratio*; **Amb**, *Oratio super populum*. It is commonly known as 'Collect'.

The origin of the Collect is very uncertain. It is generally stated that it was a 'collective prayer', and was so called 'because it was said as soon as the people assembled'.

¹ See *Ap. Const.* vii. 47, ed. F. X. Funk, vol. i, p. 457.

² H.B.S. xxxii. 4, n. 14.

Duchesne adds that the meaning of the word is made clear from the rubrics of **Greg** relating to Litany days, in which the procession is called 'ad collectam'; e.g. the Feast of the Purification has S. Maria Maggiore as the stational church, but before the Collect for the Mass is 'Oratio ad collectam ad sanctum Adrianum'.¹ This prayer, then, is thought to have been the prayer said when the people met at one church, and went in procession to the stational church. This was not confined to papal Masses, for we read of the same practice in Africa in Augustine's time.² Fortescue says that the prayer was repeated at the second church.³ St. Cyprian does call the congregation 'collectam fraternitatem', and even 'collectam' alone is used in the Passion of the Martyrs of Abitina, where one of them says that in his house 'collectae factae sunt'.⁴

If this is the true explanation of the word 'Collect', it is curious that at Rome the word *Oratio* alone was used. *Collectio* seems rather to be of Gallic origin, and Walafrid Strabo's explanation is probably the true one: 'quia necessarias earum petitiones compendiosa brevitae colligimus';⁵ it was intended to sum up in a few words of prayer a longer act of praise or petition. In the East this is the regular procedure, and there are many examples in the West, the *Collectio post nomina*, the prayers in **Bobb** after the *Trisagion* and the *Gloria in excelsis*, and especially the prayer which there holds the same place as the Roman *Oratio*, the *Collectio post prophetiam*, which would sum up the *Benedictus*, the Gallican counterpart of the *Gloria in excelsis*. It is quite likely that it was the final prayer of the Roman litany.

In most of the medieval missals it is called *Oratio*, but

¹ *Christian Worship*, 167 and note.

² *Serm.* cccxxv. 2.

⁴ *Passio Abitin.* 14.

³ *The Mass*, 245.

⁵ *De exordiis*, 22.

York has *Collectio*, and Sarum after 'dicitur oratio' has 'quando sunt plures collectae dicendae'.

The Collect is preceded by 'Dominus vobiscum' and its response, and 'Oremus'. The original form seems to have been 'Pax vobis', as it is in *Ordo I*; but this eventually came to be restricted to the bishop, as in *St. Amand*. In the time of Amalarius (827) either seems to have been used by the priest.¹ The rule now is that bishops use the *Pax* when the *Gloria* is sung.

The following is the Ambrosian Collect for Epiphany:

Super populum: O God, who hast hallowed this day of election by the first-fruits of the Gentiles, and by the star of thy light hast plainly shewed thyself unto us: grant, we beseech thee, that the new and marvellous brightness of the heavens may ever arise in our hearts; who livest &c.

NOTE ON THE *CURSUS* of the Roman Collect and other prayers. The Collects composed in the best period in Rome are not strictly prose nor yet verse, but have a modified verse-rhythm, which gives them much of their charm. There are three cadences:

(a) *Cursus planus*. The final word of three syllables accented on the penultimate is preceded by a word with the accent also on the penultimate; e.g. *pietâte custódi*.

(b) *Cursus tardus*. The final word of four syllables has the antepenultimate accented, and the preceding word the penultimate, e.g. *concéde propítius*.

(c) *Cursus velox*. The final word of four syllables has the penultimate accented, the last but one the antepenultimate, e.g. *súpplices exorámus*.

In not many Collects does every phrase end in one of these cadences, but the more they conform the more

¹ *De eccl. offic.* iii. 9.

perfect is their *cursus*. It is not absolutely necessary that the words should be divided as stated, so long as the word-groups give the same disposition of accents. In the later collects the *cursus* is less observed.

THE LECTIONS

The Sabbath morning services of the Jews contained two lections, one from the Law and the other from the Prophets (Acts xiii. 25; xv. 21). This was no doubt continued in the Church for some time, and still survived in **Ap-Const**, and does to-day in **Nest** (according to Baumstark).¹ The Mishnah shows that the Synagogue service, *Joser*, on which the Mass of the Catechumens is modelled, consisted of (1) the *Shema*: 'Hear, O Israel, &c.'; (2) the Prayers; (3) the Law; (4) the Prophets; (5) the Exposition. St. Paul ordered that his letters should, on occasion, be read to the churches under his care. This reading tended to change, as time went on, from a pastoral to a scriptural lesson. The Gospel would of course be added by Christians, when once it had been established as authoritative. This made four readings, which is the number to-day with the **Copts**. But one Old Testament lection came to be thought sufficient, and eventually even that dropped out, especially when the Offices, in which the Old Testament played a great part, were developed. Meanwhile the New Testament lessons increased in number in some regions, both the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles being regularly read. While the Epistle (including the other New Testament writings except the Gospels) and the Gospel became the norm, **Ap-Const** has five lections (Law, Prophet, Epistle, Acts, and Gospel); **Syr-Jac**, on certain days, six (Law, Writings, Prophet, Acts, Epistle, and Gospel); **Copt** and **Eth** four (Paul, Catholic Epistle, Acts,

¹ *Ivénikon*, xi (May-June 1934), 140.

and Gospel); **Nest** four (O.T., Acts, Epistle, and Gospel); **Arm** three (Prophet, Epistle, and Gospel).

There is a blessing of the lector in **Nest**:

Blessed is God, the Lord of all, who maketh us wise with his holy teaching; and upon the reader and upon the hearers be his mercy outpoured at all times for ever.

THE OLD TESTAMENT LECTIO

This is mentioned by Justin Martyr: 'Memoirs of the Apostles (τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων), or writings of the prophets (τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν)',¹ St. Basil,² St. Chrysostom,³ St. Maximus.⁴ It is in **Ap-Const**, **Syr-Jac**, **Nest**, **Arm**, **Amb**, **Gall**.

There was originally an O.T. lection in **Rome**, which was omitted somewhere in the fifth century; but in the time of Charlemagne it was still used on the Vigil and night of Christmas. It was in use in **Africa** in the fourth century, as Augustine testifies; but it must often have been omitted, for he speaks of their having heard the Epistle and Gospel, and counts the Psalm as the third lection: 'We have heard the Apostle, we have heard the Psalm, we have heard the Gospel, and all the divine lessons harmonize.'⁵ **Amb** sometimes substitutes stories of the Saints, and on some days omits the O.T. altogether. **Bobb** keeps it only on a few days, but the **Luxeuil** Lectionary always, Gregory of Tours also, and **Moz**. According to **Germain**, **Gall** too replaced it by the Apocalypse in Eastertide, and on Festivals of Saints by their Lives. The Carthusian liturgy has an O.T. lesson on the Vigil and Feast of Christmas.

In the time of Maximus each lesson was preceded by

¹ *Apol.* i. lxxvii. 3.

² *Brightm. Lit. E. & W.* 524, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.* 531, n. 5.

⁴ *Mystag.* 23.

⁵ *Serm.* clxv; in clxxvi, they are called 'three lessons'.

'Peace be to all', and its response. **Amb** has a blessing of the reader: 'May the Prophetic Lesson be to thee an instruction for salvation.' From St. Chrysostom we learn that it was introduced in Constantinople by the words: 'Thus saith the Lord';¹ the same use probably obtained in Antioch.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IS NOW READ

The Lections were originally interspersed with Psalms, but most of these have disappeared. In the **Byz-Greg**, however, there is a *προκείμενον* before and after the O.T., and **Arm** has the 'Psalm of Dinner-time' (*Saghmos Jashou*) before the Prophet.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

This is mentioned by St. Basil.² It is not now in the **Greek** or **Arm** liturgies, but was in **Ap-Const**, and remains in **Syr-Jac**, **Nest**, **Copt**, and **Eth**. In **Ap-Const**, **Copt**, and **Eth** it is after the Epistle. In **Copt** the *Synaxar*, or Legends of the Saints, are sometimes substituted. **Gall** had it in Eastertide: 'pro novitate gaudii', together with a lection from the Apocalypse.

There is a prayer before the reading in **Syr-Jac** that they may be immovable in the faith and practice of the apostles; and in **Eth** of the same tenor, but also for the steadfastness of the Church. **Copt** has the same prayer as **Eth**, but it is attached to the *Catholicon*. **Nest** has a Psalm, called *Shuraya*, with antiphon and Alleluias, at any rate on festivals.

THE LESSON FROM THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES IS NOW READ

In **Copt** the people or the deacon answer:

The Word of the Lord shall endure, and shall be multi-

¹ *In Act. Ap.* xix. 5.

² *In Ps.* xxviii. 7; *In s. bapt.* i.

plied and wax mightily, and shall be established in the holy Church of God.

There is also with the **Copts** the offering of incense before or during the reading of Acts, with a prayer which is called the 'Prayer of the Acts', but has no reference to it; it is purely a prayer of incense. There follows a repetition of the intercession said after the last censuring (p. 150). The same prayers occur in **Eth** after the *Tersanctus*, which follows the Acts, and precedes the *Trisagion*. It runs thus:

Holy, holy, holy art thou, God the Father almighty.

Holy, holy art thou, only Son, which art the living Word of the Father.

Holy, holy, holy art thou, Holy Ghost, which knowest all things.

THE *BENEDICITE*

Moz had the *Benedicite* (*Benedictus es domine* and *Benedicite*—Dan. iii. 52–88, Vulg.) between the O.T. and the Epistle. The Council of Toledo (633) implies that it was ancient, for it says:

The Hymn of the Three Children, in which all creatures in heaven and on earth together praise the Lord, and which the Catholic Church dispersed throughout the whole world celebrates, certain priests at Mass on Sundays and Feasts of the Martyrs neglect to sing. Wherefore this holy Council decrees that throughout all the Churches of Spain or Gaul it is to be sung on all festal Masses from the pulpit.¹

There is, however, no sign that it was ever used in the liturgy in the East. **Gall** had it after the Epistle, though the position seems to have varied, and **Amb** uses a part of it on Good Friday and Easter Eve. There are also traces of it in the Roman books. **Gel** has two prayers under the

¹ Canon 14.

heading of *Post benedictionem*, both referring to the Three Children. One of these:

O God, who didst assuage the flames of fire for the three children, grant that the flame of vices may not burn up us thy servants,

is still used on Ember Days after the lection about the Three Children (Dan. iii. 47-51, Vulg.), and the introduction to the *Benedicite*, '*Benedictus es*, &c.' (vv. 52-6); and, in the private thanksgiving of the priest, it occurs after *Benedicite*, but with Ps. cl and versicles between. **Bobb** has this prayer as the last of the series of prayers that follow the Canon and are apparently not often varied. It has there the title *post benedictionem*. **Greg** has it as an Ember prayer, but once gives it the heading *Ad missam*, and so **Leofric** which also has the other **Gel** prayer, mentioned above, with the heading *Oratio post ymnum trium puerorum*. The prayer is evidently not an original Gallic feature; there is no trace of it in **Goth**.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLE (*Catholicon*)

Copt and **Eth** have this between the Pauline Epistle and Acts. From the fact that they call it by the Greek καθόλικον, it was probably used in the original Alexandrian rite.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLE IS READ

After the *Catholicon* the reader or the people say: 'Love not the world, &c.' (1 John ii. 15, 17), **Eth** has v. 16 as well, and a petition for the help of the Holy Trinity. **Copt** has a 'Prayer after the *Catholicon*', which is the same as that of **Eth** after Acts, and in spite of its name appears to belong to the Acts. **Eth** repeats the Prayer of Incense, slightly modified (see p. 150), before the Epistle, and has the censuring between Paul and *Catholicon* instead of at the Acts as

Copt. There is no repetition of the intercessions, but forms peculiar to this liturgy.

THE EPISTLE

When there are more Epistles than one, this is Pauline. Before the 'Apostle' there is a Psalm, as originally between all the lections. In **Byz**, **Pet**, and **Jas** it is called *Prokeimenon*; in **Nest** *Turgama* (this is invariable), **Arm** *Mesedi*; **Jas-Ross** calls it *πρόψαλμα*. **Copt** has one on anniversaries and fasts. In **Chrys** and **Arm** it is only an antiphon and verse; in **Nest** a hymn has taken the place of the Psalm.

This chant was a *Respond*, the meaning of which is explained in connexion with the Gradual. The **Roman** Gradual properly belongs here, for it was originally the Respond between the O.T. lesson and the Epistle, but when the former was dropped its position was changed. **Amb** has a *Psalmellus*, which is a verse of a Psalm, with versicle and response. The following is that for the Epiphany:

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel: who only doeth great wonders for ever. *Ÿ*. Let the mountains bring peace unto thy people. *℞*. He shall abase the oppressor: and he shall endure with the sun, and before the moon from one generation to another: And shall come down like the rain into a fleece of wool, and as the showers that drop upon the earth. (Ps. lxxii. 18 and 3-6.)

A prayer precedes the Epistle in **Syr-Jac**, **Nest**, and **Eth**. In the first it is for worthiness to keep the Divine commandments and those of Paul, 'the architect and builder of the Church'. **Eth** has a long and beautiful prayer of the same nature which in **Copt** follows the Epistle; it is followed by an anathema, said by the deacon, against all who do not love our Lord and believe in the Virgin-birth, 'in the second ark of the Holy Ghost'.

At this point in **Moz** (*Missale Mixtum*) there is a deprecatory litany. The 'Peace to all' and its response is preserved in the **Ruthenian** (Uniat) and **Russ**.

THE EPISTLE IS READ

The **Copts** read it in both Coptic and Arabic. While the Epistle is being read the priest censens the choir and church; this is the censening mentioned above (p. 150), as the Pauline Epistle comes first in this rite. So **Eth**. After the Epistle **Copt** has a 'Grace', which varies with the rank of the ecclesiastic who gives it; then comes the prayer which in **Eth** precedes the reading. This is said by the priest while the Epistle is being read in Arabic. The **Byz** also censens the altar during the reading of the Epistle. **Gall** had the *Benedicite* here (see p. 169).

THE RESPOND (GRADUAL)

It has already been said that the lections were originally interspersed with Psalms. Tertullian mentions it in the second century: 'prout scripturae leguntur aut psalmi canuntur.'¹ The cantor (*ψάλτης*) is often mentioned in the third century. **Ap-Const** (Book II, the *Didascalía*) says that the Psalms were sung between the reading of the different lessons: 'One of the readers shall sing the Psalms of David, and the people shall repeat the *acrostics* (*τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποφαλλέτω*)'; the *acrostic* was the refrain. Athanasius speaks of a deacon reading a Psalm to which the people respond, 'For his mercy endureth for ever.'²

There were three methods of singing Psalms in early times, all of which are illustrated in the chants of the Roman Mass. (1) *Cantus in directum*; a solo in which the Psalm was simply sung through without any repetitions. It is likely that the same method was also adopted in

¹ *De anima*, 9.

² *De fuga*, 24.

unison. The Tract (p. 176) is an example of a solo *in directum*. (2) The *Respond*, which is the characteristic chant for the lessons of the liturgy. (3) The *Antiphon*, which is used for the other chants of the Roman Missal, Introit, Offertory, and Communion (see p. 142).

The Responsory or Respond was sung by one voice with a refrain, usually part of the same Psalm, in which the whole congregation joined. In the earliest days of the Church it became very popular, combining as it did the skill of the soloist with a hearty participation in the chant by the congregation. St. Augustine gives an account of its first introduction into Milan. On the occasion of the attack on the Church by the Arian Empress Justina (385),

The pious people kept watch in the Church, ready to die with the Bishop. Then it was that the custom arose of singing hymns and psalms, after the use of Eastern parts, lest the people should wax faint through the tediousness of sorrow; and from that day to this the custom has been retained, many, nay almost all of the Christian congregations throughout the rest of the world, following therein.¹

Later on he tells that he himself wavers between approval and fear of the delight given by the beauty of this method of praising God:

When I remember the tears I shed at the psalmody of thy Church, in the early days after my acceptance of the faith, and how at the present time I am moved, not by the singing, but by the things sung, when they are sung with a clear voice and a modulation most suitable, I acknowledge the great use of this institution. Thus I fluctuate between the peril of pleasure and its approved wholesomeness.²

In Rome the Psalm was sung by the deacon until Gregory I (595), fearing that it would distract the deacon from more important duties, stopped him from singing it.

¹ *Conf.* ix. 7.

² *Ibid.* x. 3.

In *Ordo I* it is called *Responsum*; in *Ordo III Responsorium*. From being sung from the step of the ambo it received the name *Graduale*. The Council of Laodicea ordered the Lessons and Psalms to be delivered from the ambo. At first it was a whole Psalm, and an important feature about it is that, unlike the other chants in the liturgy, it is not there to fill up with praise the moments when necessary actions were being carried out without words, but it is itself the rite of the moment, sung as a Lesson by a single cantor, though the congregation took up and repeated the ending of the chant. This did not, however, prevent it from being shortened in the same way as the other chants. The whole Psalm was still sung in the time of Leo (440-60), though Schuster suspects that the process of shortening had begun earlier.¹ He thinks that the responsories were never very long, and quotes a case mentioned by St. Augustine in which a lector apologized for having by mistake sung a long Psalm. The Gradual now consists of only two verses. Schuster thinks it was condensed by the *Schola cantorum* for musical purposes somewhere between 450 and 550. There is no Doxology. In *Ordo I* there was a refrain, a verse, and the refrain repeated. Later the Alleluia, or Tract, ousted the second refrain. The name 'Gradual' does not seem to occur before the ninth century. In *Moz* the *Responsorium* (or *Psallenda*) preceded the Epistle; in *Gall* it followed, being sung by boys in *Germain*, but by a deacon in *Gregory of Tours*.

In Eastertide, from Easter Saturday to the Saturday after Pentecost, the Gradual is replaced by the 'Great Alleluia', i.e. four Alleluias with two verses. For the Gradual for Epiphany see p. 307; the *Amb Psalmellus* is given above.

¹ *The Sacramentary*, i. 94.

THE ALLELUIA

This acclamation is made here in nearly all liturgies; it is not in **Eth.** How the Alleluia came into the liturgy is not known. Its prominence in Jewish literature, and especially in the Alleluiatic Psalms, would lead us to expect its frequent use by early Christians, but in spite of its occurrence in the Apocalypse it is seldom found in early Christian monuments or writings. Tertullian says that those who are very careful in the matter of prayer add *Hallelujah* and Psalms of that kind, to the clauses of which congregations respond.¹ He is urging people to use common worship, so this may refer to its actual use in the liturgy, though the reference is general. By the time of St. Augustine the word is often used on Sundays and in the Paschal season, but he does not speak of it in connexion with the Mass.² It was specially used at funerals at that time.³ There is no evidence beyond the liturgies themselves to throw light upon its advent into its place before the Gospel.

Cabrol suggests that at first it was only sung with the Alleluiatic Psalms, which were used for the Gradual at Eastertide, and that the Alleluia tended to lengthen and to separate from the Psalm, and thus extend to other times, and to be sung after other Psalms.⁴ Sozomen does indeed say that in his time (c. 450) it was only sung on Easter Day, so that the saying 'May they hear and sing that hymn' was a way of wishing anyone another year's life.⁵

Fortescue says that Alleluia is a Roman speciality, and Schuster states that the East has it after the Gospel.⁶ But

¹ *De oratione*, 27.

² *Ep. ad Januarium*, 17; *Ep.* cxix. 17.

⁴ *D.A.C.L.* i. 1243.

⁶ *The Mass*, 268; Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, i. 99.

³ Jerome, *Ep.* lxxvii.

⁵ *H.E.* vii. 19.

this is not so. The Eastern liturgies all have it before the Gospel, except **Eth**, where it does not occur. It seems specially to be connected with the Gospel, but it is difficult to say why.

St. Gregory attributes it to Damasus, who received it from the Church of Jerusalem under the influence of Jerome, and says that he himself ordered it to be used on other occasions than Easter, but that he has had much of it (presumably the musical embellishments) 'amputated'.¹

It is generally used as the refrain of a Psalm, i.e. before and after it, and sometimes twice or thrice in each place, as in **Syr-Jac**, **Copt**, **Nest**, **Byz**, **Amb**; **Jas** and **Mk** do not say how it is to be used. It is in **Byz** in the ninth century (**Barb**) with a Psalm. In **Copt** it is preceded by the *Trisagion*, which **Germain** says was also sung here in Paris, and a Psalm.

Moz had no chant between the Epistle and the Gospel; the *Responsorium* was before the Epistle, and the Alleluia, under the name of *Laudes*, after the Gospel—'propter gloriam Christi'—as ordered by the Council of Toledo (633). **Amb** and **Gall** have an 'Anthem before the Gospel' on great festivals. There is also one in **Mk-Ross**, but not in **Mk-Vat**.

The following is the Alleluia in **Amb** for the Epiphany: Alleluia, Alleluia. 'There came wise men from the East to Jerusalem, saying: Where is he that is born King of the Jews?' Alleluia. (Mt ii. 1-2.)

THE TRACT

Alleluia is a song of triumph; it is not sung in the West on fast-days or on the Sundays in Lent. There is no such restriction in the East, nor in **Moz**, where the first Sunday

¹ *Ep.* ix. 12.

in Lent is called 'in Alleluia'. In the Middle Ages attention was drawn to the exclusion of Alleluia from Septuagesima to Easter by ceremonies devised for the purpose, sometimes rather absurd. The hymn 'Alleluia dulce carmen' was used in the Office for the 'clausum Alleluia'. It is now used by Anglicans without much understanding of its meaning:

'Alleluia our transgressions
Make us for a while give o'er.'

Rome merely adds two Alleluias at Vespers of the Saturday before Septuagesima, and at the pontifical Mass on Easter Eve the deacon sings: 'I announce to you a great joy, which is Alleluia'.

Its place is taken in Lent by the old Psalm before the Gospel, which it has dispossessed at other times. This is neither antiphonal nor responsorial, but a solo *in directum*. It receives its name 'Tract' either from the drawn-out melodies which characterize it, or from being sung through without response (*in uno tractu*). Amalarius says that the Tract differs from the *Responsorium* in not having a response by the choir.¹ It is perhaps a relic of the ancient method of singing the Psalm before the Respond and Antiphon were introduced.

Amb has a similar chant called *Cantus*. It has the same structure as the *Psalmellus*, and sometimes, as with the *Ingressa*, other portions of Scripture take the place of the Psalm. The **Moz Tractus** was a Respond, and seems to have differed little from the *Psallenda* which it replaced during Lent. It has no relation to the Roman Tract. The Roman chant is always taken from the Psalter, except that three are from the Song of Solomon.

The Tract for Lent I is Ps. xc. 1-7 and 11-16, the Gradual being the two verses 11 and 12.

¹ *De eccles. offic.* iii. 12.

Cantus for the Lent II:

If the Lord had not been on our side, now may Israel say : if the Lord had not been on our side. v. Our soul is escaped out of the snare of the fowler : the snare is broken and we are delivered. v. Our help standeth in the name of the Lord ; who hath made heaven and earth.

The Tract is not said on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays (except Ember Days), nor on week-days before Ash Wednesday; but it is used from Septuagesima on Sundays.

THE SEQUENCE

This song dates from the tenth century. The Alleluia had been at a very early time sung with long cadences, called by the name of *jubilus*. Augustine speaks of it: 'He that sings a *jubilus* speaks no words, it is a song of joy without words, the voice of a heart dissolved with joy.'¹ Later a second *jubilus* was added to that of the last syllable of the Alleluia, and, without the modern system of writing music, it became difficult to memorize these long melodies. In the ninth century the practice arose of putting words to the notes, and so the 'Prose' came into existence. Notker of St. Gall was one of the most noted writers of the 'Prose' or Sequence. In all these compositions each musical phrase was sung twice, so that, though the phrases varied in length and rhythm, they made up pairs of equal lines, with often the first or last a single phrase, which represents the original Alleluia. Gradually the words of the Sequence were written independently, and melodies made to fit them, when they became metrical and lyrical instead of prose compositions.

In 1570 all the Sequences were removed from the Missal

¹ In Ps. xcix. 4.

except five, those for Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the Seven Griefs, and Requiems. No other liturgy has these compositions.

The following is an eleventh-century Sequence used in the Sarum Missal for the first Sunday of Advent:

Salus aeterna, indeficiens mundi vita,
 Lux sempiterna, et redemptio vera nostra,
 Condolens humana perire saecla per tentantis numina,
 Non linquens excelsa, adiisti ima propria clementia.
 Mox tua spontanea gratia assumens humana,
 Quae fuerant perdita omnia salvasti terrea,
 Ferens mundo gaudia.

Tu animas et corpora
 Nostra, Christe, expia,
 Ut possideas lucida
 Nosmet habitacula.

Adventu primo justifica,
 In secundo nosque libera,
 Ut cum, facta luce magna, judicabis omnia,
 Compti stola incorrupta, nosmet tua subsequamur
 Mox vestigia quocunque visa.

There is a translation of this by M. J. Blacker in *The English Hymnal*, No. 10.

GOSPEL ANTHEMS. Nest has a variable hymn called *Turgama* after the Alleluia and before the Gospel. Amb has an 'Anthem before the Gospel' on great feasts. That for Epiphany is:

In Bethlehem of Judaea was a Saviour born : Herod was troubled : the whole world rejoiceth. John bearing record by the river Jordan saith : He that cometh after me is preferred before me.

The resemblance in the style of this to **Gall** and **Moz** compositions will be noticed.

THE GOSPEL

There is a prayer before the Gospel in most Eastern liturgies.

Illuminate our hearts, O loving Lord, with the undefiled light of thy knowledge, and open the eyes of our understanding to the comprehension of thine evangelic messages; implant in us also the fear of thy blessed commandments that, treading down all fleshly desires, we may have our part in the spiritual commonwealth, both thinking and doing all things that are pleasing unto thee.

For thou art the illumination of souls and bodies, O Christ, &c.

Chrys, not in **Barb**. This prayer is in **Jas** also; **Syr-Jac** and **Nest** are similar. **Copt** and **Eth** have, before the Psalm, a beautiful prayer:

Master Lord Jesus Christ, who hast said to thine holy disciples and thy pure apostles: 'Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see the things which ye see, and have not seen them, and have desired to hear the things which ye hear, and have not heard them; and blessed are your eyes that have seen and your ears that have heard: ' make us also, like them, meet to hear and to do the word of thine holy Gospel through the prayer of the Saints.

Mk, **Arm**, and **West** have no prayer.

While this prayer is being said, in **Jas** there is a Litany, similar to that of the Little Entry. So also **Copt** and **Eth**, with the bidding: 'Pray on account of the Holy Gospel' (**Copt** has this in Greek), with *Kyrie*. The 'Peace' is given in **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Eth**, and **Nest**. The deacon is blessed by the priest in **Rom**. The deacon says:

Cleanse my heart and my lips, Almighty God, who didst cleanse the lips of the prophet Isaiah with a burning coal ; vouchsafe of thy gracious mercy to cleanse me that I may worthily proclaim thy Holy Gospel, through, &c.

Pray, Sir, a blessing.

The priest: The Lord be in thy heart and on thy lips, that thou mayest worthily and fitly proclaim his Gospel, in the name, &c.

Thus also **Amb.** The Blessing is probably an original Roman element, going back at any rate to *Ordo I.* The deacon's prayer is fourteenth century. It is not in **Angl**; **York** has another prayer after the Blessing.

Eth has its Little Entry at this point, the priest during a short Litany compassing the altar, with a taper before him and the Gospel after. There follows a triple blessing of the separate persons of the Holy Trinity. Then a prayer, and a much longer Litany, said by the assistant priest. **Syr-Jac** prefaces the Gospel with *Benedictus qui venit.*

Incense is offered before the Gospel in **Jas, Mk, Eth, Nest, Chrys,** and **Rome.** **Germain** gives the *Trisagion* in Greek as used for a second time during the procession to the *tribunal analogii* (the Western *Ambo*), and in Latin while returning. **Sozomen** mentions that 'it is a strange thing with these Alexandrians; while the Gospel is being read, the bishop does not stand, a thing I have never known or heard of elsewhere'.¹

Silence was ordered up to the seventh and eighth centuries. The **Melkites** say: 'Venerable passage of the Gospel of St. N. the Evangelist, the pure disciple; let us attend.' At **Rome** the deacon gives the Salutation and receives the reply; it is already in *Ordo II.*

Most of the liturgies have some sort of proclamation of

¹ *H.E.* vii. 19.

the Gospel, e.g. 'Stand and let us hear the Holy Gospel'. In **Syr-Jac** after the *Benedictus qui venit* of the deacon, the priest says a preface: 'In the time therefore of the dispensation of the Lord . . . who was incarnate of the Virgin Mary, these things were done.' **Rome** has 'The beginning (or continuation) of the Holy Gospel according to *N*'. (so *Ordo II*), with the response 'Glory be to thee, O Lord', which the **Copts** also use, in Greek. **Amb**: 'The lesson of the Holy Gospel according to *N*.' **Sarum** and **York** simply 'The Gospel according to *N*.' **Amb** always begins the Gospel with the words, *Dominus Jesus*. The response of **Rome** is also that of **Germain** and **Moz**; Gregory of Tours has 'Gloria Deo omnipotenti'.¹ **Rome** took it from Gaul about the ninth century.

THE GOSPEL IS READ

Amb uses the Old Italian version instead of the Vulgate. In **Gall** and **Moz** it was read at first by lectors; but it became one of the special functions of the deacon, and is recognized as such in Ap-Const II, Jerome,² and the Council of Vaison (529).³ In Egypt it was the Archdeacon: 'There (in Alexandria) only the Archdeacon reads this holy book; in other places the deacons. But in many churches the priests only, and on special days bishops, as in Constantinople on Easter Day.'⁴ The **Coptic** deacon being a boy, the priest now reads the Gospel, as in **Nest**.

There is a response in **Rome**: 'Praise be to thee, O Christ,' which is not in the *Ordo Missae*, but in the General Rubrics. The priest then says: 'By the words of the Gospel may our sins be blotted out.' At **York** the priest said: '*Benedictus qui venit*.' **Arm**, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord our God.' **Eth** has an ending to the Gospel,

¹ *Hist. Franc.* viii. 4.

² *Ep.* ccxlvii. 6.

³ Canon 2.

⁴ Sozomen, *H.E.* vii. 19.

which varies according to the Evangelist used: Mt, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away, saith the Lord to his disciples'; Lk, almost the same; Mk, 'He that hath ears to hear let him hear'; Jn, 'He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life'. To each there is a response by the people, not, except that for Jn, particularly appropriate to the Evangelist.

Some liturgies also have a prayer after the Gospel. **Copt** has one (apparently not said now), which is almost the same as that of **Eth** before the Gospel, also a Litany. **Jas** has a prayer which accompanies the Litany of the Faithful, but belongs to the Gospel.

Nest has an Anthem of the Gospel, which is variable; so has **Amb** (p. 179). **Moz** has here, under the name of *Laudes* the Alleluia, transferred from before the Gospel (see above); **Ap-Const** a blessing: 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.' which in **Byz** precedes the *Sursum corda*, where in **Syr-Jac** a different form occurs. In **Jas** and **Syr-Jac** there is the 'Peace', and the latter has a Doxology to our Lord.

THE SERMON

From early times it was customary to expound the Gospel to the congregation. Justin Martyr (145) says that on Sunday the people gather together, and after the Memoirs of the Apostles or the Writings of the Prophets have been read the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of the good examples cited.¹ It is mentioned in Irenaeus,² Clement of Alexandria,³ Origen,⁴ and Tertullian.⁵ **Ap-Const** II says that the presbyters one by one, but not all, are to preach, and last the bishop; and so Jerome. Etheria almost verbally confirms this, explaining

¹ *Apol.* i. 67.

² *Adv. haer.* i. ix. 5.

³ *Strom.* vi. 14.

⁴ *Homilies.*

⁵ *De anima*, 9.

the words 'but not all' by saying 'as many as wish'.¹ Ap-Const VIII mentions only the bishop, and Sozomen tells us that in Alexandria only the bishop preached in his time because of the heresy that had been introduced by the presbyter Arius.² The Council of Constantinople (*in Trullo* 691) ordered a sermon every Sunday.

In Africa the Sermon became almost an essential part of the liturgy, so that Augustine says 'No sermon, no High Mass'.³ In Gaul also it was the rule, priests as well as bishops delivering homilies. In spite of the disapproval expressed by Pope Celestine to the Bishops of Provence (*c.* 430),⁴ the practice of priests preaching was continued and extended, and finally confirmed at the Council of Vaison (529). Germain also at Paris (*d.* 576) says that a 'doctor aut pastor ecclesiae' should preach, but he must avoid 'rusticity' of language. Rome must have had a sermon, for both Leo (440-61) and Gregory (590-604) have left homilies, though Sozomen, who wrote shortly before Leo, says that no one preached at Rome.⁵ Priests never preached there. Ambrose (374-97) was an assiduous preacher and allowed his presbyters to preach (*tractare*), though he discouraged the younger men from taking this upon themselves.⁶ He had inherited the practice from Auxentius, his Arian predecessor. It never had a place in the Roman Missal, but sermons were later preached, and now are, in the Roman Mass.

The position of the Sermon was not invariable; sometimes it was after the Creed in the West, sometimes after the Offertory.⁷ In England it was frequently urged upon the clergy. In the East, though sermons were continued,

¹ M'Clure & Feltoe, 51.

³ Battifol, *Leçons*, 136.

⁵ *H.E.* vii. 19.

⁷ Chaucer, *Prol.* 712.

² *H.E.* vii. 19.

⁴ Jaffé, 381.

⁶ *Aug. Conf.* vi. 3; *Amb. Serm. contr. Aux.* 26.

there is no mention of them in the rites, except in **Copt**; consequently the place has varied. **Copt** places it after the Gospel. In practice a homily from one of the Fathers is with them usually substituted. Originally of course the Sermon must have preceded the Dismissal of the Catechumens, but when that disappeared, it might take a later place.

St. Chrysostom says that the 'Peace' preceded the Sermon; so Gregory Nazianzen. It had the usual response. There is a prayer after the Sermon, called the 'Rising up from the Sermon' in **Sarap**. Origen in some of his sermons ends by saying, 'Let us arise and pray'. Augustine too, sometimes ended his sermons with a prayer, but these were not liturgical, as Sarapion's seem to have been.

DISMISSAL OF THE CATECHUMENS

In the first ages of the Church, when it was surrounded by heathen, it was neither safe nor proper to admit any but the faithful to the 'Mysteries', nor were even the catechumens allowed to hear the prayers of the faithful. Tertullian reproaches the heretics on this ground: 'Who is a catechumen, and who one of the faithful, is uncertain with them; they all alike are admitted, all alike join in the prayers; they throw what is holy to the dogs, and pearls to swine, though indeed they are not really pearls.'¹ In Clement of Alexandria, however, the catechumens depart, but not until they have shared in the singing of the Psalms.² A little later they join in some of the prayers.

In **Ap-Const** there were successive dismissals, each class having its own prayers. First, there was a warning to unbelievers not to be present: 'Let none of the listeners, none of the heathen, be present'. A litany followed, consisting

¹ *De praescript. haer.* 41.

² *De ador. in spir. et verit.* 12.

of a series of petitions for the catechumens, and then a prayer for them, and then they were dismissed. This litany is longer than any other, but it is only an expansion of that preserved by St. Chrysostom, as that in use in Antioch, which is as follows.¹ The catechumens having first prostrated themselves, the deacon says:

Let us pray earnestly for the Catechumens. The people,
Κύριε ἐλέησον. Let us stand well : let us pray.

That the all-merciful and pitiful God may hear their supplications.

That he may open the ears of their hearts, and instruct (*κατηχήση*) them in the word of truth.

That he may sow his fear in them, and confirm his faith in their minds.

That he may reveal to them the Gospel of righteousness.

That he may give them a godly mind, prudent counsel, and a virtuous conversation, always to think and design and care for the things that belong to God, to walk in his law day and night, to remember his commandments, to keep his statutes.

Still more earnestly let us beseech on their behalf ;

That he may deliver them from every evil and unbecoming deed, from every diabolic sin, and from every assault of the enemy.

That he may make them worthy in due time for the laver of regeneration, the forgiveness of sins, and the clothing of immortality.

That he may bless their coming in and their going out, all their manner of life, their houses and households, and their children, that he may bless them as they grow up, and give them wisdom according to their age.

¹ *In 2 Cor. ii. 5 sqq.*

That he may make straight the way before them for their well-being.

Rise.

The angel of peace do ye request, O catechumens.

That all your future may be peaceful.

That the present day and all your days may be peaceful, pray ye.

That your end may be Christian.

For the good and profitable.

Present yourselves to the living God and his Christ.

Chrys is the only living liturgy that has retained the prayers for the dismissal, though much abbreviated. In practice they are said silently during the Sermon.

After their litany there is a prayer in **Ap-Const**. The catechumens were then dismissed, with a blessing. This, with a prayer, is given in **Sarap**. The Council of Laodicea (between 314 and 372) directs that the prayers for the catechumens, the penitents, and the faithful should be separate, and that the penitents should come forward for the benediction (*προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα*). We find something like this also in **Narsai**, 'Bow your heads, O ye hearers, believers, baptized, and receive the blessings from the laying on of the hands of the bright (-robed) priest'.¹ The catechumens were no doubt dismissed with a similar blessing.

Each group of people who were not allowed to be present at the mysteries was originally dismissed separately. According to Gregory Thaumaturgus (d. c. 270 in Pontus) the first order of penitents, the *προσκλαίοντες*, were not admitted into the church, but stood without with the heathen; the listeners (*ἀκροώμενοι*), who were not yet catechumens, stood with the catechumens in the *Narthex*, and were sent away without any prayers, as in **Ap-Const**; then

¹ *Lit. Homilies*, R. H. Connolly, 2.

the catechumens were sent away, as we have seen; next the third order of penitents, the *ὑποπίπτοτες*. The fourth order, the *συνιστάμενοι*, were allowed to remain throughout, but not to communicate.¹ **Ap-Const** has catechumens, energumens, *compētentēs* (*φωτιζόμενοι*), and penitents, each with their litany and prayer. St. Chrysostom at Antioch mentions prayers for the penitents after the catechumens, but the energumens only stand and bow their heads without prayers; later at Constantinople he only speaks of the catechumens.² St. Maximus (d. 662) still speaks of the dismissal and the shutting of the door, but it was probably in his time not much observed.³ The world was looked on as Christian, and catechumens were few, their presence insignificant. The dismissal of penitents had disappeared during the sixth century. Pseudo-Dionysius (6th cent.) says: 'You must know that this distinction and separation of such classes no longer takes place.'⁴

That there was a dismissal at **Rome** is shown by the story of St. Gregory, in which the deacon proclaimed, 'If any one does not communicate, let him go away (*det locum*)', whereat the bodies of two sinners who had been buried in the church rose from the tomb and left the church.⁵ It had disappeared by the time of the Sacramentaries. **Germain** speaks of it as a custom evidently not still in use. The Council of Épaone (517) says: 'When the catechumens are told to go, let them depart', which suggests that they were then beginning to remain.

Moz retains the form of dismissal for penitents in Lent. There is none in **Amb**, but there was originally, for St. Ambrose writes, 'Post lectiones atque tractatum dimituntur catechumeni'.⁶ There is no evidence that penitents

¹ Ep. Canon 11.

² *In Matt.* lxii. 4; *De incompr. Dei nat.* iv. 4.

³ *Brightm. Lit. E. & W.* 538, n. 9.

⁴ *De praescript.* xli.

⁵ *Dialog.* ii. 23.

⁶ Rufinus, *H.E.* ii. 18; Sozomen, *H.E.* vii. 25.

were excluded, and when Theodosius submitted to penance he was allowed to be present at the sacred rites, but not to communicate until he had been solemnly readmitted.

In most liturgies there is a relic of the dismissals in the warnings which are given in various places for catechumens or other unworthy persons not to be present at the mysteries. Thus *Jas* before the *Cheroubicon*:

Let none of the catechumens (be present) ; none of the uninitiated ; none of those who are not able to pray with us. Take note of one another. The doors.

In many 'the doors' only remains. *Germain* already interprets this metaphorically: 'We are ordered to keep silence, setting guard over the door, that is, hushing the tumult of words.'

The distinction between the *Missa Catechumenorum* and the *Missa Fidelium* was in some places occasionally emphasized by holding them in different churches. So it was in Jerusalem in the time of *Etheria*, and in Africa early in the fifth century. *Augustine* says in one of his sermons: 'This sermon has been long enough as the days are short (*pauci*), and there still remains what we are to do by your devotion in the greater basilica.'¹

THE MASS OF THE FAITHFUL

From this point to the *Anaphora*, while the forms are fairly constant, the order varies greatly. *Ap-Const* has what is probably the original, and certainly the most logical, order: the Prayers of the Faithful, the Kiss of Peace, and the Offertory. Since then the Creed has been added, and the ceremonies of the Greater Entrance, due to the development of the *Prothesis*, have influenced the whole presentation of the rite. Consequently the Entrance

¹ *Serm.* cccxxv.

with the Offertory tended to come earlier, and the Kiss of Peace to be postponed until just before the *Anaphora*. It is obvious that, in view of our Lord's words about the settlement of differences between brethren, the Kiss should precede the Offertory, so long as the offerings are made by the worshippers in person; when that practice ceased it probably appeared better that it should come just before the sacramental offering, the *Anaphora*. It has also been closely connected with the Diptychs.

The following table shows the order in the various liturgies:

<i>Ap-Const.</i>	<i>James</i>	<i>Syr-Jac</i>	<i>Mark</i>	<i>Copt</i>	<i>Eth</i>
Litany	Litany	..	Litany	Veil	Litany
Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer	Litany	Prayer
..	Incense	Incense	Incense	Prayer	..
..	Entrance	..	Entrance	..	..
..	Blessing	..	..	..	..
..	Creed	Creed	..	Creed	Creed
Kiss	Kiss	Lavatory	Kiss	Kiss	Lavatory
Lavatory	Inclination	Kiss	Incense	..	Kiss
Offertory	Offertory	Inclination	Creed	..	..
..	Veil	Veil	Offertory	..	..

<i>Nest</i>	<i>Byz</i>	<i>Arm</i>	<i>Rome</i>	<i>Amb</i>
Litany	..	Creed	Creed	..
Prayer	Prayer	Litany	..	..
Inclination	..	Prayer	..	(Kiss)
Entrance	Entrance	Inclination	..	Entrance
..	..	Entrance	..	..
Creed	Offertory	Lavatory	..	..
Lavatory	Kiss	Kiss	Offertory	..
Offertory	Creed	..	Incense	Veil
Diptych	..	..	Lavatory	Offertory
Kiss	..	..	Offertory (contd.)	Diptych
				Creed

With Theodore of Mopsuestia the order was Offertory, Litany, Prayers, Kiss, Lavatory, Diptychs.

THE PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL

There are two types of prayer which make up the Prayers of the Faithful in the Eastern Churches, the Litany with its responses, and the longer prayer said by the priest, usually secretly. They are now often said simultaneously, as with litanies in other places, but they seem originally to have been separate acts of worship.

THE LITANY

The word 'litany' is used in several senses, but we have here to do only with the deacon's litany, which consists of a number of sentences in which the deacon calls on the congregation to pray for a certain subject or series of subjects, to which the people respond with *Kyrie eleison* or some similar phrase. In the early centuries there are many allusions to the prayers offered for various people, some of which probably refer to such litanies; but as it is not said how the prayers were offered, we cannot distinguish them from such prayers as we shall consider next. The writings of St. Chrysostom (370-98) mention the deacon's requests and the subjects of his prayers, and imply the *Kyrie eleison*: 'and all say one prayer, a prayer for mercy'.¹ In the same writer there are four litanies, for the catechumens, the energumens, the penitents, and the faithful respectively. The form probably developed at Antioch, but much earlier than this. It was established in all the Eastern liturgies before the Nestorian schism, for all have litanies of the same type. It is, however, the Greek Church which has most developed them, for in some, as in *Jas*, scarcely any portion of the rite is without its litany.

It evidently became at an early date in the East a custom for the deacon to accompany the priest in all parts

¹ See Brightm. *Lit. E. & W.* 477, notes 7, 8; 478, n. 13.

of the liturgy with devotions of this kind, so that eventually, with the exception of a few special prayers which the priest said aloud, the whole service was occupied with chants and diaconal prayers, to which the priest added the *ecphoneses* of his secret prayers. Hence it is difficult to discover from the numerous litanies scattered about the several rites at what point the deacon's litany was originally introduced, or which petitions belong to it. On the whole the evidence points to the Prayers of the Faithful; those of the classes dismissed are probably an extension of this. Throughout the East we have the same subjects of petition, and often in the same words and phrases, in remotely different regions; but they are so intermingled, and transposed in position, that their history would be difficult to recover from the manuscripts.

It is from **Syria** that we have the best information. That for the catechumens has already been given. **Ap-Const** has a very long litany in the Mass of the Faithful, much of which occurs nowhere else. St. Chrysostom seems only to be mentioning the subjects, and it will suffice to give his list here:

1. Let us pray for all the world.
2. For the Church which extends to the end of the world.
3. For all bishops, presbyters, &c.
4. For kings and rulers.
5. For those who are here and everywhere.
6. For the sick, those in the mines, those in slavery.
7. For energumens.
8. For those on sea and land.
9. For the weather (*ἀέρων*).
10. Let us pray for the angel of peace.
11. Let us pray that the oblations may bring peace (*τὰ προκείμενα πάντα εἰρηνικά*).¹

¹ Brightm. *loc. cit.* 478, nn. 13, 14.

This seems to be the true type of the Litany of the Faithful, which eventually found its completion in the Intercession within the *Anaphora*. But beside it, as a result of the disappearance of the dismissals, another Litany, which is an adaptation of that for the Catechumens, has found its way into the Prayers of the Faithful. It is found in *Jas*, *Nest*, *Chrys* (after the Great Entrance).

1. Let us attend carefully.
2. In peace let us beseech the Lord.
3. For the peace from above, &c.
4. For the peace of the whole world, &c.
5. For the salvation and defence of the clergy.
6. For the forgiveness of sins, &c.
7. For a perfect, holy, and sinless day.

The Response to these is *Kyrie eleison*.

8. The angel of peace, a faithful guide, &c.
9. Repentance and forgiveness of sins.
10. What is good and profitable for our souls.
11. The rest of our life in peace and health.
12. A Christian end of life.

The Response to these is *παράσχου Κύριε*.

13. A commemoration of the Saints with the reply
Σοὶ Κύριε.

Ecphonesis.

This is from *Jas* at the Mass of the Faithful. *Ap-Const II* has before the Litany a prayer in which reference is made to the fall of Adam and his dismissal from Paradise. Duchesne thinks this is the prayer said over penitents similar to that of *Ap-Const VIII*.¹ This ends with the Episcopal blessing, Num. vi. 24-6, and a prayer taken from

¹ *Christian Worship*, 59 n.

scriptural passages: Ps. xxviii. 9, 'O save thy people', Acts xx. 28, and 1 Pet. i. 19, ii. 9. Ps. xxviii. 9 also ends the Litany before the Gospel in **Jas**.

In the West there was probably a similar litany in the Mass, which dropped out at an early date in Rome (see *Kyrie*, p. 158), but it was outside the Mass that litanies there found their principal function. We need not consider them here; but one of them has made its way into the Missal, the Litany of the Saints, sung on Easter Eve after the blessing of the Font and before Mass begins. **Germain** tells us that 'here the deacons pray for the people'. This is a litany similar to those in the East, but we have no books giving the deacons' parts. **Amb** has a threefold *Kyrie* here, and also a litany at the beginning of Mass. **Stowe** and **Moz** have the latter in Lent. The **Gall** and **Byz** Litanies are before the Dismissals; but one gathers that at **Lyons** it was ordinarily after, since the Council of Lyons permits penitents as a special favour to remain in the Church 'usque ad orationem plebis quae post evangelium legeretur'.

THE PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL

The Litany seems to be the most constant representative of the Prayers, which, according to Justin, were 'sent up' between the Sermon and the Offertory;¹ but there are prayers of the same nature said by the priest in various liturgies, though it is not easy in most cases to determine their contents. Clement of Alexandria says: 'For we have been taught to say in the prayers: O Lord our God, give us peace, for thou hast given us all things.'² This petition has been preserved in **Copt** and **Eth** with the address, 'O king of peace', immediately after a petition for the king, his armies, magistrates, &c., 'order them in all peace'.

¹ *Apol.* i. 67.

² *Ep. ad Joan. Ant.* v. 105.

In **Mk** it has been transferred to the Intercession. The Council of Laodicea (314-72) ordered three prayers for the faithful before the Kiss of Peace, the first silently, the second and third aloud. **Egypt** has these three: (1) for peace, (2) for the bishops and clergy, (3) for the safe meeting of the congregations. **Sarap** has only the second, but he also has other prayers.

The following in **Byz** are called 'Prayers of the Faithful'.

PRAYER OF THE FAITHFUL I:

Thou, Lord, hast showed us this great mystery of salvation, thou hast vouchsafed to us, thine humble and unworthy servants, to be ministers of thy holy altar; do thou make us sufficient by the power of thy Holy Spirit for this ministry, that standing blameless before thy holy glory we may bring to thee the sacrifice of praise; for thou art he that worketh all things in all. Grant, Lord, that our sacrifice may be acceptable on behalf of our sins and the transgressions of thy people, and well-pleasing to thee.

For all glory, honour, and worship is due to thee, &c.

This is from **Bas**; those of **Chrys** and of **Byz-Greg** are of the same character and have the same *ecphonesis*. It is to be said after the corporal is spread, and before the Great Entrance. While it is being said, the deacon and people repeat the same two petitions as were said at the first Antiphon of the *Enarxis*, 'Again and again in peace', and 'Help and save us' with the words, 'As many as are faithful' prefixed. In the thirteenth century the whole *Ectene* was said each time.

An interesting explanation of the reduction to these two clauses is given by the *Διάταξις* of Philotheus (1354-76), which tells the deacon to follow the priest, singing the *Ectene*, until he finishes the prayer, and then he says, *Σοφία*,

as a sign that the *ecphonesis* is to begin.¹ In the Rumanian edition of Jassy (1679) it was still complete. In the recent edition of Bucharest (1902) there are four petitions (or rather sentences).

The memorial of the *Enarxis* (p. 130) is not said here.

PRAYER OF THE FAITHFUL II:

O God, who hast looked with mercy and pity on our humility, who hast set us humble and sinful and unworthy servants before thy holy glory to worship at the holy altar, do thou strengthen us with the power of the Holy Spirit for this ministry, and give us, by the opening of our lips, the power of speech to invoke the grace of thy Holy Spirit upon these gifts which are to be presented.

For being always guarded by thy power we send up glory to thee, &c.

So **Bas.** Similar prayers, without the definite reference to the Epiclesis, in **Chrys** and **Greg.** The same lesser litany is repeated here.

It will be noticed that these prayers are not now the kind of prayer described by early writers, but are preparatory to the Offertory and *Anaphora*. They are therefore not different from some of the prayers in other liturgies, which are noticed under the heading of Offertory. **Syr-Jac** is peculiar in having its Offertory before the Mass of the Catechumens (the *Qurbono*), and only the traces of one in the usual place. Apart from the Offertory prayers there is nothing corresponding in **Arm.** A prayer which perhaps more truly represents the primitive prayers of the faithful, though much expanded by the compiler's own phraseology, is in **Ap-Const** immediately after the Litany.

¹ De Meester, *D.A.C.L.* vi. 1619. The Constitution of the Patriarch Philotheus was a canonical law regulating the carrying out of the liturgy.

'O Lord Almighty, the most high, who dwellest in the heights', the holy one that abidest in the holy places, supreme ruler (*ἀναρχε μοναρχε*) who hast given us through Christ the message of knowledge, that we might know thy glory and thy name, which he revealed for our understanding, do thou thyself now look down through him upon this thy flock, and cleanse it from all ignorance and evil-doing, and grant it sincerely to fear and love thee, and to be afraid before thy name. Be kind and propitious, and deign to hear their prayers ; keep them steadfast, blameless, and unblemished, that they may be holy in body and soul, 'not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing', that they may be perfect, and that none of them be insufficient or defective. O mighty aid, with whom there is no respect of persons, be the helper of this thy people, whom thou hast chosen out of tens of thousands, whom thou hast purchased by the precious blood of thine anointed, thou leader and guide, dispenser and guard, mighty defence, bulwark of safety, 'out of whose hand no one may pluck'. For there is none other God like thee, for in thee is our refuge. 'Sanctify them in thy truth for thy word is truth.' O impartial and all-seeing one, deliver them from 'all manner of sickness and disease', from all transgression, from all malice and deception, from the fear of the enemy, 'from the arrow that flieth by day, and the pestilence that walketh by night', and fit them for eternal life which is in Christ, &c.

Mk has prayers accompanying the Litany, in much the same words as the Litany, and then, after an *ecphonesis*, the deacon continues bidding and the priest prays. The latter portion seems to correspond with the prayers and resemble the method of the Roman Good Friday prayers (*Orationes solemnes*).

The only relic of the Prayers of the Faithful in the usual **Roman** Mass is a Mutual Salutation after the Creed with *Oremus*, but no prayer follows. The ancient prayers seem to have been preserved in these Good Friday prayers, which in the eighth century were also used on Wednesday in Holy Week. They are: (1) for the Church, (2) the Pope, (3) bishops, clergy, and ministers, (4) the Emperor, (5) catechumens, (6) against ills, (7) for heretics and schismatics, (8) Jews, (9) pagans. The form is that the priest says, 'Let us pray for, &c. Let us pray'; deacon, 'Let us bend our knees'; subdeacon, 'Rise', and then the prayer; but in the case of the Jews, the second 'Let us pray', and the deacon's and subdeacon's proclamations are omitted. In **Gel** and **Greg** the deacon says the 'Rise', and the exception of the Jews is not made. On other days only the 'Oremus' remains of all this.

Celestine writing to the Bishops of Gaul (431) gives a list of *obsecrationes sacerdotales*, which are used 'in the whole Catholic Church', and offered 'tota secum ecclesia congemiscente'. They are: (1) for infidels, (2) for idolaters, (3) for Jews, (4) heretics, (5) schismatics, (6) the lapsed, (7) catechumens.¹ There are many verbal coincidences with the above prayers. They are more likely to be the 'Prayers' than the 'Litany' of the Faithful.

Baumstark dates these prayers from the time of Cyprian and Cornelius and relates them to the Alexandrian rite (see *Inclination*, p. 199) and the **Eth** baptismal formulary.²

Angl has restored the Prayers of the Faithful in the 'Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church'. In 1549 it followed the *Sanctus*, but in 1552 it was transferred to its ancient place after the Sermon. It is also made to serve as an Offertory prayer.

¹ *Ep.* xxi. 'Apostolici verba praecepti', ad *episc. Gall*, 11.

² *Irénikon*, xi (July-Aug. 1934), 316.

When the Prayers of the Faithful disappeared about the seventh or eighth century in the West, they left a need unsatisfied, and by the ninth century a practice had grown up of asking, before or after the Sermon, for prayers on behalf of certain subjects mentioned. This eventually led to the 'Prone', or Bidding Prayer. The same need is felt in the Church of England to-day, and is being inadequately met by biddings before the Prayer for the Church Militant; but as they have no response, and are no part of the liturgy, they are not effective in engaging the devotions of the people.

THE INCLINATION

This prayer, which occurs only in the **Syrian** Churches, may be related to the Prayers of the Faithful. The deacon first proclaims:

Let us bow our heads to the Lord. Response: To thee, O Lord.

Priest: Thou who alone art a merciful God, send thy blessing upon those that bend their necks before thine holy altar, 'O thou that dwellest on high, yet regardest the things that are lowly', and bless them; through the grace and mercies, &c.

So **Syr-Jac**. It occurs in **Jas** after the Kiss, and before the Offertory; in **Syr-Jac** there is no Offertory, but it occupies the same place. **Nest** has a longer form.

Angl has here an Exhortation, General Confession, and Absolution, with 'Comfortable Words' reinforcing the Absolution. There is also a 'Prayer of Humble Access', which is, like these, a preparation for communion. Till 1927 it was after the *Sursum corda*; but then it was wisely placed after the Comfortable Words.

THE CREED

The introduction of the Creed into the liturgy at Antioch is attributed by Theodorus Lector (c. 528) to the Patriarch Peter the Fuller (470–88), and at Constantinople to the Patriarch Timothy I (511–18), both Monophysites.¹ In each case, too, this is related in such a way as to imply that previously it was said sometimes, at least in Lent, but that henceforward it was to be used at each *synaxis*. Under Timothy's successor, Macedonius, the Creed was only recited on Good Friday. In the West it was first used in Spain against the Arians. The third Synod of Toledo (589) orders it before the Lord's Prayer 'according to the king's writ' (this is Reccared).² That is its position in **Moz**. For the same reason it was used in **Gaul**. It is also found in **Stowe**. At that time it was not in the Mass in Rome. Leo III (795–816) forbade the use of the *filioque* clause, then established in Spain and Gaul, and discouraged the inclusion of the Creed in the Mass.³ It is not in **Greg**. It was introduced into **Rome** by Benedict VIII (1014) at the request of the Emperor Henry II, who was accustomed to it in Germany.⁴ There was some demur on the ground that Rome had no need to protect itself against heresy. There is some uncertainty whether the evidence in each case refers to the first introduction, or to its use by priests as well as bishops. St. Gregory the Illuminator (302–31) is said to have introduced the Creed to Armenia.

The position is not uniform. In all the **Eastern** rites it comes after the Greater Entrance, but while it usually precedes the Kiss of Peace, in **Byz** and **Mk**, probably under Byzantine influence, it follows it. **Rom**, **Gall**, and **Arm** have it after the Gospel; **Amb** after the Offertory, as in

¹ *H.E.* ii. 32.² Canon 2.³ Mansi, xiv. 19.⁴ Berno of Reich., *De quibusdam rebus*, 2.

Byz. John Biclaensis says that Justin II (565-8) had the Creed put in before the Lord's Prayer,¹ and the Toledo Canon referred to above says that that was the Byzantine custom. There is, however, no other evidence for this, and St. Maximus (d. 662) gives it in the usual **Byz** position.² **Eth-Our Lady** puts it uniquely in the *Anaphora*, after a defence of the Faith against Jews and Moslems, and before the *Sanctus*.

During the Creed with the **Greeks** the great Veil (ἀήρ) is held and moved above the altar; the **Ruthenians** have abandoned this, but withdraw the Veil at the end of the Creed.

The following text is that of the Council of Chalcedon (451), the authoritative Creed of the whole Catholic Church:

We believe in one God, the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

The **Greek** and **Latin** Churches have 'I believe', also **Deir-B**; but **Copt**, **Eth**, **Nest**, **Arm** 'we'; **Syr-Jac**, the priest says 'we', the people 'I'. **Nicaea** and **Nest** omit 'heaven and earth'.

And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God.

Nic has 'only-begotten', not here, but after the next clause; so **Arm**, adding 'that is, of the essence of the Father'. **Syr-Jac** and **Nest** 'only Son'; **Eth** 'the only Son of the Father'. **Deir-B** omits 'one'; the Creed in this liturgy is not **Nicene**.

Begotten of the Father before all worlds (ages).

'Before all worlds' not in **Nic** nor **Arm**. **Eth**: 'who was with him before the world was created'. **Nest** prefixes 'the

¹ See Brightm. *Lit. E. & W.* 532, n. 10.

² *Myst.* 18.

first-born of every creature', which is in the Creed of Caesarea at a later place, and in Justin and the Lucianic here. Nest also adds 'and not made'.

Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made.

Nic had before this, 'God of God'; and Rome and Arm, but not Stowe, insert this. Nest omits 'Light of Light'. 'Very God of very God' comes first in Nic. Eth, 'God of very God'. Stowe, 'born not made'.

Being of one substance with the Father ; by whom (i.e. the Son) all things were made.

Syr-Jac, 'Equal in substance'; Eth, 'Equal in his Godhead'. Ap-Const VII adds 'in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible', and so Arm. Eth, 'but without him was not anything made in heaven or in earth'. Nest, 'by whom the worlds were framed and all things were created'.

Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary.

Arm, 'was incarnate, was made man, was born perfectly of the holy Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost'. Syr-Jac adds 'Mother of God'. Nest, 'was incarnate of the Holy Ghost, and was made man, and was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary'.

And was made man.

Arm after 'Holy Ghost' has 'by whom he took body, soul, and mind, and everything that is in man, truly and not in semblance'. Stowe, 'homo natus'.

Was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried.

Arm, 'who having suffered, having been crucified and buried'; **Syr-Jac** and **Eth**, after 'suffered' add 'and died'. **Nest** puts 'suffered' in the logical place before the crucifixion.

And rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and cometh again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end.

Syr-Jac, after 'day' has 'as he willed'; **Arm** omits 'according to the Scriptures'; **Eth**, 'ascended with glory'; **Arm**, 'into heaven with the same body', and 'cometh again in the same body in the glory of the Father'. **Nest** omits 'with glory'.

And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life.

Arm, 'Holy Ghost, uncreated and perfect'; **Nest**, 'one Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth'. For 'giver of life' **Rom** has 'vivificantem'; **Stowe**, 'vivificatorem'.

Who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets.

The celebrated *filioque* clause, adding 'and the Son' after the first 'Father', which is in all Western liturgies, originated in Spain, at the third Synod of Toledo (589), whose main object was to confirm the conversion of the Goths, who gave up their Arianism. It is not certain whether the words 'and the Son' were inserted inadvertently after 'from the Father' or whether they were thought to be an additional safeguard against the subordination of the Son. Anathemas were directed against those that denied the procession from the Father and the Son. There is, however, some doubt about the genuineness

of the words in the Council of Toledo. Some manuscripts omit them, and in others they were added by later hands. In any case it was at this time that they appeared in the text; they were widely adopted, spreading to Gaul. We learn that Charlemagne complained to Pope Hadrian (772–95) of the Creed which had been attached to the Acts of the second Council of Nicaea (787), because they used the phrase, ‘the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son’. In 797 the *filioque* was adopted by northern Italy. In 810 the question of its inclusion, which had caused a dispute between the Latin and Greek monks in Palestine, was referred to a Council held at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the addition was approved. Leo III, without condemning it, refused to give his sanction, because it was not in the Creeds of the Ecumenical Councils. It was probably received in Rome at the same time as the Creed was introduced into the Mass. It is not in the **Stowe** Missal.

Rome has ‘simul adoratur’; **Stowe**, ‘coadorandum’. **Syr-Jac**, ‘apostles and prophets’; **Arm**, ‘in the law and prophets and gospels, who came down upon the Jordan, preached in the apostles¹ and dwelt in the Saints’. **Nest** omits all after ‘Father’ and substitutes ‘the Spirit, the giver of life’.

In one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins, and we look for a resurrection of the dead and a life of the world to come. Amen.

Arm, ‘in one baptism, in repentance, in propitiation and forgiveness of sins’. **Rom** for ‘look for’ has ‘expecto’; **Stowe**, ‘spero’. **Arm**, ‘in the resurrection of the dead, in the everlasting judgment of souls and bodies, in the kingdom of heaven, and in life everlasting’.

¹ So some MSS. Other MSS and printed editions read ‘preached the apostle’.

An anathema against all who disbelieve in the complete divinity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and an undertaking to glorify him, are added in **Arm**; these peculiarities are probably due to Gregory the Illuminator.

The **Deir-B** fragments contain a Creed which is apparently part of the eucharistic liturgy, and reads thus: 'I believe in God, the Father almighty, and in his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and the Holy Catholic Church.'

THE KISS OF PEACE

This is closely associated with the Creed. The Kiss was in use among the Jews as a sign, ranging from affection to respectful courtesy. Our Lord reproaches Simon the Pharisee for not having kissed him on arrival at his house.¹ It at once became a method of greeting among Christians to express their relationship in the family of God. 'Salute one another with a holy kiss.'² It is not mentioned in the Apostolic Fathers, but Justin already speaks of it as a ceremonious action after the Prayers and before the Offer-tory.³ Tertullian calls it the 'signaculum pacis, quod est signaculum orationis' but does not say when it takes place.⁴ Clement of Alexandria mentions it,⁵ and Origen says it comes 'post orationes',⁶ so Canons of Hippolytus. Timothy of Alexandria says: 'in the divine *Anaphora* the deacon proclaims before the Kiss, "Let the excommunicated go away"'.⁷ Cyril of Jerusalem: 'Then the deacon cries, "ἀλλήλους ἀπολάβετε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπάζόμεθα".'

Often it cannot be certainly determined what position it occupies, as the words 'after the prayers' may refer to

¹ Luke vii. 45.

² Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12.

³ *Apol.* i. 65.

⁴ *De oratione*, 18.

⁵ *Strom.* vii. 7.

⁶ *In Rom.* x. 33.

⁷ *Resp. Canon*, 9.

the Litany or to the Great Thanksgiving. In Cyril of Jerusalem it comes after the washing of the hands of the bishop and presbyters, and before the *Anaphora*. The Offertory is not mentioned, but must be earlier: in Theodore of Mopsuestia the deacons place the oblations on the altar before the Litany.¹ In **Syr-Jac** the Kiss begins the *Anaphora*, coming after the tenuous Offertory, and before the Inclination and Prayer of the Veil, and in **Nest** it is also in the *Anaphora*, but after the Diptychs, and as in **Syr-Jac** before the *Sursum corda*; in these cases *Anaphora* has a wider meaning than usual. **Ap-Const II** has it before the Litany and prayers. But the general custom later in the East was to associate it with the Offertory, where it suitably corresponds, according to our Lord's words in Mt. v. 24. That seems too to have been the place it held at first in the West. Augustine puts it after the Lord's Prayer, 'Pax vobiscum, magnum sacramentum osculum pacis'.² Tertullian's name 'signaculum orationis' has also been held to support that position, but it is doubtful if in his time the Lord's Prayer was used in the Canon, and the expression need not have reference to any specific prayer. Maximus has it after the Diptychs and before the Creed. In **Nest** it also follows the Diptychs but both are after the Creed. In **Byz** also it is before the Creed; elsewhere usually after. **Gall** and **Moz** have the Kiss after the Diptychs; **Amb** has adopted the Roman position, which is before the Lord's Prayer. Originally at Milan it was before the Prayer of the Veil. Innocent I objected to the practice some people had of giving it 'ante confecta mysteria'.³ The reason he gives is interesting: 'By it (the Kiss) is shown that the people have given their consent to everything they do in the mysteries, and these

¹ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, vi. 84.

² *Serm.* ccxxvii.

³ *Ep. ad Decentium*, I.

are shown to have been finished by the seal of the peace which concludes them.' **Amb's** position is shown by the 'Pacem habete', which it has still before the Offertory, though the response is now 'To thee, O Lord'.

The Roman position must have been looked upon as ancient by Innocent; it may have come from Africa. Cabrol suggests that the removal of the Diptychs from the earlier portion of the Mass to the Canon drew with it the Kiss, which was also associated with the Diptychs;¹ but it seems more probable that the Kiss was in the Canon before the Diptychs were moved there. In **Gall** it was also put in the Canon under Roman influence, for we find it there in **Bobb**, though there is still the heading to prayers in the old place 'ad pacem'.

The Peace of God be with you all.

And with thy spirit.

So **Ap-Const.** **Syr-Jac**, **Eth**, **Arm**, 'Peace to you all'; **Jas**, **Copt**, **Byz**, 'Peace to all'; **Rom**, 'Pax tecum'; **Amb**, 'The peace and fellowship of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you always', on giving the Kiss, with the response. LeJay says the **Amb** form had nothing to do with the Kiss originally, but was a Benediction like those in the East.² The **Gall** formula for the Kiss was 'Pax Domini sit vobiscum'. At **Sarum**, at the beginning of the Mass, the priest kissed the deacon and subdeacon with these words: 'Receive the kiss (habete osculum) of peace and love that you may be fit for the most holy altar to fulfil the divine service', as **Moz**. This was not given in the Triduum or in Masses of the Dead. In the usual place the words were: 'Pax tibi et ecclesiae'; but **York** and **Hereford** had the other **Sarum** form with 'bond' instead of 'kiss', and then **Hereford** continued: 'The peace of Christ and the holy Church be to thee and

¹ *D.A.C.L.* ii. 126.

² *Ibid.* i. 1405.

all the sons of the Church'. A **French** practice still in use may be a relic of the original place; at the Offertory, when the offerings are made, the priest gives the people the 'pax' to kiss, saying 'Pax tecum'. This was a tablet of metal, ivory, or wood, engraved with a crucifix, introduced about the thirteenth century, which was passed round to be kissed. It disappeared from use in most places in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Salute one another with a holy kiss.

Ap-Const, Mk, Copt, Eth, Arm, and in the first person Cyril of Jerusalem and **Jas.** St. Paul uses this phrase four times, and St. Peter 'with the kiss of love' once. **Nest,** 'Give the peace one to another in the love of Christ'; **Arm** adds 'and those who are not able to partake of this divine mystery go without the doors and pray there'. **Moz,** 'Receive the kiss of love and peace that ye may be fit for the holy mysteries of God' (see **Sarum** above). **Amb,** 'Offer ye yourselves the peace'. **Byz,** 'Let us love one another that in unison we may confess the faith'.

There is no necessary connexion between the giving of the Kiss and the use of the words, 'Peace be unto you'. The phrase was the customary salutation among Easterns, and still is, but only with friends and those of the same religion. Consequently the Peace is often given in the liturgies where there is no Kiss. In the West it has had no similar use as a secular greeting, the word *pax* being used in Latin interjectionally as a call for silence; but our Lord's words would naturally be taken up by Christians as a greeting, and 'Pax tecum' is the greeting accompanying the Kiss. So Augustine, 'Pax vobiscum'.¹ **Rom** has, as well as the above words which are said at the Kiss, a form 'Pax domini sit semper vobiscum' at the Consignation.

¹ *Serm.* ccxxvii.

This may be originally the Blessing before communion, but it is almost the same as the words of **Ap-Const** here.

Formerly the Kiss of Peace was an actual kiss, passing between the members of the congregation, but it was replaced at an early date by symbolic actions, and is usually confined to the ministers. With the **Greeks** the priest now kisses the Oblations, the deacon his own stole. **Nest** and **Syr-Uniats** kiss the hand. The **Maronites** kiss their own hands, holding that of the recipient. With the **Syr-Jac** the hands are passed down the face, holding the other's hands. The **Copts** (where the ceremony is used) bow to touch the hand and kiss their own. With the **Arm** the ministers kiss the altar and one another; the rest merely bow. In **Rome** the hands of one person are laid on the shoulders of the recipient, who puts his under the arms of the other.

There is usually a prayer in connexion with this ceremony. **Syr** is simple and effective:

O God and Lord of all, account these our unworthy selves worthy of this salvation, that being free from all guile and hypocrisy we may greet one another with a holy kiss, being united by the bond of love and peace, through, &c.

So **Syr-Jac**, **Jas**. None in **Ap-Const**, **Sarap**. **Copt** has a long form 'of the holy Patriarch Severus: thou sayest it in the *Anaphora* of St. Cyril'; there are two alternatives, and also three hymns, but the whole of this is said to have fallen into disuse. **Mk's** form is shorter, and followed by a second prayer of incense. **Eth** has a 'prayer of the Kiss, of Basil', which is interrupted for the Kiss and the salute, and which includes the *Gloria in excelsis*, the connexion being shown thus: 'Thou didst fill all the earth with the peace which is from heaven, wherein the armies of heaven glorify thee saying: Glory to God, &c.' **Byz-Barb** has no

prayer, but **Chrys** adds a threefold reverence of the priest to the Oblations with the words; 'I will love thee, O Lord my strength: the Lord is my stony rock and my defence' (Ps. xviii. 1). **Arm** has an anthem instead of a prayer, expressing the 'bond of perfectness'. The **Nest** prayer is an extension of the Offertory, applying it to the living and the departed.

The **Gall** and **Moz** liturgies also have a prayer (variable), called *Oratio ad pacem*. It followed the reading of the Diptychs, and preceded the *Sursum corda*. So **Germain**, 'ut per mutuuum osculum teneant in se caritatis affectum'. **Goth** has one for nearly all Masses, but it has disappeared from **Franc**. **Bobb** has in some Masses an *Oratio ad pacem*, but without allusion to the Kiss, which had now been transferred to the Roman position, and Collects of a more general character were substituted for the proper prayer, though the name was retained. In some Masses there is none. In the older prayers the Kiss is the central theme. The **Moz** Missal also has numerous *Collectiones ad pacem*. In **Amb** the prayer was there, before the Prayer of the Veil, the deacon saying: 'Pacem habete: erigite vos ad orationem', the reply being 'Ad te, Domine'; but now it is in the place where the Roman Kiss is given, though the words 'Pacem habete' and the response are still in the old place. **Rome**, too, has the prayer, 'Domine Jesu Christe qui dixisti', which is probably a Prayer for the Kiss. The **Sarum** form is a communion prayer but it is to be said 'antequam pax detur'.

THE GREAT ENTRANCE

The Oblation is now carried from the *Prothesis* by the north door and the north aisle to the great doors and thence to the altar. This ceremony developed after the faithful had ceased to make their own offerings of bread

and wine at the Mass, and after the disuse of the dismissal of the catechumens. At an early date the faithful brought offerings of bread and wine for the purposes of the Eucharist. In **Ap-Const** the people are accustomed to make various kinds of offerings for the Agape, first fruits, &c., and the offerings of the Eucharist are called the 'Offerings of the Church'; it is probable that they were presented by the people. It cannot be determined when this practice ceased, but it continued very much longer in the West than in the East.

The offering by the people is witnessed by Augustine: 'Offer the oblations, which are to be consecrated on the altar. A man comfortably off (*idoneus*) ought to blush if he communicates from another's oblation.'¹ The Council of Macon (585) ordered all persons, men and women, to offer bread and wine at the holy altar every Sunday. In **Germain** the offerings must have been prepared beforehand. John the Deacon tells of a lady who recognized at the altar the Host given to her as of her own making, and was reproved by St. Gregory for smiling because she could hardly believe that what she had made could be given to her as the Body of the Lord.² There is, however, in none of these rites proof of the time of the offering. Rome still kept the offering of the people in the ninth century, the Pope himself receiving the loaves, and the Archdeacon the phials of wine. A relic of the offerings of the faithful is the offering of money for Church purposes, which is first mentioned in a Synod held under Gregory VII (1078). It was the substitution of unleavened bread that caused the disuse of the offerings. In Milan the bread and wine are brought by 'Vecchioni',³ but this seems to be a Roman addition to the procession of the Entrance.

¹ *Serm.* cclxv.

² *Greg. Vita*, 23.

³ Members of a Guild of old men and women, called the School of St. Ambrose.

In the **Sahidic** Ecclesiastical Canons the deacons bring the gifts to the altar after all but the faithful have departed. The preparation of these offerings for use at the altar would take some time, and cause delay; convenience required that they should be prepared beforehand. At first this preparation would be of a simple nature, probably carried out during the service, for Euty chius (c. 580) shows that the Greater Entrance was in existence in his time, but that the cup had been 'just now mixed'.¹ Later the **Byz** rite, in which the Great Entrance seems to have originated, also developed not only a solemn procession but also a very complicated system of partition of the Host, which called for arrangement prior to the celebration of the liturgy proper.

Gall, Amb, and Moz also have a procession of the Oblations. **Syr-Jac** has a *Sedro of the Entrance*, but there is nothing corresponding to the Great Entrance, the vessels being on the altar since the *Qurbano* before the service. **Nest** has a ceremony which suggests the Greater Entrance, but has nothing to do with the Oblations. After placing the vessels on the altar and covering them, the priest and deacon come out of the Sanctuary with the Cross and Gospels, and draw back the Veil; the priest begins the *Anthem of the Mysteries*, comes down, and gives the Peace to the people, and the Creed is said before they return. In **Narsai** there is a procession of the mysteries carried by the deacons, who set them on the altar, and then the priests come in procession into the midst of the Sanctuary.

The Entrance is accompanied by the *Cheroubicon*, attributed by George Cedrenus to the reign of Justin II (565-78).² From the **Byz** rite the Entrance found its way into other Greek liturgies, but there is little information as to the ceremonies.

¹ *De pasch. et ss. eucharistia*, 7. ² *Hist. compend.*: P.G. cxxi. 748.

THE *Cheroubicon*:

Let us who mystically represent the Cherubim, and sing the hymn of the thrice-holy to the life-giving Trinity, put off all worldly cares, as receiving the King of all things with his invisible escort of angelic Hosts. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

This form (A) of the *Cheroubicon* is found in **Chrys**, **Mk**, and **Arm**. It was already used in Alexandria in Cod. **Ross** (13th cent.) and was formerly used in Antioch in the eleventh century, but it was afterwards replaced by the form now found in **Bas** for Easter Eve. The **Ross** and **Barb** MSS. give both (13th and 16th cent.). The second form (B) is freely translated by G. Moultrie in *Eng. Hymnal*, No. 318, 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence, and in fear and trembling stand'. **Bas** has two other forms, one for Maundy Thursday (C): 'Son of God, receive me this day as partaker of the mystic feast.' This is in **Mk** (**Ross** and **Vat**) and **Peter**. The other is for the Presanctified (D), 'Now the powers of heaven invisibly worship with us, for the King of Glory enters', which is found in *Chronicon paschale* (an. 645).

Jas has (B) and the prayer used in **Bas** at the *Prothesis*, 'O God our God'. **Arm** uses the form (A) in some churches and on the great festivals, but usually a variable *Hagiology* is sung incorporating the Angelic Song, 'Holy, Holy, Holy Lord', forced with passages from the Psalms; and the Offertory is made here.

Byz-Greg has Psalm li before the *Cheroubicon*.

Euty chius (c. 580) objected to the singing of a hymn here which calls the unconsecrated elements the 'King of Glory', and treating them as though they were consecrated.¹ The words βασιλεὺς δόξης are, however, only in

¹ *De pasch. et ss. euch.* 7.

the form used for the Presanctified (D), which may thus have been at that time the usual form. It speaks of the 'powers of heaven' instead of 'Cherubim'. Greek writers defend the use of the language objected to on the ground that the species have already been dedicated to God, and are types of the Body and Blood. Arcudius in the seventeenth century denounced it as idolatry, but the Uniats use it as well as the Orthodox.¹

A similar anthem is in **Amb** while the Oblations are brought processionally to the altar, the *Anthem after the Gospel* (it is really after the Sermon); **Gall** called it *Sonus*, and **Moz** *Laudes* (see p. 183). Nothing is known of the *Sonus*, but the *Laudes* are variable. It may be that Ps. cl with its 'Laudate eum in sono tubae' was originally the invariable chant. It is followed in **Gall** by what is there called *Laudes*, equivalent to the **Moz** *Sacrificium*. Like the *Cheroubicon* both these chants have Alleluias, but the **Amb** Anthem has not. This last is given here:

Anthem after the Gospel: **When Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea, behold, there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem, saying: Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star, and are come to worship him. (Mt. ii. 1-2.)**

During the singing of the *Cheroubicon*, which has long-drawn-out music, the priest says the following prayer for himself. It comes from **Bas**, for which, and not for **Chrys**, it appears in **Barb**, but it is now given in **Chrys**, and is used in **Arm**.

PRAYER OF THE *Cheroubicon*:

No one among those that are bound by fleshly passions and lusts is worthy to approach thy table, or to draw near

¹ *De concordia Eccles. occident. et orient.* iii, 19, cited *D.A.C.L.* iii, 1284.

to thee or serve thee, O King of glory. For to serve thee is a great and fearful thing even to the heavenly hosts. Yet through thine ineffable and measureless love without changing thy nature thou didst become man, and didst appear as our High-priest, and didst commit to us the ministry of this bloodless sacrifice. . . . Make me sufficient by the power of thy Holy Spirit, endowing me with the grace of thy priesthood to stand at this holy altar, and administer thy holy body and precious blood, &c.

Byz, Arm, Pet, Jas (MS. Par. 476 only; Par. 2509 has the same prayer as Byz at the *Prothesis*). Jas and Mk have prayers with the same motive, but differing in form. There is a prayer of incense here in Mk; in Jas it precedes the *Cheroubicon*, and refers to Abel, Noah, Aaron, and Samuel. Jas (Mess, Ross, Par. 476, but not Par. 2509) also has a prayer beginning τὸ φρικτὸν σου Κύριε μεταλαμβάνοντες δάπεδον θαμβούμεθα τῷ προσώπῳ, which is attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. St. Chrysostom says that after the dismissals of those not allowed to participate, there must be another prayer, and at the same time all prostrate themselves (ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα); this may be the same prayer.¹

The deacon and priest now repeat the *Cheroubicon* in a low voice, and the priest censes the altar, the sanctuary, the icons, and the people. They go to the *Prothesis*, saying silently some *Troparia*, and cense the Oblations; the deacon receives the paten, and the priest carries the chalice, and they go out through the north door, preceded by lights, and go round the church, saying:

Remember us all, O Lord, when thou comest in thy kingdom, now and ever.

¹ In 2 Cor. xviii. 3.

Before entering the holy doors the priest prays for the deacon:

May the Lord remember thy ministry in his kingdom for ever.

Other similar petitions are added, making this 'commemoration' a 'Prayer for the whole Church'. Originally the priest did not accompany the deacon, nor does he now in **Arm**; in **Byz** the higher ecclesiastics stay in the Sanctuary and await them. As the priest places each of the elements on the altar he says:

The noble Joseph took thine immaculate body from the Cross, and wrapped it in fine linen with spices, and laid it in a new sepulchre with fitting ceremony,

adding the words used when censing in the *Prothesis*:

In the grave according to the body, &c.,

and censes the holy gifts. The priest and deacon then exchange invocations of the Holy Spirit to assist one another's ministrations. **Syr-Jac** has a *Sedro* 'of the Entrance' with incense. **Copt** and **Eth** have nothing to correspond to the Entrance. The gifts are also censed in **Arm**.

THE OFFERTORY

In the **Byz** liturgy this is part of the Great Entrance, preceding the Kiss of Peace and the Creed. **Ap-Const** has before the Offertory a caution by the deacon:

Let none of the catechumens, none of the hearers, none of the unbelieving, none of the heterodox (remain). Ye who pray the first prayer approach. Let the mothers take their children. Let none have anything against anyone. let none be in hypocrisy. Let us stand upright with fear and trembling to offer to the Lord.

In **Jas.** before the Offertory prayers there are three blessings of the ministration and the *Gloria in excelsis*, beginning an act of praise which ends in a reply: 'The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Lord shall overshadow thee.' This is referred to in **St. Chrysostom.**¹

The Litany has found its way into this as into other places, and while it is being recited the priest says the Offertory Prayer:

O Lord God Almighty, who alone art Holy, who acceptest the sacrifice of praise from them that call upon thee with their whole heart, receive also the supplications of us sinners, and grant that they may reach thine holy altar, and enable us to present to thee gifts and spiritual sacrifices for our sins and for the transgressions of thy people. And mercifully grant that we may obtain grace in thy sight, that the offering may be acceptable unto thee, and that the excellent spirit of thy grace may rest upon us and upon these gifts now presented to thee and upon all thy people.

Through the mercies of thine only-begotten Son, &c.

This is **Chrys.** **Bas** is longer, but of the same type; it refers to the acceptance of the gifts of Abel, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Aaron, and Samuel. The *ecphonesis* is the same. In **Jas** there are three, as well as the Prayer of the Veil, and a litany. In **Syr-Jac, Copt,** and **Eth,** the Offertory is made at the *Prothesis*. The Alexandrian writers make many references to the Offertory, and this seems to be the proper place for it. After the Creed **Mk** has a prayer τῆς προθέσεως, but in the Intercession there is a prayer for those who offer, which was probably originally an Offertory. **Nest** has a prayer in which the priest says 'these glorious and

¹ *De sacerdot.* 6.

holy, life-giving and divine mysteries are placed and ordered on the altar of propitiation'. **Arm** has a 'Prayer of Athanasius' after the *Lavabo* and before the Kiss, containing the words:

Do thou, O Lord, to whom we offer this sacrifice, accept from us this presentation, and consummate it into the mysteries of thy body and blood.

The language used in the Eastern Church, in which the consecration of the elements is anticipated, has caused much criticism from Western theologians, though it is found in a less degree in the Latin Mass.

In **Rome** the priest offers the Host, saying:

Receive, holy Father, almighty eternal God, this immaculate victim, which I, thine unworthy servant, offer to thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences and negligences, and for all who are here, but also for all faithful Christians, living or departed; that it may help me to everlasting salvation.

This is found in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald (9th cent.), but was not in **Rome** till the fourteenth century (*Ordo XIV*).

On mixing the water and wine in the chalice he says:

O God, who hast wonderfully established the dignity of human nature, and still more wonderfully reformed it, grant to us by the mystery of this water and wine to be sharers of his divinity, who deigned to become partaker of our humanity, even Jesus Christ, &c.

This goes back to **Leon**, where it is a Christmas prayer, but does not become an Offertory prayer till about the eleventh century. At **Hereford** there was a blessing of the water, 'The Lord. Mayest thou be blessed by him, from whose side came out blood and water. In the name, &c.'

When he offers the chalice he says:

We offer thee, O Lord, the cup of salvation, beseeching thy clemency that it may ascend before thy divine majesty for our salvation and that of the whole world. Amen.

This is Moz in origin, and finds its way into the Missal in the eleventh century. Then

In the spirit of humility and in a contrite mind may we be accepted by thee, O Lord, and may this sacrifice be so made in thy sight to-day that it may please thee, O Lord God. (Cf. Dan. iii. 39-40 in the Vulgate Version.)

This first appears in the eleventh century, but is not general till much later.

Come, Almighty Sanctifier, eternal God, and bless this sacrifice prepared for thy holy name.

It is in Stowe sung three times, and is Gall, originally addressed to the Holy Spirit.

All these Roman prayers, except 'Deus qui humane', which is found in Leon, are of later date than Greg. *Micrologus* (11th cent.) says there is no prayer in the Roman order after the offering and before the Secret,¹ but the 'Veni Sanctificator' was already in common use, being from Gall. They express the same ideas as the Greek *Prothesis*. It is possible that *Te igitur* and *Hanc igitur* were originally Offertory prayers.

Amb, after the Prayer of the Veil, has (1) the *Offertorium* (originally *Offerenda*), (2) Prayer at the offering of each element: 'Receive, O most merciful Father, this holy bread (chalice of wine mixed with water) that it may become the body (blood) of thine Only-begotten One, in the name, &c.' (3) Between these the mixture is blessed,

¹ *Microlog.* xi.

'From the side of Christ there flowed blood, and water likewise, in the name, &c.' (4) Four prayers of offering, the last three to the Holy Trinity, the middle one of which is, with the names of the Saints omitted, 'Suscipe sancta Trinitas' (see below). (5) A Blessing on the offerings. (6) Prayer of censuring.

CENSING. Incense is offered here in many liturgies. In **Chrys** the deacon says: 'Do honour, sir', and the priest, 'Then shall they offer young bullocks upon thy altar'. **Mk** (at the Kiss) and **Syr-Jac** have incense prayers of the usual type. **Nest**, during the Litany: 'This paten is blessed like the paten of the blessed apostles in the Upper Room, O creator of sweet herbs and pleasant spices, in the name, &c.' **Rome's** form is late, the only original censuring being at the beginning and the Gospel, both processional. It seems to have come from the **Gall** Great Entry, where the gifts were censured on being placed on the altar. It is now the chief censuring of the Mass.

By the intercession of the blessed archangel Michael, standing on the right hand of the altar of incense, and of all his chosen band, may the Lord deign to bless this incense and accept it for a sweet-smelling savour, through, &c.

As he censes the oblates he says:

May this incense blessed by thee ascend before thee, O Lord, and may thy mercy descend upon us.

He censes the altar, saying Ps. cxli. 2-4: 'Let my prayer be set forth, &c.'; when he returns the thurible to the deacon he says:

May the Lord kindle in us the fire of his love and the flame of eternal charity.

Amb is the same as **Rome**, except that instead of the last

sentence it has 'Behold the smell of the saints of God is as the smell of a fruitful field which the Lord hath blessed'.

THE OFFERTORY CHANT. The Eastern Churches generally, having the Offertory at the Great Entrance, do not need any other chant than the *Cheroubicon* and its alternatives, but Nest has an Anthem, with a memorial of the Saint, or of the departed. The Western Churches have here what was originally a Psalm, known as the *Offertorium*. Its introduction in Carthage was recent in the time of St. Augustine, for it occasioned some opposition there.¹ Apparently the Introit was later. A 'vir tribunitius' objected to it, and Augustine defended 'the custom which had then begun in Carthage, that hymns should be sung from the book of Psalms either before the oblation or while that which had been offered was being distributed to the people (the *Communio*)'. In *Ordo I* it had been reduced to an Antiphon and one or two verses, but later the verses disappeared, and now it consists of Antiphon only. This Antiphon, unlike the Introit, which rarely uses unscriptural words, has in many cases adopted a new character. Sometimes it is non-scriptural (e.g. 14th Sept.: 'Protect, O Lord, thy people by the sign of thy holy Cross'); sometimes the music is very ornate with repetitions of both words and music. It is the most modern of the chants musically.

In **Moz** it is called *Sacrificium*; it is there an anthem on a text, scriptural or otherwise. The **Gall Laudes** began and ended with Alleluia. It seems to have been invariable. **Amb** calls it *Offertorium*: it is sometimes non-scriptural. The following is that for the Epiphany:

In his days shall righteousness flourish: and abundance of peace, so long as the moon be exalted.

¹ *Retract.* ii. 11.

Ψ. He shall have dominion also from the sea unto the sea : and from the river unto the ends of the earth.

And abundance of peace so long as the moon be exalted.

THE *Lavabo*

The priest washes his hands at the Offertory in many rites. It was originally no doubt necessary after handling the loaves, 'in order that he who is to receive the heavenly food may by washing cleanse his hands from the earthly food which he has just received from the laymen'.¹ But already in **Ap-Const** it was symbolic, for it is given before the Offertory by the subdeacon to all the priests and is said to be 'a symbol of the purity of souls resting with God'. There is no mention of it in **Jas, Mk, Byz** (where a washing precedes the *Prothesis*). It is especially **Syr** and **Rom**; in Cyril of Jerusalem at the beginning of *Missa fidelium* the deacon brings water to the bishop and presbyters before the Kiss. 'Ye have seen the deacon give τὸ νίψασθαι to the bishop and the priests around the altar of God. It is a symbol of the need we have of cleansing ourselves from all sins and transgressions.'² It is also in use in **Copt, Eth, Nest, and Arm**. In **Nest, Rom, and Moz** it is after the Offertory, but the place varied in **Rome** from time to time; elsewhere it is before.

There is a prayer in **Syr-Jac** and an admonition in **Eth**. The latter is given here, being of special interest as quoting Pontius Pilate (who is said to have been canonized there, and who has just been mentioned in the Creed):

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; whosoever hath

¹ Mabillon, *Ordo* VI (*D.A.C.L.* i. 105).

² *Catech.* v. 2.

revenge in his heart, and who hath an alien mind by reason of unchastity. 'I am pure from the blood of you all' and from your sacrilege against the body and blood of Christ, &c.

Rom, **Peter**, and **Arm** say Ps. xxvi. 6-7, 'I will wash my hands in innocency, &c.', which is referred to in Cyril of Jerusalem **Rom** has verses 6-12; **York** also has this, **Sar** and **Hereford** other forms. **Copt**, 'Wash me and I shall be whiter than snow, &c.' **Chrys** uses this Psalm (li) at the washing at the *Prothesis*; **Moz** before vesting. **Amb** has a *Lavabo* without words before the *Qui pridie*. **Peter** adds to the Psalm: 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee' (Luke i. 35), which occurs in the Great Entrance of **Chrys**. In **Nest** there is no prayer, but the Lavatory is followed by long preparatory and penitential prayers, and a bidding for the departed, probably in anticipation of the Diptychs following. In **Arm** it is at the Offertory and before the Kiss of Peace.

THE PRAYER OF THE VEIL

This is another **Syrian** feature, but it is also found in **Copt**, where it is called 'a Prayer of our holy Father, John of Bostra, for the Veil, to the Father'. That of **Jas** has the heading *εὐχὴ τοῦ καταπετάσματος*. It is a prayer of the Entry, though it is long after the Entry, for there is no 'Greater Entry' in this rite, and comes immediately before the *Sursum corda*, as does that of **Syr-Jac**, which is merely a prayer for worthiness.

We thank thee, O Lord our God, because thou hast given us 'boldness to enter into the holiest by a new and living way through the veil and the flesh' of Christ.

Having been permitted therefore to enter into 'the place where thine honour dwelleth', and to be within the Veil and to behold the holy of holies, we cast ourselves upon thy goodness : O Lord have mercy upon us, for in fear and trembling we are about to stand before thine altar, &c.

So **Jas.** The **Copt** prayer is also a prayer of Entrance, or approach to the altar, and is a rather late addition. It begins the Mass of the Faithful. Bute says it was to be said inaudibly by the priest standing before the door of the Sanctuary, immediately before entering it the last time, and that it is never said now. The purpose of these prayers at this point is a little obscure, but they are probably an introduction to the *Anaphora*.

Gall also has an *Oratio super sindonem*, and so has **Amb.** The latter was formerly preceded by the Kiss of Peace, after which was 'Erigite vos ad orationem' and the response 'Ad te, Domine'. **Moz** has a salutation, and the prayer is preceded by an address, *Praefatio Missae*, and is itself simply called '*Oratio*'. Between the two the priest says 'Oremus', and the choir sings, 'Ajus, Ajus, Ajus, Domine Deus Rex aeterne, tibi laudes et gratias'. Another short exhortation follows with the response, 'Praesta aeterne omnipotens Deus', and the prayer. The *Praefatio Missae* or simply *Missa* is the 'prima oratio' of St. Isidore; the 'oratio' is the 'secunda'.

THE ROMAN 'SECRET'. This is perhaps the best place for the Roman 'Secret', a variable prayer which is introduced by the words, 'Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable with God the Father Almighty', and the response, 'May the Lord receive the sacrifice at thy hands, &c.' **York's** response was Ps. xx. 1-3, 'The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble'. Before this came the

prayer, 'Suscipe sancta Trinitas', which is Gallican and appears to belong to the Diptychs; allusions to the departed were dropped from it before it was imported into Rome. **Amb** has taken the Secret from Rome under the name '*Oratio super oblatum*', which practically doubles the *Super sindonem*. The following are these two prayers from **Amb** for the Epiphany:

Prayer over the *Sindon*: Grant, we beseech thee, almighty God, that, as all nations come with gladness to worship Christ, born King and Lord; so also this glorious light may ever dwell in us; through, &c.

Prayer over the Offerings: We offer unto thee, O Lord, the sacrifice of praise, for the manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for the beginnings of our calling; renewing the sacrament of thy tenderness on this day's festival; and we beseech thee favourably to accept it: through, &c.

THE DIPTYCHS OF THE DEPARTED

At an early date it became customary both in the East and in the West for the names of notable persons to be read out during the liturgy in order that the faithful might pray for them or commemorate them. The history of the development of this practice is very difficult to disentangle, for the evidence is confusing. There are three classes of names to be considered: (a) departed Christians of such sanctity that their intercessions were asked for; (b) the departed for whose souls the Church was asked to pray; (c) the living. There is also the problem of the point in the liturgy where the Diptychs were read. As the matter arises again during the Great Intercession, it will be sufficient to explain here what the Diptychs were, and to discuss their position.

The word 'Diptych' was a Greek adjective, which meant 'folding in two'; in late Greek it was used as a noun for 'tablets', such as the *δελτίον δίπτυχον* used by Demaratus to smuggle a secret message to the Lacedaemonians.¹ These were a kind of note-book of two covers, hinged together, with the insides coated with wax, on which the writing was inscribed with a *stylus*. Those which were required to be permanent would be ornamented on the outside, and be made not only of wood, but of metal, ivory, silver, or gold. It is on such tablets that the names of those to be mentioned at the altar were entered.

The present position of the Diptychs of the Departed, in almost all liturgies which preserve them, is in the Great Intercession, where prayers are offered for the whole Church, and the names of those living persons who need specially to be mentioned are read; the names of the departed usually follow. But in past times, in various parts of both East and West, the Diptychs of the Departed were closely associated with the Kiss of Peace and the Offertory. Nest still keeps them in this place.

The first mention of the Diptychs in this place is by the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (6th cent.), written in east Syria. They were after the Kiss of Peace. St. Maximus (c. 650), commenting on this writer, says that this was the Diptychs of the Dead only, and that this was the position in the East (i.e. in contrast with Byz);² but his language does not show whether in Byz they were *before* (not after as in east Syria) the Kiss of Peace, as Brightman thought them, or at a later place, i.e. in the *Anaphora*. Somewhere about the same time Narsai, of the Nestorian School at Nisibis, wrote his liturgical commentaries, in which he first refers to a command by the deacon, after the Creed,

¹ Herodotus, vii. 239.

² *Schol. in E.H.* iii. 3. Brightm. *Lit. E. & W.* 538, n. 13.

to pray for the departed; and then, but a little later, says that, while the Peace is being given, the book containing the two sets of names, the living and the dead, is read.¹ The Canons of the Council of Constantinople *sub Menna*, 538, say:

The doors having been shut, and the holy Creed having been read as usual, at the time of the diptychs after a long silence the whole crowd assembled round the altar to hear the deacons read the names of the Fathers of the Synods, and especially Euphemius, Macedonius, and Leo. They cried, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord', and then the Liturgy was finished.

This seems to mean that the Diptychs were before the *Anaphora*, but it is inconsistent with Brightman's interpretation of Maximus given above, for the Kiss of Peace preceded the Creed. All the evidence from Asia and Jerusalem is in favour of the later position, in the Intercession, and it dates back as far as Cyril of Jerusalem. **Byz** and **Egypt** are doubtful, but the **Gall** use suggests that one of these had the Diptychs before the *Anaphora*. The fact that St. Maximus in his own account of the Mass of the Faithful three times mentions the Great Entrance, the Kiss of Peace, and the Creed in that order, and does not mention the Diptychs, strongly supports the opinion that with him they were later.

In the West the **Gall** and **Moz** had the Diptychs after the Offertory and before the Kiss of Peace; **Amb** also after the Offertory. **Rome** is doubtful. Dom Cagin believes that originally the Diptychs were before the *Sursum corda* there also, and the reasons he gives are weighty.² There is in the West much to show that, when the people brought their offerings, a practice which continued till the tenth

¹ Connolly, *Texts and Studies*, viii, No. 1, pp. 6, 10.

² *Paléogr. musicale*, v.

century, their names were read out. Jerome objected to this because of the ostentation of those who gave large sums; there is not any information as to which Church used the custom, but he doubtless had Rome in mind.¹ The Council of Elvira (c. 305) forbids the recital of the names of penitents (*qui non communicant*) and energumens 'ad altare cum oblatione'.² The evidence of Innocent has been discussed in the Introduction (p. 58). It seems to me to be in favour of the Diptychs having been before the Canon in his time. This is supported by the absence of *Memento etiam* from Gel (Vat. and St. Gall) and many other manuscripts. This portion of the Canon almost exactly reproduces a *Collectio post nomina* of the Miss Gall, and looks as if it had been transferred there from an earlier position.

E. Bishop will not allow that the Diptychs were ever here. His theory is that, (1) In the fourth century there was a 'Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men' at the beginning of Mass. (2) The names of certain deceased persons were introduced by 'that great centre of liturgical novelty, the Church of Jerusalem'. (3) About the middle of the fourth century it was transferred to the Eucharistic prayer. (4) The new arrangement spread and appears in Sarapion, but was not taken up in Egypt. (5) Byz welcomed and developed it. (6) Gaul adopted it, but not in the Canon. (7) Rome instituted the practice of mentioning 'offerers' by name at the point in the Canon where the offerings were mentioned, but may have left the names of the departed in the old place, as in Moz and Gall. (8) Then the Prayer of the Faithful disappeared; and in Moz and Gall the *Post nomina* was substituted. (9) In Rome commemoration of the departed was then made in special Masses. (10) The Gallican *Memento* including 'our dear

¹ *Comm. in Jerem. proph.* ii. 11.

² Canons 28, 29.

ones' was inserted into the Roman Mass in use in Gaul. (II) This was eventually adopted in Rome.

It would appear, then, that the evidence for **Byz** and **Rome** is inconclusive. It is certain that in the Far East and in the Far West the Diptychs were before the *Anaphora*, and that eventually, except for **Nest**, they came into the Intercession within the *Anaphora*. The first step was no doubt a duplication, such as we see in Theodore of Mopsuestia, who has the Diptychs, just before the *Anaphora*, and also mention of the departed in the Intercession.¹

THE *Collectio post Nomina*

The saying of the Diptychs was followed by a prayer, which is the *tertia oratio* of St. Isidore. The following is an example:

Accept, O most gracious God, the prayers of thy suppliant people, and inscribe in the book of eternal life the names which thou seest to be placed before thine altar. Have mercy also on unworthy me, and all for whom I make my supplications ; grant perpetual rest to those thy servants or other faithful departed, that resting in the bosom of Abraham, they may both escape the penalties of Hell, and in the time of the resurrection be joined to the company of the angels.

In the Roman Mass, after the *Lavabo* of the Offertory the prayer 'Suscipe Sancta Trinitas' offers the oblation in memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and in honour of the Saints. It was not inserted there until the eleventh century at earliest. But in the Sacramentary of Bergamo it appears in a different form

¹ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, vi. 84, 105.

headed 'Item offeriones quando presbyter offert'. It is evidently a prayer in connexion with the Diptychs:

Holy Trinity, receive this oblation, which we offer to thee for the government and protection and unity of the Catholic faith, for the veneration of all thy Saints together, for the safety and security of thy servants and handmaids, for all those for whom we have promised to ask thy mercy, and from whom we have received alms, and all faithful Christians, that by thy mercy they may be found worthy to receive remission of all their sins, and the eternal rewards of happiness by persevering in thy praises and the honour of thy name, O most merciful God, Creator of the world. And receive this oblation for my cleansing, and cleanse and purify me from all spots of sin, that I may worthily serve thee.

Other forms of a similar nature are to be found in Gallican missals.

THE ANAPHORA

THE word *ἀναφορά* is used in the Septuagint, but not in classical Greek, with the sense of 'offering'; the corresponding verb *ἀναφέρω* means 'to offer sacrifices' in Heb. vii. 27 and xiii. 15. Ap-Const speaks of the 'time of the *Anaphora*'.

In the Eastern rites this word designates the portion of the liturgy which is specially concerned with the consecration of the sacred elements, which have previously been offered on the altar. Usually it is taken to begin with the *Sursum corda*, or preliminary dialogue, consisting of a Blessing or Salutation, an exhortation to the congregation to lift up their hearts in thanksgiving, and the responses of the people. The *Anaphora* continues to the end of the service. There are, however, variants in its use. Syr-Jac makes the *Qurobho* (*Annaphura*) begin before the Kiss of

Peace, and Nest (*Quddasha*) before the Diptychs. Copt designates the whole service by the word. Bas-Barb and Eth, on the other hand, make it begin after the preliminary dialogue; at any rate, the Eth *Anaphoras* omit the dialogue except in two cases in which from its peculiar position it seems to be duplicated. But the word *Anaphora* is not used; it is called *Qeddase* or 'Thanksgiving of the Offering (*akuateta qerban*)'.

The Roman term is *Canon* or *Canon actionis*. In his letter Vigilius (p. 72) speaks of *canonica prex*; the word *prex* was previously used to indicate this portion of the liturgy, and here we have the process of substitution. Walafrid Strabo says: 'Actio, quam quoque Romani Canonem, ut in pontificalibus saepius invenitur, appellant.'¹ He says that it is so called, because in it is 'legitima et regularis sacramentorum confectio'. The word *actio* probably means *Gratiarum actio*, i.e. 'Eucharist', as in Tertullian, 'super panem Dei gratiarum actionibus fungi'.²

The precise point at which the Canon begins and ends has also been disputed. Usually in the Roman Missal the words *Canon Missae* are placed before *Te igitur*, so that the Prefaces are not included, and it extends to the end of the Mass. Stowe has the words 'Canon dominicus papae Gilasii', added in a second hand at this point. Gel makes it begin with the *Sursum corda*, and *Liber Pontificalis* includes the *Sanctus*.³ *Ordo Rom I* excludes the *Sanctus*, and makes the Canon end after the Lord's Prayer.

The *Anaphora* often begins with an exhortation to reverence, as in most Eastern rites and Moz.

Deacon: Stand we well, stand we with fear, let us give heed to the holy Anaphora in peace.

Chorus: The mercy of peace; the sacrifice of praise.

¹ *De rebus eccles.* 22.

² *Adv. Marcion*, i. 9.

³ Sixtus I.

Anastasius Sinaita testifies to this in the sixth century at Antioch.¹ It is in **Jas**, **Mk-Vat**, **Chrys**, and **Arm. Syr-Jac** and **Bas-Barb** have only *στῶμεν καλῶς* with response *ἔλεος εἰρήνη*; Theodore of Mopsuestia, 'Look at the sacrifice', **Copt**, 'Stand to offer with trembling: look to the east', with the above response. Not in **Mk-Ross**, **Eth**, **Rom**. Further warnings are given in other liturgies, sometimes after the *Sursum corda*, e.g. **Eth-Our Lord**. **Arm** adds, 'Christ the immaculate Lamb offers himself a victim', with the response, 'Mercy and peace and sacrifice of blessing'.

Jas adds a prayer for purity, and for worthiness to celebrate. **Nest** has a much longer exhortation, with a prayer of incense.

'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.'

Chorus, And with thy spirit.

Ap-Const, **Syrr**, **Nest**, **Byz**, **Arm**, and **Moz**; with slight differences. **Syrr** and **Copt-Greg**, 'The love of God the Father, and the grace of the Lord and Son, and the fellowship and gift of the Holy Spirit be with you all'; **Ap-Const**, 'The grace of God Almighty and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ,' &c. St. Chrysostom seems to have had in his Antioch days the **Byz** form, 'he does not touch the oblations till he has asked grace of the Lord for you and you have answered "and with thy spirit"'.² **Egypt**, **Ap-Trad**, **Test-D**, **C-H**, **Rom**, **Amb**, **Eth** have 'The Lord be with you' with the same response, which is attested by Aug;³ but an **Egypt** form published by Baumstark has 'Gratia domini vobiscum'.⁴ The Council of Braga (561)

¹ *De Syn.* 836 D.

² *De s. Pentecoste*, i. 4.

³ *Serm. inedit.* vi. 3 (Battifol, *Leçons*, 195, n. 2).

⁴ *Oriens Christ.* 1901, 1-45.

ordered the 'Dominus vobiscum' in opposition to the Priscilianists who probably used the Eastern form. It is found in Ruth ii. 4. Theodoret,¹ James of Edessa,² and St. Chrysostom mention the Eastern form. **Arm** adds 'The doors, the doors, with all wisdom and caution', as in **Byz** before the Creed.

Lift we up our hearts (ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας; *Sursum corda*).

We lift them up unto the Lord (ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον; *Habemus ad Dominum*).

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

It is meet and right.

This is practically universal. In **Eth-318** it is in a later position, which suggests that it was repeated. It is there interpolated into a curious passage in which our Lord cries from the sepulchre to Adam, who came forth and walked into Jerusalem with his sons. In the first line **Ap-Const**, **Nest**, and **Arm** have 'mind' for 'hearts'; **Jas** and **Syr-Jac**, 'minds and hearts' (but Cyril of Jerusalem only 'hearts'); this is also attested by St. Chrysostom.³ **Eth** reverses the two pairs of lines. In **Copt-Cyr-Greg** the priest repeats 'It is meet and right' three times after the people. **Nest** has as the first reply, 'Unto thee, O God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Israel, O glorious king', and instead of the next line, 'The offering is being offered unto the Lord of all'. **Chrys** adds to the end a Trinitarian formula, but it is of late date. **Moz** is different: 'Aures ad dominum. R̄. Habemus ad Dominum. Sursum Corda. R̄. Levemus ad Dominum. Deo ac Domino nostro Jesu Christo filio Dei, qui est in coelis, dignas laudes dignasque gratias referamus. R̄. Dignum et justum est.'

¹ *Ep.* 146.

² *Brightm.* op. cit., 491.

³ *De poenit.* ix. 1.

This colloquy is very ancient, being attested by St. Cyprian,¹ Augustine,² Cyril of Jerusalem, and Sarapion (c. 350, implied in the opening words), as well as Ap-Tr (c. 225).

Test-D has here: 'Holy things to holy men,' with the reply, 'in heaven and on earth without ceasing'. In Nest the deacon says, 'Peace be with us', and the priest says a private prayer for 'openness of face before thee'.

Peter has simply a translation of the Latin Canon with some Eastern details.

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING (EUCHARIST)

It is very meet and right

Eth begins, 'We give thee thanks', following Ap-Tr—a short thanksgiving for the Incarnation before beginning the great Intercession. The earlier Bas (Barb) begins 'Thou that art Lord,' &c., but after the next clause has 'it is meet,' &c. Arm inserts on some occasions a commemoration by the deacon of the mystery which is being celebrated, an analogy to the Western Preface. Egypt add, 'and expedient for our souls (and bodies)', but not Sarap, Copt-Bas-Greg. Test-D follows Ap-Tr, but interpolates additions throughout. Nest, 'Worthy of praise . . . is the adorable and glorious name of thy glorious Trinity,' &c. In this liturgy the Thanksgiving is interspersed with penitential prayers (*Cushshapha*).

to hymn thee, to bless thee, to praise thee, to give
thanks to thee,

In some form or other this is in all liturgies, but the phraseology varies greatly.

always and everywhere

¹ *De orat. Dom.* 31.

² *Serm.* ccxxvii; *De vera relig.* 5, et al.

Rom, Amb, Chrys ('in every place of thy dominion') and Copt-Cyr, Arm.

The Thanksgiving of the more fully developed liturgies may now be divided into fairly well-marked sections. In the earlier liturgies it is a simple prayer in which most of the ideas are already present, but joined together into a unity, as in **Ap-Tr** (p. 23). In this form, as Frere points out, there are but three principal sentences, expressing (1) thanksgiving, (2) oblation, and (3) invocation, the other elements, Incarnation, Institution of the Sacrament, and *Anamnesis*, being subordinate sentences in the Thanksgiving.¹

(a) THE PRAISE OF GOD.

Most of the Eastern rites have a more or less prolonged statement of the attributes and glories of God, often gradually merging, through His nature as Creator, into the next section. There is little verbal relation between them. The Latin liturgies, having different Prefaces for different days, have shortened this for ordinary occasions to a few words, and so have **Egypt** under the similar influence of the coming Intercession; thus **Eth** only 'O Lord', **Sarap**, 'the uncreated Father of the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ'. The following is that of **Chrys**:

For thou art God, ineffable, incomprehensible, invisible, inscrutable, unchangeable, thou and thine only-begotten Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Eth has some very peculiar *Anaphoras*. **Our Lady** begins with praise and invocation of Mary, an account of her conception and life, and the Incarnation of our Lord, interrupted by a statement of the nature of God, and of the

¹ Frere, *The Anaphora*, 48.

Holy Trinity, and ends with the *Sanctus*. **Bas** has a much longer statement than that of **Chrys**.

(b) THE WORK OF CREATION.

Almost all liturgies naturally thank God for the creation. There is no mention of it in **Sarap**, except that the Son is made known to created nature; **Ap-Tr** only 'by whom thou hast made all things'. But it often enters only in praising God as the Creator. In **Ap-Const** there is a detailed account, mentioning the heavenly bodies, the elements, land and sea, animals and plants, rivers and mountains, the seasons, and, last of all, man. The following is that of **Copt-Cyr**:

Thou art he that made the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth and all things therein, the seas, the rivers, the fountains, the lakes, and all things that are therein. Thou art he that 'made man after thine own image and after thy likeness'.

The narrative of the creation often comes after the *Sanctus*. Thus **Copt-Greg**, in which also it is in the first person, 'Thou didst create me . . . thou didst send to me the prophets' and so on.

(c) THE WORK OF REDEMPTION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

And when he transgressed thy command and fell away, thou didst not disregard him, nor forsake him, O good one, but didst discipline him as a merciful Father, didst call him by the Law, didst educate him by the Prophets.

Jas (after *Sanctus*). Once again **Ap-Const** goes into great detail, mentioning Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Lot, Abraham, Melchizedek, Job, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses and Aaron, and Joshua. This feature is, however, often wanting. It occurs briefly in **Chrys**, **Arm**, **Nest**, **Mk**. In

Bas and Alex-Greg, Jas, and Syr-Jac it follows the *Sanctus*, so that the account of the Redemption is uninterrupted.

Baumstark sees in the preceding portion of the *Anaphora* the influence of the Jewish morning prayers, the *Joser*, which introduces the *Shema*. 'It blesses God as Creator, especially of the sun and light; it enumerates rather prolixly the celestial armies, and puts in their mouth the passage from Isaiah (*Sanctus*).' This type of prayer, he thinks, echoes the cult of the post-exilic temple, and is also seen in *Ap-Const*, and some *Contestationes* and *Illationes* of the *Gall* and *Moz* rites. He also draws attention to a similar type, and the use of the *Sanctus*, in Clement of Rome's Epistle to the Corinthians.¹

THE ANGELIC SONG (*Sanctus*)—THE PREFACE

Almost all liturgies incorporate in the Great Thanksgiving the Angelic Song heard in the Temple by Isaiah. It follows the praise of God for Himself, for His creation, and His forbearance with man. From the general trend of the longer thanksgivings, like that of *Ap-Const*, one would suppose that, when the account of God's works of mercy in the Old Testament reached Isaiah, it was then interrupted by this act of praise. There is, however, no evidence to show that this was the cause of the insertion, though there are a number of ways in which the *Sanctus* is introduced.

The earliest-known *Anaphora* of the normal type, *Ap-Tr* (c. 225), does not contain the *Sanctus*, but Clement of Rome (c. 95) may be referring to its liturgical use when he says:

Let us ourselves then, being gathered together in concord with intentness of heart, cry unto him as from one mouth earnestly, that we may be partakers of his great and glorious promises.

¹ *Ivénikon*, xi (May-June, 1934), 145.

This follows the quotation of Is. vi. 3. Tertullian, referring to the *Tersanctus* of Rev. iv. 8, says, 'In like manner therefore we also, looking to be angels, if we so deserve, even from hence learn that heavenly address to God, the office also of future glory.'¹ This seems to be the liturgical *Sanctus*. In the fourth century Athanasius alludes to it as being used in all the churches of East and West in his time, and his words recall those of Sarap and Mk.² It is found in **Ap-Const** in Antioch: Cyril of Jerusalem in Jerusalem, and **Sarap** in Egypt, and Gregory Nyssen.³ *Liber Pontificalis* says of Sixtus I (c. 120) 'He ordered that "infra canonem" the hymn "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabahot", be sung by the people, the priest beginning'. But this is not reliable. Cabrol and Cagin do not consider the *Sanctus* original, and it is not in **Ap-Tr**. There is no *Sanctus* in **Eth** (**Epiph** and 318), but it may be implied.

It must, however, be early in the West, for the Septuagint and Vulgate both have: 'The earth is full of thy glory', whereas both Eastern and Western liturgies have 'Heaven and earth', &c.

The following are the principal ways in which the *Sanctus* is introduced:

(1) The praise of God passes on to mention the songs of praise sung by the Angelic Choirs. The Creation is mentioned, but incidentally in praise of God, and not as a narrative:

We bless and sanctify the one majesty of the Holy Trinity, consubstantial and adorable in the three persons of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; not indeed that thy majesty requires our praise, nor that thou hast need of our thanksgiving. For those that praise thee are numberless; high Authorities, infinite clustering Cherubim, &c.

¹ *De oration.* 3.

² *De Trin. et Spir.* s. 16.

³ *De Bapt.; in Christi resurr.* 3.

Syr-Chrys; so Jas, Syr-Jac, Nest,¹ Copt-Bas-Greg, Alex-Bas.

(2) The narrative of the Creation and the Redemption leads in various ways to the Angels. Cyril of Jerusalem may possibly be commenting on a liturgy which had Isaiah as a link for he mentions that prophet, and the vision of the Seraphim, and then says: 'For because of this we say the divine song (*θεολογία*) of the Seraphim which has been handed down to us, that we may be partakers in the hymnody with the hosts above.' **Ap-Const** abruptly ends his history at Joshua, and then: 'For all these things give glory to thee. The innumerable hosts of Angels,' &c. **Syr-Severus** (West Syrian) connects thus:

Who didst make man from that which is visible and invisible with capacity for every excellence and for the divine likeness . . . that in all thy works we might marvel at thee, the acknowledged Creator, and with profound silence honour thee. For companies of Angels, &c.

Copt-Bas has five variable Prefaces sung by the people of which this is one: 'Rejoice, O thou heaven; shout aloud, O earth; the Cherubim have spread their wings. They cry aloud three times according to the type of the Trinity.'

(3) The account of the Incarnation leads to the Sanctus. **Bas** makes it spring from the mention of the gift of the Holy Spirit:

Jesus Christ . . . by whom the Holy Spirit was manifested . . . by whom every creature, reasonable and intelligent, is enabled to do thee service, and ascribe

¹ Ratcliff (*J.T.S.* Oct. 1929), on the ground of want of connexion with preceding clauses, thinks it is not original in this rite; but in all it seems intrusive.

unto thee the everlasting Doxology ; for all things are thy servants. For Angels, &c.

Arm has, 'He became man, and granted us to join the spiritual choirs,' &c.

(4) From reference to the Eucharist itself:

To receive the liturgy at our hands, though the angels stand before thee, &c.

So Chrys.

(5) In Egypt, but not in Copt-Bas, the Intercession comes between *Sursum corda* and *Sanctus*, and the connexion is broken, but *Sanctus* still links up with the Thanksgiving and not with the Intercession, showing that the Intercession was interpolated.

And for these and for all, rest their souls and be propitious, thou who sentest thy Son . . . he was made flesh, his birth was revealed of the Holy Ghost. Unto thee, before whom stand, &c.

So Eth ; Mk, Copt, and Sarapion are more abrupt: 'For thou art he that is above all rule and authority, &c. Beside thee stand thousands and thousands, &c.'

THE WESTERN PREFACE

The variety of Eastern forms shows that improvisation at this part of the liturgy continued to a late date. Duchesne thinks that this was also the case in the West till the sixth century.¹ Here, however, it found scope in the formation of alternative 'Prefaces' for different occasions, a plan which enabled every theological mystery to be duly commemorated without an inordinately long

¹ *Christian Worship*, 179.

thanksgiving. At first the Prefaces were very numerous, probably one for each Mass, but they were reduced by the time of Hadrian's Sacramentary to but a few (ten, but manuscripts differ). There are now twelve. *Liber Pontificalis* says that Gelasius (492-6) composed sacramentorum praeafationes et orationes cauto sermone'. The last two words well characterize the Roman prefaces compared with the **Gall** and **Moz**. The former of these was called *Contestatio*, or less frequently *Immolatio*; the latter *Illatio*. It is Isidore's '*quinta oratio*', and apparently includes with him the *Post Sanctus*. **Amb** has 'Preface'; there is one for each Mass. These are more Roman in type than are those of **Gall**, but many of them are in **Gel**. It has been suggested that *Immolatio* is a corruption of *Illatio*, which means much the same as *Anaphora*, and that it was originally the Roman term. It occurs in **Greg** for the Exaltation of the Cross, but otherwise is unknown in Roman books. A good example of the **Gall** preface is to be found in the Roman Missal at the Blessing of the Paschal Candle on Easter Eve.

The following is the **Amb** Preface for the Epiphany:

For it is truly meet and right, proper and healthful, . . .
 Who in a voice of thunder from the heavens, didst manifest thyself to us over Jordan's bed, that thou mightest point out the heavenly Saviour, and show thyself to be the Father of the eternal light; thou didst open the heavens, thou didst bless the air, thou didst cleanse the water; and by thy Holy Spirit in the likeness of a dove thou didst proclaim thine only Son. To-day the waters receive thy blessing and take away our curse, so as to exhibit to believers the cleansing of all sins, and to make them sons of God by adoption unto life eternal. For they whom a carnal birth brought forth into life in this world, they whom death had seized through their transgression;

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these eternal life hath regained and called back to the glory of the kingdom of heaven ; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom the angels praise thy majesty, &c.

When there is no Proper Preface the very brief Roman Thanksgiving passes to the heavenly worship thus: 'through Christ our Lord, through whom the Angels praise thy majesty, &c.'

THE SANCTUS

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.

Heaven and earth are full of thy glory.

Hosanna in the highest

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the highest.

It will be convenient to consider the *Sanctus* proper, and the *Benedictus*, separately.

The *Sanctus* differs from the LXX and Vg. in inserting the words, 'Heaven and'. The unanimity with which all the liturgies do this is remarkable, and argues a very early date for the form. Cyril of Jerusalem only mentions the first line. St. Chrysostom calls it δ τρισάγιος ὕμνος and δ ὕμνος τῶν ἄνω,¹ and testifies to both phrases, as does St. John Damascene². Variants exist in the second line. **Egypt** (not **Sarap**, but he has just after 'thy excellent glory') add *ἀγίας* before *δόξης*, and **Syr-Jac** has 'the glory and honour of thy majesty'. **Nest** expands this.

The *Hosanna* comes from Ps. cxviii. 25, 'Give victory now, O Lord; O Lord, send us now prosperity; blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' In our Lord's time the Hebrew הוֹשִׁיעָה-נָּא (Give victory now) had become 'Hosanna'. The words with which the crowds

¹ *In illud Vidi Dominum*, i. 1; *In Col.* ix. 2.

² *De Trisagio*, 2.

greeted our Lord on Palm Sunday were, according to St. Matthew, 'Hosanna to the Son of David; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.' The **Angl** Prayer Book renders 'Hosanna in the Highest' by 'Glory be to thee, O Lord most high'. The 1927-8 revision, restoring the *Benedictus*, added a second *Hosanna* in its usual form. In **Rome** it is late, for it is not in *Ordo I*, nor in **Franc**, nor in some manuscripts of **Greg**.

The *Benedictus* and *Hosanna* are not in **Ap-Const** and **Egypt**. **Syr** (incl. **Nest**) say 'he that came and cometh'; **Nest** adds to the first *Hosanna*, 'Hosanna to the Son of David'. **Ap-Const** has instead a *Benedictus* of this form: *εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, but has the usual *Hosanna* at the *Sancta sanctis*, where this phrase occurs again. **Stowe** adds: 'Blessed is he that comes from heaven to live on earth, and became man, that he might take away the sins of the flesh; he became a victim that he might by his passion give eternal life to those that believe.' In **York**, on Feasts of our Lady, 'Mariae filius' was inserted after the word 'benedictus'. At **Hereford** after the *Sanctus* the priest said, 'We adore thee, O Christ, and bless thee, for by thy holy Cross thou hast redeemed the world. Have mercy upon us, thou that hast suffered for us.'

There are several ways in which the Great Thanksgiving is resumed after the *Sanctus*.

(1) Beginning with the angels who sang the song:

We also with these blessed powers, O Master, lover of men, cry aloud and say, Holy art thou . . . who didst so love the world, &c.

Syr-Chrys; similarly **Byz** and **Nest**.

(2) Taking up the word 'Holy':

Thou art indeed holy . . . holy also is thine only-begotten Son, &c.

Ap-Const, Jas, Syr-Jac, Nest (Western), Arm, Copt-Bas-Greg, Eth-Jo-Chrys, Alex-Bas, and many Gall and Moz.

(3) Taking up 'full':

Full in very truth is the heaven and earth of thy holy glory, through the manifestation of our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ; fill also, O God, this sacrifice with the blessing that is from thee, by the descent upon it of thine all-holy Spirit.

Mk. Similarly Sarap, Copt-Cyr, Eth. Deir-B has: 'Fill us with thy glory which is with thee (*παρὰ σοί* instead of *παρὰ σοῦ* as above) and deign to send thy Holy Spirit.'

(4) From the *Benedictus*:

Blessed is he that came from heaven to dwell on earth; he became man, &c.

Stowe, Moz, and Gall, in their variable *Post Sanctus* prayers, often begin 'Vere sanctus, vere benedictus' as, e.g., 'Truly holy, truly blessed is our Lord, Jesus Christ thy Son, who, though he was Lord of majesty, came down from heaven,' &c. W. C. Bishop suggests that this is the primitive Roman form.¹ It is used on Easter Eve in Amb.

(5) Abruptly, as in the Roman Canon, *Te igitur*; this is, however, not original.

THE THANKSGIVING (RESUMED)

(d) THE INCARNATION.

In some form or other there is an account of the Incarnation in Syrr, Nest, Byz, Arm, Eth, and Ap-Tr. The Egypt rites, after the interesting passage quoted above (c), go straight to the Institution. Sometimes this narrative precedes the *Sanctus*; sometimes the latter part of it, dealing

¹ C.Q.R. 1908, p. 398.

with the events which followed the Passion, come after the Institution and double the *Anamnesis*. The following is from **Arm**:

For having been made man truly and not in semblance, and become incarnate by union without confusion from the Mother of God, holy Virgin Mary, he journeyed through life with all the passions of human life without sin, and of his own free will came to the Cross, whereby he gave life to the world, and wrought salvation for us.

Ap-Const continues its fullness of treatment and proceeds as far as the heavenly session, and then returns with the words 'Remembering therefore what he suffered for us', thus anticipating the *Anamnesis*. **Bas** has a similar account. **Syr-Chrys** ends with 'He gave us a pledge of adoption, by which we boldly call thee Our Father'.

There is no version more beautiful, simple, or dignified than **Angl**, which has, however, in the 1662 form, no link with the *Sanctus*. That of the 1927-8 book rectifies this; the link in this case is the *Hosanna*.

All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son, Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death until his coming again; who in the same night, &c.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE SACRAMENT

All but **Nest** have an account of the Institution, and that liturgy may at one time have also had it, but Cyril of Jerusalem mentions neither Institution, *Anamnesis*, nor Oblation.

In the same night that he was betrayed,

So all the **East** with 1 Cor, and, in the **West**, **Ap-Tr**, **Moz**, and **Angl**. **Moz's** name for the following *Post pridie* shows that at some time it, too, had the Western form. Many either add or substitute 'or rather surrendered (betrayed) himself'; so **Jas**, **Egypt** (not **Sarap**, **Deir-B**), **Ap-Tr**, **Test-D**, **Byz**. **Ap-Tr** omits 'in the same night', and adds 'to his voluntary passion'; **Test-D** and **Eth** also add this. Some add 'for the life of the world' (Jo. vi. 51) and similar phrases. **Arm**, 'He came to the Cross . . . then taking bread'. **Alex-Bas** and **Copt-Bas**, 'For when he was determined to give himself up to death for the life of the world', and **Jas** and **Syr-Jac** similarly, followed by 'In the same night,' &c.

Rome, with **Cyprian**, **Amb**, **Gall**, and **De Sacramentis** have instead 'The day before he suffered'—(*qui pridie quam pateretur*). There are some peculiar forms in the **Eth Anaphoras**; **Our Lady**, after 'delivered his soul up to death', gives an account of his discourse and of the disciples; **Epiph**, 'In that night, on the eve of the fifth feast, when the sixth feast was dawning, when he was resting in the house of Lazarus his friend, he took,' &c.; several have no note of time. **Ap-Tr** gives the purpose of the sacrifice at some length, and **Test-D** expands still further.

Copt-Greg addresses this to the Son, 'In the night in which thou didst will to be betrayed'.

He took bread

Almost universal. **Eth-Greg Arm**, 'This sacrifice which thou didst give to thy disciples'. **Eth-Epiph**, 'unleavened wheaten bread'.

In his holy pure and spotless hands

With the omission or addition of adjectives this is almost universal; the phrase ἐπὶ τῶν ἀχράντων χειρῶν is used by **Cyril** of **Jerusalem** of the piercing of the nails. Not in **Ap-Tr**,

Test-D (Syr. vers.), Sarap, Eth-var, Amb, Moz, Deir-B, Angl. The Roman form is 'in sanctas et venerabiles manus suas'; De Sacr, 'in sanctis manibus suis'. Eth-Greg, 'his hands which were pierced with the nails, and with which our father Adam was moulded, immaculate,' &c.

And looking up into heaven (Mt. xiv. 19, 'looking up into heaven he blessed and brake'—feeding the five thousand.)

This is found in Ap-Const, Jas, Egypt, Syr-Chrys, De Sacr (*respexit in caelum ad te*), Rome (*elevatis oculis in caelum*). Not in Sarap, Ap-Tr, Test-D, Byz, Syr-Jac (but Severus 'lifting up the hands'), Arm, Moz, Deir-B. 'Showing it', Bas, Syr-Jac, which Jas adds; so also Eutychius.¹

To thee, his God and Father,

So Ap-Const, Jas, Syr-Jac, Egypt, Bas, De Sacr (*sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus*), Rome (*deum patrem suum omnipotentem*). Eth-Our Lady 'and interceded for his disciples with his Father, &c.', Angl. Ap-Tr, 'to thee' with 'giving thanks'. Not in Sarap, Narsai, Moz.

He gave thanks (Lk. xxii. 19, 1 Cor. xi. 24)

Not in Sarap, Ap-Const, Test-D (but is in MS. Eth. 795).

He blessed (Mk. xiv. 22, Mt. xxvi. 26)

He hallowed

Syr-Jac, Mk, Copt, Byz have all three verbs; Jas omits the second; Arm, De Sacr, Eth, Rom, Moz, Deir-B, Chrys-Barb omit the last (Moz has only 'blessed'); Ap-Tr, Angl have only the first. Eth-Our Lady, 'He interceded for his mother, he blessed'; Eth-Serug, 'Thou tookest the bread in thy holy hands, that thou mightest give to thy pure disciples; thou that didst bless, bless now this bread; thou

¹ De pasch. 2.

that didst break, break now this bread.' Altogether absent in **Ap-Const**, **Ap-Tr** (**Syr** and **Eth** 793; 795 has first two).

He broke it and gave it to his disciples.

Everywhere. Various adjectives qualify 'disciples'; 'holy' **Jas**, **Mk**, **Copt**, **Byz**, **Arm** ('chosen and holy'). 'Apostles' is added by **De Sacr**, **Syr-Jac**, **Jas**, **Mk**, **Copt**, **Deir-B**, **Byz**. **Arm** also adds 'sitting at meat with him'. **Ap-Tr** omits 'broke it'; **Test-D** omits the latter part. **De Sacr**, 'fractumque apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit'; **Rome**, 'fregit deditque discipulis suis'.

Here **Copt**, **Eth**, **Angl** break the bread.

Saying, Take, eat, this is my body (τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου) as Gospels.

1 Cor. τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα. So the **East**; also **Ap-Tr**, **Moz**, and **Angl**. **St. Mark** has 'Take, this is my body'; **Luke**, 'This is my body', and so **1 Cor.** xi. 24. **De Sacr**, 'accipite et edite ex hoc omnes'; **Rome**, 'accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes', so **Deir-B** (**Mt** in **Vg.** is 'accipite et comedite'; **1 Cor.** has in **Sixtine** and **Clementine** editions, 'accipite et manducate' without 'ex hoc omnes', which comes from **Mt-Mk** of the chalice, and thus **Moz**). **Copt**, **Eth-Jo** also have 'all of this'. **Cyril of Jerusalem**, with **Jas** and **Bas**, have **Mt's** form; **Mk**, **Chrys (Barb)** that of **1 Cor.**, but the modern **Byz** the former. **Ap-Const**, 'This is the mystery of the new covenant, take of it'. All **Eth** have 'This bread is my body'. **Syr-Chrys** and **Narsai**, 'This is truly my body'. **Eth-Chrys-Jo**, 'the food of righteousness indeed; whoso eateth of it shall not die'. **Eth-Ath** adds 'from which there is no separation'.

Which is broken for you.

1 Cor. 'τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν'; 'broken' is a 'Western and Syrian' reading. **Lk** has an interpolation 'τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν

διδόμενον', and 1 Cor. x. 16 speaks of 'the bread which we break'. Most of the **Eastern** rites have 'broken', also **Ap-Tr**, **Test-D**, **De Sacr** (*quod pro multis confringetur*), and **Ap-Const** (*θρυσπτόμενον*), **St. John Damascene** and **Sarap**. **Chrys-Barb** follows 1 Cor.

Moz and **Deir-B** have 'given' (*tradetur, δίδόμενον*), from Cor. (Vg.) and Lk. respectively, and **Angl** adopts this. **Arm**, 'distributed'. **Syrr**, **Egypt**, 'broken and given'. **Syrr**, **Copt**, and **Arm** also add 'for many'. The clause is not in **Rome**, **Narsai**, and some **Eth**, with **Ap-Tr**, **Test-D**.

For the forgiveness of sins.

Almost all the **East**, including **Ap-Const**. It is taken from the consecration of the cup. Not in **Ap-Tr**, **Chrys-Barb**. **Syr-Jac**, **Test-D** (**Eth**) add 'and for eternal life', and **Moz** has 'as often as ye eat it'. **Copt**, **Moz**, **Test-D** add 'do this in remembrance of me', following the Lucan interpolation. There are a number of variants in **Eth**. **Test-D** adds further 'When ye do this ye make my resurrection'; **Moz**, 'quotiescumque manducaveritis, hoc facite in meam commemorationem'.

Amen.

Jas, **Syr-Jac**, **Mk**, **Copt-Bas-Greg**, **Byz** (not **Bas-Barb**), **Arm**, **Moz**. Many Eastern rites have throughout acclamations like 'We believe' and 'Amen'.

Between the account of the breaking of the bread and the blessing of the cup **Sarap** interpolates the following:

Wherefore we also, making the likeness of the death, have offered the bread, and beseech thee through this sacrifice be reconciled to all of us, and be merciful, O God of truth: and as this bread has been scattered on the top of the mountains, and when gathered together, came to be one, so also gather thy Holy Church, &c. (See pp. 6, 10.)

Likewise after supper

So most liturgies, but **Ap-Tr**, **Test-D**, **Ap-Const**, **Eth**, **Bas**, **Arm**, 'likewise the cup' only. **De Sacr**, 'similiter etiam calicem postquam coenatum est pridie quam pateretur accepit, respexit in caelum ad te, sancte pater, omnipotens aeterne deus'; **Rom**, 'simili modo postquam (**Gel** posteaquam) coenatum est'; **Biasc** adds 'elevavit oculos,' &c.

He took the cup

Most liturgies with Cyprian. **Rome**, 'accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem', and adds 'in sanctas et venerabiles manus suas'; **Biasc** omits 'hunc praeclarum' and the latter clause.

Bas, 'cup of the fruit of the vine' (Mt. xxvi. 29); so Euty chius. **Ap-Const**, **Test-D**, **Syrr**, **Mk**, **Copt**, **Eth-Epiph-Diosc**, **Bas**, and Euty chius, 'he mingled it (with wine and water)'. **Jas**, **Mk**, **Eth-Our Lady**, **De Sacr**, **Amb** repeat 'looking up into heaven', and **Jas**, **Mk**, **De Sacr**, **Amb** (**Biasc**) '(and showing it) to thee,' &c., from the consecration of the bread. **Eth-Greg**, 'the water of life with wine'.

He gave thanks and blessed

Not in **Sarap**, **Ap-Tr**, **Test-D**, **Eth-Our Lady**, **Chrys**, **Moz**, **Angl**, but is attested by Cyprian. **Jas** and **Mk**, 'being filled with the Holy Ghost'. **Alex-Bas** and **Copt** add 'he tasted', and **Arm** 'drank'.

And gave to his disciples

Not in **Ap-Tr**, **Chrys**, **Eth-Our Lady-Jo**, **Moz**. (Mt and Mk have 'to them'; Lk and 1 Cor absent). Some add 'and apostles' as above. **Arm** adds 'sitting at meat with him'. **Sarap**, 'said to his own disciples'.

Saying, Drink ye all of this. (Mt only; Mk relates the fact.)

Euty chius, Syr-Jac, Alex-Bas, Copt, Eth, Deir-B, Sarap, De Sacr, Rome, Amb prefix 'Take and' as Luke. Eth, 'drink this cup'; Sarap, Eth omit 'all of this'. Ap-Tr, Test-D, Moz omit altogether.

For this is my blood (Mt and Mk.)

East and Ap-Tr, and De Sacr, 'hic est enim sanguis meus'. Rome, 'hic est enim calix sanguinis mei', so Amb. Eth, 'this cup is my blood'. Sarap, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood' as in the Lucan interpolation. Moz, 'Hic est calix novi testamenti in meo sanguine'. Test-D 'He gave for a type of his blood'.

Of the new covenant (Mt, Mk, 'covenant' only: 1 Cor, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood'.)

Not in Ap-Tr, Test-D, Eth, Ap-Const, Bas-Barb, De Sacr. For Sarap, &c., see last note. Rome, 'novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei'. Eth-Jo, 'It is a wondrous sign to all who worship him, and a law of judgment to them that crucified him'; Eth-Chrys similar.

Which is shed for you and for many. (Mt omit, 'for you and'.)

Copt, Eth, Sarap, Ap-Tr omit 'and for many'; Ap-Const omits 'for you'. Jas, Syr-Chrys, Syr-Jac, Mk, Copt, 'shed and given'; Eth-Our Lady, 'which the spear caused to gush for you'. Rom, Moz, 'qui pro nobis et pro multis effundetur' (fut.) not in De Sacr.

For the forgiveness of sins (Mt.)

Not in Ap-Tr, Test-D, De Sacr. Syr-Jac adds 'for eternal life'; Syrr, Arm add Amen here. Roum, 'for the life of the world'. Rome, 'in remissionem peccatorum'.

Do this in remembrance of me. (1 Cor.)

Not in **Chrys, Arm** (but is referred to later), **Sarap. Ap-Tr, Test-D, Eth, Rome** prefix 'As often as ye do these things'; so **De Sacr**, adding 'toties commemorationem mei facietis, donec iterum adveniam'; **Rome**, 'in mei memoriam facietis'.

For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye shew forth my death till I come.

This is in most liturgies **East and West**, but is absent from **Ap-Tr, Test-D, Eth, Sarap, Chrys, Arm, Rome**, though **Cyprian** may imply it,¹ and apparently **De Sacr**. Sometimes it is combined with the last phrase, as in **De Sacr** above. **Jas, Syr-Jac, Bas, Alex-Bas, Mk, Deir-B, Copt** add 'ye confess my resurrection'; **Alex-Bas, Mk, Eth-Ath** also 'and ascension', which is the people's reply in **Copt-Greg**. **Arm** has a reference to the death of our Lord and the harrowing of hell. **Moz** further 'donec veniet in claritatem de coelis'. These variations may be looked upon as an anticipation of the *Anamnesis*, and in the West the *Anamnesis* is often expressed in these terms.

Amen.

So **Byz, Moz, Stowe, De Sacr**, not **Byz-Barb**.

THE *Anamnesis*

The portion of the *Anaphora* which follows the account of the Institution is known as the *Anamnesis* because it contains a memorial of the death and passion of our Lord. Strictly it should only be applied to the actual commemoration of the work of our Lord, but the term is generally made to include the offering of the sacred elements (the 'Oblation'), and thus to apply to all that normally lies between the Institution and the Invocation. Sometimes the whole of this portion is included in the Invocation

¹ *Ep.* xiii. 10.

(Brightman). Isidore calls it the '*conformatio sacramenti*'; it is his '*sexta oratio*'.

The *Anamnesis* quite naturally follows from the words of Institution, which generally end with our Lord's command, 'This do in remembrance of me', though sometimes with an allusion to St. Paul's statement that the Eucharist is the showing forth of the Lord's death. The duty of commemorating Him having thus been declared, the liturgy does not leave it to be gathered from the general drift of the rite, but specifically names the events which are intended to be commemorated. The central fact is that mentioned by St. Paul, the death; but the other mysteries also find place in the various rites. Its position may here also be due to the original form of the Thanksgiving, in which the whole work of redemption was narrated, the Institution naturally preceding the death, resurrection, and ascension. St. Cyprian says, 'We make mention of the passion . . . and the resurrection of the Lord in the morning',¹ and Justin, 'and we from that time always remind one another of these things'.²

In some liturgies the relation of these events is not given at an earlier point, but in others the work of redemption is continued to the end, and then the Institution is related, and the *Anamnesis* is of the nature of a summing-up.

The special mention of the Passion in the **Roman Canon** is attributed by *Liber Pontificalis* to Pope Alexander I (c. 120); 'hic passionem domini miscuit in praedicatione (or 'pre-catione') sacerdotum quando missae celebrantur'. Justin says: 'He was a type of the bread of the Eucharist, which he commanded us to offer for a memorial of the passion which he suffered for those who cleanse their souls from all wickedness.'³ Cyril of Alexandria has 'proclaiming the death after the flesh . . . and confessing his revival (*ἀναβίωσιν*)

¹ *Ep.* lxiii. 17 and 16.

² *Apol.* i. 67.

³ *Dial.* 41.

from the dead, and his assumption (*ἀνάληψιν*) into heaven, we celebrate the unbloody sacrifice in our Churches'.¹

The **Roman** *Anamnesis* (*Unde et memores*) follows the usual type, but **Gall** and **Moz** have, instead of a fixed *Anamnesis*, Oblation, and Invocation, a variable *Post secreta*, or *Post mysterium* (**Gall**), and *Post pridie* (**Moz**), which includes one or all of these. **Amb** has adopted the **Roman** form, but on Maundy Thursday it is replaced by one beginning, 'We do these things, we celebrate these things, O Lord, observing thy precepts,' &c.; the whole of the rest of the Canon, excepting the ending *Per quem*, being omitted.

Remembering therefore

taking up *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*. **Egypt** (not **Copt-Bas**, **Eth**) with Cyril of Alexandria instead of taking up *ἀνάμνησιν* develop the idea of *καταγγέλλετε* which lies nearer in the preceding words. The *Anamnesis* thus becomes a proclamation. The resurrection and ascension are 'confessed'. **Jas**, 'we sinners'; **Rome**, 'Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta'; **De Sacr**, 'Ergo memores' only. There is a longer introduction in **Nest**. **Sarap** only suggests an *Anamnesis* by using the word 'likeness' (of the death) in the Oblation.

Some **Syr** rites diverge considerably from the normal type, addressing the *Anamnesis* to the Son, and following the Oblation by a 'Deprecation'. **Nest** is unusual, 'rejoicing and praising, and exalting, and commemorating, and celebrating this . . . mystery of the passion,' &c. **Ap-Tr** throughout addresses the Father, but **Test-D** has the third person down to the consecration of the bread, and in the Syriac vers. also for the cup, but then changes to the second person and so continues for the *Anamnesis*; during the

¹ *Ep. ad Nest.* iii. 5, 72 c.

Oblation it addresses the Holy Trinity thus: (Syr) 'Eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father'; (Eth) 'Eternal Trinity, O Lord the Father of Jesus Christ'; in both an address to the Son returns again a little later on.

this precept of salvation, and all the things that have been done for us

Chrys. In the same place **Bas** has *σωτηρίων* as an adjective to *παθημάτων*. **Arm** adds 'saving mystery' after 'salvation', and attaches the last part to 'sufferings'. **Copt-Greg** puts 'descent upon earth' before 'sufferings'. **Angl** follows **Ap-Const**, 'according to his holy institution'.

His passion

πάθος is used in Gregory Nazianzen, John Damascene, **Ap-Const**; usually *παθήματα*. **Rome**, 'tam beati passionis'; **De-Sacr**, 'gloriosissimae ejus passionis'. **Egypt** (not **Copt-Bas**), with Clement of Alexandria, **Ap-Tr**, **Test-D**, **Eth**, **Sarap** ('making the likeness of the death'), **Deir-B**, **Syr-Jac** have 'death' only. John Damascene, **Ap-Const**, **Nest**, **Angl** (1927-8) both.

Jas, 'life-giving passion, the Cross of salvation, and the death, and the tomb'; **Copt-Greg**, 'the life-giving death and three-days burial'; **Chrys**, 'the Cross, the tomb'; **Arm**, 'the saving sufferings he endured for us, the life-giving crucifixion, the burial of three days'. **Eth-Chrys** has a long account of the sufferings: 'we declare the sufferings of him that suffereth not,' &c.

His resurrection

Simply **Ap-Tr**, **Test-D**, **Ap-Const**, **Eth**, **Nest**. 'Holy', **Copt-Cyr**, **Arm**; 'the resurrection on the third day' (*τριημέρου ἀναστάσεως*), **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Chrys**, **Mk**; and **Jas**, **Mk**, **De Sacr** add 'from the dead'; **Syr-Jac**, **Bas**, 'from the tomb'; **Mk**, 'blessed'; **Angl** (1927-8), 'mighty'. **Rome**, **De Sacr**, 'et ab inferis resurrectionis'. Not in **Sarap**.

The ascension into heaven

Not in **Ap-Tr**, **Test-D**, **Eth**, **Sarap**, **Nest**. The word is *ἐπάνοδος* in **Ap-Const**, **Alex-Bas**; *ἀνάληψις* in **Mk**, with Cyril of Alexandria; *ἀνάβασις* in **Chrys (Arm)**; *ἀνοδος* in **Jas, Bas**. **De Sacr** has 'et in caelum adscensionis'; **Rome**, 'sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis'; **Angl**, 'glorious ascension'.

The session on the right hand of the Father

This, expressed in various ways, is in **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Mk**, **Alex-Bas**, **Copt**, **Bas**, **Chrys**, **Arm**. Not in John Damascene, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory Nazianzen, **Ap-Tr**, **Test-D**, **Eth**, **Nest**, **De Sacr**, **Rome**, **Ap-Const**. The word used is generally *κάθεδρα*.

His coming again.

Ap-Const, **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Mk**, **Alex-Bas**, **Copt**, **Byz**, **Arm**. Words like *ἔνδοξος*, *φοβερὰ*, *φρικτήs* are added in most cases. 'To judge both the quick and the dead' added by **Ap-Const**, **Jas**; 'to judge the world in righteousness,' **Syr-Jac**, **Copt** (not **Bas**), and with 'living and dead' for 'world', **Mk**; 'and render to every man according to his works', **Ap-Const**, **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Mk**, **Copt-Cyr** (+ 'whether it be good or bad'). Not in **Ap-Tr**, **Eth**, **Nest**, **De Sacr**, **Rome**, John Damascene,¹ Cyril of Alexandria.²

THE OBLATION

This is the principal sentence to which the Anamnesis is a participial introduction; in **Ap-Tr** it is the principal sentence for the whole *Anaphora*. But it is evident that it is not now, at any rate in itself, the act of offering the Oblation to God. After recounting how our Lord instituted the Eucharist and commanded us to do what He had done, it goes on to say: 'Remembering this, we are offering (in **Egypt** 'have offered') thee these gifts.' The offering therefore does not attach to this moment, but may be in most

¹ *De imagin.* i. 8.

² *Ep. oecum. ad Nest.* ii.

rites either before or after. The words used of the things offered do not throw any light on which of these is the right interpretation. In some it is 'bread and cup', which seems to mean the actual elements; but the **Western** liturgies, which adopt this phrase, give it a more symbolic turn, 'holy bread' and 'chalice of eternal life', or more clearly, 'holy bread of eternal life' and 'chalice of everlasting salvation'. Others speak of it as a sacrifice, and use words such as 'pure, immaculate, bloodless, reasonable'. But they are all speaking of the Eucharist as a whole; they do not indicate whether the offering has already been made or not. The **Egyptian** form implies that it has; but it is 'thine own gift of thine own' that has been offered, which may refer to the Offertory. **Sarap**, who places the Oblation at the Institution before the bread and before the chalice, and repeats after the chalice, uses the perfect tense.

On the other hand, a prayer is yet to follow that the Holy Spirit may make this bread the holy bread. It would seem, therefore, that if there is an offering of the body of Christ (as distinct from the offering of the bread and wine), it is to be made later. **Nest** has an offering here, but speaks of it as 'this offering'. **Roman** writers explain that the *Quam oblationem* is an anticipation, and the same might be claimed for this Oblation in the Eastern rites; but it is more probable that the consecration is rather to be identified with the *Anaphora* as a whole, so that it may be said either that the bread and wine, or whatever else is implied by them, is offered.

We offer

In several liturgies there are interruptions at this point. In **Jas**, **Mk**, and **Copt** 'spare us, O Lord our God' or similar. The usual word is *προσφέρομεν*; but **Egypt** have *προεθήκαμεν*,

Sarap προσηνέγκαμεν, **Rome**, 'offerimus'. **Eth-Jo** has a long passage with mention of Abel, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Israel, Moses, the Apostles, Martyrs, &c. This has the form, 'receive at our hands'.

unto thee

+ 'the King and God', **Ap-Const**; +δέσποτα, **Jas**; 'before thy holy glory', **Copt-Cyr**; + 'according to his command', **Ap-Const**; 'praeclarae majestati tuae', **Rome**; 'Before thy divine majesty', **Angl**.

this bread and this cup

Ap-Tr, **Test-D**, **Eth**, **Ap-Const**. 'Reasonable and bloodless service', **Chrys**; 'fearful and bloodless sacrifice', **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**. **Bas** has 'setting forth the antitypes of the holy body and blood'. **Rome**, 'hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae'; **De Sacr**, 'hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitae aeternae'; **Angl**, 'the memorial which thou hast willed us to make'.

thine own of thine own

Justinian had the following inscription placed on the altar he erected in S. Sophia: 'O Christ, thy servants Justinian and Theodora offer thee thy gifts of thine own gifts.' Neale thinks he placed this phrase in the Liturgy. It is used in **Byz** and **Arm** as an *ecphonesis* after the *Anamnesis*, 'we offer thee thine own of thine own'. **Mk**, 'of thine own gifts'; **Copt**, 'thine own gift of thine own'; **Copt-Bas-Greg** add 'of all and for all and in all'. **Rome**, 'de tuis donis et datis'; not in **De Sacr**. **Angl**, 'with these thy holy gifts'. Irenaeus says, 'We offer to him that which is his own'.¹

giving thanks to thee because thou hast deemed us worthy to stand before thee and minister to thee.

¹ *Adv. haer.* iv. xviii. 5.

Before this **Syrr, Copt, Bas, Arm, Test-D** interpolate petitions for pardon. **Mk** inserts the same before the Oblation.

The thanksgiving is found in **Ap-Tr, Test-D, Eth, Ap-Const, Arm, and Angl** (without reference to the ministry). **Copt-Greg** is peculiar: 'Do thou, Lord, with thy voice alone change these things placed before thee . . . make this ministry to us full of mysteries; implant in us a recollection of thy holy ministry.'

THE INVOCATION OR *EPICLESIS*

This portion of the *Anaphora* has of recent years been the subject of more discussion than any other part. The **Eastern** liturgies contain at this point an Invocation of the Holy Spirit, while the Roman liturgy either never had an Invocation, or more probably lost it at some period of its history. This difference has been accentuated by the general assumption in the East that the Invocation is the form which effects the consecration, while in the West the Words of Institution are held to have the same effect. The question is not a vital one, inasmuch as the Eastern Church joins the words of our Lord with the Invocation and the blessing of the gifts as together forming the essential act in the liturgy, and the Roman Church, while declaring that 'the form of the Sacrament is the Words of the Saviour by which he accomplished this Sacrament', allows the **Uniat Churches** to use the *Epiclesis* after the Institution. The Roman dogma does not depend on the history of the rite, but on the magisterial authority of the Church. It is indeed chiefly Roman liturgists who have believed they can see in the Mass traces of an ancient *Epiclesis*. It is Anglican theologians, desiring to find support in history for one of two rival and insistent plans of reform, who need to be carefully on their guard against prejudice.

Neither the theological questions connected with the Invocation, important as they are, nor the interpretation of the words of the liturgy, concern us here; only the history of the texts. This history is, however, dependent to some extent on the development of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. In the earliest ages of the Church the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son had not been accurately thought out, and we cannot therefore expect the same precision of language as at a later date. It has been argued that the Invocation of the Holy Spirit is an innovation due to the desire to place the Third Person of the Holy Trinity in the liturgy, as sharing with the Father and the Son in the consecration of the elements, in order to assert His divinity. This view, however, seems to be refuted by a consideration of dates. So long as the attention of the Church was riveted on the controversies concerning Christology little thought could be given to the position of the Holy Spirit. The divinity of the Third Person depended on that of the Second, and could not be effectively used to establish Christological doctrines. Not till the Arian heresy had been finally disposed of do we find any considerable interest taken in this question, and only in 362 were the recently published views of Macedonius, denying the fullness of the Godhead to the Holy Spirit, condemned by the Council of Alexandria. But by this time the Invocation in the liturgy was well established, even if the evidence of Ap-Tr is to be altogether discarded.

In order to avoid too long an interruption in the liturgy, the evidences in connexion with the *Epiclesis* are collected in Appendix C. The main interest is the question whether there was ever an *Epiclesis* in the Roman Mass. The only really strong external evidence in its favour is that of Gelasius, but that is very difficult to explain away; there are

also several passages in the Mass which look suspiciously like fragments of an *Epiclesis*, and it seems certain that the Canon has been much dislocated. On the other hand, it is scarcely possible that an *Epiclesis* of the Eastern type was in the usual place in the Roman Canon after the fifth century, both on account of the belief of the consecratory effect of the words of Institution, and because the present sequence in this portion of the Canon is much the same as it was in *De Sacr.*

The most reasonable interpretation of the evidence seems to be that there was an Invocation of the Holy Spirit, but that during the fifth and early sixth centuries it was before the Institution, and not after; but see also p. 264 f.

It will suffice here to mention a few of the opinions which have been held on this subject. Fortescue says: 'It seems certain that one reason, perhaps the chief, for the rearrangement of our Canon was the omission (apparently for dogmatic reasons) of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost (*Epiclesis*).'¹ Bunsen considered that the *Supplices* was an attenuated *Epiclesis*.² E. Bishop thought that *Quam oblationem* was the *Epiclesis* and that *Supplices* was substituted for it. Buchwald saw in three pieces remnants of the Invocation, the *Te igitur*, *Supra quae*, and *Supplices*. On the other hand, Battifol maintains that there never was an *Epiclesis* in the Roman Mass, and several English scholars take the same view.³

Buchwald's reconstruction is interesting:

Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum
filium tuum, supplices rogamus ac petimus uti accepta

¹ *The Mass*, 139.

² *Ibid.* 140. A good account of the various views held.

³ *La Messe*, 270: 'L'idée de l'intervention de l'Esprit dans le miracle de la consécration est absolument en dehors de la perspective du canon romain.'

habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata, supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere et mittere digneris Spiritum Sanctum tuum, ut fiat panis corpus et vinum sanguis unigeniti tui et quotquot sacrosanctum Christi corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur.

We beseech thee

All **East**. **Copt-Cyr** has here a prayer called *ἐπίκλησις* of great length, asking for pardon and describing the work of the Holy Ghost.

to look propitiously upon these gifts lying before thee

Ap-Const and **Rome** agree closely here, but **Rome** goes on differently, while **Ap-Const** proceeds to the *Epiclesis*. The Roman *Supra quae* reads thus:

Upon which vouchsafe to look with a propitious and gracious countenance, and to accept them, as thou wast pleased to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel; and the sacrifice of our father Abraham, and that which Melchizedech thy high-priest offered unto thee, a holy sacrifice, a spotless victim.

We have seen that this is referred to by Isaac (372-8), in *Quaestiones* (p. 52).

and send down

East generally with **Ap-Tr** (not in **Test-D**). The word in **Ap-Const**, **Chrys**, **Deir-B**, is *κατάπεμψον*, and **Jas** has it in a repetition of the Invocation which occurs a little later; in Cyril of Jerusalem, **Jas**, and **Mk**, *ἐξαπόστειλον*. Some put it, 'may there come down', so **Nest**, **Bas**, **Alex-Bas**, **Copt-Bas**. 'May there rest upon', **Syr-Chrys**. **Mk** and **Copt-Cyr** add 'from thy holy height, from thy dwelling prepared, from thine infinite bosom' (+ 'from the throne of the kingdom of thy glory', **Copt-Cyr**). **Angl** has nothing corresponding.

thy Holy Spirit

Simply **Ap-Tr**, **Ap-Const**, **Nest**, **Chrys**, **Copt-Bas**, **Deir-B**. There is a description of the work of the Holy Spirit in **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**; another dealing with His nature in **Mk**, **Copt-Cyr**; 'coeternal and consubstantial', **Arm**. **Copt-Greg** says 'the grace of the Holy Spirit'; **Sarap**, 'thy holy Word' meaning God the Son, and later says, 'for we have invoked thee, the uncreated, through the only-begotten in the Holy Spirit'; **Eth** adds 'and power'; **Test-D** has only 'that they may be filled with the Holy Ghost'.

upon us

- So **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Copt**, **Byz**, **Arm**, **Alex-Bas**. 'Look upon us', **Mk**; not in **Ap-Const**, **Eth**, **Nest**. **Angl**, 'Vouchsafe to bless and sanctify both us and'.

and upon these gifts

Cyril of Jerusalem, **Syrr**, **Byz**, **Arm**, **Alex-Bas**, **Copt** add 'lying before thee'; so **Ap-Const** earlier. **Copt-Bas** 'here present'; '+upon this bread and this cup', **Mk**, **Copt-Cyr**, **Eth**; 'to sanctify and change these gifts set before thee', **Copt-Greg**; 'this offering of thy servants', **Nest**; 'the oblation of thy holy Church', **Ap-Tr**; τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα, **Deir-B**; 'on this sacrifice, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord', **Ap-Const**; 'these thy gifts of bread and wine', **Angl**. **Bas** adds 'Bless and sanctify them', similarly **Syr-Chrys**. **Copt-Bas**, 'and purify them and make them manifest as a sanctification of thy saints'; **Mk**, 'sanctify and complete them'.

that he may make this bread the body

There is a great variety of language at this point. The usual word in the East is *ποίη* or *ποιήση*; so **Cyril of Jerusalem**, **St. Chrysostom**, **Deir-B**; ἀποφήνη, **Ap-Const**. Some speak in addition of 'changing' the elements, so **Chrys**, **Copt-Greg-Cyr**, and **Cyril of Jerusalem**, 'whatsoever the Holy Spirit touches is sanctified and changed'. **Bas**, 'show

them to be', so St. Basil.¹ **Sarap**, 'body of the Word'. **Rome**, 'that it may become for us (*nobis fiat*) the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ'. **Eth**, 'may he make it the body and blood'. **Angl**, 'that they may be unto us,' &c.

and this cup the blood of thy Christ,

Various adjectives and phrases qualify this. **Chrys**, 'that which is in this cup'; **Copt**, 'blood of the New Covenant', so **Deir-B**; **Nest**, 'bless it and hallow it that it may be to us for the pardon of offences,' &c. **Sarap**, 'that the cup may become the blood of the truth'.

that they that partake thereof may obtain forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

So **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Copt-Greg**. All have some statement of the benefits gained by the Sacrament, but they differ greatly. **Ap-Tr**, 'that, joining them together thou wouldst grant it to all thy holy ones that partake for fulfilment with the Holy Spirit and for the confirmation of the faith in truth, that we may praise and glorify thee through thy Son, Jesus Christ', followed by **Eth**. **Test-D** puts this after the intercession. **Eth** adds, 'blessed be the name of the Lord, blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' &c.

There are two portions of the **Roman Mass** which must be placed here, as they at least have affinities with the Invocation.

Supplices te rogamus: We most humbly beseech thee, Almighty God, to command that these things be carried by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high before the sight of thy divine majesty, that so many as are partakers at the altar of the sacred body and blood of thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace, through, &c.

¹ *De Sp. sanct.* 66.

This, following the *Supra quae*, is in the place of the *Epiclesis*. It resembles a passage in the Egyptian rites in the Intercession, preceding the *Sanctus*, and also a number of passages in Offertory prayers in the East. These are collected in Appendix D. In *De Sacr* the first part of this precedes the central part of the *Supra quae*; the order is more natural and probably original. It has 'angels' instead of 'angel'.

Portion of the *Quam oblationem* has been given above under the Oblation, but the latter part looks like an Invocation; for convenience' sake the whole is printed here.

Quam oblationem. Which oblation do thou, O God, vouchsafe in all things to make blessed, consecrated, approved, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may become for us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved son our Lord Jesus Christ.

This immediately precedes the Institution.

THE BLESSING OF OILS, ETC.

In *Ap-Tr* there follows the blessing of oils, and a similar blessing of cheese and milk. Other objects seem sometimes to have been blessed here, but oil used in the unction of the sick was commonly consecrated during Mass. In the Roman Pontifical the blessing of oil comes at the end of the Canon on Good Friday, before 'Per quem haec omnia'. There is no resemblance in the prayer used to that of *Ap-Tr* except the phrase 'unde unxisti sacerdotes reges prophetas et martyres' (*Ap-Tr*, 'unde unxisti reges sacerdotes et prophetas'). *Test-D* also has a blessing of oils, but in different words from *Ap-Tr*.

THE GREAT INTERCESSION

The duty of interceding during the celebration of the Eucharist for all members of the Church, and also for the

establishment of the Kingdom of God in the world, would impress itself quite naturally upon the Church from the beginning. We find it mentioned in Justin Martyr: 'The brethren are gathered together in order to say common prayers for ourselves, for him that has been enlightened, and for all others everywhere.'¹ With him it precedes the *Anaphora*, and must therefore be identified with the Prayers of the Faithful. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of it as following the Invocation, mentioning the peace of the Church, the stability of the world, kings, soldiers and allies, the sick, the *καταπονούμενοι*, all needing help, the departed saints—patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs—and finally the holy fathers and bishops and others who have fallen asleep. There is no intercession in **Ap-Tr. Test-D** has the earliest known; it prays only for Christians. **Sarap** is similar. Justin and Tertullian, however, both assert that Christians were accustomed to pray for the Emperor. 'We are all in the habit of praying always for all emperors, that they may have a long life, a stable rule, a safe home, strong armies, a faithful senate, a righteous people, and a quiet world.' The probability is that such prayers were not inserted into the *Anaphora* until the Emperors were Christian, and the Church felt she was guiding the world.

Test-D has the Intercession before those phrases which are, in **Ap-Tr**, expanded into an Invocation. **Ap-Const, Syrr, Byz, Arm** have it after the Invocation; **Egypt** between *Sursum corda* and *Sanctus* (but **Sarap, Copt-Bas** after). **Nest** between the *Sanctus* and the Invocation; it is very slight, for the main Intercession is at the Diptychs before the *Sursum corda*. The petitions in the *Anaphora* were evidently inserted at a late date, about the tenth or eleventh century.

In the **West** the history is obscure. **Gall** had the Dip-

¹ *Apol.* i. lxxv.

tychs before the *Sursum corda*. In some manuscripts of **Gel**, as in other Sacramentaries, there is no Commemoration of the Departed (*Memento etiam*). In one Sacramentary (Gerbert's Triplex) it follows *Memento Domine*. A Rheinau MS. of **Gel** has a commemoration, also beginning *Memento etiam*, after the Commemoration of the Living. **Gall-Vet** has before the Canon a *Collectio post nomina*, of which the latter part is the ending of *Memento etiam*. **De Sacr** says: 'The earlier parts of the service are said by the priest, praises are offered to God, prayer is asked for the people, for kings, and for others; when it comes to the consecration of the venerable sacrament, he uses no longer his own language but that of Christ.' Probst and Fortescue think that these items refer to different parts of the Canon. If they are right, the Intercessions followed the *Sanctus* and preceded the Institution; but there is no prayer for kings in the Roman Canon, while there is one in the Good Friday prayers, which are a survival of the Prayers of the Faithful. In **De Sacr** the Institution is preceded by a similar passage to the *Quam oblationem*, but it begins 'Hanc oblationem', which suggests that there was no *Hanc igitur oblationem* just before, as in the Roman Canon. **De Sacr** therefore probably had the Intercession in the same place as **Gall**. I have also taken the view in the Introduction that Innocent's letter to Gubbio implies the same position both for the north of Italy and for Rome at that date.

It will only be possible to give the principal subjects included in the several liturgies, and mention some of the most interesting variants.

1. Remember, O Lord, thy Holy Catholic Apostolic Church from one end of the earth to the other, which thou hast purchased with thy precious blood, and give it peace.

Bas, which adds a petition for the permanence of the Church building (*οἶκος*). The peace is the dominating thought in **Egypt**, **Nest**, **Byz**, **Arm**; **Ap-Const** has 'to guard it unmoved and unbuffeted'; **Jas**, 'give it the gifts of thy Holy Spirit'; **Rome** (*Te igitur*), 'quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris'. This is not the most natural request (for the Church), and implies a date when persecutions were still possible. The Roman words are attributed by Agobard (d. 840) to Pope Pelagius (555-61),¹ but they are quoted by Vigilius, his predecessor.²

ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων, **Ap-Const**, **Mk**, **Copt**, **Bas**; κατὰ πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Nest**, **Bas** (in part); ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, **Chrys**; τῶν λαῶν καὶ . . . ποιμνίων, **Mk**; 'Bless all the people and . . . all the lands', **Copt**; 'toto orbe terrarum', **Rome**.

ἦν περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι, **Ap-Const**, **Bas**, **Copt-Bas**, **Eth**.

2. Remember, O Lord, our most pious and Christian King and the pious and Christian Queen, their whole palace and army.

Here also much prominence is given to peace in **Ap-Const**, **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Mk**, **Copt**, **Nest**. **Ap-Const** refers to 1 Tim. ii. 2, and **Chrys**, **Bas**, **Copt**, **Jas** quote it. A prayer that all barbarians delighting in war should be subdued is in **Bas**, **Jas**.

3. Remember, Lord, our holy fathers in the Church, the bishops who in all the world rightly divide the word of truth.

Ap-Const, **Jas**, **Syr-Jac**, **Chrys**, **Arm**. There is a prayer for the long life of the Patriarch in **Syr-Jac**, **Mk**, **Copt**. 'Una

¹ *De comparatione regiminis eccl. et politici*, ii.
Ep. ad Justinianum.

cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis, atque catholicae fidei cultoribus', Rome.

4. Remember, O Lord, me also thy humble, sinful, and unworthy servant, and blot out my sins as a loving God, and be present to us as we worship thy holy name.

The officiating priest is included in Ap-Const, Syrr, Mk, Copt, not Eth, Chrys, Arm, Rom. The deacon is also mentioned in Jas.

5. Remember, O Lord, the presbytery, the diaconate in Christ, and all the sacred order, and let none of us who surround thine holy altar come to shame.

Not in Jas, Rome.

6. Remember and make worthy, O Lord, all those who offer these oblations this day at thy holy altar, and those on behalf of whom each one has offered, or whom he has in mind, and those who are duly read out to thee.

In some form this is in Syrr, Copt, Eth, Bas, Arm. This is the Roman *Memento Domine*, which, following the *Te igitur*, with it forms the beginning of the Canon:

Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids N. & N. and all who assist, whose faith is known to thee and devotion assured, for whom we offer to thee, or who offer to thee, this sacrifice of praise for themselves or all theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of salvation and safety, and pay their vows to thee, the living and true God.

'Pro quibus tibi offerimus' is absent from Amalarius's Canon,¹ and its use was objected to by Bernold of Constance.²

¹ *Eclogae de officio missae*: P.L. cv. 1330.

² *Micrologus*, P.L. cli. 985.

7. Remember, O Lord, all thy people, and pour upon them the riches of thy mercy, giving to all what they need for salvation.

With little resemblance in wording this is in Syrr, Egypt, Bas.

8. Remember, O Lord, the sick and suffering, those in imprisonment and slavery, all exiles and travellers, those who are burdened with toils and griefs, and all sinners. Chiefly in Jas, Syrr, Byz, Egypt.

9. Remember, O Lord, the holy and royal city of Christ our God, and this our city, and every city and land, and those who dwell in them, their peace and safety.

Ap-Const, Jas, Syr-Jac, Mk.

10. Remember, O Lord, favourable winds, peaceful rainfall, good dews, abundance of fruits, and crown the year with thy goodness.

Jas, Syr, Mk.

11. The Commemoration of the Saints.

In Jas and Mk this begins with the Angelic Salutation to our Lady. There is great variety both in the names mentioned and in the forms used.

The Diptychs of the Departed have already been discussed, so far as concerns their character and position: we have now to consider their history and contents.

The commemoration of the departed in the liturgy cannot with certainty be traced back beyond the middle of the second century, but St. Cyprian refers to it more than once, e.g. 'The bishops who preceded us made the pious and salutary provision of decreeing that a brother at his death should not appoint any cleric an executor or guardian, and if he did so the sacrifice should not be celebrated

for his repose . . . nor should he be named in any prayer of the Church ('deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Ecclesia frequentetur').¹ Later on St. Augustine distinguishes between the departed: 'So we do not commemorate the martyrs in the same way as the others that rest in peace, by praying for them too; but instead we ask that they should pray for us, that we may follow in their steps.'²

In the East the earliest notice we have is contained in letters between Atticus of Constantinople and Cyril of Alexandria. After the condemnation of St. Chrysostom in 404 and his death in 407, his name was not placed on the Diptychs till popular indignation forced the hands of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople. The latter wrote to explain to Cyril, the bitter enemy of Chrysostom, excusing his action on the ground that not only bishops, but also lay people, were mentioned in the Diptychs: 'for there is a great difference between the case of the living and the dead, just as the books commemorating these two classes are separate and distinct.' Cyril's reply shows, however, that in the Diptychs of the Departed the bishops were kept apart from the clergy and laity. Later on the latter disappeared from the lists of the living, but among the departed they retained their place.³

In **Rome** the lists soon became stereotyped. The living were restricted to the unnamed worshippers 'qui tibi offerunt', and for all theirs—'suisque omnibus' as in the *Memento*. It is to this commemoration of the living that is added, in the *Communicantes*, the list of the Saints whose merits and prayers are pleaded as a ground for asking the help of God, 'quorum meritis precibusque concedas ut in omnibus protectionis tue muniamur auxilio'. This is duplicated in the *Nobis quoque*, which now follows the

¹ *Ep.* i. 2.

² *Serm.* lxxxiv. in *Johann.*

³ Connolly, *Liturg. Homilies of Narsai*, 102.

remembrance of the departed, but obviously does not belong to it, and asks for 'some part and fellowship with the Saints'.

The two lists are quite different. Leaving out the Apostles, the first has our Lady, five martyr bishops of Rome (Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, and Cornelius), and Cyprian, who is closely connected with Cornelius, the Roman deacon Laurence, and five Roman Saints (Chryso-gonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian). The second list begins with St. John, though the Apostles have just been mentioned; it may mean John the Baptist, who does not otherwise appear. Then St. Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, and a Pope not in the other list, Alexander I; a Roman priest and an exorcist who were martyred together, Marcellinus and Peter, and seven women martyrs, three Roman (Felicitas, Agnes, and Cecilia), one African (Perpetua), and two Sicilian (Agatha and Lucy), and one to whom a Roman Church was dedicated, St. Anastasia. The second list is obviously the later.

In the East the distinction between the departed Saints and those who have not been canonized is not so clearly made, but there generally is a distinction.

We offer moreover unto thee this our reasonable service for those who have departed this life in the faith, for our Fathers, the Patriarchs, Apostles, &c. . . . and for every righteous soul made perfect in the faith, especially, &c. . . . for the sake of whose prayers, O God, vouchsafe to look upon us, &c.

The Roman *Communicantes* is as follows:

Being in communion with, and venerating the memory of, first the glorious Mary . . . and of all thy Saints, by whose good deeds and prayers do thou grant that in all things we may be guarded by the help of thy protection, through, &c.

Nobis quoque reads thus:

To us also, thy sinful servants, hoping in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some lot and fellowship with the holy apostles and martyrs, with John, &c. . . . and all thy saints, into whose company we pray thee of thy mercy to admit us, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences.

The last sentences of *Hanc igitur* are of the same tenor. The *Communicantes* is variable, inserting for the great festivals a commemoration of the mystery of the day, after the word 'Communicantes'.

12. And remember all those who have fallen asleep in hope of the resurrection to eternal life, and give them rest where the light of thy countenance shines upon them.

The Roman form, *Memento etiam*, is :

Remember also, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids N & N who have gone before us with the sign of faith and sleep in the sleep of peace. To these, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, we pray thee grant a place of refreshment, light, and peace, through, &c.

THE BLESSING

Here there is a Blessing in the Eastern rites. In Byz, towards the end, the priest signs the body with the blood.

The mercies of our great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ shall be with you all.

And with thy Spirit.

Bas, Chrys, Arm, and Syr-Jac. It is preceded in Syrr by 'Peace to all' and response, and Egypt have this alone. Here also is the Fraction in Syr-Jac; while the priest breaks and signs the bread, the deacon recites a litany, declaring the mystery of the separation of the Lord's soul and

body at death, and their reunion at the resurrection, and then says a prayer offering the sacrifice for his own sins. There is a similar prayer in **Egypt**, called 'the Prayer of the Fraction', during the recitation of which the people say the Lord's Prayer. **Sarap** has a rubric, 'after the prayer comes the Fraction, and in the Fraction a prayer'; that which then follows is to the same purpose, a preparation for communion. There is a similar blessing after the Inclination in some rites, which may be the same, though **Syr-Jac** has both. The following is the form of **Jas**:

And the grace and mercy of the holy, consubstantial, uncreated, and worshipful Trinity shall be with you all.

And with thy spirit.

Jas, Syr-Jac, Nest. There is also a Benediction before communion in **Amb, Gall, Moz**; it is mentioned by Augustine.¹ Pope Zacharias wrote to St. Boniface disapproving of such blessings: 'For they do not do this in accordance with apostolic tradition, but out of vainglory.'² The form for priests was: 'Peace, faith, love, and fellowship (*communicatio*) of the body and blood of the Lord be with you all.' This is, however, related to the **Roman Pax Domini**; it was the Bishop's blessing, which formed so prominent a feature in the **Gall** and **Moz** rites (see p. 310). It consisted of several sentences with the response, 'Amen', and varied with the Mass. **Amb** still has the priest's blessing in an intermediate form, 'Peace and fellowship', &c.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LORD'S PRAYER

The Lord's Prayer would naturally be used frequently in the public services of the Church at all times, but there is little evidence for its use in early days in the liturgy.

¹ *Ep.* cxlix. 2; clxxix. 4; clxxv. 5.

² Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, 102.

Ap-Tr (Eth) has a bidding, 'Pray ye', where the Lord's Prayer usually comes, that may well imply it. Woolley thinks that it was used in early times after the communion, and that it was taken for granted in some documents where it is not mentioned, e.g. **Ap-Const.**¹ **Test-D** refers to it in a prayer for the communicants on receiving, but does not seem to suggest that the prayer was said. **De Sacr** had it after communion, **Gall** after the Fraction, which followed the Canon. The **Roman** practice is doubtful (see p. 66); Gregory put it where it is now, but whether he introduced it or altered its position is uncertain. It is in most **Eastern** rites. **Eth** has it in most manuscripts, but not **Tasfa** or **Mer-3** at this place. In the special *Anaphoras* it is only in **Eth-Chrys-Our Lord**. These two have Prayers of the Fraction also. It must therefore be a late introduction in **Eth**.

While the priest is saying the following prayer (**Byz**), the deacon recites a litany, repeating for the most part the subjects of the great Intercession.

Unto thee, O gracious Lord, we commend our whole life and hope, and pray, beseech, and implore thee to make us worthy to partake of thy heavenly and fearful mysteries of this sacred and spiritual table with a pure conscience for the remission of our sins, for the pardon of our transgressions, for the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven, and for confidence towards thee, and not for judgement and condemnation.

And grant, O Lord, that we may boldly and without condemnation dare to call upon thee, our heavenly Father, and say :

Bas's prayer (*ἡ μέση εὐχή*) asks for cleansing, union in

¹ *Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, 131.

Christ's body, and His indwelling, that all unworthiness may be removed, for a sure hope in the day of judgement, a share in the heavenly blessings', &c. Most rites ask for boldness, and the idea is implicit in Cyril of Jerusalem. **Syr-Jac** 'Prayer of our Father' is preceded by three Prayers of Fraction, accompanied by the Litany. **Jas** is longer; after referring to the angelic hosts and to the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the gifts, it asks for the sanctification of souls and bodies, 'that we may be made bold', &c. **Mk** has a similar structure, but differently expressed; the Lord's Prayer is included in the body of this prayer, and the people say it after the *ecphonesis*. **Copt** and **Eth** resemble this, but are longer. **Nest** has a penitential prayer, not making mention of the Holy Spirit as most do, though it mentions 'speaking in a new tongue with lips of fire', and, after the usual reference to boldness, it leads up to the prayer by 'Whensoever ye pray', &c. **Ap-Const** has a similar type of prayer, accompanied by a deacon's litany, but without the Lord's Prayer, or any allusion to it. From its diversity in form this prayer must be late, and it would seem that it has the same origin as the Prayer of Inclination, the Lord's Prayer having been added.

The Roman Preface is, 'Taught by the precepts of salvation, and guided by the divine teaching, we make bold to say'. **Amb**, which retains the Gallican position, has three; **Gall** and **Moz** were also variable; this is the *Ad orationem dominicam*, Isidore's *Oratio septima*.

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

In **De Sacr** the Lord's Prayer was used twice, once at the end of the Canon by the priest alone, and after communion by the people. St. Gregory in response to a complaint had the Lord's Prayer said by the people, but it dropped out again.

THE *Embolism* OF THE LORD'S PRAYER

It is a very widespread practice after the Lord's Prayer to expand the last clause into a prayer for protection against sin and other evils. Cyril of Jerusalem did not have it, for he says, 'After the end of the prayer thou sayest, Amen.' The *Embolism* usually takes up the words 'lead us not into temptation', but Rome 'deliver us from evil'.

Yea, Lord, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for thy great mercy knoweth that we are not able to bear it through our great weakness, but with the temptation make a way of escape, that we may be able to bear it, for thou hast given us power to tread upon serpents and scorpions and upon every kind of evil thing.

For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever.

This is **Mk. Jas** is similar down to 'weakness', and then prays for deliverance, 'for the sake of thy holy name, which is invoked upon our humility'; **Syr-Jac** is nearer **Mk. Copt** follows **Mk**, but alludes to the 'fiery darts of the enemy'. **Eth** has no proper introduction or *Embolism*, but the Doxology only. **Nest** and **Arm** are less like, but have the same idea. **Byz** has no *Embolism*; the *ecphonesis* is the Doxology as above with a Trinitarian ending. **Eth** has a prayer for the effectual reception of the mystery, and a curious reply by the people:

'The hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world stand before the Saviour of the world, and encompass the Saviour of the world, even the body and blood of the Saviour of the world. And let us come before the face of the Saviour of the world. In faith of him, give we thanks to Christ.'

Rome also has the *Embolism*, but in its own manner:

Deliver us we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils, past,

present, and future, and by the intercession of the blessed and glorious ever-Virgin Mary the Mother of God, with thy blessed apostles, Peter and Paul and Andrew, and all thy saints, mercifully grant peace in our days, in order that through the help of thy bountiful mercy we may be always delivered from sin and safe from all anxiety.

It is here that the bread is broken in the Roman rite. **Amb** has the same *Embolism* with variations. **De Sacr**, 'through our Lord Jesus Christ in whom and with whom there is to thee honour, praise, glory, majesty, and power with the Holy Spirit from all ages, &c.' **Biasca** has before the Lord's Prayer, 'to thee, the Father Almighty, from him and through him and in him is all honour, virtue, praise, glory, rule, perpetuity, and power in the unity of the Holy Spirit, through endless ages and ages', which appears in **Gel** and **Rom** as the ending of the Canon *Per quem*: 'Through him, and with him, and in him, is unto thee, God the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory, for ever and ever, Amen.'

The *Embolism* of **Gall**, but not **Moz**, was variable.

THE INCLINATION

Peace be to all.

And to thy spirit.

Deacon: Let us bow down our heads to the Lord.

Before thee, O Lord our God.

This introduction is found in **Syrr** (not **Ap-Const**), **Byz**, **Egypt**. **Copt** and **Eth** have the second pair in most *Anaphoras*. **Arm** for the second has, 'Let us worship God' with the usual response. **Gall** and **Moz** before the Benediction (see p. 274) 'humiliate vos benedictioni'.

To thee thy servants bow down their heads, awaiting the rich mercies that come from thee. Send them, O

Lord, and sanctify our souls and bodies and spirits, that they may be worthy to partake of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour by thy mercies, &c.

This is **Syrian** (not **Ap-Const**), but a similar form is found in all Eastern rites; **Bas** is very like this. In some the praise predominates at this point, and the idea expressed above appears in the Elevation or Fraction. In **Copt** and **Eth**, in addition to the Prayer of Inclination, there is also a Prayer of Absolution, based on St. Peter's possession of the keys, and asking that the faithful 'may be loosed by my mouth'. This is followed in **Eth** and **Copt-Bas** by a memorial of the living and the dead. **Arm** is addressed to the Holy Spirit: 'Keep thy people entire, and stamp upon their hearts the posture of their bodies, for the possession and inheritance of good things to come.' **Chrys-Barb** starts with praise, and then becomes an intercession for the needs of each; **Chrys** is nearer to **Bas** and **Jas**. **Greg** has its own form of prayer of the same type. **Angl** has a similar prayer, following a Confession and Absolution, and before the Prayer of Consecration.

THE ELEVATION

The Eastern liturgies do not as a rule give many directions on ceremonial, and there is in many of them no indication in the text that the elements are to be raised before the people; but the custom is very ancient and the formulas general. St. Basil says: 'Some one of the saints has left us in writing the words of the invocation at the exposition of the bread of the eucharist.'¹ **Ap-Tr** (**Eth**) does not mention an elevation of the oblates, but after the *Sancta sanctis* and its response says: 'And then they shall lift up their hands for glorifying, and the people shall come in for the salvation of their souls'; but this is not original.

¹ *De Sp. Sanct.* 27.

St. John Damascene says: 'At the elevation of the bread of the Eucharist we do not say *τῆς ἁγίας* or *τῆς κύριος* but *εἰς ἁγίος*, *εἰς κύριος*, &c.'¹ There is also an allusion to it in St. Gregory.² A relic of this observance is preserved in the Roman liturgy in 'Si quis non communicat det locum' in the ordination of an exorcist, and possibly a rudiment is to be seen in the words of the *Didache*, 'If any man is holy let him come; if any man is not let him repent, Maranatha', at the end of the consecration prayer. This elevation has no connexion with the Roman Elevation at the completion of the consecration, which seems to have been introduced to mark the point of consecration. The original ceremony was intended to warn receivers to make themselves worthy; the latter for purposes of adoration.

The Roman directions are: (a) after 'This is my body', to show it to the people, and before the words, 'This is the chalice', to elevate it a little, 'parum elevans'. This comes from the eleventh century, and is found in Sar, Bang, York. It is also mentioned by Durandus and others. A Canon of the Synod of Exeter (1287) explains it: 'The host is raised on high that it may be seen by the faithful congregation.'³

(b) At the end of the Canon to raise the chalice a little with the Host. This is mentioned in *Ordo I, Micrologus*,⁴ Amalarius,⁵ and others; it is more ancient than the other, but has been superseded by it in custom. Fortescue gives the directions as follows: at the first Elevation of the Host 'he lifts it straight up before him to such a height that it may be seen from behind, over his head', and similarly with the chalice. At the second 'he elevates the host and

¹ *De Trisagio*, 27.

² *Dialog.* ii.

³ Maskell, *Ancient Lit. of C. of E.* 138. See on the whole question, Cabrol, *D.A.C.L.* iv. 2666.

⁴ x, xxiii.

⁵ *De eccles. officiis*, iii. 26.

chalice together a little above the altar'.¹ The emphasis has thus been transferred from the original elevation to the more recent ceremony in the interests of the theory of consecration.

In the **Ruth** rite (19th cent.) the lavabo comes here.

O holy one, who dwellest in the holy places, sanctify us with the word of thy grace, and the descent of the Holy Spirit, for thou, Lord, didst say, 'Be ye holy, even as I also am holy'. O Lord our God, incomprehensible God and Word, being of one substance with the Father and the Holy Ghost, coeternal and inseparable, receive the pure hymn of the holy and bloodless sacrifices with the cherubim and seraphim and from me a sinner who cries and says :

Jas and **Mk**; **Byz** is less theological. All the prayers naturally speak of sanctification. In **Arm** the Host is here dipped in the chalice.

Give heed.

In **Mk** and **Jas** the prayer follows this and leads directly to the *Sancta sanctis*, but the people in **Mk** say a triple *Kyrie eleison*.

Holy things to the holy.

One holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father.

This is the form in Cyril of Jerusalem, **Ap-Const**, **Byz**, **Arm**, **Peter**, and **Jas** (which adds 'to whom be glory for ever'). **Syr-Jac**, **Egypt**, and **Nest** have a Trinitarian formula such as 'One holy Father, one holy Son, one Holy Spirit', so also Theodore of Mopsuestia, Narsai. **Syr-Jac** repeats this after the Elevation in the form, 'One holy Father be with us, &c.' **Copt** and **Eth** also use it at the *Prothesis*. **Ap-Const** adds,

¹ *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite*, 54, 55, 57.

'Blessed for ever' (and so **Syr-Jac**), and then the scriptural *Gloria in excelsis* with *Hosanna* and *Benedictus*. **Mk** has instead of 'to the glory, &c.' the words, 'in the unity of the Holy Spirit'. There is an *Anthem of Praise* in **Nest**. **Byz-Greg** says, 'The presanctified holy things, &c.'

The elevation is made before the prayer in **Jas**, and the Fraction after the prayer and before the *Sancta sanctis*. **Syr-Jac** has the elevation after 'one holy', the Fraction having been made before the Lord's Prayer. In **Copt** the Fraction has also been made before, and only the central portion of the bread is raised. In **Byz** the Elevation is made here; **Nest** has no manual acts here.

In the **Slav** liturgy of the twelfth century, after the *Sancta sanctis* the priests and deacons approached the celebrant and said, 'For many years, reverend father, your prayers, which are pure and holy before God; for many years, reverend father', to which he replied, 'May it be as long as you live'. This was deleted by **Nicon** (1655).

THE FRACTION

The breaking of the bread was so prominent a feature both in our Lord's last Supper, and in the repetition of it in the Eucharist, that in the earliest days the sacrament was known as 'the breaking of the bread'. This for the first two centuries was the most usual term for the Eucharist. The action of breaking the bread must therefore have been universal from the beginning.

At first the Fraction probably took place at the recitation of the Institution. This is suggested by the fact that most of the Eastern liturgies use the phrase, 'which is broken for you', although there is no first-class authority for their inclusion in our Lord's words. The time when the bread was broken is not indicated, but it gradually became separated from the Institution, if that was its place, by the

development of the *Anamnesis* and other forms. It began to be consciously a separate ceremony somewhere between the fourth and fifth centuries.

In the **West** the practice arose of accompanying the account of the actions of our Lord with appropriate gestures on the part of the priest, but these were dramatic, and did not include the Fraction, which would thereby have been duplicated. In some medieval Missals a special warning is given to ill-trained priests not to break at the Institution, as they might quite naturally do. For example, the **Sarum** Missal says, 'Here the host is not to be touched so as to break it, as some stupid people (*fatui*) do, and wrongly'.

It was 'after he had given thanks' that our Lord broke bread, and to make the Eucharist a true analogy the Fraction must be after the completion of the Canon or *Anaphora*, which is the 'giving of thanks'. **Angl** has, however, adopted the practice of breaking at the words of Institution, though in that case it is so near the end of the consecration prayer that it is insignificant. The 1927-8 form is more subject to criticism in this respect.

In **Roman Ordines** the Pope broke one of the two loaves offered by him and placed one-half on the altar that 'while the solemnities of the Mass were being performed the altar should not be without the Sacrifice upon it'. The rest of his loaf was taken to the Pope at his seat and broken for him by the deacon; the other loaves were broken by the bishops and priests present. A fragment consecrated at a previous Mass was also at this point placed in the chalice to symbolize the unity of all Masses.

In **Copt** and **Nest** the Fraction precedes the Lord's Prayer; in **Nest** there is a censuring. In most Eastern liturgies it is rather elaborate, and difficult to separate from other ceremonies connected with the sacred elements—the Consignation, Commixture, and distribution of the

portions of the bread, which in some cases are very numerous. In some liturgies there is a double or treble Fraction. In **Copt** and **Eth** the bread is broken at the recitation of the Institution, at the Fraction proper, and again at the elaborate subdivision before communion. The **Byz** is simple and is given here:

Deacon: Sir, dismember (*μέλισσον*) the holy bread.

Priest: The Lamb of God is dismembered and distributed, he that is dismembered yet not divided, who is always eaten yet never consumed, but sanctifies those who partake.

So saying he divides it into four, which he places in the form of a cross. This division into four became general about the tenth century, and shortly afterwards the communion of the priest and the faithful was elaborated. In the **Byz** of the ninth century the Fraction was made while the priest was saying the words *εἰς ἄγιος* of the Elevation, as in other rites. This Fraction is now so complicated in some countries that it is even said that it takes a priest some years to learn to do it properly! The Greeks place the portions in a square on the paten, the IC, which is to be placed in the chalice, at the top; the XP, the priest's, at the bottom, NI to the left, and KA to the right; the last two are for the laity. **Moz** broke the host into nine parts, which were placed in the form of a Cross, seven signifying the mysteries of our Lord's life (Incarnation, Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Passion, Death, and Resurrection), the remaining two, representing the heavenly mysteries, Glory and the Kingdom, being placed beside the Cross on the right. The portion 'Kingdom' is placed in the chalice. The **Celtic** rite was even more complicated.

Mk accompanies the Fraction with Ps. cl. 1^a, 'O praise God in his holiness', and a short prayer of blessing. This

also is within the 'Elevation', for it is followed by a repetition of εἰς πατῆρ ἅγιος, κτλ. It is accompanied by a litany of three petitions. **Arm** makes the Fraction just after the confession of faith (p. 287), and like **Chrys** before the πλήρωμα (in this case 'the fullness of the Holy Ghost'). **Nest** has the formula 'We draw nigh . . . we break, we sign the body and the blood, &c.' For **Eth** see Lord's Prayer, but the subordinate *Anaphoras* have prayers of various types. In **Rome** the Fraction is during the *Embolism* of the Lord's Prayer and before the 'Pax Domini', but before Gregory (590-604) it was at the end of the Canon, and before the Lord's Prayer. **Gall** and **Moz** also had the Fraction before the Lord's Prayer, but the *Commixtio* after. **Amb** has both the Fraction and *Commixtio* before the Lord's Prayer. There is also a variable *Confractorium*: that for the Epiphany is: 'This beginning of miracles did Jesus, &c.' (Jn. ii. 11).

Dom Cagin gives some interesting evidence of forms found in Italian manuscripts; e.g. 'Send out thine angel (or thy Holy Spirit): we break thy body and blood, do thou deign to bless, &c.' Cabrol seems to think these of Roman origin; if they are they are of special interest as suggesting that the Fraction prior to Gregory followed an *epiclesis* which was replaced by the Lord's Prayer.¹ These forms are introduced by the rubric 'infra actionem', which may well stand for 'in fractionem'.

PRAYER OF FRACTION. This must be considered distinct from the Prayer of Elevation, which is **Greek**, and probably **Byz** in origin. Only the **Syr**, which is given here, and **Nest** have a true Prayer of Fraction.

Thus truly did the Word of God suffer in the flesh, and was sacrificed and broken on the Cross : and his soul was

¹ D.A.C.L. v. 1371.

severed from his body, albeit his Godhead was in no wise severed either from his soul or from his body. And he was pierced in his side with a spear and there flowed thereout blood and water a propitiation for the whole world', &c.

and so it continues to the resurrection. There are two other Prayers of Fraction.

THE COMMIXTURE

There are two actions coming under this heading, though they are not distinct in many liturgies:

(a) The *ἐνωσις*, i.e. the dipping of the Host into the chalice to be used for the consignation; (b) the Commixture proper, the placing of a portion of the Host in the chalice. Both these practices signify that the body and blood are one. In **Byz** there is no *ἐνωσις*, but the fragment IC is simply placed in the chalice.

The union (*ἐνωσις*) of the all-holy body and the precious blood of our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Jas. As he says this the priest dips into the chalice the half of the broken bread which he holds in his right hand, and then signs with it that held in his left hand. Then he divides the bread and places a fragment in each chalice, saying:

It is united and sanctified and completed, in the name, &c.

Mk, which has no commixture, has 'It is sanctified and completed and become the body and blood of the Lord &c.' **Byz** calls the Commixture the *Pleroma*; the deacon says: 'Sir, complete the holy cup'; Priest: 'The

completion (*πλήρωμα*) of the holy cup with the Holy Ghost'. Here he places a portion in the chalice. In **Copt** and **Eth**, in which the Fraction has taken place earlier, after the Commixture there is a kind of Creed, in which at some length confession is made 'unto the last breath' that the consecrated elements are the quickening flesh of Christ. This is also in **Byz** and **Arm**; in the latter once here and once at communion. **Slav** (12th cent.) had 'Mixture of the sacred body and precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the fullness of the Holy Spirit'. With the **Ruth**, the Commixture began to be neglected in the seventeenth century, and was abolished in 1720, but is said to be still often practised. In **Nest** the priest dips the broken *buchra*, but does not seem to leave any in the chalice. **Arm** also dips it whole before the Elevation and Fraction.

Rome has the Commixture, after the Consignation, with these words: 'This commixture and consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us who receive for eternal life.' This is not in **Eng. Amb**, on breaking the piece for the Commixture, 'May the blood ever be to us for life, and the salvation of souls, O our God'; he signs over the chalice and says: 'May the mingling of the consecrated body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be of advantage to us who eat and partake thereof for life and everlasting joy.' The **Moz** words are: 'The joining of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ be for pardon to us . . . and to provide rest for the faithful departed.'

THE CONSIGNATION

This is the signing of each element with the other. It goes back to the *Acts of Thomas*, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Narsai, 'He signs the blood with the body and makes mention of the Trinity, and he signs the body with the

living blood with the same utterance.'¹ It is only in **Syrr**, **Egypt**, and **Nest**, and with no verbal resemblances. The following is **Nest**:

The precious blood is signed with the life-giving body of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the name, &c.

and vice versa. **Jas** has 'Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world, slain for the life and salvation of the world'. Some of the rites have long prayers at this point, especially **Nest**, and many accompanied the rites with deacon's litanies, psalms, or anthems. The Communion Hymns are in some cases, e.g. **Byz**, being sung during the manual acts (see below). The order also varies.

Other liturgies sign the chalice with the bread, as in **Rome** at 'Pax Domini' before the Commixture. In *Ordo I* three signs were made over the chalice, and then a fragment from the preceding Mass was put in the chalice.

THE AGNUS DEI

In the Roman and some Eastern rites this formula is used before communion. In **Jas** it is used here, and in modern **Byz** at the Fraction, and it includes a reference to the dividing of the Lamb, the name given to the priest's portion of the Host, which, at the *Prothesis*, had been symbolically sacrificed and pierced, with the words of the *Agnus*. **Peter** has it, having probably borrowed it from **Rome**, as the *κοινωνικόν*. It is in the same place in the Western liturgies. The first known use of it is in the *Gloria in excelsis*, which is not in the liturgy in the East. *Liber Pontificalis* says that Sergius I (687-701) ordered it to be sung by clergy and people at the Fraction, with the *Miserere nobis*; he was a Sicilian of Antiochene family.

¹ *Hom.* xvii, Connolly, p. 23.

Duchesne thinks this may have been a protest against the prohibition of the representation of the *Agnus Dei* by the Council in *Trullo*.¹ At first it was sung by the *Schola* once only, and so appears in **Greg**, *St. Amand*, *Ordo I*, repeated by the people, and Walafrid Strabo and Amalarius only know of one.² Later a third repetition was added, about the beginning of the eleventh century. Beleth and Innocent III in the twelfth century mention the 'Dona nobis pacem' of Masses of the departed, and the latter says it was introduced on account of the disorders which threatened the peace of the Church.³ Many Churches, however, retained the third *Miserere nobis*, as the Lateran does still. About the same time the Requiem form was also used.

The *Agnus* does not occur in the Good Friday and Holy Saturday rites, nor in **Gel**, **Bobb**, **Stowe**, **Illyr**,⁴ **Moz**, **Amb** (save as below). **Jum** has it between the Pax and the *Commixtio*, so in other manuscripts called Gregorian, all giving it once only. Generally up to the thirteenth century it is in this position; then it was changed to its present place. Gastoué looks on it as a chant for the Kiss of Peace; Cabrol suggests it may correspond to the chant accompanying the Fraction, which probably dropped out in Gregory's rearrangement.⁵ In the Middle Ages it was sometimes farced.

Amb has it for Requiems only, with the following form in the third place: 'Dona eis requiem sempiternam, et locum indulgentiae, cum sanctis tuis in gloria.'

**O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,
have mercy upon us.**

¹ *Liber. Pont.* i. 381 n.

² *De rebus eccles.* xxii; *De eccles. offic.* iii. 33.

³ *D.A.C.L.* i. 967.

⁴ The Mass of Flacius Illyricus, a composition of the 9th cent., supposed by Flacius (1557) to have been an ancient Gallican document.

⁵ *D.A.C.L.* i. 967.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,
have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,
grant us thy peace.

In Rome, before communion the priest says, 'Ecce agnus', &c.; it is a recent introduction, and does not serve the same purpose as the Eastern formula mentioned on p. 288. The Kiss of Peace occurs here in the **Roman** liturgy.

THE *Zeon*

In the **Byz** rite warm water, having been blessed, is poured into the chalice with the words:

The warmth of faith is full of the Holy Ghost.

Lebrun dates this back to Justinian (527-65), and relates that the Emperor Maurice (582-602) endeavoured to induce the Armenian Catholicos, Moses, to use it, but without success.¹ St. Nicephorus (d. 815) says: 'The priest must not celebrate without warm water, except on account of a sudden emergency, and if warm water can by no means be procured.'² **Barb** does not mention it. In some **Greek** MSS. and the **Slav** of the fifteenth century the priest said, as he poured the *Zeon*: 'He shall come down as rain upon the world, and like the raindrops.' In the sixteenth century the deacon said: 'Complete, father, this cup, putting into the chalice the fullness of the Holy Ghost; bless, father, the warm water, the warmth of the Holy Ghost'; Priest, 'Change both by the Holy Ghost'. The Melkite Uniat Patriarch of Tyre and Sidon wished in the eighteenth century to abolish the *Zeon*, but was prohibited by Rome (1716). In some Slav. MSS. it is not mentioned.

¹ *Explication de la Messe*, iv. 412.

² Canon 13, *P.G.* c. 855.

THE COMMUNION

As in the rest of the post-anaphoral portions of the liturgy, the devotions attending the administration vary widely, indicating their late date. In most there are prayers to be used before the priest communicates, generally expressions of unworthiness. Usually there is a form of words to be used to the communicants which also vary, a strange fact, seeing that our Lord's own words of administration are recorded in the Gospels. But by a confusion of thought these words, which were originally said as He communicated His disciples, became associated with the idea of consecration, at least in the West. There is also generally an anthem or Psalm, which is sung during communion, and often begins as early as the Fraction. The order of the communion is sometimes laid down, most fully in **Ap-Const**, where it is as follows: the bishop, who is the celebrant, priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers and psalmists, ascetics, deaconesses, virgins, widows, children, and then those that remain. There are many variations in the devotions of the Presanctified (**Greg**).

None of what follows is in the **Barb MS.**, except the proclamation to communicants, the *κοινωνικόν*, and the *τροπάριον*.

(a) THE COMMUNION HYMN, ANTHEM, OR PSALM. This is called *κοινωνικόν* in Greek; *prishasten* in Slav; *Communio Rom.* Gall calls it *Trecanum*, **Amb**, *Transitorium*; **Germ** says it is 'signum catholicae fidei de Trinitatis credulitate procedens', but no form is known that would suit those words.

O taste and see how gracious the Lord is (Ps. xxxiv. 8).

In **Ap-Const** it is Ps. xxxiv, 'I will alway give thanks unto the Lord' (or perhaps only the 8th verse as above),

as in Cyril of Jerusalem and **Jas**, with Alleluia. So **Arm. Mk** and **Copt** have Ps. cl with Alleluias, and **Arm** combines that with xxxiv. Originally this was also used in the West. In **Jas, Syr-Jac, Arm, Gall,** and **Moz** Alleluias were inserted.

Alongside the Psalm, which in **Ross** is called *κοινωνικόν*, an anthem has developed, and received that name. It is one verse, or a series of verses, usually followed by Alleluia, and is found in **Byz, Arm, Syr-Jac, Mk, Nest** (*Anthem of the Bema*). In **Chrys** there is one for each day of the week, and others for the festivals. A hymn is mentioned in **Ap-Tr** (**Eth** not **Lat**). Cyril of Jerusalem says, 'After this ye hear the singer inciting you with divine strains to communion in the holy mysteries and saying, "Taste and see", &c.'

St. Augustine tells us that in his time there was introduced into the African Church the singing of a Psalm, probably xxxiv.¹ St. Jerome says: 'Every day when we are filled with the celestial bread we say "Taste and see"',² and Cassiodorus (c. 570) testifies to its use in Italy.³ It remains to-day in **Rom** the *Communio* for the 8th Sunday after Pentecost. **Moz** kept that text for daily use in Lent and Easter. **Stowe** and **Ant-Bang** have it also. Originally, however, these chants, unlike the Respond, had no relation to the day, but were simply suited to the action of the rite. This still applies to many of them, but they were gradually drawn into the scheme of variables and lost their character.

The following is the **Ambrosian Transitorium** for Epiphany:

To-day the Church is joined to her heavenly bridegroom, for in Jordan hath he washed away her iniquities. The wise men hasten with a gift to the royal marriage: and, wine being made of water, the guests are gladdened.

¹ *Retract.* ii. 2, ii. 11; cf. *En.* 2 in Ps. lxxxiii. 10.

² *Comm.* in Is. ii. v. 20.

³ *Comm.* in Ps. xxxiii (xxxiv).

The soldier baptizes the King, the servant his Lord, John the Saviour. The water of Jordan was astonished; the dove beareth witness; the Father's voice was heard: This is my Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.

In the Roman *Ordines* the *Communio* was sung during communion; now it is after. It is probably of the same date, and it has the same character (*antiphona*) as the Introit, but now the Psalm has disappeared and only the refrain remains. Occasionally it is non-scriptural.

(b) DEVOTIONS OF THE PRIEST AND DEACON (more or less private).

O Lord God, heavenly bread, life of all, 'I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am not worthy' to receive thy spotless mysteries, but as a merciful God make me worthy by thy grace unblameably to receive the holy body and the precious blood, for the forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

Jas; similar prayers occur in most liturgies, but they have only such resemblance as is natural to their subject. Rome has two, 'Domine Jesu Christe' and 'Perceptio corporis tui'. These are both, contrary to the usual custom, especially in the Western Church, addressed to our Lord, which marks their private nature. The former is earlier than the latter, and is found in **Amb** and most medieval Missals, while 'Perceptio' is absent from **Amb**, **Sarum**, **Bang**, **Hereford**. Other prayers are substituted and there is no fixity in these devotions.

The Communion Prayers are often introduced by 'πρόσχωμεν' or a similar call from the deacon, and there are in some liturgies requests on the part of the deacon that the priest should fulfil the various acts.

(c) THE PAX. **Test-D**, after a proclamation by the deacon, has 'Give us concord in the Holy Spirit, and heal

our souls by this offering, that we may live in thee for ever'. **Rome** has the Kiss of Peace here, before the prayers just mentioned, with the words 'Pax tecum' and the response 'Et cum spiritu tuo'.

(d) **THE WORDS OF ADMINISTRATION.** The words used by our Lord were: (1) 'Take, this is my body', as in the Gospels; or 'This is my body', as in Lk. xix. 2, 1 Cor.; Cor. also adds, 'which is for you', and *Textus Receptus* inserts 'given'. (2) Mk. 'This is my blood of the covenant which is shed for many'; Mt. begins with, 'Drink ye all of it', and adds 'for the forgiveness of sins'. Luke's narrative is not clear about the cup, and 1 Cor. has 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood: do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me'. A modification is necessary to substitute the third person for the first, and also in rites in which either only one kind is received, or the two are administered together; but one would expect that one or other of these scriptural forms, or a conflation of them, would be in use everywhere. But it is not so. **Ap-Tr** (Bohair) alone of all liturgies retains the words of our Lord: 'This is the body of Christ Jesus.'

The Body (Blood) of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given (shed) for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

This is **Angl** (1549), following the form used in **Rome** by the priest when communicating himself: 'Corpus (sanguis) Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen', but adding 'which is given to thee', and coupling body and soul. **Arm** (uniting the two) is similar, and so is **Mk**, 'The holy Body (precious Blood) of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ'. **Ap-Const**, 'The body of Christ' and 'The Blood of Christ, the cup of life'; **Syr-Jac**, 'To true believers for the pardon of offences

and for the remission of sins for ever'. **Eth**, 'The bread (cup) of life which came down from heaven: this is the body (blood) of Christ'; and other forms are used in the various *Anaphoras*. **Copt**, 'This is in truth the Body and Blood of Emmanuel'; **Nest**, 'The Body of our Lord to the circumspect believer for the pardon of offences; the precious blood for the pardon of offences, the spiritual feast for everlasting life to the circumspect believer'. **Byz**, 'N. the servant of God, receives the precious and holy Body and Blood of the Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of sins and eternal life'; originally only the last words were used. St. Augustine speaks of the form 'Receive and eat the Body of Christ', but he also has simply 'The body of Christ' with Amen,¹ which is what **De Sacr** gives. **Rome** has now no direction for words to be used in communicating the people, nor has **Amb**, but in the time of St. Gregory, according to John the Deacon, they were, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul'.

The **Angl** form was dropped under Calvinistic influences in 1552, and the words 'Take and eat (drink) this in remembrance that Christ died for thee and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving (and be thankful)' substituted. In 1559 the two forms were combined. **Jas** has no form of words. Those of the *Acts of Thomas* are given on p. 19.

(e) THE ADMINISTRATION IS SOMETIMES ACCOMPANIED BY A SONG in addition to the *κοινωνικόν*.

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.
Our Lord God hath appeared unto us.

Accept me as a partaker this day of thy mystic supper,
O Son of God, for I do not speak this mystery to thine

¹ Serm. 3.

enemies : I do not give thee a kiss like Judas, but like the robber I confess the Lord, 'Remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom'.

Chrys ; (this is *Cheroubicon* C, p. 213). The last portion is specially interesting, as it occurs in the **Amb** Antiphonary of the twelfth century, sometimes as an *Ingressa*, sometimes after the Gospel. The *Benedictus* and 'Our Lord God' are also used in **Arm** after communion; there is also before this an Anthem (p. 292) '*Mother of Faith*'. **Test-D** has the *Benedictus* too, and 'send the grace of thy Holy Spirit upon us'; **Jas**, verses of Psalms and a Doxology; **Syr-Jac**, an Anthem with Alleluia; **Nest**, a 'Praise' for Sundays and festivals. **Ant-Bang** has a metrical hymn entitled, 'Ymnus quando communicant sacerdotes', of which the first two lines were

Sancti, venite, Christi Corpus sumite,
Sanctum bibentes, quo redempti, Sanguinem.

(f) PRAYERS AFTER COMMUNION. Yet another Anthem is sung in **Chrys**, the ἀπολυτίκιον, which is variable. In **Barb** is given a *troparion*, which is to be found in *Chronicon Paschale* (ad A.D. 624). It was introduced by the Patriarch Sergius (c. 624), but it disappeared in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Before this the priest says:

O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine inheritance.

Byz and **Arm**. A prayer is found in **Rome**; the minister pours wine into the chalice and the priest says:

Grant, O Lord, that what we have taken with our mouths we may receive with a pure mind, and that that which is given for this life may become an everlasting healing.

This was originally a thanksgiving after communion.

It is ancient, being in **Leo, Gel, Goth, Greg, Amb.** The priest drinks the wine, 'quo se purificat', and, as he washes his fingers, dries them, and taking this ablution, says:

May the **Body** which I have received and the **Blood** which I have drunk cleave to my heart, and grant that in me, whom thy pure and holy sacraments have refreshed, no spot of sin may abide.

This is also a Post-Communion; it is in **Goth** and **Illyr.** Before the eleventh century, the priest merely washed his hands, and poured the ablutions into the piscina. This prayer is not in **Amb**, which has instead: 'Establish, O Lord, what thou hast wrought in us, and grant thy Church a lasting tranquillity and peace'. In **Jas** the archdeacon says a Doxology 'at the entrance': 'Glory to thee (three times) Christ the king,' &c.; **Byz** also has a blessing:

Priest (silently), **Blessed be our God**, (aloud) **everywhere now and for ever.**

This is also in **Peter.**

THE THANKSGIVING

The deacon usually invites the people to give thanks for their communion, or sometimes to prayer. This is followed by the singing of a Psalm or hymn, or the recital of a litany. According to *Chronicon Paschale* (ad A.D. 624) the last *στίχος* of the *κοινωνικόν* is sung, followed by the *τροπάριον*, introduced by the Patriarch Sergius in that year. It resembled the following from **Jas**.

Fill our mouth with thy praise, O Lord, and our lips with joy, that we may hymn thy glory.

In **Byz** it disappeared in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. **Eth** has Ps. cxlv, 'I will magnify thee', with the Lord's Prayer as an antiphon; **Nest**, Ps. cxlviii, 'O praise

the Lord of heaven', and Ps. cxvii, 'O praise the Lord, all ye heathen', followed by the Lord's Prayer three times. **Arm**, 'We have been filled', a chant which was originally Byz, and is still in Slav. **Mk** has a litany of four petitions. There is a prayer of incense in **Jas**. In **Chrys** the priest says:

Set up thyself, O God, above the heavens; and thy glory above all the earth. (Ps. lvii. 6.)

Ruth have omitted this. Then there is the prayer of Thanksgiving:

We thank thee, O Lord our God, for the gift of the holy, incorruptible, eternal, and heavenly mysteries which thou hast given us, and for the benefit and sanctification and healing of our souls and bodies; grant, O Lord of all, that the communion of the holy Body and Blood of Christ may give us an irreproachable faith, unfeigned love, abundance of wisdom, healing for soul and body, the averting of every foe, the keeping of thy commandments, an acceptable defence at the fearful judgement throne of Christ, for thou art our sanctifier, &c.

This is in **Mk** and **Bas**. **Arm** is similar; **Greg** has another form with the same *ecphonesis*. **Chrys-Barb** had a similar prayer, but it has disappeared. That in **Jas** is rather a petition for mercy. **Nest** has two, one of praise and one for pardon. A Thanksgiving is referred to by Eutychius.¹ There is also a prayer in **Ap-Tr** (Eth). **Eth** has in most of its *anaphoras* a prayer beginning 'Pilot of my soul'; adapted from **Test-D**; it is only absent from **Our Lady**.

Pilot of my soul, guide of the righteous and glory of the saints, grant us, O Lord, the eyes of knowledge ever to see thee, and ears also to hearken to thy words alone. When

¹ *De pasch. et de ss. eucharistia*, 3.

our souls have been fulfilled with thy grace, create in us pure hearts, O Lord, that we may ever understand.

Our God, be gracious to thy servants who have received thy Body and Blood, give us a pure and steadfast mind, for thine is the kingdom, O Lord, &c.

Angl places after the Communion the Lord's Prayer, two thanksgiving prayers, and the *Gloria in Excelsis*. The 1927-8 book puts the Lord's Prayer before Communion, and transfers the first of these prayers into the Canon after the *Epiclesis* because no doubt it contains the words 'here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee', a theme which is however foreign to the Canon, and unsuitable for the moment when the 'full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice' of Christ is being pleaded.

THE INCLINATION

This is peculiar to **Syrr** and **Egypt**, though many of the prayers in other liturgies are petitions of the same nature. After the Peace, and before the prayer, the ablutions are taken in **Copt-Bas**. **Arm** has a prayer of Blessing and the Peace before the Last Gospel.

Priest: Peace be to all. R7. And to thy spirit.

Deacon: Let us bow our heads to the Lord. R7. Before thee, O Lord.

O God, who art great and marvellous, who didst 'bow the heavens and come down' for the salvation of the race of the sons of men, turn thee unto us in thy mercies, and pity and bless thy people, and preserve thine inheritance, that in very truth and at all times we may glorify thee, who art our true God, and God the Father who begat thee and thine Holy Spirit now and ever.

Syr-Jac, and **Jas**; similar in **Ap-Const.** **Ap-Tr** (**Eth**) says: 'And the presbyter shall say the *Laying on of hands* after they have received, and the prayer follows'. **Copt** has a 'Prayer of Inclination after receiving, of John of Bostra', and then the Prayer of the 'Imposition of the hand', which is also a prayer of Inclination. **Eth** has only one prayer, which is much shorter, called 'Imposition of the hand'. But perhaps 'Pilot of the Soul' should be taken as the 'Inclination'.

This is perhaps the best place to put the Western Post-Communion prayers, though originally they were Thanksgiving prayers. In **Gall** the Bishop himself invited the people to give thanks in a form headed *Praefatio post communionem*, which was followed by a *Collectio*. Only the prayer remains in **Amb** and **Moz**, but the Salutation follows. In **Rome** there are two prayers, (a) *Post communionem*, **Gel**; *ad complendum*, **Greg**; now *Postcommunio*, and (b) *Benedictio super populum*, **Gel**; *super populum* or *ad populum*, **Greg**. Before the latter the priest says, 'Oremus. Humiliate capita vestra Deo'. The following are the **Amb** *Post-communio*, for Epiphany, and the **Roman** *Super populum* for the Wednesday in Holy Week.

Prevent us, O Lord, we beseech thee, at all times and in all places with heavenly light : that we may both discern with clear glance the mystery of which thou hast willed us to be partakers, and with meet affection take it to ourselves, through, &c.

Oratio (Super populum): Look, we beseech thee, O Lord, upon this thy family, for which Our Lord Jesus Christ was contented (non dubitavit) to be betrayed into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer agony upon the Cross, through, &c.

THE DISMISSAL

Deacon: **Go in peace** (Lat. *Ite missa est*).

People: **In the name of the Lord.**

This is found in most rites; in **Rome** the first sentence is said by the priest. Not in **Copt-Cyr** and **Nest.** In **Syr-Jac** there is a commendation beginning with the words 'Depart in peace'. **Moz**: 'The mysteries are completed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; may our duty (*votum*) be accepted in peace. R7. Thanks be to God.' **Amb** has three-fold *Kyrie* and Benediction 'Benedicat et exaudiat nos Deus. R7. Amen. Procedamus in pace. R7. In nomine Christi. Benedicamus Domino. R7. Deo gratias.' **Stowe** has 'Missa acta est—In pace'. **Rome** uses 'Ite missa est' on festivals, on other occasions 'Benedicamus Domino' as **Amb.**

This is followed in many liturgies by either a prayer of dismissal or a blessing. In **Jas** it is accompanied by an εὐχὴ ἀπολυτική said by the deacon.

From glory to glory advancing we hymn thee, Saviour
of souls,

with the *Gloria*, and the latter part repeated. The prayer in the same rite is:

From power to power proceeding, and having completed the liturgy in thy temple, we beseech thee, O Lord our God, to make us worthy of thy whole loving mercy, direct our way, root us in thy fear, and make us worthy of thy heavenly kingdom, in Christ, &c.

The prayer is called in **Byz** the εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος. **Chrys** has a blessing as well as the prayer:

The blessing of the Lord and his mercy come upon you by his grace and mercy, now and ever, Amen.

It is followed by the 'Greater ἀπόλυσις', which is the same as the Lesser (p. 125), but includes the names of a great number of Saints. It is late, perhaps fourteenth century. **Mk** has 'The love of God', &c.;. **Syr-Jac** also has a blessing before dismissal. **Eth** has the Jewish Priests' Blessing, and a prayer for the blessing of peace after it. In **Rome** there is after 'Ite missa est' a prayer 'Placeat tibi', and the blessing, 'May the Almighty God bless you, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen'. **Angl** has the blessing, 'The peace of God', &c. In **Rome** there is another Salutation and the Last Gospel, which in **Amb** came before the dismissal.

After this in **Byz** the vessels are taken to the *Prothesis* and a prayer said:

Thou art the fulfilment of the law and of the prophets,
O Christ our God, who didst fulfil all the dispensation
commanded of the Father: fill our heart with joy and
delight (with the Holy Spirit: Arm).

So **Arm**; **Bas** is somewhat similar.

THE EULOGIA

There is not much information available on the development of the εὐλογία. Theophilus of Alexandria (d. 412) says: 'The things which are offered for the purpose of the sacrifice, after what is chosen for the need of the mysteries, the clergy shall distribute, and no catechumen is to eat or drink of these, but only the clergy and the faithful brethren with them.'¹ It would appear that the apportionment was then made at the Offertory, though I know of no direct evidence to that effect, and that to avoid inconvenience and misuse it was transferred to the end of the service. It was formerly before the ὀπισθάμβωνος and is so now in **Arm-Presanct**.

¹ Canon 7.

It is found in **Syr-Jac**, **Nest**, **Byz**, and **Arm**. The distribution is accompanied in **Chrys**, **Arm** by the reading of Ps. xxxiv 'I will always give thanks'. In **Nest** the *Prayer of Mary* is said. **Syr-Jac** is more elaborate. It is no longer in use among the **Ruthenians**.

THE ABLUTIONS

Syr-Jac has an elaborate service of ablutions before the *Eulogia*, beginning with two prayers. Pss. xxiii, cxvi. 11-13, xxxvi. 8-12, xxvi, and xxix are recited, and prayers said at each action. It is followed by the *Sedro of the Departed*, with the Lord's Prayer. In **Chrys** the priest merely washes his hands; in the ninth century, ablution was made twice with wine and once with water. Later the deacon washed the chalice and his hands with a long rite, the priest washing only his hands. In **Copt** after the people have sung the *Kyrie* the priest washes his hands and says: 'Angel of this sacrifice, soaring on high with this hymn, make memorial of us before the Lord that he may forgive us our sins'. With **Rome** in the eleventh century the priest washed his hands here; now only prelates do so; but after communion the minister pours wine into the chalice, &c. (see p. 296).

IN THE SACRISTY

Prayers for the ministers in the Sacristy are given in **Jas**, **Mk**, **Bas**, and **Chrys**. There is also in **Chrys** a prayer used while taking the vessels back to the Sacristy.

APPENDIX A

CLEMENT OF ROME

THE following is the passage in St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians (lix to lxi), which has seemed to some scholars to be liturgical and even eucharistic.

We shall ask with earnest prayer and supplication:

That the Creator of the universe may guard intact the number of his elect that have been numbered in the whole world, through his beloved Son Jesus Christ 'through whom he called us from darkness to light', from ignorance to the full knowledge of the glory of his Name.

Grant us, O Lord, to hope in thy name, the source of all creation; open the eyes of our hearts to know thee, who alone 'dwellest highest in the heights, holy among the holy', thou who 'layest low the haughtiness of the proud', who 'makest the devices of the nations to be of none effect', who 'settest up on high those that are low' and 'humblest those that are exalted', who 'makest rich and makest poor', who 'killest and makest alive', who art alone the benefactor of spirits and God of all flesh, who 'lookest into the abysses', who dost regard the works of man.

Thou art the help of them that are in peril, 'saviour of them that are without hope', creator and bishop of every spirit, who multiplieth the peoples upon the earth, and hast chosen from the midst of them those that love thee, through Jesus Christ thy beloved servant,¹ through whom thou didst instruct and sanctify and honour us.

We beseech thee, Master, be our 'defence and succour', save those among us who are in distress, have mercy on the lowly, lift up the fallen, show thyself to those in need, heal the sick, convert the wanderers of thy people, feed the hungry, release our prisoners, set up the weak, comfort the faint-hearted.

¹ παιδός.

'Let all the nations know thee, that thou art God alone, and that Jesus Christ is thy servant, and that 'we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture'.

For thou hast manifested by thy works the eternal structure of the world; thou, Lord, didst create the earth. Thou who art faithful in all generations, righteous in judgements, marvellous in power and glory, wise in creating and prudent in establishing the things created, good in what is seen, and faithful to those who trust in thee, O 'gracious and merciful', forgive us our iniquities, and our unrighteousness and our transgressions and shortcomings.

Lay not to our account every sin of thy servants and handmaids, but cleanse us with the cleansing of thy truth, and 'order our steps' in pureness of heart 'to do such things as are good and well-pleasing in thy sight and in the sight of our rulers'

Yea, Lord, 'show the light of thy countenance' upon us for good in peace, that we may be sheltered 'by thy mighty hand' and delivered from every sin 'by thine uplifted arm', and deliver us from those that hate us wrongfully.

Give concord and peace to us and to all that inhabit the earth as thou didst give to our fathers, when they called on thee 'in faith and truth' with holiness, and make us obedient to thine almighty and excellent Name, and to our rulers and governors upon the earth.

Thou, Master, hast given them the authority of their rule by thine excellent and ineffable power, that we, knowing the glory thou hast given them, may submit ourselves to them, in no wise resisting thy will; grant them, Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the government thou hast given them without hindrance.

For thou, heavenly Master, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and honour and power over the things that are on the earth; do thou, Lord, direct their counsel to that which is 'good and right in thy sight', that administering in peace and gentleness with piety the power that thou hast given them, they may obtain thy mercy.

O thou who alone art able to do these good things with us

and more excellent things also, we praise thee through the High-priest and guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom glory and majesty be to thee both now and for all generations and for all ages, Amen.

APPENDIX B

THE MOZARABIC VARIABLES
FOR THE EPIPHANY

WITH THE CORRESPONDING ROMAN FORMS

In Apparitione seu Epiphania Domini nostri Jesu Christi

Ad Missam. Officium. Vos qui in Christo baptizati estis: Christum induistis, alleluja. *V.* Benedicti vos a Domino qui fecit caelum et terram. *P.* Christum. *V.* Gloria et honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum. *P.* Christum, &c.

(**Roman Introitus**, Mal. iii. 1: Ps. lxxi. 1. Gloria Patri.)

Oratio. Rex omnium saeculorum, Christe Deus altissime: qui in diebus Herodis regis de Virgine natus: Magis quaerentibus novo sidere declaratus: appareat in nobis virtutis tuae praesidium ad depellendos omnes principes tenebrarum: quo sic majestatis tuae sidus in nobis resplendeat: ut ad te quaerendum nulli se nobis errorum obices interponant: quo ad te videndum curramus: et te viso jucundemur instanter.

(**Roman Oratio**: Deus qui hodierna die Unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti: concede propitius; ut, qui jam te ex fide cognovimus, usque ad contemplandam speciem tuae celsitudinis perducamur. Per eundem Dominum, &c.)

Lectio libri Esayae prophetae (Cap. lx).

Psallendo. Omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi. *V.* Psalmum dicam nomini tuo, altissime, super filios hominum. *P.* Et psallat.

Sequentia epistolae Pauli Apostoli ad Galatas (Cap. iii).

(**Rome** has for the Epistle the above passage from Isaiah.)

Lectio sancti evangelii secundum Matthaëum (Cap. ii).

(Rome has same passage with the heading: *Sequentia, &c.*)

Lauda. Alleluja. *V.* Laudate Dominum sol et luna: laudate eum omnes stellae et lumen. *P.* Alleluja.

(Rome has Gradual, Is. lx. 6 and 1, and Alleluia, Mt. ii. 2.)

Sacrificium. Omnes de Sabba venient, offerentes aurum et thus et lapides preciosos: salutare Domini evangelizabant, alleluja alleluja. *V.* Viri excelsi ad te transibunt, et tui erunt servi subsequentes te, colligati vinculis: et adorabunt te: quia in te est Deus, et praeter te non est alius: renovamini insulae Israel et salvamini a Domino in salute aeterna. *P.* Salutare.

(Rome *Offertorium.* Ps. lxxi. 10.)

Missa. Omne, dilectissimi fratres, in laudem Dei Salvatoris, Redemptorisque nostri charitatis excitetur officium. Spei ponatur integritas: fidei surgat devota confessio. Qui nobis per istam suam assumptae carnis nativitatem: illam ingeni patris dignatus est significare naturam. Quia Verbum caro factum inde in agnitionem Dei locum generationis ostendit: unde in Virginem initium originis introduxit. Ea Christus proditus virtute, qua genitus: novoque sidere daret infantiae signum, potentiae ministerium, ignorantiae documentum. Et qui terram, factus ex muliere, lege parturitionis inviseret, caelum indiscreto patris jure cohaeres possidet: novamque elementi, quam creaverat, claritatem habuit Deus in officio, parvulus in testimonio, mundus in nuncio, reges in miraculo, pastores in gaudio, gentilitas in stupore, credulitas in munere, crudelitas in timore. In hac tremuerunt impii: in hac exultaverunt commoniti: in hac adoravere subjecti. Hac illuminante, qui fuerat salvandus, occurrit: hac terrente, qui fuerat periturus expavit. Sic caelo nova lampade corruscante, et illuminata fides est, et caecata perfidia.

(There is a second *Oratio* probably originally the 'Prayer of the Veil'.)

Post nomina. Oratio. Ecclesiae tuae, quaesumus Domine, munera propitius intueri: quibus non jam aurum, thus et mirrha profertur, sed iisdem muneribus unigenitus tuus declaratur, offertur, immolatur, et sumitur. Offerentibus quoque, Domine, gaudia tribue sempiterna: et refrigerium quietis defunctis accumula.

Ad pacem. Oratio. Christe, qui ad humana veniens, humilis Deus in sidere declararis, illabere sensibus nostris, quo Ecclesia tua, quae apparitionis tuae festum hodierno die ovando concelebrat, in pace tua jugi tempore solidata consistat. Ut et hic opera charitatis instanti devotione retinet: et ad te remuneratura perveniat gaudens: qui olim ad liberationem ejus per admirabile sidus apparere dignatus es.

Illatio. Dignum et justum est, omnipotentiam tuam, Domine Jesu Christe, per vitae nostrae vel maxima spacia, vel minima momenta laudare, maximeque in festivitate praesenti, in qua multimoda mirabilium tuorum praeconia celebrantur, ex totis praecordiis venerari. Et licet ea ipsa, quae perstringere de pluribus pauca praesumimus, sacramentis sint preciosiora quam factis, eoque fiat, ut quod mens non concipit, lingua non pariat. Attamen si qua vel forinsecus admirationi fuere perspicua convenit memorare. Hodierna igitur die quod incarnationis tuae testimonium perhibet, igne rutilum, luce lacteum, contemplatione placidum, expectatione votivum, novitate mirabile, significatione terribile sidus apparuit. Cujus splendoris magnitudinem expavit subito Chaldaeorum cervicosa curiositas, et in omni Babyloniorum ritu vetusta superstitione calcata, Magi sagaces viderunt, quantis jacerent in tenebris, qui nisi discuterent visibilium luminum qualitatem, nescissent lucis auctorem. Neque ultra supercilio gentis Assyriae colendos homines inter caelestia quaesierunt, qui caelo iudice adorandam divinitatem inter humana repererunt. Additur his, quod Jordanis aquas sanctificaturus intrasti ad humilitatem exempli, non ad necessitatem peccati. Et vox patris de filio testificantis audita est, atque novum Adam spiritus gratiae septiformis insedit:

hinc in quo baptizari Baptista possit, ostendit. Nec hunc eundemque Jordanem saeculis anterioribus illustratum esse plus dixerim: cujus gurgitibus abruptis, undifluis fluctibus, qui praecesserant, in mare reconditis, hinc exaltatis, qui substitierant, et in aethera fastigiatis juxta saevam liquentis elementi securas tribus per vada pulverulenta transduxit. Insuper infudisti aquas hydriis, aquis vinum, atque, ad tuae jussionis imperium botri distinguuntur in aquis, et vindemiae oriuntur ex hydriis. Nec minori miraculo quondam largitas tua flumen irriguum de visceribus aridae cauitis elicit. Sed non amplius est verbo liquorem siccis, quam saporem acidisse indidisse. Quinque quoque panibus et pisce geminato quinque virorum milia intra deserta pavisti. Hoc potentialiter tuae benedictionis operatus, ut tantus populus, qui magno impleri vix poterat, parvo posset impleri. Ita in ora hominum cibus ipsa sui immunitione proficiens, incrementum proprium inter detrimenta sumebat, et edulibus ampliatis fragmine crescente, frustorum plurima relata sunt cophinis, quae non fuerant illata conviviiis. Operante hoc omnipotentia tua ad magnificandam gloriam tuam: cui omnes angeli non cessant clamare, ita dicentes:

(*Roman Praefatio*: Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus: quia cum Unigenitus tuus in substantia nostrae mortalitatis apparuit, nova nos immortalitatis suae luce reparavit. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus, sine fine dicentes:)

Post Sanctus. Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Deus, qui observationem diei hujus atque reverentiam toto orbe venerabilem tripliciter, et acceptionis, et laminationis, et declarationis honore donasti, appare in his solemnitatibus, et accepta orationem plebis tuae, qui solemnitatem hanc ipso acceptionis nomine consecrasti. Illumina sacrificantem cultui tuo populum, qui festa haec etiam vocabulo illuminasti. Declara

cordibus nostris veritatis tuae lucem, qui et ipsam appellationem dedisti his solemnitatibus claritatem. Quia tu es Deus ac Redemptor aeternus.

(Rome only adds, after the word 'Communicantes' the following: et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo Unigenitus tuus in tua tecum gloria coaeternus, in veritate carnis nostrae visibiliter corporalis apparuit: sed et . . .)

Post Pridie. Oratio. Appare Domine: cognoscere Domine: sicut apparuisti manifestus in carne, ortus ex Virgine, inventus a pastoribus, cognitus in virtute. Declaratus in sidere: adoratus in munere: ostensus in flumine: creditus in fide: habitus in nube: promissus in iudice. Ut sacraatae solemnitatis gratia ita suscipiat ecclesia tua nunc gaudia: ut praetulit quondam mysteria.

Ad Orationem Dominicam. Christe Deus, qui virginali prodiens ex utero, novum hodie lumen apparuisti in mundo, agnitus in stella, adoratus per munera. Ciba nos favo mellis et sermonibus bonis, orationibus justis, ac responsionibus pietatis. Ut dulcedo auditus tui sanitas sit animae, vel corporis nostri: ut gustantes et videntes quam suavis es, Domine, nequaquam percogamur ad amaritudinem saeculi declinare, sed caelestibus suspensi oraculis, cordibus, et vocibus per Patrem impetremus e terris. Pater noster, &c.

Benedictio. Jesus Christus Rex noster, qui profanum Regem sua nativitate terruit: ipse in vobis cum suis virtutibus regnet. R. Amen. Cujusque signum stella radiante Magis apparuit: ejus vos gratia sine fine clarificet. R. Amen. Det vobis spiritualem intelligentiam, qui aquarum naturam vini in suavitate fecit esse saporem. R. Amen. Et qui populorum milia exiguo panis fragmine satiavit, corda vestra doctrinae suae alimento locupletet. R. Amen. Conferens vobis veram innocentiam, qui Spiriti Sancti tranquillam simplicitatem demonstrare voluit per columbam. R. Amen. Quod ipse praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine manet in saecula saeculorum. R. Amen.

Post Communio. Oratio. Verbum ante saecula ineffabiliter patris ore prolatum, et in tempore hominem pro nobis ex Virgine ortum, humili prece poscamus, ut invocationem nostram de monte sancto placatus exaudiat: ejusque benedictio pectora credentium repleat. Ac sicut incerta secretorum sapientia manifestans ad se agnoscendum corda excitat nostra, ita catholicam plebem alarum suarum protectione defendat: eisque, cum judex venerit, existat placabilis, pro quibus redimendis in carne apparuit humilis. *R.* Amen.

(**Rome:** Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus: ut quae solemniter celebramus officio, purificatae mentis intelligentia consequamur. Per Dominum.)

The invariable portion of the Mozarabic Mass consists mainly of Salutations and Proclamations, such as 'Silentium facite', and the like; but there are also the following:

- (a) The *Gloria in Excelsis*, between the *Officium* and the *Oratio*.
- (b) Offertory Prayers, 'Acceptabilis', 'Offerimus', 'Hanc oblationem', and 'In spiritu humilitatis', with the following Invocation: 'Veni sancte Spiritus Sanctificator: sanctifica hoc sacrificium de manibus meis preparatum'.
- (c) The Kiss of Peace.
- (d) The *Sursum corda*.
- (e) The account of the Incarnation and the Institution.
- (f) The Creed.
- (g) The Dismissal.

APPENDIX C

THE following are the most important passages, apart from the liturgies themselves, from which the history of the *Epiclesis* must be deduced.

Justin Martyr (Rome, m. between 163 and 167)

Apol. I. lxvi: For we do not receive these things as common bread or common drink; but as Jesus Christ our Saviour was made flesh by a word of God (*διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ*) and had flesh and blood for our salvation, so we have been taught that the food which is made Eucharist through a word of prayer that

comes from Him (τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστήθεισαν τροφήν), from which by change¹ our blood and flesh are nourished, are the flesh and blood of the same incarnate Jesus Christ.

Irenaeus (Lyons, d. 202–3)

Haer. i. xiii. 2: Pretending to make Eucharist of cups mixed with wine, and extending to a great length the word of invocation, he (i.e. the heretic Marcus) makes them appear purple and red, so that it seems as if Charis², one of those beings who are above all things, distilled its blood into that cup at his invocation.

Ibid. iv. xviii. 5: For as bread from the earth, on receiving the invocation of God, is no longer ordinary bread, but Eucharist, &c.

Ibid. v. ii. 2: When therefore the mixed cup and the bread that is made receives the word of God, and becomes the Eucharist of Christ's blood and body, &c.

Ibid. v. ii. 3: (These fruits of the earth) by God's wisdom become fit for man's food, and now, receiving the word of God, become a Eucharist, which is Christ's body and blood.

Hippolytus (Rome, d. 235) quotes in *Philosophumena*, vi. 39 the first passage of Irenaeus.

Firmilian (Caesarea in Cappadocia, d. 268)

apud Cypr. *Ep.* lxxv. 10: She (a schismatic prophetess) frequently dared to do this—to pretend to hallow bread and make Eucharist with an invocation that was by no means contemptible.

Didascalia Apostolorum (Syria or Palestine, c. 250)

Offer a royal Eucharist, which is according to the likeness of the royal body of Christ . . . setting forth pure bread, which has been made with fire, and is hallowed through invocation.

Prayer is accepted through the Holy Spirit, and the Eucharist is sanctified through the Holy Spirit, and the Scriptures, since they are the words of the Holy Spirit, are holy.

¹ κατὰ μεταβολήν, i.e. by metabolism.

² One of the emanations in the Valentinian Gnostic system.

Which is greater, the bread or the Spirit which thou possessest? (This is the Syrian text, but the Latin translation has: Which is greater, the bread or the Holy Spirit which sanctifies the bread?)

Cyril (Jerusalem, c. 350)

Catech. Myst. v. 7: We beseech the merciful God to send the Holy Ghost upon the (offerings) lying before him, that He may make the bread the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ. For assuredly whatever the Holy Ghost has touched that is hallowed and changed.

Ibid. iii. 3: For as the bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost is no longer mere bread, but the body of Christ, so the holy myrrh is no longer mere myrrh, &c.

Ibid. i. 7: For as the bread and the wine of the Eucharist before the invocation of the holy and worshipful Trinity were mere bread and wine, &c.

Sarapion (Egypt, d. 350)

O God of truth, let thy holy Word come upon this bread that the bread may become the body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become the blood of the Truth, and make all who communicate, &c.

Athanasius (Egypt, d. 373)

Ad nuper baptizatos: Let us come to the consummation of the mysteries. This bread and this cup, while the prayers and supplications have not yet taken place, are mere (bread and wine). But when the great prayers and holy supplications have been sent up, the Word descends on the bread and the cup, and it becomes his body.

Ephrem (Syria, d. 373).

There are a number of passages in the works ascribed to him which speak of the consecration by the descent of the Holy Ghost. Their genuineness is, however, doubted.

Peter (Egypt, d. 381)

apud Theodoret, *H.E.* iv. 19: On the very altar where we invoke the descent of the Holy Ghost.

Basil (Cappadocia, d. 379)

De Sp. Sanct. xxvii. 66: Which of the Saints has left us in writing the words of the invocation at the consecration of the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of blessing? For what the Apostle and the Gospel have brought to our minds are not sufficient, but we say other things before and after them, for they have great force with regard to the mystery, and we receive them from unwritten tradition.

Gregory of Nyssa (Brother of Basil, d. c. 394)

Orat. Catech. xxxvii: Thus we rightly believe that now also the bread which is hallowed by the Word of God is changed into the body of God the Word . . . so also, as the Apostle says, the bread is hallowed through the Word of God and prayer, not advancing to become the body of the Word through the act of eating, but changed immediately into the body through the Word, as it has been said by the Word, 'This is my body'.

De baptismo Christi: Again, the bread is up to this time ordinary bread, but when the mystery consecrates it, it is said to be and becomes the body of Christ, so the mystic oil, so the wine, are worth very little before the blessing, but after the hallowing by the Spirit each of them has a different operation.

Orat. in funer. Bas.: The priesthood of the teacher imitates the mysteries (*αἰνίγματα*) of the priesthood of the prophet (Elijah), drawing down the heavenly fire on the sacrifices by thrice repeating the word of faith (1 Kings xviii. 34) for we have been many times taught by the Scripture that the power of the Holy Ghost is called 'fire'.

Gregory of Nazianzus (Cappadocia, d. 390)

Ep. clxxi: When by word thou drawest down the Word, when by a bloodless cutting thou cuttest the body and blood of the Lord, having thy voice as a sword.

Apostolic Constitutions (Antioch, c. 375)

Book viii: Send down upon this sacrifice thy Holy Spirit, the witness of the passion of our Lord Jesus, that he may manifest this bread as the body of thy Christ, and this cup as the blood of thy Christ, that those that partake of it may be confirmed in piety, obtain forgiveness of sins, be delivered from the devil and his snares, be filled with Holy Ghost, &c.

Testamentum Domini (date uncertain—Zahn and Maclean c. 350, Funk, 5th cent.)

i. 23: We offer thee this thanksgiving, eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father . . . O Lord the Holy Ghost; we have brought this drink and this food of thy holiness; cause that it may be to us not for condemnation, not for reproach, not for destruction, but for the medicine and support of our spirit . . . Grant that all those that partake . . . may be filled with the Holy Ghost for the confirmation of the faith in truth, &c.

Ambrose (Milan, d. 397)

De Sp. Sanct. III. xvi. 112: He who with the Father and the Son is by the priests named in baptism, and invoked in the oblations.

Optatus (Africa, d. 400)

De schism. Donat. vi. 1: . . . the altars of God, on which you (the Donatists when Catholics) at one time offered, on which the vows of the people and the members of Christ were borne, where God Almighty was invoked, where the Holy Ghost descended in answer to prayer; whence the pledge of everlasting salvation and the safeguard of faith and the hope of the resurrection was received by many, &c.

Theophilus (Egypt, d. 412)

apud Jerome, *Ep.* xcvi. 13: He (Origen) says that the Holy Ghost does not work upon those things that are lifeless nor reach things not possessing reason. In this he does not

consider . . . that the bread of the Lord, in which the Saviour's body is shown, and which we break for our sanctification, and the sacred cup (which are placed on the table of the Church and are certainly lifeless), are hallowed by the invocation and coming of the Holy Ghost.

John Chrysostom (Antioch and Constantinople, d. 407)

De Sacerdotio, III. iv. 179: The priest stands, bringing down, not fire, but the Holy Ghost.

Ibid. VI. iv: And when he summons the Holy Ghost, and completes the most dread sacrifice.

In coemet. appell. III: When the priest stands before the table, stretching forth his hands to heaven, summoning the Holy Ghost to come and touch the (elements).

Hom. XLII. 2, in Joann.: This bread, through the descent upon it of the Spirit, becomes heavenly bread.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (Cappadocia, d. 428)

apud Mingana (*Woodbrooke Studies*, VI. 104): The priest offers, according to the rules of priesthood, prayer and supplication to God that the Holy Spirit may descend, and that grace may come therefrom upon the bread and wine that are laid (on the altar) so that they may be seen to be truly the body and blood of our Lord, which are the remembrance of immortality.

Nilus (Sinai, d. c. 430)

Ep. I. 44: Before the prayer of the priest and the descent of the Holy Spirit the oblations are mere bread and ordinary wine, but after these fearful invocations and the descent of the adorable and life-giving and good Spirit, the things which have been placed on the altar are no longer mere bread and common wine, but the precious and pure body and blood of Christ.

Augustine (Africa, d. 430)

De Trin. III. iv. 10: That which is taken from the fruit of the earth and consecrated by the mystical prayer we duly receive for our spiritual health in remembrance of the passion of our Lord on our behalf. When this is by the hands of

men made to assume that visible form, it is not consecrated so as to become so great a sacrament except by the invisible operation of the Spirit of God.

There is no need to give any later examples from the East. The Liturgy of St. James was well established by the end of the fifth century, and that of St. Basil not much later. But the following passages from the West are important.

Isidore (Spain, c. 636)

De eccles. officiis, i. 15 (describing the seven prayers of the liturgy): Then comes the sixth, the 'Conformation' of the sacrament, that the oblation which is offered to God, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, may be conformed to the body and blood of Christ.

Ibid. i. 18: But these (bread and wine), while they are visible, having nevertheless been sanctified by the Holy Ghost, pass into the sacrament of the divine body.

The following, generally attributed to St. Isidore, is probably much later.

Etyim. vi, 19: We call it the body and blood of Christ because, though it is of the fruit of the earth, it is sanctified and made a sacrament, by the invisible operation of the Holy Ghost.

Gelasius (Rome, d. 496)

Ep. ad Elpidium: For how shall the heavenly Spirit, on being invoked, come to the consecration of the divine mystery, if the priest, even he who prays Him to be present, is found to be full of guilty actions?

Fulgentius (Africa, d. 533)

Ex Frag. xxviii ex Lib. viii contra Fabianum:

When at the time of the sacrifice we make commemoration of his death, we ask that love be given to us through the coming of the Holy Spirit, &c.

Ad Monimum, ii. 6: Why then, if the sacrifice is offered to the whole Trinity is the sending down of the Holy

Spirit alone asked for to sanctify our oblation, as if, so to speak, God the Father, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds, cannot sanctify a sacrifice offered to him, &c. . . . And so when the Church asks that the Holy Spirit should be sent upon itself from heaven, it is asking that the gifts of love and unanimity should be given to it by God; but when can the holy Church, which is the body of Christ, more fittingly ask for the coming of the Holy Spirit than for the consecration of the sacrifice of the body of Christ?

And other passages to the same effect.

APPENDIX D

THE HEAVENLY ALTAR

THE Roman Canon, in the place which the *Epiclesis* occupies in the Eastern Churches, has this prayer:

Command these things to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high, in the sight of thy divine majesty, that so many as are partakers at the altar of the precious body and blood of thy Son may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace.

The notion of presenting gifts at the heavenly altar is found in liturgies both Eastern and Western, but in different settings. It is already seen in the Litany in *Apostolic Constitutions* at the Inclination:

We pray on behalf of the gift offered to the Lord God that the good God would receive it through the mediation of his Christ on his heavenly altar for a sweet-smelling savour.

This is after the Invocation and Intercession.

In Jas it is used at the Great Entrance: 'Bless this *πρόθεσις* and receive it on thy heavenly altar'; in an Offertory prayer: 'Grant us to offer thee this spiritual and unbloody sacrifice which do thou receive on thy holy and heavenly and rational

(*voepós*) altar for a sweet-smelling odour and send down to us instead the grace of thy all-holy Spirit.' A similar passage is also in the Litany of the Lord's Prayer.

Syr-Jac has, 'Receive this offering . . . make rest and good remembrance on thine holy and heavenly altar for thy Mother and thy Saints and for all the faithful departed', in a prayer which precedes the *Annaphura*, and which is the only Offertory prayer after the *Prothesis*. Before the communion of the people he says, 'From thy propitiatory altar let there come down pardon,' &c., but it is not certain that this means the heavenly altar.

Mk in the *Enarxis* speaks of receiving the prayers 'unto thy holy and heavenly and rational (*λογικός*) altar'. The Prayer of Incense at the Gospel has the same words as James, 'which do Thou receive', &c. Another Incense Prayer at the Kiss of Peace has 'May it be taken up out of the unworthy (*πενιχρῶν*) hands of us sinners unto thy heavenly altar for a sweet-smelling savour.' In the Intercession is a passage which joins it with the other passage in the Roman Canon (*Supra quae*):

Accept, O Lord, the sacrifices, oblations, and thank-offerings (*εὐχαριστήρια*) . . . upon thy holy and heavenly and rational (*voepós*) altar in the highest heaven through the ministry of thy Archangels . . . as thou didst accept the gifts of thy righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our Father Abraham, the incense of Zacharias, the alms of Cornelius, and the two mites of the widow receive also their thankofferings, and give them in return incorruptible things for corruptible, heavenly for earthly, everlasting for transitory.

Copt at the censing at the beginning of the Mass of Catechumens says, 'Grant us to offer before thee reasonable oblations and sacrifices of praise and a spiritual sweet savour, entering within the veil of the Holy of Holies.' In the Prayer of Incense at the Acts, 'Accept our sacrifice of this incense, and send us in recompense thereof thy rich mercy.' In the prayer after the Gospel, 'Receive from us our petition and our penitence and our confession upon thy holy altar stainless in heaven.'

When putting incense into the censer in the prayer for the Patriarch both in the prayers of the Faithful and the Intercession (where incense is not mentioned): 'Accept his prayers on thy reasonable altar in heaven for a sweet-smelling savour.' The passage in the Intercession also occurs here, but the names mentioned are only Abel, Abraham, and the Widow.

Eth in a Prayer of Incense, 'Grant us to offer before thee a reasonable oblation . . . the which thou wilt make to enter within the inner chamber of the veil, the Holy of Holies, thy dwelling-place.' So in the prayer before the Catholic Epistle, 'Make us to offer unto thee a pure oblation, a reasonable offering, and spiritual incense: let it enter into the holy temple of thy holiness.' In another incense prayer, 'Accept from us our oblation and this savour of our incense, and send unto us from on high in recompense thereof the riches of thy loving-kindness'.

Nest in the *Cushshapha* of the Departed, though actually between the departed and the living, 'May this offering be accepted in the heights above from my hands, sinner and offender that I am, like the offering of Abel in the plain, of Noah in the ark, and of Abraham . . . Elijah . . . the Widow in the treasury, the Apostles in the upper room,' &c.

Bas at the *Prothesis*, 'Bless this *Prothesis*, and receive it on thy heavenly altar.' At the Offertory, 'this Sacrifice, which do thou receive on thy holy and heavenly and rational (*voεpός*) altar for a sweet-smelling savour'; this also refers to Old Testament sacrifices. In the Intercession is the passage, 'Give them heavenly for earthly' (see above).

Arm at the incense at the *Prothesis*, 'Receive it (incense) for a sweet-smelling savour on thy holy, heavenly, and immaterial place of offering: do thou in its stead send upon us the graces and gifts of thy holy Spirit.'

Though this idea is more commonly expressed in the Egyptian liturgies than elsewhere, it was evidently from an early date in use all over the East, and is especially associated with incense, and with the Offertory.

APPENDIX E
THE PEACE

The places in which occurs the salutation 'Peace be to all' (*Ap-Const.*, 'The peace of God be with you all') are shown in this table. It will be seen that, while it may precede almost any prayer or action, it is especially associated with the Inclination before Communion, the Kiss of Peace, and the Gospel.

<i>Enarxis</i>	..	..	..	Mk	..	Eth	..	Arm
Little Entry	Jas	..	..	Mk	..	Eth		
<i>Trisagion</i>	Jas	..	..	Mk				
Before Epp.	..	..	..	Mk	..	Eth		
Gospel	Jas	Syr-J	..	Mk	..	Eth	Byz	Arm
After ..	Jas	..	..	..	
Prayers	Jas	Syr-J	..	..	..	Eth		
Before Crd.	..	..	..	Mk				
Kiss	Ap-C	Jas	Syr-J	..	..	Copt	Eth	Byz
Great Ent.	Jas	..	..	Mk				Rom
Dipt.	..	..	Nest	..				
<i>Anaph.</i>	Jas	..	..	..	
Invoc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Arm
Lord's P.	Jas	..	..	Mk	Copt	Eth		
Inclin.	Ap-C	Jas	Syr-J	..	Mk	..	..	Byz
Man. Acts	..	..	Nest	Mk	Copt	Eth		
After Com.	Jas	Syr-J	..	Mk	..	..	..	Arm

INDEX

- Abitina, Martyrs of, 164.
 Ablutions, 297, 299, 303.
 Absolution, 115.
 Prayer of, 137, 279.
 Abyssinia, *see* Ethiopia.
 Acacius of Caesarea, 32.
Actio, 64; *see* Roman Canon.
 Acts of the Apostles, 166, 168.
 John, 17.
 Thomas, 18, 287.
Ad collectam, 164.
 complendum, 300.
 missam, 170, 306.
 orationem Dominicam, 143, 306.
 orationem Dominicam, 76, 83, 276, 310.
 pacem, 76, 83, 84, 207, 210, 308.
 populum, 91, 300.
 Addai and Mari, Liturgy of, 38-9.
 Administration, Words of, 294.
 Africa, 50, 66, 73, 78.
 Agape, 2, 9, 12, 140.
 Agatha, St., 272.
 Agde, Council of, 79.
 Agnes, St., 272.
Agnus Dei, 65, 288-90.
 Agobard, of Lyons, 268.
 Agthamar, Patriarch of, 48.
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Council of, 204.
Ajus, 49, 153, 224.
Akuateta qerban, 231.
 Alb, 118.
 Albania, 46.
 Alcuin, 92.
 Aldhelm, 94.
 Alexander I, Pope, 253, 272.
 Alexandria, 33, 40-1, 98-9.
 Council of, 260.
 Alleluia, 94, 128, 129, 131, 137, 175-7, 183, 214, 221, 292.
 dulce carmen, 177.
 Altar, Heavenly, 318-20.
 Amalarius of Metz, 165, 177, 269, 280, 289.
 Ambo, 112.
 Ambrose, St., of Milan, 55, 77, 142, 148, 184, 188, 315.
 Ambrosian Liturgy, 101.
 Amice, 117.
 Anamnesis, 26, 55, 98, 105, 245, 252-4, 256, 258, 283.
 Anaphora, 16, 105, 206, 230.
 Prayer of, 136.
 Anastasia, St., 272.
 Anastasius Sinaita, 232.
 Anathema, 171, 203-5.
 Andrew, St., 36.
 Anglican Communion, 102.
 Answering Prayer, 146.
Ante orationem Dominicam, 83.
 Anthem, 210, 221, 296.
 before the Gospel, 176, 179.
 of the Bema, 292.
 of the Gospel, 183, 214.
 of the Mysteries, 212.
 of Praise, 282.
 of the Sanctuary, 137.
 Antidoron, *see* Eulogia.
 Antioch, 32, 35, 40-1, 44.
 Antiphon, 131, 141-2, 173, 293.
 Prayer of, 131.
Antiphona ad introitum, 143 158.
 ad praelegendum, 143.
 Antiphonary, 68, 94.
 Apostle, *see* Epistle.
 Apostolic Constitutions, 35, 318.
 Tradition, 21, 35, 43, 50, 55-57 99.
 Aquileia, 99.
 Arabia, 32, 41.
 Arcudius, Peter, 214.
 Arles, 77.
 Armenia, 35, 48.
 Liturgy of, 48, 106.
 Arnobius Afer, 147.
 Arrian, 155.
Asbadikon, 110.
 Asia Minor, 33, 35, 44.
Asterisk, 124.
 Ataulphus (Adolphus), 75.
 Athley, E. G. C., 56, 102, 149.

- Athanasius, St., 142, 161, 172, 238,
313.
Anaphora of, 37.
Prayer of, 218.
- Athenagoras, 147.
- Atticus of Constantinople, 271.
- Augustine of Canterbury, 79, 94.
of Hippo, 52, 140, 142, 147, 167,
173-5, 178, 184-5, 189, 208,
211, 221, 234, 271, 292, 295,
316.
- Auxentius of Milan, 77, 194.
- Babylas of Antioch, 33.
- Balsamon, *see* Theodore.
- Baptismal Agape, 15.
Formula, 20.
- Bardy, G., 51.
- Barnabas, St., 272.
- Barsumas, 34.
- Bartlet, V., 8.
- Basil of Caesarea, 167, 264, 279.
314.
Anaphora of, 42.*
Liturgy of, Byzantine, 46;
Coptic, 42.
Prayer of, 137.
- Battifol, P., 62, 184, 232, 261.
- Baumstark, A., 25, 37, 39, 48, 73,
140, 144, 152, 166, 198, 237.
- Beatitudes, 129, 134.
- Bede, Venerable, 65, 79.
- Beleth, John, 289.
- Belisarius, 70.
- Benedicamus Domino*, 301.
- Benedicite*, 169, 172.
- Benedict VIII, Pope, 200.
St., of Norcia, 157.
- Benedictines, 80.
- Benedictio*, 73, 92, 274, 278, 310.
super populum, 83, 300.
- Benedictus Domine Deus*, 159.
es Domine, 169.
qui venit, 54, 129, 161, 181-2,
242-3, 282, 296.
- Bergamo, Sacramentary of, 86.
- Berno of Reichenau, 161, 200.
- Bernold of Constance, *see* Micro-
logus.
- Bianchini, J., 68.
- Biasca, Sacramentary of, 86, 101.
- Bidding Prayer, 199.
- Bishop, E., 84-5, 92, 94-5, 153-7,
228, 261.
W. C., 78, 99, 244.
- Blessing, of Catechumens, 187;
deacon, 146, 180; God, 127,
297; ministers, 217; oil, 265;
penitents, 187; people, 154,
193, 207, 273, 301; reader,
167; kingdom, 130.
Prayer of, 299.
See also Benedictio.
- Bobbio, 68, 84.
Missal, 83.
- Boniface I, Pope, 62.
IV, 65.
St., 98.
- Book of Common Prayer, 102.
- Bosnia, 45.
- Braga, 72, 75.
Council of, 232.
- Bread, Forms of, 110; Making of,
107; Unleavened, 109-11.
- Breaking of the Bread, *see* Frac-
tion.
- Brightman, F. E., 36-9, 42-3, 46-
9, 67, 191, 253.
- Buchra*, 287.
- Buchwald, R., 71, 99, 261.
- Bulgaria, 45.
- Bunsen, C., 97, 261.
- Burkitt, F. C., 85.
- Bute, Marquis of, 42.
- Byzantine Rite, 35, 37, 41, 43-8,
106.
- Cabrol, F., 91, 94, 97, 157, 175,
207, 238, 280, 285, 289.
- Caesarea in Cappadocia, 46-8.
in Syria, 32.
- Caesarius of Arles, 156.
of Nazianzus, 151.
- Cagin, P., 9, 59, 94, 97, 227, 238,
285.
- Callistus, Pope, 22.
Cemetery of, 69.
- Cancelli*, 112.
- Canon, 48, 50, 54-7, 67, 71-3, 75,
83-5, 75, 87-90.
actionis, 231.
- Canons of Hippolytus, 21, 22.

- Cantus*, 177-8.
 in directum, 172, 177.
Capita, 72-3.
Capitulum Sancti Gregorii, 87.
 Carmelites, 101, 143.
 Carthusians, 101, 143, 167.
 Casel, O., 8.
 Cassiodorus, 292.
Catechizatio, 25.
 Catechumens, *see* Mass of; Dis-
 missals.
 Catholic Epistle, 166, 170.
 Catholicos, 38, 48.
 Cecilia, St., 272.
 Celestine I, Pope, 62, 141, 184, 198.
 Censing, *see* Incense.
 Chalcedon, Council of, 32-4, 40,
 44, 48, 201.
 Chalice, Mixed, 106, 111.
 Characteristics of Rites, 105.
 Charinus, *see* Leucius.
 Charlemagne, 81, 91, 94, 98, 161,
 167, 204.
 Charles the Bald, 218.
 Chasuble, 119.
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 184.
Cheoubicon, 137, 213-15, 221.
Chronicon paschale, 213, 296-7.
 Chrysogonus, St., 272.
 Chrysostom, St. John, 33, 47,
 145-7, 167, 185-6, 191, 215,
 233, 242, 271, 316.
 Liturgy of, 47.
 Church, Ordering of, 111.
 Church Orders, 6, 21.
 Cilicia, 35, 39.
Clausum Alleluia, 177.
 Clement VIII, Pope, 101.
 of Alexandria, 17, 20, 31, 147,
 185, 194, 205.
 of Rome, 11, 36, 49, 140, 272, 304.
 Cletus, St., Pope, 272.
 Clovis, 80.
 Codrington, H. W., 48.
 Collect, 69, 70, 73-88, 91, 163.
Collectio, 83, 164, 300.
 ad pacem, 83, 209, 210.
 post nomina, 76, 83, 84, 164, 228,
 229, 267, 308.
 post precem, 83.
 post prophetiam, 83, 160, 164.
 Comfortable Words, 199.
Commixtio, 41, 110, 285, 286-7.
Commune, 87.
Communicantes, 54, 71-3, 90,
 272-3, 310.
Communio, 291-3.
 Communion, 15, 291.
 Hymn, 221, 291.
 in both kinds, 106.
Competentes, 188.
 Composition, liberty of, 25, 73, 99,
 240.
 Confession, 5, 115, 199, 279.
Confractorium, 285.
 Connolly, R. H., 22, 24, 39, 63, 227,
 271.
 Consignation, 283, 287.
 Constantine, 29, 31, 44.
 Constantinople, 30, 33-5, 40-1, 43,
 48, 75, 77.
 Council of (sub Menna), 151,
 159; (in Trull.), 36, 46, 151,
 184.
Contestatio, 83, 241.
 Cope, 119.
 Coptic Liturgy, 42.
 Copts, 41.
 Cornelius, Pope, 51-2, 198, 272.
 Cosmas, St., 272.
 Creation, Commemoration of, 236,
 238-9.
 Creed, 6, 42, 190, 200-5, 287, 311.
 Cross, Church of the Holy, 31.
 Exaltation of, 65, 88.
 Veneration of, 152.
 Cross-spoon, 128.
 Crown, 117.
 Cuffs, 118.
Cursus, 165.
Cushshapha, 234, 320.
 Cyprian, St., 20, 52, 164, 198, 234,
 253, 270, 272.
 Cyprus, 44.
 Cyril of Alexandria, 41, 253-4, 271.
 Jerusalem, 32, 205, 208, 222,
 233, 238, 242, 245, 253, 266,
 276, 277, 292, 313.
 Dalmatia, 45.
 Dalmatic, 119.
 Damasus, Pope, 64, 97, 176.

- Damian, St., 272.
 De Meester, P., 46, 196.
De Mysteriis, 55.
De Sacramentis, 55, 98-9.
De Virginitate, 10, 27.
 Decentius of Gubbio, 57, 206.
 Deir Balyzeh papyrus, 42.
 Departed, Commemoration of, 89;
 see also Diptychs.
 Deprecation, 254.
Didache, 5, 6, 10-11, 15, 27, 280.
Didascalía, 312.
Diesque nostros, 64, 71, 85, 87, 94.
 Diodorus of Tarsus, 33, 141.
 Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo),
 148, 188, 215.
 Dioscorus of Alexandria, 34, 40.
 Diptychs, 58, 105, 190, 206-7, 223,
 225-9, 266, 270.
Disciplina arcana, 29.
 Dismissal (at end), 301, 311.
 of Catechumens, &c., 137, 185-9.
 Dix, G., 21, 25.
Domine miserere, 158.
 Dominicans, 48, 101, 143.
 Doxology, 113, 142, 174, 297; *see*
 also Gloria Patri.
 Duchesne, L., 8, 63, 70-1, 77, 82,
 85, 90, 94, 160, 193, 240, 274,
 289.
 Durandus of Mende, 280.

 East and West, 30, 104.
 East Syria, 38.
 Ecclesiastical Canons, 21.
Ecphonesis, 131.
Ectene, *see* Litany.
 Ecumenical Patriarch, 44.
 Egbert of York, 94.
 Egypt, 34-5, 40-3, 105.
 Egyptian Church Order, 21.
Eisodikon, *see* εἰσοδικόν.
 Elevation, 128, 279-82, 284-5.
 Elvira, Council of, 228.
 Embolism of Lord's Prayer, 277.
 Emperors, Prayer for, 29, 268.
Enarxis, Byzantine, 106, 130-5,
 195; Egyptian, 135, 319.
 Energumens, 188, 228.
 England, 51, 98.
 Church of, 102.

 Entrance, Greater, 190, 210-16.
 Little, 130, 132, 135, 144-6, 180.
 of Ministers, 140.
 Prayer of, 125, 132, 135, 145,
 (Greater) 214, 223-4.
 Epaoene, Council of, 188.
 Ephesus, 34, 44.
 Ephrem the Syrian, 147, 313.
Epiclesis, 28, 98-100, 196, 259-65,
 299, 311-18.
 Episcopal Church in Scotland, 103.
 Epistle, 129, 166, 171-2, 176.
 Epistolary, 68.
 Esthonia, Church of, 46.
 Etheria, Pilgrimage of, 32, 130,
 139, 148, 155, 183, 189.
 Ethiopia, 41, 43.
 Ethiopian Church Ordinances, 21.
Eulogia, 108, 111, 302.
 Eusebius of Caesarea, 17, 22.
 Eustathius, 148.
 Eutyches, 34.
 Eutychanism, 34, 40.
 Euty chius of Constantinople, 212.
 Evangeliary, 68.
 Exaltation of the Cross, 65, 88.
 Exeter, Synod of, 280.
 Exorcist, 280.

 Faithful, Mass of, 189.
 Prayers of, 191, 194-9, 266.
 Farcing, 159, 213.
 Faustus of Byzantium, 46.
 Felicitas, St., 272.
 Feltoe, C. L., 68, 71.
 Férotin, M., 76, 153.
Filioque, 200, 203.
 Finland, 46.
 Firmilian of Caesarea, 31, 312.
 Flavian and Diodorus, 141.
 Fortescue, A., 8, 99, 175, 261, 267,
 280.
 Fraction, 66, 273, 276, 279, 282-6,
 289.
 Prayer of, 285.
 Franks, 80, 85, 88-9.
 Frere, W. H., 56, 235.
 Frumentius of Abyssinia, 43.
 Fulgentius of Ruspe, 317.

 Gallican Rite, 59, 74, 76, 97.

- Gallicanum, Missale vetus*, 83.
 Gastoué, A., 289.
 Gaul, 50, 76, 78.
 Gelasian Sacramentary, 86-91, 98.
 Eighth Century, 89, 98.
 Gelasius, Pope, 64, 81, 85-7, 98-9,
 231, 241, 260, 317.
 Gennadius, 86.
 Genual, 119.
 George Cedrenus, 212.
 Georgia, 46.
 Germanus, 81, 88.
 Girdle, 118.
 Gloria in excelsis, 64, 108, 137, 142,
 153, 160-3, 164-5, 217, 282,
 288, 299, 311.
 Patri, 142; *see* Doxology.
 tibi, 182.
 Gloves, 119.
 Good Friday Prayers, 88, 197.
 Gore, C., 70.
 Gospel, 16, 129, 155, 166, 180-3.
 Last, 106, 299, 302.
 Prayer before, 180.
Gothicum, Missale, 82.
 Grace, 105, 172, 183.
 before meals, 10, 20, 27.
 Gradual, 172-4.
 Great Alleluia, 174.
 Church, 35.
 Greece, Church of, 45.
 Greek, Language in Rome, 49.
 Gregorian Sacramentary, 81, 86,
 90, 91-6, 98, 100.
 Gregory, St., Pope, 64, 66, 71, 79,
 85, 87, 90-1, 94-6, 98-9, 142,
 156, 176, 184, 188, 275-6, 285.
 Dialogus, Liturgy of, 47.
 the Illuminator, 48, 110, 200,
 205.
 of Mopsuestia, 42.
 of Nazianzus, 314.
 of Neo-Caesarea, 31.
 of Nyssa, 238, 314.
 of Tours, 156, 159, 161, 167, 174,
 182.
 II, Pope, 65.
 VII, 76, 211.
 unknown, 70.
 Greiff, A., 8.
 Gubbio, 57, 79.
 Hadrian, Emperor, 31.
 I, Pope, 81, 91, 93, 98, 204.
 Hagiology, 213.
 'Hail Mary', 154.
Hanc igitur, 54, 65, 71-4, 85, 98,
 219, 273.
 Harden, J. M., 43.
 Harnack, A., 6.
 Henry II, Emperor, 200.
 Hermas, 49.
 Herodotus, 226.
 Herzegovina, 45.
 Hilary, Pope, 64, 71.
 of Tours, 90, 162.
 Hippolytus, 21-2, 49, 50, 53-4,
 312.
 Holy Ghost, Invocation of, *see*
 Epiclesis.
 Honorius, Emperor, 62.
 Hosanna, 54, 242-3, 282.
 Humble Access, Prayer of, 199,
 279.

Iconostasis, 112.
 Ignatius, St., 11, 33, 141, 272.
Ikon, 215.
Illatio, 76, 241, 308.
Immolatio, 83, 241.
 Imposition of hand, 300.
 Improvisation, 25, 72-3, 99, 240.
In Alleluia, 177.
 directum, 173, 177.
 fractionem, 285.
 Incarnation, Memorial of, 26, 235,
 239, 244, 311.
 Incense, 105, 138, 146, 147-51,
 154, 169, 170-2, 181, 190, 209,
 215-16, 220, 283, 319-20.
 Inclination, 190, 199, 276, 278,
 299, 318.
Infra actionem, 285.
Ingressa, 143, 177.
 Innocent I, Pope, 57, 79, 97-8,
 207, 228, 267.
 III, 289.
 Institution, Words of, 16, 26, 39,
 42, 57, 83, 97-8, 100, 106, 245-
 52, 282, 311.
 Intercession, 98, 100, 105-6, 217,
 225, 265-73.
 Introit, 141-4, 221, 306.

- Invitatorium*, 143.
 Invocation, 19, 26, 42, 56, 98-100, 105-6, 216, 254, 259-65, 311-18; see also Epiclesis.
 Ireland, 51, 79, 84-5, 103.
 Irenaeus, 17, 183, 258, 312.
 Isaac of Rome, 52; of Armenia, 41, 262.
 Isidore of Seville, 75, 82-3, 224, 229, 253, 317.
 Islam, see Moslems.
Ite missa est, 301.
 Jacob Baradaeus, 35.
 Jacobites, 35-8, 42.
 James, Liturgy of, 36-7, 40-1, 97.
 James of Edessa, 37, 233.
 Jerome, St., 37, 175-6, 182, 228, 292.
 Jerusalem, 31, 34-5, 37-9, 48.
 Jesuyab III, Patriarch of the East, 39.
 Jewish Prayers, 11.
 John of Antioch, 34.
 the Baptist, 272.
 Biclairensis, 201.
 of Bostra, 223.
 of Damascus, 242, 255, 280.
 the Deacon, 64, 94, 211, 295.
 the Evangelist, 272.
 Martyr of Rome, 272.
 of Syracuse, 156.
Joser, 140, 166.
 Jubilus, 178.
 Jugo-Slavia, see Serbia.
 Julius Africanus, 31.
 Severus, 31.
 Justin Martyr, 13-17, 21, 26, 31, 36, 49, 139, 147, 183, 194, 205, 253, 266, 311.
 Justin II, Emperor, 201, 212.
 Justina, Empress, 173.
 Justinian, Emperor, 65, 133, 258.
 Juvenal of Jerusalem, 32, 34.
 Karlovcy, Synod of, 46.
 Kingdom, portion of Host, 284.
Kiralayeson, 137.
 Kiss of Peace, 6, 15, 16, 26, 97, 106, 115, 139, 149, 190, 205-10, 226, 289, 311.
Kurrilison, 150.
Kyrie eleison, 113, 142, 155-9, 186, 191, 281, 303.
Lachumara, 137, 151.
 Lactantius, 147.
 'Lamb', 122, 288.
 Laodicea, Council of, 174, 187, 195.
 Latin, in the Roman Liturgy, 50-2, 97.
 Latvia, 46.
Lauda, see Laudes.
Laudes, Gallican, 221; Mozarabis, 176, 183, 214, 307.
 Laurence, St., 69, 272.
Lavabo, 119, 190, 222-3, 281.
 Lavatory, see Lavabo.
 Law, The, 166.
 LeJay, P., 207.
 Leaven, 107-9.
 Lebrun, P., 290.
 Leclercq, H., 9, 36.
 Lections, 5, 15-7, 166.
 Legends of Saints, 167-8.
 Lent, Thursdays in, 65, 87.
 Wednesdays, &c., in, 87.
 Leo I, Pope, 64, 68, 70-1, 98, 100, 174, 184.
 III, 161, 200, 204.
 XIII, 101.
 Leo Thuscus, 123, 133.
 Leonian Sacramentary, 67-74, 90-1.
 Leontius of Byzantium, 46.
 Leucius Charinus, 17.
Liber Gradualis, 68.
 Mozarabic Sacramentorum, 76.
 Pontificalis, 63-5, 70, 73, 86, 141, 147, 161, 238, 241, 253.
 Lietzmann, H., 9, 70, 93-4.
 Linus, St. Pope, 272.
 Listeners, 187.
Litania, 158.
 Litany, 65, 106, 130-5, 154-9, 164, 172, 180-1, 183, 186, 190, 191-4, 195, 198, 217, 273, 275-6, 285, 297.
 Great, 131.
 of Saints, 194.
 Lithuania, 46.
 Lives of Saints, see Legends.

- Lombards, 48, 50.
 Lord's Day, First Prayers of, 136, 154.
 Lord's Prayer, 20, 66-7, 87, 94, 102, 108, 113, 137, 231, 274-8, 297, 299, 303.
 Lorenz, R., 22.
 Low Mass, 100.
 Lowe, E. A., 84.
 Lyons, 49, 79.

 Mabillon, J., 84, 222.
 Macarius of Jerusalem, 32.
 Macedonius of Constantinople, 200, 260.
 Macon, Council of, 211.
 Malabar, Church and Liturgy of, 37-8.
Malca, leaven, 108, 110.
 Manazkert, Council of, 111.
 Maniple, 118.
 Mansi, J. D., 200.
 Marcellinus, St., 272.
 Marcian, Emperor, 34.
 Marcion, heretic, 51.
 Marcus, heretic, 75.
 Aurelius, Emperor, 30, 49.
 Marius Victorinus, 52.
 Mark, St., 41.
 Liturgy of, 41.
Marmitha, 137.
 Maro, John, 39.
 Maronites, 39.
 Martin, St., 90.
 Mary, The Blessed Virgin, 65.
 Prayer of, 303.
 Maskell, W., 115, 280.
Masob, 126.
 Mass of Catechumens, 25, 61, 138, 319.
 Faithful, 61, 189.
 Matthias, St., 272.
 Maundy Thursday, 70, 108.
 Maurice, Emperor, 290.
 Maximus, Confessor, 144-5, 155, 167, 188, 201.
 McClure and Feltoe, 184.
 Meal Common, *see* Agape.
Mecaprana, 108.
Meghedi, 125.
 Melchites, 35, 43.

 Melchizedek, 52.
 Meletius of Antioch, 33.
Memento Domine, 54, 59, 89, 269, 271.
 etiam, 55, 88-9, 90, 228, 267, 273.
 Memoirs of the Apostles, 15-16.
 Memorial, *see* Anamnesis; also 130, 196, 279.
 Mercati, G., 68, 71.
 Mercer, S. A. B., 43.
 Mesedi, 171.
 Metz, School of Music, 81.
 Michael Caerularius, 109.
 Micrologus, 92, 161, 219, 280.
 Milan, 77-9, 84, 101; *see also* Ambrosian.
 Milevis, Council of, 73.
 Mingana, A., 206, 229.
Ministeria, 64.
Miserere Domine, 155.
Miserere nobis, 289.
Mishna, 166.
Missa, 75, 224, 307.
Missale Francorum, 85-6.
 Gallicanum vetus, 83.
 Gothicum, 82.
 mixtum, 76.
 plenum, 68, 101.
 Mitre, 119.
 Mixed chalice, 17.
 Moelcaich, 85.
 Mommsen, T., 63.
 Mone, F. J., 82.
Monogenes, 129-31, 133, 143.
 Monophysites, *see* Jacobites.
 Monothelites, 39.
 Monte Cassino, 91, 95.
 Montenegro, 45.
 Morin, G., 59, 94.
 Morning, Prayer of, 135.
 Service, 139.
 Moses of Armenia, 290.
 Moslems, 38-9, 43, 75-6.
 'Mother of Faith', 296.
 Moultrie, G., 213.
 Mozarabic, 75-6, 83, 306-11.
Mysteria, 58-63.

 Names of offerers, 58-61, 89, 228.
 Narsai, 39, 287.

- Narthex, 144.
 Natalis, 147.
 Neale, J. M., 258.
 Nestorians, 34-5, 37-9, 105.
 Nestorius, 34.
 Liturgy of, 39.
 Nicaea, Council of, 32, 40, 44,
 201-2.
 Second Council, 204.
 Nicephorus of Constantinople, 125,
 290.
 Nicolas Cabasilas, 122-3.
 Nikon of Moscow, 282.
 Nilus of Sinai, 316.
 Ninevites, Fast of the, 128.
Nobis quoque peccatoribus, 55, 271.
 Notker of St. Gall, 178.
 Novation, 36, 51.
 Nuptials, Prayer of, 128.

Oblation, 26-7, 52-7, 66-7, 136,
 252, 254-5, 256-9.
Obsecrationes sacerdotales, 198.
 Offerings, 15, 139, 211, 227-8.
Offertorium, 221.
 Offertory, 16, 26, 190, 196, 210,
 213, 216-22, 226-7, 257, 302,
 311.
Officium, 143, 160, 306.
 Oil, Blessing of, 265.
 in the Bread, 107.
 Old Catholic Church, 104.
 Old Testament Lections, 167-8.
 Optatus of Milevis, 315.
Oratio, 76, 158, 163-4, 224, 306.
Oratio ad collectam, 164.
 ad pacem, 210.
 post ymnium, 170.
 super oblatum, 225.
 super populum, 163.
 super sindonem, 224-5.
Orationes solemnes, 197.
 Orders, Church, 21; *see also* Apostolic Constitutions.
 Ordinary of the Mass, 91.
Ordo Romanus, 68, 140.
 Oremus, 198, 224.
 Origen, 20, 33, 116, 147, 183, 205.
 Orleans, Council of, 89.
 Orthodox Church, 35, 40-1.
Orthros, 113.

 Oven, 108, 112.

 Palestine, *see* Jerusalem.
 Palladius of Saintes, 159.
 Pantheon, 65.
 Paschal Candle, 78, 241.
 Paul, St., 33, 49.
 the Deacon, 81.
 the Grammarian, 81.
 the Roman Martyr, 272.
 of Samosata, 33.
 Pauline Epistles, *see* Epistle.
 Paulinus of Antioch, 33.
Pax, 131, 145, 157, 165, 168, 172,
 180, 183, 274, 285, 288, 293, 299.
 Pectoral Cross, 119.
 Pelagius, Pope, 70, 268.
 Penitents, 187-8, 228.
Per quem, 55, 278.
 Perpetua, St., 272.
 Persia, 34-5.
 Peter of Alexandria, 313.
 the Deacon, 46.
 Ethiops, 43.
 the Fuller, 152, 200.
 the Martyr, 272.
 and Paul, Festival of, 69.
 Liturgy of, 48.
 Philotheus, *Constitutions* of, 195-6.
 Phocas, Emperor, 65.
 Pilot of my Soul, 298, 300.
 Pippin, 80-1.
 Pius V, Pope, 101.
 X, 101.
 Pliny, 12, 141.
 Poland, 46.
 Polycarp of Smyrna, 49.
 Pontianus, Pope, 22.
 Pontius Pilate, 222.
 Pontus, 33, 44.
Post Ajos, 154.
 benedictionem, 170.
 clausum Paschae, 88.
 communione, *see Postcommunio*.
 mysterium, 254.
 nomina, *see Collectio post nomina*.
 pridie, 76, 97, 246, 254, 310.
 sanctus, 83, 97, 241, 244, 309.
 secreta, 83, 254.

- Postcommunio*, 69, 83, 88, 91, 297, 300, 311.
Praefatio, 73, 88, 91-2, 97, 234-5, 240-2, 309.
Missae, 83, 224.
post communionem, 300.
Praefatiuncula, 92-4.
 Praise of God, 235.
 Prayer of our Father, 276.
 Prayers of the Faithful, 5, 15, 16, 26, 42, 63, 194-9.
 Prayers to the Son, 105.
 Pre-anaphora, 16.
 Preface, *see* *Praefatio*.
 Preparation, 106, 113.
 (i.e. Saturday), 140.
 Presanctified, Mass of, 140.
Prex, 58-62, 66-7, 231.
 Priscillian, 75, 233.
Pritshasten, 291.
 Probst, F., 71, 97, 267.
 Processions, 94.
 Proclus of Constantinople, 151.
 Profuturus of Braga, 72, 75, 80.
Prokeimenon, *see* *προκείμενον*.
 Prone, 199.
 Propers, 87.
 Prophecy, 159-60.
 Prophet (Lection), 15-16, 159-60, 166-8.
 Prose, 178.
 Prothesis, 106, 107-8, 120-9, 144, 210, 213, 215-17, 281, 319-20.
 (oblation), 136, 318.
 Chapel of, 112, 302.
Psallenda, 174, 177, 306.
 Psalm, 5, 167-8.
Psalmellus, 171, 177.
 Pseudo-Dionysius, *see* *Dionysius*.
 Puyade, Dom., 133.
Qeddase, 231.
Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti, 52, 262.
Quam oblationem, 54, 74, 261, 265, 267.
Quddasha, 231.
Qui pridie, 55, 74, 246.
Qurbono, 126, 196, 212.
Qurobho, 230.
 Ratcliff, E. C., 39, 239.
 Ravenna, 77, 98.
 Reccared, 74, 200.
 Redemption, Account of, 236.
 Reformation, 50.
 Regions, 26.
 Remedijs of Chur, 83.
 Remigius of Rheims, 80.
 Renaudot, E., 39, 42.
 Reproaches, 152.
 Respond, 171, 172-4, 177, 292.
Responsorium, 173-4, 176-7.
 Rheinau, Sacramentary of, 88-9.
 Rogations, 78, 82, 89.
 Romano-Gallican Rite, 83-96.
 Rome, 49, 69.
 Church of, 38, 49, 50, 80, 91, 106.
 Missal, 67, 95.
 Rite, character of, 80; *see also* Canon.
 Rufinus of Aquileia, 188.
 Rule, M., 71.
 Rumania, Church of, 45.
 Russia, 44-6.
 Sacramentary, 67-8; *see also* Gelasian, &c.
Sacramentum, 12.
Sacrificium, 62, 214, 221, 307.
 Sacristy, Prayers in, 303.
Saghavart, 118.
Saghmos Jashou, 168.
 Saints, Commemoration of, 123-4, 132, 270.
 St. Gall, 89-91.
 Salaville, S., 92.
 Salt, 107.
 Salutation, 105, 165, 181, 230, 300.
Sancta sanctis, 243.
Sanctorale, 87, 95.
 Sanctuary, Arrangement of, 111-12.
Sanctum sacrificium, 64, 71.
Sanctus, 17, 42, 54, 73, 97, 98, 105, 231, 237-40.
Sanctus Deus Archangelorum, 160.
 Sarapion, 27, 42, 313.
Schola cantorum, 94, 174, 289.
Scholasticus, 66-7.
 Schuster, I., 9, 59, 143, 174, 175.
 Schwartz, E., 22.

Scotland, Church in, 51, 103.

Screen, 112.

'Seal', 122.

Secret, 61-2, 69, 73, 84, 89, 91, 97,
224-5.

Sedro, 126, 150, 212, 216, 303.

Sedulius, 143.

Sequence, 178-9.

Sergius, Pope, 65, 288.

Patriarch of Constantinople, 296.
of Tella, 37.

Sermon, 5, 15-16, 183-5.

Servia, Church of, 45.

Severus of Antioch, 133.

Prayer of, 126, 209.

Shamamout, 131.

Shoes, 119.

Shuraya, 168.

Si quis, 158.

Simplicius, Pope, 69-71.

Sinai, Church of, 35, 44.

Sinodos, 21.

Sixtus I, Pope, 238, 272.

Slavonic, 44-5.

Socrates, Historian, 140-1.

Sonus, 214.

Soter, Pope, 147.

Sozomen, Historian, 175, 181-2,
184.

Spain, 50, 74-6, 84.

Spear, 121.

Stations (Churches), 64, 69, 89,
140, 164.

(Days), 5, 87, 139, 157.

Statutes of the Apostles, 21.

Stephen, St., 69, 272.

I, Pope, 69.

II, 81.

Stole, 118.

Stowe Missal, 84-5.

Suevi, 75.

Summus sacerdos, 52.

Super oblatum, 225.

populum, 165, 300.

Supplicatio litaniae, 157.

Supplices te rogamus, 55, 64, 74,
261, 264, 318.

Supra quae, 55, 74, 99, 262, 265,
319.

Sursum corda, 26, 54, 73, 233,
311.

Suscipe sancta Trinitas, 229.

Swainson, C. A., 36, 41.

Sweden, Church of, 51, 103.

Swete, H. B., 5.

Symmachus, Pope, 64, 100, 161.

Synagogue Service, 5, 166.

Synapte, see *ὐναπτή*.

Synaxar, 168.

Synaxis, 140, 146.

Syria, 31, 34-8, 105.

Syrian Jacobites, 37.

Tasfa Sion, 43.

Te igitur, 54, 59, 73, 261, 268-9.

Telesphorus, Pope, 161.

Temporale, 95.

Tersanctus, 154, 169, 213, 224,
237-8.

Tertullian, 4, 20, 50, 51, 139, 147,
172, 175, 183, 185, 206, 238.

Testamentum Domini, 21, 315.

Thanksgiving after Communion,
297-9.

at meals, see *Grace*.

at Oblation, 258-9.

The great, 12, 16, 26, 105, 234-7,
244-5.

Prayer of, 298.

Theodore Balsamon, 41.

the Interpreter, 39.

the Lector, 200.

of Mopsuestia, 33, 141, 190, 206,
229, 281, 287, 316.

the Studite, 121.

Theodoret, 141, 233.

Theodosius, Emperor, 75, 151, 189,
II, 62.

Monk, 34.

Theophanes the Chronographer,
133.

Theophilus of Alexandria, 33, 302,
315.

Thrace, 33, 44.

Throne, Prayer from, 155.

Thursdays in Lent, 65, 87.

Timotheus of Constantinople, 152,
200.

of Alexandria, 205.

Toledo, 76, 101, 162, 169, 176,
200-1, 203.

Tombs of Martyrs, 69.

- Tract, 173-4, 176-8.
 Tradition, Reverence for, 99.
Transitorium, 291.
 Treasury, in Nestorian Churches, 112.
Trecanum, 291.
 Trent, Council of, 101.
Trisagion, 41, 108, 110, 129, 136, 146, 151-5, 159, 169, 176, 181.
 Prayer of, 153, 164.
Troparion, 215.
 Trullo, *see* Constantinople, Council of.
 Tunicle, 119.
Turgama, 171, 179.
 Turks, 45.
Typicon, 129-30.

Unde et memores, 55, 74, 254.
 Uniat Churches, 35, 38-9, 42-3.
 Unleavened bread, 109-11, 211.
 Urban VIII, Pope, 101.

Vacas, 118.
 Vaison, Council of, 155, 158, 182.
 Vandals, 75.
 Vannes, Council of, 79.
 Variables, 64, 104, 106.
Vecchioni, 211.
 Veil, 112, 150, 212.
 over the oblation, 124, 127, 128, 201.
 Prayer of, 190, 217, 223-4.
 Veneration of the Cross, 152.
Veni Creator, 114.
 Verona Latin Fragments, 21.
 Sacramentary, *see* Leonian.
 Verse, Mass in, 82.
Versus ad respandendum, 142.
ad repetendum, 142.
prophetialis, 142.
 Vesting, 116-19.
 Vigilius, Pope, 65, 70, 72-3, 75, 80, 100, 231, 268.
 Visigoths, 74-5, 79.
 Vitiges, 70.
 Von de Golze, 9.
 Votive Masses, 87.

 Walafrid Strabo, 87, 94, 164, 231, 289.
 Wales, Church of, 103.
 Warner, Sir G. F., 163.
 Warnings, 216, 232.
 Water, Warm, 106-7.
 in the chalice, 111, 123.
 Wednesdays, &c., in Lent, 87.
 Wilmart, A., 82, 94.
 Wilson, H. A., 91, 93.
 Wine, White, 111.
 Wobbermin, G., 42.
 Woolley, R. M., 6, 8, 19-20, 108-10.
 Wordsworth, J., 42.
 Wright, W., 18.
 Writings (Lections), 166.

 Ximenes, Cardinal, 76.

Υπαρπanti, 65.
Zeon, 106, 290.
 Zephyrinus, Pope, 22.

ἀήρ, the top Veil of the Oblation, 201.
ἀκροστίχιον, the refrain of a respond, 172.
ἀκροώμενοι, the second order of penitents, 187.
ἀναφορά, 230.
ἀπόλυσις, the conclusion of an act of worship,
 the Lesser, 125, 129.
 the Greater, 302.
ἀπολυτική (εὐχή), 301.
ἀπολυτικόν, 146, 296.
διάταξις, the *Constitutions* of Philotheus, 195.
εἰς ἅγιος, 161, 284.
εἰσοδικόν, 146.
ἐκτενῆ (see Litany), 131, 195.
ἐνθεαστικόν, 146.
ἔνωσις, 286.
ἐπίκλησις, 262; *see also Epiclesis*.
εὐχαριστία, 6, 9, 14.
εὐχή ἀποκριτική, 146.
ζέον, *see Zeon*.
θρόνος ἱερατικός, 155.
καθέδρα, ἡ ἄνω, 155.
καθολικόν, the Catholic Epistle, 170.
καταπέτασμα, the Sanctuary Veil, 223.

κοινωνικόν, 288, 291, 295.

κοντάκιον, 146.

λιτή, 129.

μονογενής, see *Monogenes*.

μόνος, applied to the Church, 195.

ὀπισθάμβωνος, the Prayer 'behind the *Ambo*', 301.

παράστασις, 137.

πλήρωμα, the Commixture, 285.

προέλευσις, Procession, 145.

προκείμενον, 168, 171.

προσκλαίοντες, the first order of penitents, 187.

προσφορά, 17.

πρόσχωμεν, the deacon's call to attention, 293.

πρόψαλμα, 171.

σοφία, a call to attention to instruction, 195.

στῶμεν καλῶς, 232.

συναπή, 130; see *Litany*.

συνιστάμενοι, the fourth order of penitents, 188.

τριάγιον, of the *Sanctus*, 242; see also *Trisagion*.

τροπάριον, 146, 291, 296, 297.

τυπικά, 129.

ὑποπίπτοντες, the third order of penitents, 188.

φωτιζόμενοι, candidates for baptism, 188.

ψάλλτης, 172.

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