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FESTA PASCHALIA

*A History of the
Holy Week Liturgy
in the Roman Rite*



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For Daphne
Coniugi optima

CHAPTER 7

MAUNDY THURSDAY

In the Roman Rite, the history of Holy Thursday (or Maundy Thursday as it is more commonly known in English-speaking countries) is characterized by three aspects: first, it was the day on which those who had been required to do public penance during Lent were reconciled and readmitted to the company of the faithful, in order to enable them to take a full part in the Easter ceremonies; secondly, it was the day on which Christ's institution of the Holy Eucharist in the course of the Last Supper was commemorated; and thirdly, it was the day on which the holy oils to be used in the baptism and confirmation of the catechumens during the Easter Vigil were blessed. This tripartite aspect of the day was established at an early date. Pope Silvester (314–355) is recorded as having said, in a letter to the Greek Church, 'On this day the sacrifice of the sacred Body and Blood of the Lord was initiated as a celebration by the Lord himself. On this day the holy chrism is consecrated throughout the world; on this day too pardon is granted to penitents, those at enmity are reconciled, those who are aggrieved are pacified.'¹ The letter may be apocryphal, but it undoubtedly reflects the practice in Rome at the time the *Vita Sylvestri* was composed, the second half of the fifth century.

In Pope Sylvester's letter the day is called simply *quinta feria*, and this is also the name under which it appears in a letter of the priest Uranus written in 431, in which he refers to the celebration of the Lord's Supper on this day.² About seventy years later St Avitus of Vienne calls it the 'Birthday of the Chalice' (*Natalis calicis*).³ Around 620 St Isidore of Seville calls it the 'Lord's Supper' (*Coena Domini*), and some thirty years later St Eligius of Noyon tells us that it was known as both *Natalis calicis* and *Coena*

Domini.⁴ The former name is also found in Ireland; an embolism in the Canon of the Stowe Missal of around 800 for this day reads *et diem sacratissimam celebrantes natalis calicis domini nostri Iesu Christi*.⁵ In the Old Gelasian Sacramentary it is entitled *Quinta feria*, and in the eighth century Gelasians it is *Feria V coenae Domini*.⁶ The contemporary Sacramentary of Prague calls it *Feria V in cena Domini*, as does the early ninth-century Gradual of Monza.⁷ This became its official and virtually universal name.

The *Reconciliatio Pœnitentis*

The reconciliation of penitents in Rome on this day is documented from at least the fourth century by a passage in a letter of St Jerome to Oceanus, written around the year 399, in which he refers to the reconciliation of a certain Fabiola as having taken place before the day of the Pasch in the Lateran Basilica, in the presence of the whole population of Rome.⁸ Jerome describes her as standing in the ranks of the penitents, while the bishop, priests and all the people shed tears with them.⁹ Only slightly later than Jerome's letter is one from Pope Innocent I to Bishop Decentius of Gubbio, written in the year 416, in which he specifically mentions the reconciliation of penitents on this day as being a custom of the Roman Church.¹⁰

Unfortunately neither Jerome nor Innocent supplies any details of the accompanying ceremony, in particular whether or not it included a celebration of the Eucharist. Jerome indeed talks about the reception by Fabiola of communion in the presence of everyone,¹¹ but it is uncertain whether by 'communion' he means her readmission into the company of the faithful or specifically her reception of the Holy Eucharist. Innocent gives permission for the reconciliation of a penitent who is in danger of death to be brought forward in time 'lest he should depart from this world without communion',¹² but there is the same ambiguity in the use of the word 'communion'. Though it seems highly probable that the dying penitent would have received Holy Communion, this would most likely have been by way of Viaticum from the reserved Sacrament, rather than in the course of a celebration of the Eucharist.

The practice of reconciling penitents on Maundy Thursday is mentioned by St Eligius of Noyon around the middle of the

seventh century,¹³ but the first detailed account of the ceremony accompanying the reconciliation of a penitent at Rome is contained in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, the prototype of which, as we have seen, was a Roman presbyteral sacramentary of the sixth to seventh century.¹⁴ It takes place in the course of a morning Mass prescribed for this day, between the synaxis and the Eucharist proper,¹⁵ and appears to have constituted an addition to the original sacramentary from which the Gelasian ultimately derives. The rite itself seems to have been borrowed from the papal liturgy, as evidenced by the use of the words *venerabilis pontifex* and *apostolice pontifex* in the opening prayer, although its complete absence from the Gregorian Sacramentary indicates that it had already become obsolete in the papal liturgy before the early part of the seventh century, when the Gregorian as we know it was composed.¹⁶ The penitent presents himself 'in the bosom of the church' (*in gremio ecclesiae*), prostrate on the ground. The deacon addresses a lengthy petition to the bishop, beginning:

The appropriate time has come, O venerable pontiff, the day of divine propitiation and human salvation, when death was destroyed and eternal life began, when in the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts such a planting of new shoots is to be made as will purify the corruption of the old. For although there is no time during which the riches of God's goodness and faithfulness are lacking, there is however at this time, thanks to His mercy, a wider forgiveness of sin and, thanks to His grace, a fuller reconciliation of the reborn.¹⁷

The prayer goes on to request that the sinner be reconciled, since he has 'eaten the bread of sorrow, watered his couch with tears, afflicted his heart with grief [and] his body with fasting'¹⁸. The bishop, or another priest, after admonishing the penitent not to repeat the sins for which he has been doing penance, says over him a number of prayers (the sacramentary gives seven in all), begging God to show mercy and forgive him.¹⁹ There is no direct formula of absolution. The reconciliation ends with a final prayer, said either at this point or following the reception of communion by the penitent, asking God that, having obtained the forgiveness of all his sins, he might persevere in the sacramental life from that time on, and suffer nothing that would do harm to his eternal

redemption (*ut percepta remissione omnium peccatorum in sacramentis tuis sincera deinceps devotione permaneat, et nullum redemptionis aeternae sustineat detrimentum*). Mass then continues with the Offertory.

The eighth-century Pontifical of Egbert of York²⁰ also contains a reconciliation rite for Maundy Thursday, though there is no hint of a reconciliation Mass as such. It begins with three of the prayers found in the Gelasian.²¹ After a further prayer over the penitent, the bishop raises him from his position on the ground, and after the singing of the *Miserere* (Psalm 50) pronounces a formula of absolution, *Absolvimus vos vice beati Petri apostolorum principis*, which is clearly taken from the papal liturgy. The rite ends with a prayer begging God to 'forgive all crimes and universal sins' and grant to the penitent himself 'pardon in place of punishment, joy in place of grief, life in place of death'.²²

In the eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries the morning Mass of the day onto which the rite for the reconciliation of a penitent had been grafted has become a specific Mass for the Reconciliation of Penitents.²³ The tenth-century Sacramentary of Fulda not only includes the reconciliation Mass and rite according to the Gelasian tradition but also, uniquely, records the readings at the Mass: Romans 8:26–7 and John 8:1–26, as well as the Introit, taken from Psalm 24 (vv. 17 and 1), the Gradual, from Psalm 24 (vv. 17, 1 and 3), the Offertory verse, from Psalm 50 (vv. 3, 5 and 6) and the Communion verse, from Psalm 30 (v. 17).²⁴

By the time of the Romano-German Pontifical, the rite itself had been greatly elaborated. There is no mention of any separate reconciliation Mass; at the third hour (approximately nine o'clock) the faithful gather at the church where the blessing of the oils is to take place, and the reconciliation is performed before the start of the morning Mass. The bishop sits in front of the church door where the penitents are gathered in the atrium. The archdeacon addresses him with the petition *Adest o venerabilis pontifex*, after which the bishop says to the penitents *Venite*. A deacon standing with the penitents replies with *Flectamus genua* and all kneel, rising again at the command *Levate* of a second deacon standing next to the bishop. The bishop says *Venite, venite*, the procedure is repeated and the penitents advance to the centre of the atrium. The bishop says *Venite, venite, venite* and the deacon once again commands them *Flectamus genua*, after which they

advance (on their knees, presumably) to the feet of the bishop. There they remain prostrate until at a nod from the bishop the deacon orders them a third time *Levate*. The ministers then sing the antiphon *Venite, filii, audite me; timorem domini docebo vos* and Psalm 33 (*Benedicam domino*), repeating the antiphon at the end. During the singing the penitents are presented one by one first to the archdeacon and then by him to the bishop, who formally receives each penitent (lying prostrate on the ground) into the bosom of the Church. After this the bishop intones the antiphon *Cor mundum crea in me, Deus*, followed by the *Miserere*. Then the bishop and all the penitents prostrate themselves in prayer while the ministers sing a litany. When it is finished the bishop says the *Pater noster* and, after a series of nine versicles and responsories, he pronounces a number of prayers for reconciliation. No less than sixteen of these are provided, including most of those given in the Gelasian sacramentaries. Some of them are very long and it is difficult to believe that it was ever intended that all of them should be used in the same ceremony. In contrast to the Gelasian rite, the bishop then formally absolves the penitents, sprinkles them with holy water and incenses them, and, after reciting the brief prayer *Exsurge qui dormis, exsurge a mortuis et illuminabit te Christus*, admonishes them to amend their lives. For the absolution two formulae for several penitents are provided, and three for a single penitent, which are surely intended as alternatives.²⁵

The rite contained in the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century, which as we have seen in Chapter 3 was derivative on the Romano-German Pontifical, is almost identical to that found in the latter.²⁶ In the Pontifical of Durandus, however, the rite has reached still further heights of elaboration. In some churches, Durandus tells us, the penitents assemble in the morning outside the church to hear a Mass celebrated by a priest at an altar close by the church doors.²⁷ Priests then hear the individual confessions of the penitents, after which, in conjunction with the bishop, they decide which of the penitents have, by their diligent exercise of the penance imposed on them, deserved to be reconciled (the majority, one hopes) and which have not. The bishop, attended by an archdeacon, a deacon and four subdeacons, prostrates himself on a faldstool before the altar and, together with the attendant clergy, recites the seven penitential psalms and the litany of the saints, while the penitents wait outside, prostrate on the earth,

barefooted and holding unlighted candles. At two specific points during the litany two of the subdeacons, with lighted candles, go to the doors and sing an antiphon,²⁸ then extinguish their candles and return to their places. Finally the bishop sends the deacon to the door with a large lighted candle; on his arrival he sings a third antiphon²⁹ and the penitents' candles are lit, after which he returns to the bishop and the litany ends with the *Agnus Dei*. The bishop, accompanied by the clergy, then proceeds to the middle of the church and takes his seat on another faldstool which has been made ready for him there, facing the door of the church; only then does the archdeacon, after calling for silence, address him with *Adest, o venerabilis pontifex*. When this is finished the bishop goes to the door of the church and admonishes the penitents. He then sings the antiphon *Venite, venite, venite, filii audite me, timorem domini docebo vos*, followed by the deacon with *Flectamus genua* and *Levate*. All this is repeated three times, after which the bishop takes up a position just inside the church and, while the antiphon *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini, et facies vestrae non confundentur* and Psalm 33 (*Benedicam domino*) are sung, the penitents enter and throw themselves at his feet, weeping. An archpriest formally requests him to reconcile them, confirming at his request that they are worthy of reconciliation. The penitents are commanded to rise; the bishop takes one of them by the hand, and the latter takes the hand of another penitent, and so on until all the penitents have joined hands. After a series of versicles and responsories and the antiphon *Dico vobis, gaudium est angelis Dei super uno peccatore paenitentiam agente*, he leads them to the faldstool in the centre of the church, where, after yet another antiphon, from the parable of the Prodigal Son,³⁰ he pronounces a formal absolution, followed by a prayer for God's mercy in the form of a Preface. The absolution notwithstanding, the ceremony is not yet over. Both clergy and penitents once again fall to the ground, the choir sings the antiphon *Cor mundum crea in me, Deus, et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis*, and after three more psalms, beginning with the *Miserere* (Psalm 50), the *Kyrie eleison*, *Pater noster* and another series of versicles and responsories, there follow seven prayers. After sprinkling the penitents with holy water and incensing them, he pronounces an indulgence, and the ceremony ends with a final short blessing.³¹

In addition to the detailed descriptions of the rite in the

pontificals, there are also references to it in many of the medieval commentators, such as Amalarius of Metz,³² Pseudo-Alcuin,³³ Rupert of Deutz,³⁴ Honorius of Autun,³⁵ John Belet³⁶ and Durandus of Mende,³⁷ but they add little to our knowledge, though Durandus mentions that following their reconciliation the penitents cut their hair and shave their beards, which they have allowed to grow long, and exchange their penitential garb for decent clothing.

In the later Middle Ages the custom of performing public penance during Lent seems to have gone into decline, coincidental with the growth in private confession (which the Lateran Council in 1215 made compulsory for all the faithful at least once a year) and in the practice of granting widespread indulgences. The rite according to the Pontifical of Durandus was reproduced exactly, however, in the post-Tridentine Roman Pontificals of 1570 and 1595 (together with the rite of formally ejecting the penitents from the church on Ash Wednesday) and thereafter it remained in every subsequent edition of the pontifical until the twentieth century, notwithstanding that it had by then fallen into complete desuetude.

The Morning and Evening Masses

One of the most striking features of the Holy Thursday liturgy is the celebration of a double Eucharist. The first reference to this is in the travel journal of Egeria, who tells us that at Jerusalem in the second half of the fourth century the Eucharist was first celebrated in the Martyrion at around two o'clock in the afternoon, lasting about two hours, and then again around seven o'clock in the evening 'behind the Cross'.³⁸ The people received Holy Communion at the second of these Masses. Egeria does not tell us the purpose of this dual celebration, nor whether the Mass liturgy was the same on both occasions. The Armenian Lectionary, which dates from only slightly later than Egeria's visit, gives us the readings at the first of these Masses, which was celebrated in the church itself, at around one o'clock (the seventh hour); the second Mass, which was celebrated 'before the holy cross', appears to have followed immediately upon the conclusion of the first, and, since no readings are given for it, seems to have consisted only in the Eucharist proper, without any preliminary synaxis.³⁹

A double Eucharist is also found in North Africa at the time of St Augustine. There, the first Mass was celebrated in the morning, and the second in the evening. The reason for this custom is described in some detail by Augustine in a letter to Januarius.⁴⁰ The latter had asked whether it was appropriate on Maundy Thursday to dispense with the normal rules and take food before rather than after hearing Mass; it had come to his notice that this was done in some places, though it was not the practice in his own area.⁴¹ In his reply, Augustine adopts a neutral position; some people argue that it makes for a more significant commemoration of the day if a meal is taken before Mass, but in his view nobody should be either compelled to eat before Mass or forbidden from eating. It is important that those who wish to attend Mass before breaking their fast should be able to do so. There is a widespread practice of taking a bath (evidently in preparation for Easter) on this day. Since it is difficult to bathe while fasting, those who bathe in the morning break their fast early, and a morning Mass is celebrated to accommodate them.⁴² Others however prefer to follow the normal custom and maintain their fast (and presumably therefore also postpone their bath) until the ninth hour, and for these an evening Mass is provided (*ad vesperam vero propter ieiunantes*). St Augustine does not tell us whether the evening Mass was simply a repetition of the morning one, or had its own set of prayers and readings, or indeed provide any other information about them.

Evidence for the celebration of the Eucharist in both the morning and the evening of this day comes from southern Italy in the shape of a mid-sixth-century Capuan lectionary which contains two sets of readings, one *in cena domini mane* and the other *in cena domini ad sero*.⁴³ The reading for the morning Mass is 1 Corinthians 5:6–6:11 and for the evening 1 Corinthians 11:20–32. The former is about the need for penance as preparation for Easter, the latter is, not surprisingly, St Paul's account of the institution of the Eucharist. Although we do not know what the Gospels for the two Masses were, their different themes are clear from these Epistle readings. Gospels for both Masses are however prescribed in the Evangeliary of St Cuthbert which, notwithstanding its name, originated likewise in the Naples area some hundred years after the Capuan lectionary.⁴⁴ They were, for the morning Mass (*mane in coena domini ad missa*), the Passion

according to St Luke and, for the evening Mass (*ieiunium de cena domini*), St John's account of the washing of the disciples' feet.

It was the custom in Rome for the priests of the various *tituli*, or parishes, to celebrate both a morning and an evening Mass, and sometimes, it would seem, a third Mass at which the oil of the sick and the oil of the catechumens for use in the parish were blessed.⁴⁵ The Old Gelasian Sacramentary contains three Masses for the day: a morning Mass (to which has been added the reconciliation of the penitents), a Chrism Mass, during which the holy oils are blessed, and an evening Mass. The opening Collect of the morning Mass looks forward to the coming of Easter,⁴⁶ and the subsequent celebrant's prayers of this Mass refer to the redemptive sacrifice of Christ.

As a rather curiously worded rubric in the Old Gelasian indicates, there was no psalmody and no greeting in this morning Mass.⁴⁷ The Mass must therefore have begun immediately with the Collects. There is no evidence as to whether or not there were any readings. It is possible, therefore, that the rite for the reconciliation replaced the readings (if there were any) when it was incorporated into the Mass. No Preface for this Mass is given in the sacramentary, but the Canon contains three embolisms:

*Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes quo traditus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus, sed et memoriam venerantes ... ; Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerunt ob diem ieiunii Coenae Dominicae, in qua Dominus noster Iesus Christus tradidit discipulis suis corporis et sanguinis sui mysteria celebranda, quaesumus, Domine, placatus intende, ut per multa curricula annorum salva et incolumis munera sua tibi domine mereatur offerre, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas ... ; [and in place of Qui pridie quam pateretur] Qui hac die antequam traderetur, accepit panem in suis sanctis manibus, elevatis oculis ...*⁴⁸

The evening Mass in the Roman *tituli* seems originally to have contained no synaxis, but to have started immediately with the Offertory. This is indicated by the *Missa ad vesperum* in the Old Gelasian, which begins with the Secret prayer and the Preface.⁴⁹ Later a synaxis was added, the Introit being borrowed from Tuesday's Mass, the Collect from Good Friday and the Gradual from Lauds, the readings (the institution of the Eucharist and the washing of the disciples' feet) being those prescribed for the

evening Mass in the Capuan lectionary and the Evangeliary of St Cuthbert.⁵⁰ This change seems to have occurred during the eighth century. It can be documented in the pages of the so-called 'eighth century' Gelasian sacramentaries, in which the Good Friday Collect (*Deus a quo et Iudas*) has been added to the celebrant's prayers prescribed for the evening Mass.⁵¹ The Preface in the Old Gelasian is lengthy and rhetorical in form, in the Gallican manner, and must represent an addition to the original Roman sacramentary after it had crossed the Alps. It concentrates exclusively on the treachery of Judas, omitting all reference to the most important aspect of the celebration, the institution of the Eucharist. The embolisms of the morning Mass are however repeated verbatim in the Canon.⁵²

The liturgical policies of Pepin and Charlemagne in the Frankish Empire eventually led, as explained in Chapter 3, to the emergence in their dominions of a Romano-Gallican liturgy based on the Gregorian sacramentary as expanded by the supplement of Alcuin. From the beginning of the ninth century the Gelasian tradition in Gaul gradually died out. The Romano-Gallican liturgy, as exemplified in the Romano-German Pontifical, was finally adopted in Rome itself, towards the end of the tenth century. It is therefore the papal and not the presbyteral liturgy which is at the root of subsequent development, and it is the papal Mass to which we must now turn.

The Papal Mass

Only one Mass was celebrated at the Lateran on this day, which was attended by the priests from the *tituli*. The Gregorian sacramentary thus contains only one Mass for the day, at which the pope blessed the oils.⁵³ This Mass, too, like the evening Mass in the *tituli*, originally appears to have had no synaxis, as the absence of the latter from the eighth century Pontifical of Egbert, which describes the papal rite in some detail, indicates.⁵⁴ At the sixth hour, around noon, the pope begins the Mass with the word *Oremus*, after which the offerings are placed on the altar. Then the pope intones *Sursum corda*, and the usual dialogue, Preface, Sanctus and Canon follow. At the appropriate point in the Canon, immediately before the prayer *Per quem haec omnia*, a cardinal deacon collects the oil of the sick from the people and brings it to

the pope who blesses it with the prayer *Emitte Domine spiritum*. This was the point at which, in the early days of the Church, it had been customary to bless the people's offerings, and where in some places it seems the practice of blessing grapes still continued.⁵⁵

Just before the Communion the pope goes to his seat, whereupon the archdeacon approaches with the chrism in a gold flask covered by a white cloth the end of which is draped over his right shoulder. The bishops, priests and deacons present stand round in a circle. The pope breathes three times on the flask of oil, touching it with his hand, and intones *Sursum corda*, the people replying with *Habemus ad dominum*. He continues with *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*, and the people reply *Vere dignum et iustum est*. He then consecrates the chrism with the prayer *Qui in principio*. At the end he makes the sign of the cross with his thumb three times over the flask and again breathes three times on it, also in the form of a cross. A subdeacon then takes the flask from the archdeacon and conveys it to all the persons in the sanctuary, each of whom kisses it. When this is finished, another cardinal deacon brings forward the flask containing the oil of the catechumens, covered with a cloth the end of which is draped over his left shoulder, and the pope blesses it with the prayer *Deus qui virtute*, after which it is carried around by acolytes for veneration by the assembled clergy. The Mass then concludes with the communion of clergy and people. The titular priests return to their own churches to celebrate their own Mass there.

Writing in the middle of the ninth century, Amalarius of Metz records the concelebration of the Maundy Thursday Mass by the pope and the priests of his diocese. He says that it is the custom of the Roman Church for the priests to be present at the consecration and to co-consecrate the bread and wine with the pope, as well as joining him in blessing the holy oils.⁵⁶

No proper Preface for this day seems to have been provided in the papal Mass; at least none of the sacramentaries in the Gregorian tradition contains any. The Canon of the Mass included three embolisms. The first differed only slightly in wording from that in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary,⁵⁷ but the second and third are quite different:

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam offerimus ob diem in qua dominus noster Iesus Christus tradidit

*discipulis suis corporis et sanguinis sui mysteria celebranda, quaesumus domine ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas . . . and qui pridie quam pro nostra omniumque salute pateretur, hoc est hodie, accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas.*⁵⁸

This papal Mass also acquired a synaxis during the course of the eighth century. The first recension of the Roman Evangeliary, from around 645, gives no Gospel for this day,⁵⁹ but both the mid-eighth century recensions prescribe St John's account of the washing of the disciples' feet.⁶⁰ The earliest lectionaries all give St Paul's account of the institution of the Eucharist as the Epistle reading.⁶¹ As in the Gelasian tradition, the Collect, *Deus a quo et Iudas*, was borrowed from that for Good Friday. The eighth century antiphonals are also in agreement on the other scriptural texts of the Mass, texts which survived unchanged until the 1970 reform.⁶²

Ordines Romani XVI and XVII, which date from the late eighth century and were written for a monastic community, still prescribe a Mass without any synaxis for Maundy Thursday, which suggests that the monastic rite retained the older form after it had gone out of use elsewhere. Neither is there any *pax* during the Mass.⁶³ But the description of the rite in *Ordo XXIII*, which represents an unofficial account by a liturgically-minded Frankish monk of the papal ceremonies of the Triduum which he had witnessed in the course of a visit to Rome at some time during the eighth century, includes the *Kyrie eleison*, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, 'and everything as on other feastdays, except for the Alleluia and the chrism which is blessed on this day'. The Body of the Lord is divided into two parts, one of which is reserved for the following day, a proceeding in which all the priests present take part. The pope communicates on his own, and after doing so he blesses the chrism, which is distributed to the various city churches. Finally the assisting priests make their own communion and depart for their own churches.⁶⁴

The Blessing of the Oils

According to the rite of baptism contained in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, the holy oils were blessed immediately before baptism took place. A simple prayer of thanksgiving was

said over what he calls the 'oil of thanksgiving' (the chrism) and an exorcism over the 'oil of exorcism' (the oil of catechumens). At an early date however we find them being blessed, in anticipation of the Paschal Vigil, on the Thursday of Holy Week.⁶⁵ In the course of the Middle Ages various explanations were given for assigning the blessing to this day. In the early seventh century for example St Isidore tells us that it is because it was on this day that Mary of Magdalen anointed the head and feet of the Lord with oil.⁶⁶ The true reason is undoubtedly that given by Rupert of Deutz, namely that this is the last opportunity for doing so before the Easter Vigil, when they are to be used in the baptisms which take place on that night.⁶⁷ The blessing of the oil of the sick at the same time was no doubt done as a simple matter of convenience.

The *Ordines Romani* supply some details of the eighth-century Roman rite which are missing from the rather terse account of the blessing of the oils in the Pontifical of Egbert. The chrism and the balsam are mixed by the pope before the Mass begins.⁶⁸ He faces east while blessing the chrism.⁶⁹ The flasks containing the oil of the sick are left by the people on the floor outside the sanctuary; some are collected by deacons and handed to the pope for blessing, the remainder are placed to right and left on the balustrade which surrounds the sanctuary and blessed collectively by the other bishops and senior priests present.⁷⁰

This rite corresponds closely to that described in the ninth century by Amalarius, though he mentions an exorcism of the oils as well as a blessing.⁷¹ No such exorcism is found in any of the earliest Roman books, except for the Gregorian Sacramentary itself.⁷² Amalarius quotes the rubric from the Gregorian Sacramentary for the blessing of the oil of the sick⁷³ and mentions as a specifically Roman practice the joint consecration of the chrism by the pope and all the priests present.

The Romano-German Pontifical, composed in the Abbey of St Alban at Mainz around the middle of the tenth century, reflects a hybridization of Roman and Gallican customs. In the Roman rite, the oil which is to become the chrism and the oil of the catechumens are simply handed to the pope by the archdeacon for blessing without undue solemnity, but in the Romano-Gallican rite they are brought from the sacristy in a solemn procession. After the bishop has communicated he goes to his seat with the deacons. Twelve priests and other clergy, as many as are required to bring the two

oils to the church with all decorum, go to the sacristy. Two acolytes pick up the two ampullae, holding them in their left hands, with the silk covers draped first over their left and then their right shoulders, so as to hang down in front, and a procession is formed, first two acolytes with lighted candles, then the chrism between two crosses, then the oil of the catechumens between two thurifers, then the Gospel book; behind them come the twelve priests, two by two, and the choir singing the hymn *Audi iudex mortuorum* with the refrain *O redemptor sume carmen temet concinentium*. During the hymn the readers, doorkeepers, acolytes and subdeacons take up their places in order of rank on the altar steps, with a subdeacon and the archdeacon at the highest point. One ampulla is passed up the row to the archdeacon. The vessel with balsam is handed by a subdeacon to a deacon who hands it to the bishop. The deacons stand behind the bishop, the priests to right and left, and between them the crosses, candles, thuribles and Gospel book around the bishop. The latter, or someone deputed by him, then preaches a sermon about the blessing of the chrism, before the blessing itself takes place. Other differences from the papal rite include an exorcism of each of the oils before their blessing, the co-consecration of the oil of the sick with the bishop by all the priests present, and the mixture of the balsam with the chrism accompanied by the prayers *Oremus dominum nostrum omnipotentem* and *Haec commixtio liquorum* immediately prior to its blessing, rather than before the beginning of the Mass.⁷⁴

This rite entered the Roman rite proper at the end of the tenth century, when the Romano-German Pontifical was introduced to Rome. The Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century has survived in three separate ordines which differ in detail. *Ordo XXXA* reproduces the rite of the Romano-German Pontifical almost exactly.⁷⁵ *Ordo XXXB*, however, omits the procession with the oils altogether, and prescribes the mixture of the balsam with the chrism before the beginning of Mass, as was traditional at Rome,⁷⁶ while *Ordo XXXC* states that in some churches it is the custom to sing *O Redemptor sume carmen* during the procession, but that in the Roman church silence is preserved at this point.⁷⁷ This silence is confirmed by all the other Roman documents, none of which mentions any hymn or chant during the procession.

The rite contained in the late-thirteenth-century Pontifical of Durandus is a combination of Gallican exuberance and the

medieval love of the dramatic. Since, with some minor variations, it found its way into the post-Tridentine Roman Pontificals, and became standard throughout the west for the next 400 years, it is worth describing in some detail. Three flasks containing the three oils are prepared before the beginning of the Mass. That containing the oil which is to become the chrism must be larger than the other two, and covered with a cloth of white silk; the others are covered in silk of a different colour. When the bishop reaches the appropriate point in the Canon he goes to a seat in the sanctuary in front of a table, with the sacred ministers standing on either side, seven priests, seven deacons and seven subdeacons.⁷⁸ An archdeacon announces three times in a loud voice, *Oleum infirmorum*. The oil is brought from the sanctuary by a subdeacon accompanied by two acolytes, handed to the archdeacon and placed by him on the table, where it is exorcized and blessed by the bishop, the other priests joining in the exorcism and blessing. Mass then proceeds. After the bishop has made his communion, he is joined by five more priests, to make twelve in all. As many of the ministers as necessary go to the sacristy to fetch the chrism and the oil of the catechumens. The archdeacon again announces three times *Oleum ad sanctum chrisma* and *Oleum catechumenorum*. The flasks containing these oils are then brought from the sacristy in solemn procession. It is headed by two acolytes with lighted candles; then come a subdeacon with the cross and an acolyte with thurible and incense, followed by two archdeacons carrying the flasks of oil under a canopy borne aloft by four priests, then two more candle bearers, and another subdeacon with a cross and a thurifer with thurible and incense, and a deacon with the Gospel book. Then come two cantors singing the first four verses of *Audi iudex mortuorum*, to which the whole choir responds with the refrain *O Redemptor sume carmen* (the remaining four verses are sung after the blessing of the chrism). Finally come the rest of the subdeacons, two by two, and the twelve priests. The archdeacons hold the flasks of oil in their left arms, wrapped in their coverings which are draped first over their left and then over their right shoulders, with the ends again wrapped around the flasks.

The ritual accompanying the blessing itself, a further elaboration of the rite of the Romano-German Pontifical, is minutely specified. The archdeacons and some of the deacons and subdeacons take up their position on either side of the bishop. The priests

form a semicircle, in front of the bishop and to both sides of him. Other deacons position themselves behind the bishop, and the subdeacons on the altar steps. Those carrying the crosses, candles, thuribles and Gospel book stand between the priests and subdeacons. The flask with the chrism and the vessel containing the balsam are placed on the table in front of the bishop, who blesses the balsam with the prayer *Deus mysteriorum*, mixes some of it with a portion of the chrism with the prayer *Oremus Deum nostrum omnipotentem, qui incomprehensibilem*, and then adds the mixture to the rest of the oil with the prayer *Haec commixtio liquorum*. Followed by each of the priests present, he breathes three times upon the mixture, and then exorcizes and blesses it with the usual prayers. Bishop and priests salute the chrism individually with the words *Ave sanctum chrisma*, repeated three times, followed by a kiss, a feature also found in *Ordo XXXC* of the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century. The blessing of the oil of the catechumens follows immediately; after the bishop and each of the priests have breathed upon it three times it is exorcized and blessed with the usual prayers and saluted in the same way as the chrism with the words *Ave sanctum oleum*.⁷⁹

Interestingly, no matter how complex the accompanying ritual became in the later Middle Ages, the blessings themselves were never multiplied, as they were for example in the case of the ash on Ash Wednesday and palms on Palm Sunday. One exorcism and one blessing for each oil, plus two prayers said over the mixing of the chrism and the balsam, remained the norm.

The 1586 Roman Pontifical repeats the Pontifical of Durandus with a few variations. The announcement of each oil by the archdeacon is made once, not three times. The exorcism and blessing of the oil of the sick is carried out by the bishop alone. The blessing of the chrism takes place after the communion of the clergy, not just the bishop. The order of the procession is somewhat different, and there is no canopy held over the oils. The position of the various grades of clergy during the blessing itself is also slightly different. There are two prayers said over the balsam, *Deus mysteriorum* and *Creaturam omnium*,⁸⁰ and the mixture of balsam with some of the oil is added to the rest of the chrism after the exorcism and blessing, not before. The first four verses of *Audi iudex mortuorum* are sung after the blessing of the oil of the catechumens. With these variations Durandus' ri-

remained the norm throughout the Roman Church from 1586 until the reform of 1970.

The papal rite of the later Middle Ages is recorded in the Ordinary of the Papal Chaplains, the Missal of the Thirteenth Century,⁸¹ and the various ordines compiled by the masters of the ceremonies at the Lateran between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.⁸² By contrast with the elaborate rite of the Pontifical of Durandus, it retained much of its primitive simplicity. After reciting the office of None with his cardinals and the curial clergy in the chapel of St Thomas, located in the atrium of the Lateran basilica (or in the chapel of St Gregory, when the ceremony is performed at St Peter's) the pope vests and then mixes the oil which is to become the chrism with the balsam. The three flasks containing the oils remain in the chapel, while the Pope and all the clergy enter the basilica in procession and begin the Mass. At the beginning of the Canon⁸³ the junior cardinal deacon and several of the subdeacons return, preceded by a cross bearer and an acolyte with incense, to the chapel. There the cardinal deacon takes the flask of the chrism and two subdeacons those containing the other two oils, and all return to the main altar. Before the *Per quem haec omnia* the subdeacon holding the oil of the sick hands it to the pope who, together with all the bishops and cardinal priests present, pronounces the exorcism and the blessing. After making his communion he goes to his seat where he is approached by two acolytes, carrying the chrism and the oil of the catechumens, covered in cloth of white silk, in their left hands. The acolyte holding the chrism hands it to the assistant deacon who passes it on to the pope, who breathes on it three times, followed by all the bishops and cardinal priests present, after which all together pronounce the exorcism and blessing of the oil. The oil of the catechumens is exorcized and blessed in exactly the same way. After the blessing all present salute the oils in turn, with the words *Ave sanctum crisma* and *Ave sanctum oleum* respectively, repeated three times, bowing their heads and kissing the flasks containing them. The oils are then taken to the place where they are to be kept.

The Chrism Mass

It seems to have been customary at Rome for the oils of the sick and of the catechumens to have been blessed in at least some of

the Roman *tituli* by the titular priests as well as by the pope at the Lateran. For the Mass at which these blessings took place a separate Mass formula, in addition to those of the morning and evening Masses, was provided. This is first recorded in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, where it appears in second place, between the morning Mass, at which the penitents were reconciled, and the evening Mass of the Lord's Supper, and then in the Gelasian sacramentaries of the eighth century, which are derivative upon it. The original Roman Mass contained no blessing for the chrism, being a presbyteral and not a papal Mass, so a blessing was added locally, for use by the bishops of the Frankish kingdom.⁸⁴ The celebrant's prayers provided are general in tone; only the preface of the Mass refers to the oils:

It is right and fitting, proper and salutary, to beseech Thee that in Thy clemency Thou wouldst transform this created thing, chrism, into a sacrament of perfect salvation and life for those who are to be renewed in the spiritual washing, of baptism, so that when, through the sanctification of their anointing, the corruption of their first birth is wiped clean, the holy temple of each one may be filled with the innocent odour of an acceptable life and, imbued with the dignity of kings, priests and prophets through the sacrament of Thine institution, they may be clothed in the robes of incorruptibility.

This Preface seems to have been of Gallican origin and probably originated as a blessing of the chrism rather than as a Preface for the Mass.⁸⁵ The Canon contains the same three embolisms as the morning Mass.⁸⁶ The oils are blessed in the same place and with the same prayers as in the papal rite, though the balsam and chrism are mixed immediately before the blessing, rather than before the start of the Mass.

Features Peculiar to the Mass of Maundy Thursday

The angelic hymn *Gloria in excelsis Deo* did not originally form part of the liturgy of the Roman Mass; it appears to have been introduced by Pope Symmachus (498-514) on Sundays and the feasts of martyrs, but only at Masses where the celebrant was a bishop. A priest was allowed to say it only at the Mass of Easter Day.⁸⁷ The first reference to its use on Maundy Thursday is in the

eighth-century *Ordo Romanus XXIII*, in the context of the papal Mass.⁸⁸ It is absent from the interrelated *Ordines XXIV*, *XXVI*, *XXVII*, *XXIX* or *XXXI*, though the compiler of *Ordo XXVIII*, which represents a Gallicanized version of *Ordo XXVII*, has added it on his own initiative.⁸⁹ Most of the later liturgical books however, such as the tenth century Gregorian of St Eligius, its contemporary Romano-German Pontifical and the successive Roman Pontificals, as well as the later medieval series of *Ordines Romani*, indicate that it should be said (though *Ordo XXXC* of the Pontifical of the Twelfth Century adds cautiously that it is not the practice to do so in some churches, except at a Mass where the chrism is blessed).⁹⁰ John of Avranches, Archbishop of Rouen in the mid-eleventh century, tells us that the *Gloria* was sung only when the celebrant was a bishop, as does his English contemporary Lanfranc, and Bernold of Bregenz that it was said only *ubi chrisma consecratur*. A century later Honorius of Autun says that the *Gloria* is sung *ad chrisma*, implying the same limitation.⁹¹ In the Pontifical of Durandus of the late thirteenth century the *Gloria*, the Creed and the *Ite Missa est* are all omitted except at the Mass where the chrism is blessed.⁹² The 1474 Missal and that of Pius V prescribe both the *Gloria* and the Creed at all Masses, regardless of the status of the celebrant.⁹³

The ringing of the bells at the beginning of or during the *Gloria* does not appear to be an ancient practice. Originally, following the conclusion of the *reconciliatio poenitentis*, the bells were rung for the start of the Maundy Thursday Mass, after which they remained silent for the rest of the triduum. This for example is the rubric in the Romano-German Pontifical, the *Disciplina* of Farfa and St Paul's at Rome, the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century, the Pontifical of the Roman Curia, in *Ordo Romanus x* and in the Pontifical of Durandus.⁹⁴ In some places, according to Durandus, the silence of the bells was observed from the end of Vespers or Compline, or even from the end of Prime, after which they were replaced for the rest of the triduum with a clapper.⁹⁵ The use of the latter as a signal appears to be monastic in origin; it is found at Monte Cassino in the sixth century, and in the context of the Maundy Thursday Mass it is prescribed in the *Consuetudines* of Cluny, the *Disciplina* of Farfa and St Paul's, and in the *Decreta* of Lanfranc.⁹⁶ From the monastic milieu it was adopted in the late Middle Ages in the cathedral and parish

liturgy as a replacement for the bells during the Triduum. The practice of ringing the bells solemnly for the last time at the *Gloria* of the Maundy Thursday Mass belongs to the end of the medieval period, and is probably due to a desire for symmetry with their reappearance at the *Gloria* of the Easter Vigil Mass.⁹⁷

The Creed was not incorporated into the Mass of the Roman rite until 1014, though it appeared very much earlier in the Gallican Mass. In the context of the Maundy Thursday Mass it first appears at Rome in the *Ordo Ecclesiae Lateranensis* of about 1120 and in the Pontifical of the Roman Curia. Thereafter it figures regularly in this Mass. Durandus however says that it should be left out if there is no blessing of the oils at the Mass in question.⁹⁸

The omission of the kiss of peace is prescribed in almost all the documents.⁹⁹ The reason seems to be symbolic: on this day it called to mind the kiss whereby Judas betrayed his master.¹⁰⁰ Sometimes the Agnus Dei was also left out, or alternatively if it were said the second repeat would, in view of the omission of the *Pax*, conclude with *miserere nobis* instead of *dona nobis pacem*, the ending which had replaced *miserere nobis* on other days in the year during the tenth-eleventh century, though this practice was alien to Rome, which retained the ending *dona nobis pacem* until the 1955 reform.¹⁰¹

The practice of communion by the faithful at every celebration of the Eucharist declined at a very early date; the Synod of Agde in 506 was compelled to enjoin the receipt of communion at Easter, Pentecost and Christmas as an absolute minimum.¹⁰² If we may trust the evidence of the *Ordines Romani*, in eighth-century Rome and Gaul the communion of the people on this day was still commonplace.¹⁰³ Thereafter it appears to have declined. But in monastic communities it seems to have remained the practice for many centuries more for all their members to receive communion on Maundy Thursday.¹⁰⁴ The *Ordo Ecclesiae Lateranensis* of about 1120 is particularly eloquent on the importance of all the brethren, both monks and lay brothers without exception, communicating on this day, quoting from a letter which it attributes to Pope Soter,

On the day of the Lord's Supper the reception of the Eucharist is neglected by some. But the custom of the Church demonstrates that on this day it should be received by all the faithful, excepting only those to whom, because of serious crimes, it is forbidden, since even the penitents are reconciled on this same day to the reception of the Body of the Lord.

It is extremely unlikely that this represents an excerpt from a genuine letter of Soter, who occupied the Apostolic See in the third quarter of the second century, but it does illustrate the importance attached in the twelfth century by the community of canons attached to the Lateran Basilica to the receiving of communion on this day by all its members.¹⁰⁵ But for the papal Mass at the same basilica the contemporary *Ordo Romanus x* merely says, 'The Pope from his seat gives communion to those who wish it', implying that the numbers who did so wish would be few.¹⁰⁶ Only after the reforms of St Pius X did it become commonplace once again for the faithful attending the Maundy Thursday Mass to receive communion.

A few documents prescribe the omission of the *Ite missa est*, a dismissal being considered inappropriate when Vespers were to follow immediately upon the conclusion of the Mass.¹⁰⁷ Normally, however, it seems to have been said as usual. The Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century prescribes the *Ite missa est* when the *Gloria* has been said and the *Benedicamus domino* when it has not, a practice which became universal in the Roman rite at every Mass.¹⁰⁸

The Procession

The reserved Sacrament was originally removed from the altar without ceremony. Not until John of Avranches in the eleventh century do we find any mention of a procession, with lights and incense, to a side altar where the Body of the Lord was kept, with clean altar cloths and a light burning before it until the extinction of lights at Matins of the following day.¹⁰⁹ His contemporary Lanfranc, like John a native of Normandy, stipulates that the place of reservation should be 'most appropriately prepared'. He does not attach any particular ceremony to the process of transfer, except that the place itself should be incensed both before and after it takes place, and that thereafter a light should be kept burning before the Blessed Sacrament.¹¹⁰ However the *Consuetudines* of Cluny from the same period speak of the Lord's Body being conveyed to a place behind the altar with candles and incense, and placed on a golden paten placed between golden salvers, themselves within silver tablets, fashioned in the form of the Gospel text.¹¹¹ The Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century still says merely that an unbroken portion of the Lord's Body is

reserved for communion on the following day, with no reference to any procession, but in the long recension of the Pontifical of the Roman Curia we read that after the communion the junior cardinal-deacon takes the Body of the Lord in a pyx under a canopy to a prepared place, preceded by cross and candles.¹¹² This is identical to the rite contained in *Ordo Romanus x*, except that there the junior cardinal-priest is specified; the procession similarly takes place immediately after the Communion.¹¹³ This was still its position at the time of *Ordo xv*, approximately two centuries later, though the Sacrament is now conveyed in a great golden chalice instead of in a pyx, and the use of a chalice subsequently became the rule.¹¹⁴ The change in the timing of the procession until after the end of Mass is attributable to Sixtus IV, in the late fifteenth century. At first this seems to have obtained only when the pope himself was present, but from the middle of the sixteenth century it became universal.¹¹⁵

The singing during the procession of the *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium*, composed by St Thomas Aquinas as the hymn for Vespers for the feast of Corpus Christi, is first prescribed in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* of 1516, though the custom of doing so is doubtless older. It was sung either in the original plainsong version or, later, in a polyphonic setting such as that by Palestrina, sometimes in both plainsong and polyphony in alternate verses. The 1516 edition of the *Caeremoniale* lays down very elaborate instructions for the procession, including the precise order of all the various ranks of both clergy and laity. The later edition of 1600 specifies that the last two verses of the *Pange lingua*, beginning *Tantum ergo sacramentum*, should not be sung until the procession reaches the place of reservation, and this practice became standard until the reform of 1970.¹¹⁶

With the growth in the popularity of Eucharistic worship it became customary for the faithful to visit their parish church during the afternoon and evening of Maundy Thursday for private prayer at the so-called Altar of Repose, and even, for those living in towns and cities, to make a round of all the churches within reasonable distance of their homes, visiting as many as they could within the time at their disposal, for the same purpose. It also became customary to decorate the altar itself with banks of candles and large numbers of flowers. The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* of 1600 indeed prescribes that 'a sanctuary inside the

church should be prepared and decorated as beautifully and magnificently as possible, adorned with many lights'.¹¹⁷

It was probably inevitable that the transfer of the Blessed Sacrament from the tabernacle on the principal altar to that in a subsidiary chapel should have become associated during the Middle Ages in the minds of the faithful, by anticipation as it were, with the burial of Christ in the tomb. Various attempts were made, not always successful, to correct this misconception, and to suppress some of the customs to which it had given rise in certain places, such as draping the altar with black hangings, or exhibiting representations of the crucifixion or burial of Our Lord.¹¹⁸ The prohibition of these practices was repeated in connection with the 1955 reform.¹¹⁹

Vespers

These were normally sung either immediately after the end of the Mass of the Lord's Supper, or within the Mass itself after the Communion and before the Postcommunion prayer, and in either case before the *mandatum* in most monastic establishments and those churches where the *mandatum* was performed.¹²⁰ At the Lateran, however, they were normally sung by cantors during the *mandatum* while the pope washed the feet of twelve subdeacons.¹²¹ Like *Tenebrae*, they were of archaic form. They began with the antiphon to the first psalm *Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo*, omitting the opening versicle and response and the *Gloria Patri*. The psalms were 115, 119, 139, 140 and 141, sung without the *Gloria Patri*. There was no *capitulum*, hymn or versicle. After the *Magnificat* the office ended simply, as at Lauds, with the *Christus factus est*, the silent recitation of the *Pater Noster* and the prayer *Respice quaesumus Domine*.¹²² The stripping of the altars followed at once.

The Stripping of the Altars

The stripping of the altars, now associated with the final phase of the Maundy Thursday liturgy, probably reflects what was originally the normal practice after any liturgical celebration.¹²³ H. A. P. Schmidt comments, 'The reason why the altars remain bare from after the Mass of Holy Thursday until Saturday is clear, because the Eucharist is not celebrated'.¹²⁴ The stripping on this particular

day is first recorded in *Ordo Romanus XXIV* from the eighth century, and thereafter it recurs regularly in the *Ordines Romani* and other liturgical books, as well as in the medieval commentators.¹²⁵ The first reference to the recital of Psalm 21 *Deus Deus meus respice in me* with the antiphon *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea* seems to be in the Lateran Missal of around 1230.¹²⁶ By this time the procedure, which was carried out after the conclusion of Vespers, had long since acquired a symbolic significance.¹²⁷

The colour of white seems to have been associated with the day from an early date, even before the system of liturgical colours was formalized by Innocent III around the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹²⁸ *Ordo Romanus XXIII*, from the first half of the eighth century, says *subdiaconi cum albis vestibis procedunt et diaconi cum dalmaticis*.¹²⁹ Durandus says that white is used on this day 'on account of the production of the chrism, which is consecrated for the cleansing of souls, for the Gospel reading also on that feast especially commends purity'.¹³⁰

As we have seen, the papal Mass, from which the Mass of the Lord's Supper in the Tridentine Missal of Pius V was ultimately derived, originally took place at the sixth hour, around noon. This time was chosen to enable those titular priests who attended the Mass and concelebrated it with the pope, to return to their churches in time to celebrate their own evening Mass. With the adoption in Rome at the end of the ninth century of the Romano-German Pontifical, these separate Masses (in so far as they had continued to be said at all during the period of anarchy) were replaced by a single Mass, which began with the reconciliation of penitents at either the third or sixth hour. Durandus, at the end of the thirteenth century, also gives the sixth hour as the correct time for the beginning of the Mass, following both the *mandatum* and the reconciliation of penitents.¹³¹ In the course of the Middle Ages the starting time for Mass was advanced to the third hour, around nine o'clock in the morning, where it remained until the 1955 reform transferred it to the evening.¹³²

The Mandatum

A washing of the feet seems to have been practised at this time in the fourth century, since St Augustine mentions it, though there

appears to have been some diversity of opinion in his day as to whether it should be carried out during Holy Week or Easter Week.¹³³ St Eligius, Bishop of Noyon from 640–659, refers to a ‘fraternal washing of feet’ on Holy Thursday, but supplies no further details.¹³⁴ From Canon III of the seventeenth Council of Toledo, held in 694, however, we learn that in Spain, at least, the rite had been performed long enough for it to have fallen into some decay; after complaining about its neglect the Council goes on to quote from St Cyprian as to the particular necessity for it to be carried out on the day when Christ had instituted it, and ends by declaring ‘This holy synod decrees and ordains that from this time forth in all the churches of Spain and Gaul the feast should not be observed without each bishop and priest taking care to wash the feet of those subject to him according to this holy example’.¹³⁵ No details of the rite (if indeed a formal rite existed at this time) are given. However the decree illustrates the character of the *mandatum*; it was, and remains, like the action of Christ in washing the feet of his disciples, an act of humility. As a rubric in the Gilbertine Ordinal puts it, ‘He [the prior] performs in this office the role of Him who although he was the Master and Lord of all made Himself the servant of all’.¹³⁶

According to a later addition in the Pontifical of St Egbert, the pope was accustomed on Maundy Thursday to wash the feet of the members of his personal household, and each ecclesiastic to do likewise in his own home. This notice was probably inserted in the Pontifical around the middle of the eighth century. It would appear, therefore, that there was no formal ceremony at Rome at that time, merely a private rite conducted in the pope’s own apartments, and in those of the senior ecclesiastics.¹³⁷

The first detailed account of the *mandatum* rite that we have comes from the Romano-German Pontifical of about 950, though there are references to it in the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* of Amalarius from the ninth century and in the Pontifical of Poitiers of about 900. Its appearance in the pontificals indicates that its observance had by this date spread from the monasteries to at least some of the cathedrals of the Frankish kingdom.¹³⁸ That of Poitiers gives few details, but the Romano-German Pontifical tells us that after the conclusion of Vespers the bishop goes in procession with his ministers to the location where the *mandatum* is to take place. There the Gospel from John 13:1–15 is read, and the bishop says a prayer:

O God, whose most holy supper we celebrate, make us worthy of it we pray by cleansing us from the filth of sin, Thou who, in order to instil in us an example of humility, didst condescend on this day to wash the feet of Thy disciples.

He then lays aside his vestments and girds himself with a towel. Beginning with the bishop, those present wash one another’s feet and dry them, while they sing antiphons and psalms 118 (*Beati immaculati in via*), 47 (*Magnus Dominus*), 66 (*Deus misereatur nostri*), 83 (*Quam dilecta*), 50 (*Miserere mei Deus*), 132 (*Ecce quam bonum*) and 150 (*Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius*). When the washing is finished, a deacon or lector continues the reading from the Gospel according to John, from 13:16 to the end of chapter 17. The ceremony concludes with a series of responsories and prayers.¹³⁹ As we shall see, the rite is parallel to that observed in the monastic environment, and is clearly derived therefrom.

Evidence from monastic sources includes the *Disciplina* of the Abbey of Farfa, the Decrees of Lanfranc and the *Consuetudines* of Cluny. At Cluny, the feet of the monks are washed by the *hebdomadarii*, who leave them wet, then again by the abbot, who dries them. If there are too many monks for the abbot to attend to, one or more of the brethren are deputed to assist him. The *mandatum* takes place in the chapter house, but the feet of the abbot and his assistants, if any, are first washed outside by monks nominated to do so. Apart from those antiphons appropriate to the *mandatum* (we are not told what they were), it was customary to sing the hymn *Tellus et aethera iubilent in magni coena Principis*, composed by Bishop Flavius of Chalon-sur-Saône (also mentioned in the Pontifical of Poitiers).¹⁴⁰ At the end a signal is given and a deacon wearing alb and stole and carrying a Gospel book enters in procession with lights and incense. The community rises and the deacon reads chapters 13 and 14 of St John’s Gospel. After the first verse has been read, all sit down. At the end of the reading another sign is given, and the brethren, preceded by the deacon, go in procession to the refectory.¹⁴¹

At both Farfa and Cluny there was a separate ceremony in which the feet of poor men were washed by the brethren in the cloister; in addition to having his feet washed, each received a sum of money.¹⁴² In those houses which followed the *Decreta* of Lanfranc the monks also washed the feet of poor men in the

cloister, each monk washing the feet of one man, except for the abbot, who washed those of two, before having their own feet washed. Each poor man received a drink, a blessing and the sum of two denarii, or whatever other sum the abbot decided was appropriate.¹⁴³ In the twelfth-century *Ordo Ecclesiae Lateranensis* there are also two separate ceremonies. While the monks are singing Prime in the chapter house everything is made ready in the cloister by the lay brothers, who then bring in one hundred poor men. When the office is over the monks take up a position in the porch before the chapter house, facing one another as if they were in choir. Each of the lay brothers washes the feet of two or three poor men while a cantor sings the antiphon *Mandatum novum do vobis*. When they have finished, two of the monks lay aside their hoods and, after girding themselves with a towel, 'humbly and devoutly' wash the feet of three or four of the poor men, drying them and then kissing them. Two more monks then take their place and do the same, and so on throughout the community, ending with the prior, who must wash the feet of any poor men who may remain. Each man receives a gift of one denarius. The ceremony ends with a prayer said by the prior and a *Pater noster*.

The feet of the monks and lay brethren are washed in the chapter house by the prior, in a separate ceremony, but thereafter until the Octave of Pentecost only the feet of the poor are washed (a procedure which, we are told, also takes place on every Saturday of the year). If for any good reason this washing of the feet of the poor has to be omitted on any particular occasion, they must still be given the alms which they are accustomed to receive during the ceremony. As in other houses, the rite concludes with the reading by a deacon of chapters 13 and 14 of St John's Gospel. The community stands until they hear the words 'when He had sat down once more' (13:12). At the words 'Come now, let us go', they proceed to the refectory, the deacon continuing the reading from the start of chapter 15. When they reach the refectory there is a pause in the reading for wine to be blessed by the prior and served. While it is being drunk 'with sobriety' the Gospel reading continues until the end of chapter 17 is reached, whereupon the community proceed to the church to sing Compline.¹⁴⁴ The custom of blessing and drinking a cup of wine while the interrupted Gospel reading is continued was known as the 'Caritas'

and appears to be first documented at St Benedict's own abbey, Monte Cassino.¹⁴⁵

According to the Pontifical of the Twelfth Century and Pontifical of the Roman Curia the pope washes the feet of two subdeacons after the end of Mass, while his chaplains sing at Vespers. In the former case the ceremony takes place in his private chapel, and in the latter in the basilica of St Laurence, or in the chapel of St Martin if he happens to be at St Peter's.¹⁴⁶ *Ordo Romanus xi*, also from the twelfth century, mentions St Laurence as the location for the papal rite. After washing the feet of twelve subdeacons the pope gives each one five solidi. At the end of Vespers he also gives each bishop present four solidi, each cardinal three solidi and each cantor two solidi.¹⁴⁷ This source is more like a development of the practice recorded in the additional Pontifical of St Egbert than an adoption of the Frankish practice found in the Romano-German Pontifical.¹⁴⁸ The first mention we have of the pope washing the feet of poor men as well as those of the twelve subdeacons comes from *Ordo Romanus xii* from the end of the twelfth century. In an entirely separate ceremony which takes place after supper, he washes the feet of thirteen poor men, drying and kissing them. Each man then receives a drink and alms.¹⁴⁹

In the Pontifical of Durandus from the end of the thirteenth century, we find a double ceremony, as in the *Ordo Ecclesiae Lateranensis*. In the morning the bishop presides in the chapter house where thirteen poor men have their feet washed, receive alms, while the schola sings antiphons and psalms including Psalm 118 and all the penitential psalms. The evening ceremony is confined entirely to the clergy who have their feet washed while the schola sings appropriate antiphons including *Mandatum novum do vobis*. At the end the archdeacon reads chapters 13 and 14 of St John's Gospel, after which the clergy proceed to the refectory where they receive the 'Caritas' while the archdeacon completes the Gospel reading up to the end of chapter 16. Both the morning and the evening ceremony end with the recitation by the bishop of the prayer *Adesto quaesumus Domine officio servitutis nostrae*.¹⁵⁰

At Rome, the second ceremony in which the pope washes the feet of thirteen poor men seems to have gone out of use quite early after its first mention in *Ordo Romanus xii*. The Ceremony

Episcoporum of 1600 however says that in some places it is the custom to wash the feet of thirteen poor men and give them food, drink and alms, and in others for the bishop to wash the feet of thirteen of his canons; the decision as to which practice to follow is left to local custom, or the decision of the bishop, though the former displays the greater humility and charity.¹⁵¹ Outside Rome the Franciscan Missal of 1243 seems to have been influential in formalizing as well as disseminating the rite, and it is here that we find a specific mention of the hymn *Ubi caritas et amor* in connection with the *mandatum* itself; of Benedictine origin, it seems previously to have been associated with the drinking of the 'Caritas' in the refectory, on Maundy Thursday as well as on other days.¹⁵²

The rubric in the 1474 Missal presents the *mandatum* as an exclusively clerical affair:

After the stripping of the altars at the proper hour a sign is given with a clapper and the brethren assemble to perform the *mandatum*; those of higher rank wash the feet and kiss them, and meanwhile the following [chants] are sung, either wholly or in part as the cantor decides.¹⁵³

A large number of antiphons based on the Gospel text, beginning with *Mandatum novum do vobis*, are provided, each followed by verses from psalms and ending with *Ubi caritas et amor*. A shortened version of this rite, with the addition of *Adesto quaesumus Domine officio servitutis nostrae* as a concluding prayer, remained the standard rite of the *mandatum* until 1970, performed in monasteries and cathedrals but rather seldom at parish church level.

The Washing of the Altars

St Isidore of Seville, writing around the year 620, tells us that it was the custom on Holy Thursday to wash the walls and pavements of the church, and to purify the sacred vessels, because it was on this day that Christ had washed the feet of his apostles.¹⁵⁴ Some two hundred years later Rabanus Maurus repeats Isidore word for word, except that he adds 'the altars of the church' as well as the walls and pavements.¹⁵⁵ The custom is also mentioned in Pseudo-Alcuin of the tenth to eleventh

century.¹⁵⁶ John of Avranches (c.1060–1070) is the first to mention that the altars are washed in both water and wine (but the walls and pavements in water only).¹⁵⁷ John Beletth also records the use of both water and wine to wash the altars, adding that they are brushed with hard branches (*asperis ramis*), particularly of yew or box.¹⁵⁸

Descriptions of the accompanying rite (if any) are rare. But one such is found in a Sarum Missal of about 1300. Water is first blessed, then two priests with deacon and subdeacon and candle bearers wash all the altars with wine and water, starting with the principal altar. During the washing of each altar the schola sings various chants, beginning with the responsory *In monte Oliveti* and verse *Verumtamen*.¹⁵⁹ Another responsory and verse are sung while the washing takes place, and when it is completed, the priest recites the Collect of the saint to whom the particular altar is dedicated, after which the responsory *Circumdederunt me* and versicle *Quoniam tribulatio* are sung.¹⁶⁰ This rite is repeated at each altar in the church.¹⁶¹

In the Gilbertine Ordinal, also from England, of the first half of the fifteenth century, the prior, vested in surplice and stole and barefooted, is directed to wash both the altars and the crucifixes on them with boughs of hyssop or yew, as a symbol of the flagellation of Christ, first pouring wine over each of the five crosses inscribed on the altar and each of the wounds in the figure on the crucifix, and then scattering water over and around the altars and the crucifixes, representing the blood of redemption and the water of regeneration which flowed from the side of Christ.¹⁶²

According to Durandus' *Rationale* of about 1290, the custom of washing the altars was widespread but not universal. Where it obtains, the altars are washed with water and wine and rubbed with boughs, especially boughs of yew, while one of the penitential psalms, or another chant appropriate to the Passion, is sung. In some places the pavement of the church is washed as well.¹⁶³ But in his pontifical he states bluntly that the altars are not to be washed, to which one manuscript adds 'except where it has been customary to do so', which looks like an addition by a scribe anxious not to interfere with established custom.¹⁶⁴

It seems therefore that the tradition was already beginning to die out in the time of Durandus. There is no trace of it in any of the late medieval series of Roman ordines, so it was evidently not

observed at the Lateran Basilica at this time. Neither is it found in the first printed missal of 1474. Eventually it went out of use everywhere except at St Peter's in Rome, where it continued until the mid-twentieth century. After *Tenebrae* the clergy of the basilica went in procession to the Altar of the Confession, on which had been placed seven ampullae of white wine mixed with water. The officiating canon and six others ascended the steps of the altar, to the antiphon *Diviserunt sibi* and Psalm 21, and poured the contents of the ampullae over the altar. The cardinal arch-priest then sprinkled water around with a sprinkler made of yew branches, in which he was followed by each of the other canons. They then returned to the altar and dried it with sponges and towels. Finally, all knelt and the officiating canon said the antiphon *Christus factus est*. The *Pater noster* was recited silently and the rite ended with the prayer *Respice*.¹⁶⁵

Appendix

The Blessing of the Oils in the Gelasian Tradition

In the Gregorian tradition, as exemplified for instance in the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century (*Ordo XXXB* and *XXXC*), the oil of the sick is exorcized and blessed, with the prayers *Exorcizo te, immundissime spiritus* and *Emitte, domine, spiritum tuum paraclytum* respectively, during the Canon of the Mass, between the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* and *Per quem haec omnia, domine, semper bona creas*. The chrism is likewise exorcized and blessed with the prayers *Exorcizo te, creatura olei, per Deum patrem omnipotentem* and *Qui in principio, inter caetera* after the celebrant's communion, and this is immediately followed by the exorcism and blessing of the oil of catechumens, with the prayers *Exorcizo te, creatura olei, in nomine Dei patris omnipotentis* and *Deus incrementorum*. The rite in the Romano-German Pontifical and the Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century (*Ordo XXXA*) is the same except that the balsam is mixed with the chrism before the start of Mass instead of just before the latter is exorcized and blessed.

There appear however to be significant differences in the rite enshrined in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary. The oil of the sick is blessed at the same point in the Canon, with the prayer *Emitte, domine, spiritum tuum paraclytum*, though no exorcism is given. After the fraction, but before the commixture, the deacon offers

'the other oil' to the celebrant for blessing, and the latter blesses it with the prayer *Deus incrementorum* followed by *Qui in principio, inter caetera*. The latter appears to be intended as a blessing of the chrism; not only is this the function which it invariably performs in the Gregorian tradition, but it also includes the words *Christi tui, a cuius sancto nomine chrisma nomen accepit*. There follow the heading *Item olei exorcizati confectio* and a rubric prescribing the admixture of the balsam, and then the exorcism *Exorcizo te, creatura olei, in nomine Dei patris omnipotentis* and a blessing *Omnipotens aeterne Deus, qui mysteriorum tuorum*. This also appears to relate to the chrism, in view of the heading and rubric and because the blessing contains the words *et olivae chrisma mundo liberationis gloriam reversuram*. The celebrant is then instructed to return to the altar and proceed with the Mass.

Schmidt concludes that in the Gelasian tradition the Roman formula for the blessing of the chrism has been adopted as the blessing of the oil of the catechumens, with the prayers *Exorcizo te, creatura olei, in nomine Dei patris omnipotentis* and *Omnipotens aeterne Deus, qui mysteriorum tuorum* representing that of the chrism. At first sight this seems to be the most natural interpretation. However, not only is this in conflict with all our other sources (including the account of Amalarius), but if it were really the case one would have expected the reference to the chrism in the prayer *Qui in principio, inter caetera* to have been omitted or at least suitably amended.

A more convincing explanation for the confusion has been proposed by Chavasse. The Gelasian tradition originally contained no blessing of the chrism, which at Rome was carried out only in the course of the papal mass. The 'other oil' was the oil of the catechumens which was blessed with the prayer *Deus incrementorum*, as in the Gregorian tradition.¹⁶⁶ The lost archetype from which the Old Gelasian was derived was however amended twice, in order to supply a blessing for the chrism. The first interpolator inserted, immediately after the blessing of the oil of the catechumens, the heading *Item olei exorcizati confectio* and the rubric prescribing the admixture of the balsam, followed by the prayers *Exorcizo te, creatura olei, in nomine Dei patris omnipotentis* and *Omnipotens aeterne Deus, qui mysteriorum tuorum*. A second interpolator, wishing to include the Gregorian prayer for the blessing of the chrism, and reposition this blessing before that of

the oil of the catechumens, as at Rome, clumsily inserted *Qui in principio, inter caetera* after *Deus incrementorum*, treating *Exorcizo te, creatura olei, in nomine Dei patris omnipotentis* and *Omnipotens aeterne Deus, qui mysteriorum tuorum* as the exorcism and blessing of the oil of the catechumens instead of that of the chrism. However, he failed to move the heading and the rubric or to amend the reference to chrism in the prayer *Omnipotens aeterne Deus, qui mysteriorum tuorum*. We are therefore left apparently with two blessings of the chrism, with the rubric and exorcism falling in between the two.

The author of the Sacramentary of Angoulême has noticed that something has gone wrong in the sequence of blessings and has attempted to correct it, in a somewhat maladroit manner, by moving the rubric for the admixture of the balsam (though not the heading) to before *Qui in principio, inter caetera*, and adding to it a note that the latter is the blessing of the chrism (*Post hoc misces balsamum cum alio oleo et benedices chrisma in his verbis*). Otherwise he has simply followed the Old Gelasian, thus treating *Deus incrementorum*, the blessing for the oil of the catechumens in the Roman rite, as a sort of preliminary blessing of the chrism before the admixture of balsam.

The author of the Sacramentary of Gellone has fallen into even deeper confusion. He too has moved the rubric, correctly, to before *Qui in principio, inter caetera*, but then resumes the Mass with the *Pater noster* and the embolism, which thus appear twice, both before and after the blessing of the chrism. He then proceeds with the rest of the Mass to its conclusion. Evidently realizing at the end that he has omitted the blessing of the oil of the catechumens, he attempts to insert it at this point, but with the heading and rubric (again) for the blessing of the chrism, which he has blindly copied from his source, concluding with *Exorcizo te, creatura olei, in nomine Dei patris omnipotentis* and *Omnipotens aeterne Deus, qui mysteriorum tuorum*, as in the Old Gelasian.

In conclusion, therefore, it seems that the apparent differences between the Gregorian and Gelasian traditions are largely due to copyists' blunders and inept attempts to correct them. The principal remaining differences are: first, that in the Gregorian tradition the balsam is mixed with the chrism before the Mass begins instead of immediately before the chrism is blessed, and, secondly, that the blessings of the chrism and the oil of catechumens occur after the

communion of the celebrant, whereas in the Gelasian tradition they take place after the *fractio*.

Notes

- ¹ 'In hac etiam die sacrificium sacri corporis et domini sanguinis ab ipso domino celebrationis sumpsit initium. Hac die in toto orbe sanctum chrisma conficitur, hac etiam die pœnitentibus per indulgentiam subvenitur, discordes ad concordiam redeunt, pacificantur irati' (*Vita Silvestri*, quoted in Schmidt, *HS*, p. 7 14).
- ² 'eodem die, id est quinta feria, ... sanus dominicam coenam celebravit' (John, Bishop of Naples) (*PL* 53, 865).
- ³ *Sententiae* VII (*PL* 59, 302, 308).
- ⁴ Isidore, *Etymologiarum* Lib. VI, cap. xviii (*PL* 82, 251); Eligius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* Lib. I, cap. xxix (*PL* 87, 628).
- ⁵ The Stowe Missal is the oldest known Mass book of the Irish Church. It survives in a manuscript (D.II.3) kept in the library of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. Modern edition, HBS, Vols XXXI-XXXII, ed. G. F. Warner, 1906-1915.
- ⁶ Old Gelasian, Mohlberg, 349, 375, 391; Sacramentary of Angoulême, CC CLIX, Vol. C 598; Sacramentary of Autun, id. CLIX, Vol. B 465; Sacramentary of Gellone, id. CLIX, Vol. A 588.
- ⁷ Sacramentary of Prague: Schmidt, *HS*, p. 414; Gradual of Monza: *ibid.*, p. 486.
- ⁸ 'tota urbe spectante Romana, ante diem Paschae in basilica quondam Laterani' (Ep. lxxvii, *Ad Oceanum de morte Fabiolae* [*PL* 22, 692]). By the 'diem Paschae' Jerome almost certainly meant the Triduum, beginning on Good Friday. (See Chapter 1, notes 50 and 51.)
- ⁹ 'staret in ordine pœnitentium, episcopo, presbyteris, et omni populo collacrymantibus' (*ibid.*).
- ¹⁰ 'De pœnitentibus autem ... si nulla interveniat aegritudo, quinta feria ante pascha eis remittendum, Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudo demonstrat' (*PL* 20, 559).
- ¹¹ 'Recepta sub oculis omnium communione' (*PL* 22, 694).
- ¹² 'si quis in aegritudinem incurrerit, atque usque ad desperationem devenerit, ei est ante tempus Paschae relaxandum, ne de saeculo absque communione discedat' (*PL* 20, 559).
- ¹³ Eligius, Homilia X, 'Hac etiam die ... penitentibus per indulgentiam subvenitur, discordes ad concordiam hodie redeunt' (*PL* 87, 629).
- ¹⁴ See Chapter 3, pp. 49-51, Schmidt (*HS*, pp. 723-6), consistently with his view that the Gelasian tradition originated in Gaul and not in Rome, argues that the rite found in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary is a fusion of a Roman reconciliation rite with a Gallican reconciliation Mass which could be celebrated on other days besides Maundy Thursday. Righetti believed that the reconciliation rite began as an aliturgical synaxis which was developed into a Mass in Gaul after the middle of the sixth century, the reconciliation rite taking the place of the synaxis of the Mass (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 153). Chavasse has, I

believe, shown conclusively that the entire rite including the Mass is of Roman origin (op. cit., pp. 149–53).

- ¹⁵ As indicated by the rubric which follows the conclusion of the rite: 'Post haec offert plebs et conficiuntur sacramenta' (Mohlberg, 368).
- ¹⁶ Chavasse, op. cit., p. 149. The eighth-century Pontifical of Egbert of York has a reconciliation rite, though no Mass (Schmidt, *HS*, pp. 554–5). Its solitary appearance in the *Ordines Romani* is in *Ordo XXXI*, 20, where it takes place after the Gospel during the ordinary Mass at which the oils are blessed (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 2, p. 494).
- ¹⁷ 'Adest, o venerabilis pontifex, tempus acceptum, dies propitiationis divinae et salutis humanae, qua mors interitum et vita accepit aeterna principium, quando in vinea Domini Sabaoth sic novorum plantatio facienda est ut purgetur execratio vetustatis. Quamvis enim a divitiis bonitatis et pietatis Dei nihil temporis vacet, nunc tamen et largior est per indulgentiam remissio peccatorum et copiosior per gratiam assumptio renascentium' (Mohlberg, 353). I have assumed that the manuscript reading 'et curatio' is a copyist's error for 'execratio', the reading found in the Romano-German Pontifical.
- ¹⁸ 'manducavit panem doloris, lacrimis stratum rigavit, cor suum luctu, corpus afflixit ieiuniis' (ibid.).
- ¹⁹ For the misplacing here of formulae designed for the reconciliation of a penitent on his deathbed, see Chavasse, op. cit., pp. 151–3. However, the words 'in sacramentis tuis sincera deinceps devotione permaneat' in the final prayer (Mohlberg, 368) appear to me to rule out his contention that this prayer can relate to a reconciliation *ad mortem*. Chavasse also believes that the first three of the seven prayers (Mohlberg, 356–8) actually belong to a rite of admission to penitence rather than to one of reconciliation, notwithstanding that the rubric specifically directs them to be said immediately after the admonishment to the sinner not to return to his old ways.
- ²⁰ See Chapter 4, note 25.
- ²¹ Mohlberg, 356, 357 and 358.
- ²² Full text in Schmidt, *HS*, pp. 554–5.
- ²³ The Mass formula in the Sacramentary of Angoulême is headed, 'Missa ad reconciliandum penitentem' (CC CLIX, Vol. C 607), and that in the Sacramentary of Autun, 'Missa ad reconciliandum' (CC CLIX, Vol. B 473). (The scribe of the Sacramentary of Gellone has altered the rubric from 'egreditur poenitens' to 'egrediuntur poenitentes' but has characteristically overlooked amending the singulars 'gessit' and 'presentatur' to the plurals 'gessunt' and 'presentantur' [CC CLIX, Vol. A 588]).
- ²⁴ Schmidt, *HS*, pp. 423–4. The slightly later Pseudo-Alcuin gives the same Gradual, Gospel and Communion verse, but a different Introit, Epistle and Offertory verse (*PL* 101, 1204).
- ²⁵ *PRG* cap. xxv 24–59 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 5, pp. 192–207).
- ²⁶ Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. I, pp. 215–19. The number of prayers for reconciliation has been reduced from sixteen to eleven. Otherwise there are only very minor differences.
- ²⁷ The Mass is a hybrid one, with texts culled from a number of different feast days. See Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. III, p. 559.
- ²⁸ 'Vivo ego, dicit dominus, nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut magis convertatur

et vivat' and 'Dicit dominus: penitentiam agite, appropinquabit enim regnum celorum'.

- ²⁹ 'Levate capita vestra, quia appropinquabit redemptio vestra'.
- ³⁰ 'Oportet te, fili, gaudere quia frater tuus mortuus fuerat et revixit; perierat et inventus est' (Luke 15:32).
- ³¹ Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. III, pp. 559–69.
- ³² Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* Lib. I, cap. xii (*PL* 105, 1011).
- ³³ Pseudo-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* xvi (*PL* 101, 1204).
- ³⁴ Rupert, *De divinis officiis* V, xv (*PL* 170, 139).
- ³⁵ Honorius, *Gemma animae* Lib. III lxxv (*PL* 172, 662).
- ³⁶ Belet, *Rationale* xcv (*PL* 202, 95).
- ³⁷ Durandus, *Rationale* Lib. VI, lxxiii, 7 (*Dura*, pp. 518–19).
- ³⁸ See Chapter 2, p. 35.
- ³⁹ Conybeare, op. cit., 76.
- ⁴⁰ Augustine, *Ep.* liv, 7(9) (*PL* 33, 204).
- ⁴¹ It was permitted, though not enjoined, for Africa in the twenty-ninth canon of the third council of Carthage, held in the year 397, and for Gaul in the Council of Macon, held in 585.
- ⁴² It is not altogether clear why it should be difficult to bathe and fast at the same time. However, very few people would have had a private bathroom at home, and their opportunities for bathing would therefore have been restricted by the opening hours of the public baths. By St Augustine's time there would also have been separate hours for men and women.
- ⁴³ Schmidt, *HS*, p. 471.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* The evangeliary is so called because both the surviving manuscripts in which it is preserved, which date from around 700, appear to have been written in Lindisfarne.
- ⁴⁵ Chavasse, op. cit., p. 128. The consecration of the chrism was the exclusive prerogative of the bishop, who in the case of Rome was, of course, the pope. Numerous attempts were however made by priests to encroach on this prerogative of the bishop, condemned in the strongest terms in the second and third Councils of Carthage, the first Council of Toledo and the Council of Worms (Martène, *DAER* IV, cap. XXII, cols. 243–4).
- ⁴⁶ 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, da, quaesumus, universis famulis tuis plenius atque perfectius omnia festi paschalis introire mysteria ...' (Mohlberg, 349). The sacramentary provides two collects (id. 349 and 350) and an oratio super sindonem (id. 351) for the Mass, which indicates that it belongs to the oldest liturgical stratum in the book (cf. Chavasse, op. cit., pp. 131–2). All three are also found in the Bobbio Missal, the third under its Gallican name of *Post nomina* (Lowe, op. cit., nn. 136–198).
- ⁴⁷ 'Eodem die non psallitur, nec salutatur, id est non dicit Dominus vobiscum' (Mohlberg, 349).
- ⁴⁸ Mohlberg, 370–372. Chavasse points out that the phrase 'accepit panem in suis sanctis manibus' is a reflection of the oldest known text of the Roman Canon, that found in St Ambrose's *De Sacramentis* ('in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem'), and thus an indication of the antiquity of this Mass (Chavasse, op. cit., p. 132).
- ⁴⁹ Mohlberg, 391–392.

- ⁵⁰ The Gospel therefore duplicated that read on the Tuesday of Holy Week, until the Passion according to St Mark was substituted for the latter around the year 900.
- ⁵¹ CC CLIX Vol. A 633, id. Vol. B 642, id. Vol. C 495 (Sacramentaries of Gellone, Angoulême and Autun), Schmidt, *HS*, pp. 391 and 408 (Sacramentaries of Reichenau and St Gall). The Gellone scribe has, characteristically, mislabelled this Collect as 'secreta'.
- ⁵² Mohlberg, 392.
- ⁵³ The rubric in the Gregorian sacramentary is 'In ipso die conficitur chrisma in ultimo ad missam antequam dicatur *per quem haec omnia domine semper bona creas*, levantur de ampullis quas offerunt populi, et benedicunt tam dominus papa quam omnes presbyteri' (Wilson, op. cit., p. 49). It is followed by the prayer for the blessing of the oil of the sick. As it stands the rubric is misleading; it was in fact only the oil of the sick that was presented by the people. A further rubric, 'Incipit benedictio chrismatis principalis' then precedes the prayer for the blessing of the chrism, followed in turn by 'Exorcismus olei' and the prayer for the blessing of the oil of catechumens.
- ⁵⁴ See Schmidt, *HS*, pp. 552-4.
- ⁵⁵ 'In eo loco ubi solemus uvas benedicere, ibi consecratur oleum pro infirmo' (Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* Lib. I cap. xii [PL 105, 1013]). Repeated almost verbatim by Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis* Lib. V, xv (PL 170, 141) and in a Pontifical of Rouen (PL 78, 328). A relic of the practice remains to this day in the wording of the Roman Canon, 'It is through Him that Thou dost create, sanctify, give life to, bless and provide all these good things (*haec omnia*) for us'.
- ⁵⁶ 'Mos est Romanae Ecclesiae ut in confectione immolationis Christi adsint presbyteri, et simul cum pontifice verbis et manibus conficiant, at quia in ipsa periocha concluditur consecratio olei huius, oportet ut simili modo sicut et caetera, cum pontifice presbyteri oleum conficiant' (Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* Lib. I cap. xii (PL 105, 1016)). Repeated virtually word for word in the approximately contemporary Pontifical of Rouen (PL 78, 329). Cf. Jungmann, *MRR* Vol. I, p. 198 n.14.
- ⁵⁷ 'quo dominus noster Iesus Christus pro nobis est traditus' instead of 'quo traditus est dominus noster Iesus Christus'.
- ⁵⁸ Wilson, *HBS*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 48-9. The Cambrai manuscript reading 'pro nostra omnium salute' must be an error for 'pro nostra omniumque salute'. This embolism (without *hoc est hodie*) was probably originally used on every day of the year, only later being restricted to Maundy Thursday (Schmidt, *HS*, p. 754).
- ⁵⁹ Schmidt, *HS*, p. 458.
- ⁶⁰ Schmidt, *HS*, pp. 459-60.
- ⁶¹ Lectionary of Würzburg (Schmidt, *HS*, p. 458), Lectionary of Corbie (ibid., p. 462), Lectionary of Alcuin (ibid., p. 463), *Comes* of Murbach (ibid., p. 464), *Comes* Theotinchii (ibid., p. 465).
- ⁶² Antiphonals of Mont Blandin (Schmidt, *HS*, pp. 482) and Rheinau (ibid., p. 484), Gradual of Monza (ibid., p. 486).
- ⁶³ OR XVI. 31, OR XVII. 92 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 2, pp. 151 and 188).
- ⁶⁴ OR XXIII. 4-8 (ibid., p. 269).
- ⁶⁵ L. Deiss, *Early Sources of the Liturgy* (London: Chapman, 1967), pp. 57-8. Schmidt believed that at Rome in the time of Hippolytus Maundy Thursday as well as Good Friday were aliturgical days, and that the blessing of the oils was transferred from the Easter Vigil during the fifth century (Schmidt, *HS*, p. 661).
- ⁶⁶ Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Lib. I cap. xxix.2 (PL 83, 764). Repeated by Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione* Lib. II, cap. xxvi (PL 107, 547).
- ⁶⁷ Rupert, *De divinis officiis* Lib. V, xvii (PL 170, 141). A wealth of allegorical explanations for the various aspects of the ceremony is given by the medieval commentators. For example, the two lights, two crosses and two thuribles which accompany the procession refer to the Law and the Prophets, the two cantors to the Old and New Law, the acolyte with the candle to the angel in the column of fire. The flasks when they are presented for blessing are half covered and half bare because Christ lay hid for a while before his Passion, but they are wholly bare after the blessing because Christ on the Cross was exposed for all to see. There is a great deal more in the same vein (cf. John of Belet, *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, xcvi [PL 202, 306-307]).
- ⁶⁸ OR XXIV. 8, OR XXVII. 22, OR XXVIII. 12 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 2, pp. 289, 352 and 394).
- ⁶⁹ OR XXIV. 17, OR XXVII. 30, OR XXVIII. 20 (ibid., pp. 291, 354 and 396).
- ⁷⁰ OR XXXB. 11 (ibid., p. 468).
- ⁷¹ Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* Lib. I, xii (PL 105, 1013-1016).
- ⁷² Wilson, op. cit., p. 50. There are two exorcisms in the surviving manuscript of the Old Gelasian, but both of them are additions to the original text (see appendix to this chapter). There is no exorcism mentioned in the Pontifical of Egbert or in any of the *Ordines Romani*.
- ⁷³ See note 46 above for the text of this rubric. It is also reproduced in Pseudo-Alcuin xvii (PL 101, 1206).
- ⁷⁴ PRG cap. xxv. 70-97 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 5, pp. 212-25).
- ⁷⁵ *Ordo* XXXA. 36-59 (Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. I, pp. 220-6).
- ⁷⁶ *Ordo* XXXB. 1-9 (ibid., p. 227). The Pontifical of the Roman Curia follows *Ordo* XXXB on both these points (XLII, 10-27 [ibid., Vol. II, pp. 458-63]).
- ⁷⁷ *Ordo* XXXC, 7-17 (ibid., Vol. I, pp. 230-2).
- ⁷⁸ The number of each grade of ministers probably derives ultimately from the seven *regionarii* who had the charge of the seven districts into which the City of Rome was divided for administrative purposes.
- ⁷⁹ Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. III, pp. 571-9.
- ⁸⁰ Durandus says that this prayer is added in some churches (Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. III, p. 577).
- ⁸¹ Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. II, Appendix ii, pp. 543-50.
- ⁸² OR x, 2-11 (PL 78, 1010-1013), *Ordo Ecclesiae Lateranensis* (Fischer, *OEL*, pp. 50-2), OR xii, XL.24 (PL 78, 1073-1074), OR xv, LXV (PL 78, 1307-1310).
- ⁸³ This appears to be the meaning of the words 'postquam dominus papa intrat ad sacrificandum'. Other ordines specify during the Preface (OR xii), after the Sanctus (*Ordo Ecclesiae Lateranensis*), and either after the elevation or after the Sanctus (OR xv).

- ⁸⁴ See appendix to this chapter.
- ⁸⁵ Schmidt, *HS*, p. 727.
- ⁸⁶ Some of these sacramentaries omit the third embolism, and some delete the words *ieiunii Coenae Dominicae* in the second.
- ⁸⁷ Jungmann, *MRR* Vol. I, pp. 356–7.
- ⁸⁸ 'Et post *Kyrie eleison* dominus apostolicus dicit *Gloria in excelsis Deo*' (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 2, p. 269).
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 394. *ORs* XXIX and XXXI prescribe the omission of the *Kyrie eleison* also (*ibid.*, pp. 440 and 493–4).
- ⁹⁰ Sacramentary of St Eligius 51 (Schmidt, *HS*, p. 439); *PRG* cap. xxv. 62 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 5, p. 208); Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century XXXA. 28 and XXXC. 5 (Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. I, pp. 219 and 230); Pontifical of the Roman Curia XLII. 9 (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 458); Pontifical of Durandus Lib. III, ii. 51 (*ibid.*, Vol III, p. 570). The *Gloria* was not however said at Cluny (*PL* 149, 658–659).
- ⁹¹ John of Avranches, *Lib. de officiis ecclesiasticis* (*PL* 147, 49–50); Lanfranc, *Decreta* cap. I iv (*PL* 150, 459–460); Bernoldus, *Micrologus* cap. lii, 28 (*PL* 151, 1015–1016); Honorius, *Gemma animae* Lib. III, lxxxv (*PL* 172, 665).
- ⁹² Lib. III, ii. 51 (Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. III, p. 570).
- ⁹³ *Missale Romanum* 1474, HBS, Vol. XVII (1899), p. 156.
- ⁹⁴ *PRG* cap. xxv. 100 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 5, p. 207); *Disciplina Farfensis* (*PL* 150, 1198–1199); Pontifical of the Twelfth Century XXXC. 3–4 (Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. I, p. 229); Pontifical of the Roman Curia XLII. 3 (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 455); Pontifical of Durandus Lib. III, ii. 47 (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 570); *OR x* (*PL* 78, 1009).
- ⁹⁵ *Rationale*, Lib. VI, lxxii, 3–4 (Dura, p. 512).
- ⁹⁶ Monte Cassino, *De coenobiorum institutis* Lib. III, cap. xi, xii (*PL* 49, 114–115, 164–165) (cf. Righetti, op. cit., Vol. II.97, p. 159); *Disciplina Farfensis* cap. iii (*PL* 150, 1199); Cluny, *Consuetudines* cap. xii (*PL* 149, 658–9); Lanfranc, *Decreta* cap. I, iv (*PL* 150, 459–460).
- ⁹⁷ Thurston, op. cit., pp. 279–80; *OHS*, p. 130.
- ⁹⁸ Fischer, *OEL*, p. 50; Pontifical of Roman Curia XLII. 9 (Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. II, p. 458); Pontifical of Durandus Lib. III, ii. 51 (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 570).
- ⁹⁹ For example Old Gelasian Sacramentary (Mohlberg, 390); *OR* XVI. 31 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 2, p. 151); *OR* XVII. 91 (*ibid.*, p. 188); *OR* XXIX. 23 (*ibid.*, p. 441); *OR* XXXI. 18 (*ibid.*, p. 493); *PRG* cap. xxv. 100 (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 225); John of Avranches, *Lib. de officiis ecclesiasticis* (*PL* 147, 49–50); Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century XXXC. 10 (Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. I, p. 231); Pontifical of Durandus Lib. III. ii. 90 (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 580); 1474 Missal (HBS, Vol. XVII, p. 158).
- ¹⁰⁰ Righetti, op. cit., Vol. II.98, p. 160. Of the omission, John of Avranches says, 'pax non accipitur; quod enim de sexta feria servetur, falso enim pacis osculo traditur' (*Lib. de officiis ecclesiasticis* [*PL* 147, 49–50]).
- ¹⁰¹ Jungmann, *MRR* Vol II, pp. 338–9. The omission of the *Agnus Dei* entirely is found for example in John of Avranches, (*ibid.*) and in *OR* XXIX. 23 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 2, p. 441).
- ¹⁰² Canon xviii (*PL* 84, 266). Cf. Jungmann, *MRR* Vol. II, pp. 361–2.
- ¹⁰³ *OR* XXIV. 21 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 2, p. 291); *OR* XXVII. 34 (*ibid.*, p. 354); *OR* XXVIII. 24 (*ibid.*, p. 396); *OR* XXIX. 25 (*ibid.*, p. 441); *OR* XXXB. 24 (*ibid.*, p. 470); *OR* XXXI. 28 (*ibid.*, p. 495).
- ¹⁰⁴ Cf. for example the *Regularis Concordia* of St Dunstan, 'communicatio praebetur tam fratribus quam cunctis fidelibus' (*PL* 137, 491), the *Disciplina Farfensis et Monasterii S. Pauli Romae* 'communioneque cuncti debent etiam infantes accipere' (*PL* 150, 1199), the *Consuetudines* of Cluny, 'omnesque communicant' (*PL* 149, 659), the *Decreta* of Lanfranc, 'nullus a communione se subtrahat, nisi subtrahendi rationabilis causa existat' (*PL* 150, 459–460), and the *Missale de Lesnes* (around 1200), 'Omnes enim sacerdotes quam alii canonici ad sacram communionem accedunt' (HBS, Vol. XCV, 1962, ed. Dom Philip Jebb, p. 42).
- ¹⁰⁵ 'In cena domini a quibusdam perceptio eucharistiae negligitur. Quae quoniam in eadem die ab omnibus fidelibus exceptis his, quibus pro gravibus criminibus inhibuitur est, percipienda sit, ecclesiasticus usus demonstrat, cum etiam penitentes eadem die ad percipiendum corporis et sanguinis domini sacramenta reconcilientur' (Fischer, *OEL* pp. 47–8).
- ¹⁰⁶ 'Pontifex vere in sede sua communicat illos qui communicare volunt' (*PL* 78, 1013).
- ¹⁰⁷ *OR* XXXA. 4 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 2, p. 455); Pontifical of Durandus Lib. III. ii. 94 (at a Mass where the chrism has not been blessed), (*id.* *PRM* Vol. III, p. 580).
- ¹⁰⁸ Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century XXXC. 19 (Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. I, p. 233).
- ¹⁰⁹ John of Avranches, *Lib. de officiis ecclesiasticis* (*PL* 147, 50).
- ¹¹⁰ Lanfranc, *Decreta* cap. I, iv (*PL* 150, 460).
- ¹¹¹ 'reconditur Dominicum corpus a sacerdote retro altare. Ponitur in patena aurea, et patena inter scutellas aureas, et adhuc scutellae inter tabulas argenteas, quae facta sunt ad textum evangelii' (Cluny, *Consuetudines*, cap. xii [*PL* 149, 659]).
- ¹¹² Pontifical of the Twelfth Century XXXA. 60 (Andrieu, *PRM* Vol. I, p. 226); Pontifical of the Roman Curia XLII. 29 (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 463).
- ¹¹³ *OR* x. 12 (*PL* 78, 1013).
- ¹¹⁴ *OR* xv. LXVI (*PL* 78, 1309–1310).
- ¹¹⁵ W. Lockton, *The Treatment of the Remains of the Eucharist after Holy Communion* (CUP, 1920), pp. 89–90.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁷ 'Praeparandum igitur ornandumque erit aliquod sacellum intra ecclesiam, quo pulchrius magnificentiusque poterit, multis luminibus ornatum'. Quoted in Righetti, op. cit., Vol. II.102, p. 166.
- ¹¹⁸ Examples in J. Monti, *The Week of Salvation* (Huntington, Indiana, 1993), p. 131.
- ¹¹⁹ 'externa signa cuiusdam sepulcri penitus prohibentur . . . Iuxta novas dispositiones huiusmodi repraesentationes funerae nequeunt amplius tolerari' (*OHS*, p. 142).
- ¹²⁰ After Mass: *PRG* cap. xxv. 105 (Andrieu, *ORM* Vol. 5, pp. 226–7); Pseudo-Alcuin xvii (*PL* 101, 1206); Cluny, *Consuetudines* cap. xii (*PL* 149, 659); Lanfranc, *Decreta* cap. I, iv (*PL* 150, 460). Before the Postcommunion: Roman

- Pontifical of the Twelfth Century XXXA. 61 (Andrieu, PRM Vol. I, p. 226); Pontifical of the Roman Curia XLII. 32 (ibid., Vol. II, p. 464); Durandus, *Rationale* Lib. VI, lxxv. 13 (Dura, p. 528). The Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century (*Ordo* XXXC. 19) says that Vespers are sung 'in omnibus aliis ecclesiis, praeter in ecclesia romana' before the Postcommunion, but from the following paragraph it appears that by 'ecclesia romana' it means not the Roman rite generally but only as celebrated by the pope in person. (Andrieu, PRM Vol. I, p. 233).
- ¹²¹ Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century XXXC. 20 (Andrieu, PRM Vol. I, p. 233); Pontifical of the Roman Curia XLII. 32 (ibid., Vol. II, p. 464); OR x. 12 (PL 78, 1013); OR xi. 41 (ibid., 1041); OR xii. XI 26 (ibid., 1074); OR xiv. LXXXIV (ibid., 1207).
- ¹²² The silent recitation of a *Pater* and *Ave* before the start of the office, and of the *Miserere* before the final prayer, seem to have been additions to the primitive office (OHS, p. 125). They were removed in the 1955 reform.
- ¹²³ Righetti, op. cit., Vol. II.103, p. 168.
- ¹²⁴ Schmidt, HS, p. 777.
- ¹²⁵ Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Lib. I xii (PL 105, 1012); John of Avranches, *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis* (PL 147, 150); Durandus, *Rationale* Lib. VI, lxxvi (Dura, p. 529). John of Avranches says that it takes place after dinner, Durandus after Vespers.
- ¹²⁶ Schmidt, HS, p. 777.
- ¹²⁷ For example, in the ninth century Amalarius tells us that the bare altars represented the flight of the apostles (*De ecclesiasticis officiis* Lib. I, xii [PL 105, 1023]).
- ¹²⁸ Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, Lib. II, cap. xv (PL 217, 799–802).
- ¹²⁹ OR XXIII. 3 (Andrieu, ORM Vol 2, p. 269).
- ¹³⁰ *Rationale*, Lib. III, xviii 1, 'Albis indumentis utendum est . . . in coena Domini, propter confectionem chrismatis, quod ad mundationem animae consecratur; nam et evangelica lectio munditiam principaliter in illa solemnitate commendat' (Dura, pp. 129–30).
- ¹³¹ Roman Pontifical of the Twelfth Century XXXC. 3 (Andrieu, PRM Vol. I, p. 229); Pontifical of Durandus Lib. III ii. 47 (ibid., Vol. III, p. 570).
- ¹³² OR xv of about 1390 gives the starting time as the third hour (PL 78, 1307).
- ¹³³ Ep. 55.18.33 (PL 33, 220).
- ¹³⁴ Eligius of Noyon, *Homilia* viii (PL 87, 623).
- ¹³⁵ 'Proinde haec sancta synoda decernit et instituit ut deinceps non aliter per totius Hispaniae et Galliae ecclesias eadem solemnitas celebretur nisi pedes unusquisque pontificum seu sacerdotum secundum hoc sacrosanctum exemplum suorum lavare studeat subditorum' (PL 84, 557).
- ¹³⁶ *Ordinale Gilbertinum*, De mandato conventus, 'Gerit enim in hoc officio figuram eius qui cum esset Magister et dominus omnium factus est omnium servus' (HBS, Vol. LIX, p. 35). The ordinal dates from the first half of the fifteenth century.
- ¹³⁷ Schmidt, HS, pp. 554, 744, 766 & 884–5. The addition occurs in a single manuscript of the Pontifical, now lost, from the monastery of St Remigius in Reims, where Schmidt suggests the insertion actually took place.
- ¹³⁸ Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Lib. I cap. xii (PL 105, 1011); Pontifical of Poitiers: Martène, DAER IV, cap. XXII, col. 286.
- ¹³⁹ PRG xxv. 111–136 (Andrieu, ORM Vol. 5, pp. 228–32).
- ¹⁴⁰ Martène, DAER IV, cap. XXII, col. 286.
- ¹⁴¹ Cluny, *Consuetudines* cap. xii (PL 149, 659–660).
- ¹⁴² *Disciplina Farfensis* cap. ii (PL 150, 1199–1200).
- ¹⁴³ Lanfranc, *Decreta* cap. I, iv (PL 150, 460–461).
- ¹⁴⁴ Fischer, OEL pp. 46–7 and 53–4.
- ¹⁴⁵ Schmidt, HS, pp. 768–9.
- ¹⁴⁶ Pontifical of the Twelfth Century XXXC. 20 (Andrieu, PRM Vol. I, p. 233); Pontifical of the Roman Curia XLII. 31–32 (ibid., Vol. II, pp. 463–4).
- ¹⁴⁷ OR xi. 41 (PL 78, 1041).
- ¹⁴⁸ Schmidt's comment, 'Hic ordo magis aulicus quam liturgicus dicendus est' is apposite (HS p. 771).
- ¹⁴⁹ OR xii. XI, 27 (PL 78, 1075).
- ¹⁵⁰ Pontifical of Durandus Lib. III, ii. 2–6, 98–101 (Andrieu, PRM Vol. III, pp. 558–9, 581–2).
- ¹⁵¹ Schmidt, HS, p. 775.
- ¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 651–3 and 775. The language of verses 1 and 8 of the hymn is clearly related to that of Rules 4 and 72 of St Benedict. For the full text of the hymn see Schmidt, HS, pp. 652–3.
- ¹⁵³ *Missale Romanum* 1474, 'Post nudationem altarium hora competenti facto signo cum tabula conveniunt fratres ad faciendum mandatum; maiores abluunt pedes et osculantur et interim haec subscripta cantantur vel omnia vel in parte pro dispositione cantoris' (HBS, Vol. XVII, p. 158).
- ¹⁵⁴ Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* Lib. I cap. xxix. 2 (PL 83, 764).
- ¹⁵⁵ Rabanus, *De clericorum institutione* Lib. II cap. xxxvi (PL 107, 547).
- ¹⁵⁶ Pseudo-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* xvii (PL 101, 1204).
- ¹⁵⁷ John of Avranches, *Lib. de officiis ecclesiasticis* (PL 147, 50).
- ¹⁵⁸ Belet, *Rationale* ciii (PL 202, 108).
- ¹⁵⁹ R. In monte Oliveti oravi ad patrem, 'Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste; spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma. Fiat voluntas tua'. V. 'Verumtamen non sicut ego volo sed sicut tu vis' (Matt. 26:39, 42)
- ¹⁶⁰ R. Circumdederunt me vituli multi, tauri pingues obsederunt me. V. Quoniam tribulatio proxima est, quoniam non est qui adiuvet (Ps. 21, vv.12–13).
- ¹⁶¹ J. Wickham Legg, op. cit., pp. 106–7.
- ¹⁶² *Ordinale Gilbertinum*, de lavacione altarium (HBS, Vol. LIX, p. 35).
- ¹⁶³ Durandus, *Rationale*, Lib. VI, lxxvi.5, 7, 'In plerisque locis lavantur altaria vino et aqua et ramis fricantur, praesertim cum ramis de savina' (Dura, pp. 529–30).
- ¹⁶⁴ Pontifical of Durandus, Lib. III, ii. 97, 'Post haec altaria denudentur, non tamen laventur <nisi lavari fuerit consuetum>' (Andrieu, PRM Vol. III, p. 581).
- ¹⁶⁵ Righetti, op. cit., Vol. II.103, p. 168.
- ¹⁶⁶ In the oldest Gregorian tradition the words 'incrementorum et profectuum spiritualium munerator' are omitted, the prayer beginning simply 'Deus qui virtute sancti spiritus tui . . .'