

THE CANONICAL MASS OF THE ENGLISH ORTHODOX

Raymond Winch

Third Edition 2007

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Editor's Preface

I was inspired to compile a new edition of this work of the late Dr. Raymond Winch, sitting on a shelf in my library since my university days, by a recent posting on a Western Orthodox e-mail list asking about it. It has been my privilege to know Dr. Winch in the late 1980's in Oxford during the time I was a theological student at Fribourg University. He was an academic liturgical scholar with a doctorate in philosophy and many years experience in school and university teaching. He was also a devout Christian layman who recited the daily Benedictine Office and attended Liturgy in a local eastern Orthodox church in Oxford. He stood out by his gentle manners and courtesy, never judging and always ready to listen. I have even heard Dr. Winch referred to as the '*new Joseph Overbeck*'! Having spoken with him about this work and many other subjects, I was aware that he put in many hours of work and research from the wealth of manuscripts and published books in the various university and college libraries of Oxford.

Thus, it would be sad to see this work and its author forgotten. Needless to say, the ideas expressed in this booklet never came to fruition in any recognised Orthodox Church. Practical western-rite Orthodoxy remains something of an American phenomenon and many opportunities for it in England have been lost. It is to be found in the Antiochian Patriarchate and the Russian Church outside Russia. Both of these ecclesial bodies also have outposts in Australia, but there are no western rite liturgies celebrated in England or elsewhere in Europe, at least not in any canonical Church. General information about this movement can be found on the Internet and various published books and articles.

Getting to the 'bottom line' very briefly, two approaches thus prevail in the Orthodox context:

- (i) adopting contemporary (1950's) Anglican and Roman Catholic liturgical norms with 'corrections' (addition of an epiclesis and taking the *filioque* out of the Creed),
- (ii) attempting to restore the liturgical rites and ceremonies of the early eleventh century.

The *Canonical Mass of the English Orthodox* clearly finds its place in the latter approach. The idea of restoring the Roman rite to its *status quo* of the 7th century is an interesting one, though it is not something that would tempt me as a priest to apply in a pastoral setting! The underlying idea in an Orthodox context is "short-circuiting" liturgical development that occurred in the Roman Catholic Church since the schism of 1054. You simply present an archaic rite, get your faithful used to it, and then hope that the process of 'organic development' would resume. The harrowing experience of many Roman Catholics with the work of Archbishop Bugnini, Paul VI's liturgical reformer, is evidence of the shortcomings of liturgical archaeologism and artificial inculturation in pastoral terms.

Dr. Winch was no 'liberal' like many liturgical reformers in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches since the 1960's: he was a medievalist. Having been a 'cradle' Roman Catholic before his conversion to Eastern Orthodoxy, he saw the shortcomings and intellectual difficulties presented by the late post-Tridentine English version of Roman Catholicism in the 1950's. His was a vision of recapturing a tradition that had been lost, or at least partially obscured, for centuries. In his own introduction, Dr. Winch explains his position and shows his awareness of the difficulties of such an approach. Towards the end of

his life, knowing that no Orthodox Church this side of the Atlantic would ever support western rite initiatives for reasons of ecumenism with Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism, and as his health failed, Dr. Winch began to attend the Roman Catholic Mass celebrated in the old rite with permission from the local bishop.

How many more souls of this quality of vision – in both intellectual and spiritual terms – will be squandered and ignored by those who represent institutional ecclesial bodies and the cult of controlling other people?

My own work on this booklet has been limited to converting it into modern computer format to facilitate reprinting and availability. It is my hope, by publishing this work freely – and I am morally certain that no one is receiving royalties from the 1989 edition – that Dr. Winch's contribution will be esteemed and valued by Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians.

Rev'd Anthony Chadwick, September 2007

Author's Preface to the 1988 edition

In this little work I argue that we English Orthodox are the inheritors of a rich liturgical tradition which we have received from our fathers and saints. It is, moreover, a heritage which has canonical authority which has not been abrogated. Although we must be cautious of too legalistic an approach, this tradition clearly remains prescriptive for us. It was freely and, indeed, enthusiastically adopted by the lively emergent English Church during the seventh and eighth centuries and it has exercised a lasting influence on our religious culture. He received this tradition directly from the Church of the City of Rome.

In this present study I deal only with the Eucharistic liturgy. We possess the text of the Mass as it was used at Rome nearly fifteen hundred years ago. Indeed the Roman anaphora has continued in use until our own day. We know also in detail the ceremonial customs used at Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries when the Bishop of Rome came to celebrate a solemn public Mass in a basilica - a 'station'. Our knowledge of Roman ceremonial on less solemn occasions is not so precise. Accordingly, preferring to work from what is certain rather than from what is. In some minor respects, conjectural, I have used the ancient texts which describe a bishop's Mass and adjusted them to provide an order of celebration in what we would now call a parish church. There are one or two places in which the authority for the ceremonial is ambiguous or silent. Doubtless the authors assumed that the reader already knew what was to be done. There is also the problem of adjusting the ritual of a service at which the bishop of the place is assisted by many ordained ministers, to suit an occasion when there might be only a priest, a deacon and an acolyte. These considerations have made some conjecture inevitable) conjecture, be it noted, about ceremonial, not about the words used. Whenever a little reconstruction has been necessary I have endeavoured to follow the principles which underlie this rite and to avoid any liturgical predilections of my own. To the fleeting social fashions and ideologies of our own day I have made no concession.

I have taken the rite as it was used at Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries precisely because our English canonical directives belong to that period. However, this old Roman Rite does seem to possess great intrinsic merit. It is clear simple and dignified. It seems an excellent way of "doing the Eucharist". It is as appropriate for our own day as it was for the seventh century.

I appreciate that liturgy is inevitably subject to development, but we ought to do our best to

ensure that this development is of the gentle organic sort. I emphasise that it would be most unwise to permit any changes in our rite until it is once again firmly established and in general use among us. In particular the anaphora of the Roman Mass is of great antiquity and provides a vital witness to the abiding tradition of the universal Church. Apart from the proper names, it is essential that the text of the canon be retained without addition or omission. To make any changes in the canon in order to "improve" its theology would be more reprehensible than to alter the texts of the Fathers on the presumption of superior spiritual insight.

A curious feature of religious life in the second half of the twentieth century has been the enthusiasm displayed by most Christian bodies – or, perhaps, more accurately, by the leaders of these bodies – for jettisoning ancient liturgical structures which have grown up over the centuries, so that they can be replaced by banal contemporary productions which tend to become "dated" even before they are generally adopted. Unless, as at the time of the Reformation, it was a question of establishing a new church with a new theology, Christians have never acted like this before. It is alleged that the novelties will better serve the pastoral needs of the present: however, it now appears that the adoption of new made rites is closely related to a sharp diminution in the number of worshippers.

The Church is, mysteriously, both outside time and yet in time. When we come together for worship we are bound to join in communion with those who have gone before us and this we can best do by praying as they prayed and acting as they acted. The awareness that we are doing this must be a source of consolation as well as of sheer joy. Moreover, the faith is embodied in the liturgical rites. If we worship rightly we are led to believe rightly and to act rightly. *Lex orandi, lex credendi*.

I would emphasize that I do not present this order of Mass as a standard which might be made obligatory for all Orthodox all over the world who judge themselves to be of "Western Rite": but I do maintain that the Roman order is authoritative for English Orthodox. Not all the churches of the West have Rome for their mother.

If a Christian community – e.g. a bishop with some of his people or a well established monastery – with its own long standing tradition of liturgy and disciplines came into communion with Orthodoxy, I am inclined to think that those traditions might be maintained, preferably in their entirety¹.

To avoid misunderstanding it must be noted that when I use the word "English" I intend it to be understood in its strict and most limited sense, Scotland and Wales are each separate nations and quite distinct from England. The ecclesiastical histories of each of the three nations are very different. At present the Scots and the Welsh are generally much concerned to assert their respective cultural traditions. Accordingly, it seems unwise for contemporary Orthodox to talk about "the saints of Britain" or to dream of a "British Orthodox Church". By the middle of the eighth century the term "British Church"² had ceased to have other than

¹ If a Christian community were based on a Western tradition, any essential changes would obviously have to accord with Western, not Eastern, norms.

² The term "British Church" is most usefully reserved to denote the church in Roman Britain (which extended beyond the frontiers of the political province). There are a number of conflicting stories about the arrival of Christianity in Britain during the first century. None of them are supported by evidence and some are attributable to the "hagio-fiction" of the twelfth century. It was certainly in existence by the end of the second century. Three of its bishops, with territorial titles, were present at the Council of Aries in 314. It suffered enormously at the hands of the Saxon invaders and appears to have played no part in the conversion of the English, we know nothing of its liturgical rites etc.

historical reference.

When I use the terms "Church of Rome" or "Roman Church", unless the context suggests otherwise, my reference is to the church of the City of Rome, i.e. to that church which had no bishop other than the pope. I do not mean what we now sometimes call the "Roman Catholic Church".

My topic provides matter for a sizeable book; but it is of economic necessity produced in this much reduced form. In a work of such brevity it is impossible for me to provide the many qualifications I would like to have made. I have, however, included some elementary matter to help those whose knowledge of church history or of liturgy is limited. Some references and comments are to be found towards the end: they are indicated in the main text by asterisks³. From the fact that I have often not cited my authorities it must not too readily be assumed that there are none.

My translation from the Latin is not proffered for immediate use in worship. It is but a feeble attempt undertaken in the hope that others more able will set themselves to doing what is required. My first concern has been to convey as best I can the meaning of the Latin.

I am afraid that some who are working for the restoration of Orthodoxy's Latin heritage may find the rite here set out rather disappointing. Certainly it has nothing to offer those who have grown to love "*the blessed matter of the Mass*", on the other hand there is little of the exuberant glamour associated with old-fashioned Anglo-Catholic services.

Those who find this booklet of interest should know that it had for its mid-wife my friend Jeremy Marshall of St. John's College.

Raymond Winch
Quinquagesima, 1988

Oxford

Preface to the Second Edition

The need to reprint this work has provided the opportunity for some changes, particularly in the presentation of the exemplary text of the mass and the accompanying description of ceremonial. In order to avoid increasing the size of the book - and, consequently, its cost - further revision has necessarily been kept to a minimum. As it is, I am conscious that I have attempted to cover too much in too small a space. The book that I have in my mind is some three times the length of this present modest affair.

I have addressed my writing to those who have at least some basic knowledge of church history and who are familiar with the more elementary terms used in the discussion of Christian worship. To my dismay I find that there are now far fewer such men than I had supposed. To many, often otherwise highly educated, much of the past seems hidden. Ignorance of history is clearly to be numbered among the many cultural deprivations of our age. The current fashion for new made myths seems to me an attempt to satisfy the emotional vacuum resulting from the loss of respect for the past. However, the Christian religion is entirely based on what happened at a certain time in a certain place. Ordinarily the faith is delivered to us by tradition, and tradition is an historical thing. Orthodox in particular have a need to cultivate the study of history. The acceptance of authoritative decisions made in the

³ These have been replaced with the present system of footnotes, a feature that was not available on Dr. Winch's word processor.

past and a respect for tradition are fundamental to the argument used in this book.
A brief glossary is appended to this second edition. R.W. 1989.

HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS

Although there is evidence of a Christian church in Britain as early as the end of the 2nd century, the English have always honoured Gregory the Great of Rome and his emissary Augustine as their pre-eminent apostles, Augustine's arrival in Kent in 597 is regarded as marking the beginning of the English church.

The West has never known complete liturgical uniformity⁴. In the 5th and 7th centuries the diversity was great. During his somewhat erratic journey from Rome, Augustine had had ample opportunity to witness a wide variety of customs practised by different local churches in Gaul. All these churches were orthodox and in communion with the Roman Church. Even at Canterbury Augustine encountered a bishop using some kind of Gallican rite who had come there as a chaplain of the Christian queen, but who, it appears, had not much concerned himself with missionary activity⁵. Augustine was puzzled – he wrote to Gregory asking whether he should celebrate Mass according to the use of Rome or in a Gallican manner. In his reply Gregory told Augustine (as he so often had to tell so many others) to use his initiative: he knew well the Roman customs, but if he had found any others in the churches of Gaul more suitable to his missionary needs he ought to make use of them.

In the event it seems almost certain that, as best he could, Augustine kept to the liturgical use of the City of Rome. His training had been Roman and this was reflected in all his attitudes and methods. He established his bishopric, not on the kind of tribal basis which seems to have been the custom in Patrick's Ireland, but at the nearest thing to a city that he could find. He set up a bishop's household (*familia*) where he lived with his active clergy and those pupils for whose education he was himself responsible. Most of his companions were monks not in sacred orders, and for these he established a separate monastery. All this was according to the customary Roman pattern, and it seems highly probable that similarly he celebrated divine service as he had known it at Rome.

But here we must avoid misunderstanding. The end of the sixth century was a period when the development of fixed service books was as yet only in its earliest stages. The Office was composed almost entirely of psalms and lessons from the Bible and the fathers. The canon – or anaphora – of the Mass would be known by heart. The other prayers sung by the bishop, appropriate to a specific day or season, had only very recently begun to be collected together in the books known to us as sacramentaries. Formerly the bishop had made his own choice of these variable prayers, though he had at his disposal considerable collections of such prayers which were for the most part the compositions of his predecessors. (It was in such collections or *libelli* that the superb compositions of Leo the Great had been preserved and became the model for Roman prayers of this sort.) Sacramentaries were precious and scarce. For centuries they were to contain only what was sung by the bishop or his priest-delegate. They contained no instructions as to ceremonial, or even as to how they were themselves to be used.

Augustine's party must have brought books with them and it would seem most unlikely that these did not include some collections of liturgical prayers. Bede tells us that when Gregory sent Mellitus and his companions to assist Augustine, "*they brought with them everything necessary for the worship and service of the church ... including many books*". These last

⁴ Nor indeed had the East until it was forcibly imposed by imperial authority; and this was a significant factor in the consolidation of "dissident Eastern churches" such as the Copts.

⁵ Bede H.E. I: 25. We might reasonably, and without disrespect, consider possible a parallel between the status of Bishop Liudhard and that of Orthodox bishops now in England.

must, beyond all reasonable doubt, have included some sacramentaries: and, since the books were from Rome, they were doubtless Roman books. Surely when Augustine served the Mass in his primitive church at Canterbury he sat behind the altar in his *cathedra* and did, as far as he could, what the pope himself did. Surely the collects composed by Leo the Great were often used in that small oratory. Yet there is no direct or compelling evidence.

If Roman disciplines and liturgy had been established in the south-east, something very different was to characterize the church of the north for two or three generations. The mission to Northumbria led by the Roman Paulinus, who established himself at York much as Augustine had at Canterbury, was brought to an abrupt end by the death of the king whom he had baptized. The following brief period of persecution forced Paulinus to retire to the south. In 633, however, the Christian Oswald, who had been educated by the Irish monks of Iona, became king by victory in battle. He took the initiative in the conversion of his people, turning for help, not to Canterbury, but to the island monastery of Iona. The holy and ascetic Aidan came to Lindisfarne and established the monastery which was to be the centre of a highly successful mission to the people of Northern England.

Iona had been established about 563 by an Irish monk, Columba, and the new Northumbrian church began to follow the Irish traditions. This Irish-Celtic church was orthodox and in communion with Rome, at least in as much as it was in full communion with continental churches themselves in communion with Rome. The Irish monks were men of great spirituality and enormous fervour. Many were great travellers, though most of their journeys seem to have been ascetic exercises rather than missionary enterprises. We know very little of their liturgical customs. It is probable that there never was an "Irish Rite", but rather various eclectic compositions made up of foreign customs encountered by the monks on their wanderings.

The church centred on Canterbury and the Celtic church of the north soon came into contact. It was generally accepted that close co-operation was necessary and that unity would be inevitable. Both parties took diversity of liturgical rite as the norm, and no hostility seems to have been engendered between them on this account. Nor were they much concerned with the two different conceptions of episcopal jurisdiction. (The Roman mission as far as possible assigned bishops to cities; the Irish tended to regard bishops as serving tribal areas and in some respects as subordinate to abbots.) However, most of the Irish calculated the date of Easter by a method peculiar to themselves. It was this divergence that was regarded as of exceptional importance - indeed there were a few on each side tempted to accuse the other side of heresy.

The paschal controversy became acute when Oswyn, king of Northumbria, took for his queen a woman who kept Easter according to the Roman tradition. The matter was resolved at the 'Synod' of Whitby in 664, when it was decided that the whole church in England should observe Easter on the same date as the rest of the universal church.

Since there was no organized hierarchy in England, Whitby was rather too informal an event to be properly called a synod: it was an *ad hoc* conference, at which, as far as we know, the king presided. It was not a large gathering but included some now venerated as saints. On the Celtic side, as well as the king, were Colman, Cedd and Hilda. Among those demanding general adoption of the oecumenical computation of Easter were Wilfrid, John (a companion of Paulinus) and Alfrith the king's son. As far as is known only the matter of the calendar was determined at Whitby. Although Colman refused to accept the decision of the assembly and returned to Iona, unity had been achieved.

In Cuthbert, honoured as the greatest of English saints, the Roman and the Celtic came together. Trained at Melrose in Scotland, he lived according to the Celtic tradition of spirituality, but after Whitby he adopted Roman order. By his patient humility he brought his fellow-monks of Lindisfarne to accept it also. In 685 he was chosen bishop by Theodore of Canterbury. He died in 687. The church in Northumbria soon freely began not only to follow Roman liturgical customs but to display great enthusiasm for them.

The ensuing period, until the beginning of the Danish invasions at the end of the 8th century, was the glorious age of the English church. Theodore the Greek⁶, the most illustrious of archbishops of Canterbury and the first primate acknowledged by all England, came in 668 to a church little more than an unorganized mission. He left it in 690 a properly organized province of the universal church. This was the age of the great missionaries, like Boniface and Willibrord, who went from England into parts of the Continent which Christianity had not yet reached. Monasticism developed vigorously, and the Benedictine Rule became its norm; learning flourished as nowhere in Europe at that time. The Wearmouth-Jarrow monastery, and the schools at York and Canterbury, collected libraries that are said to have had no equal north of the Alps. The scholarship of Bede and Alcuin had an international reputation which remained unsurpassed for centuries. Bede is numbered among the Fathers of the Church. His writings have been used in the Divine Office since his own lifetime.

An outstanding feature of English church life at this time was an ardent affection for the Church of Rome and, in particular, for its liturgical customs. There was considerable traffic between England and Rome. Many ecclesiastics as well as influential laymen made the arduous journey to Rome, some more than once. Wilfrid studied in Rome as a young man and returned at least twice. Benedict Biscop, the founder of the Wearmouth-Jarrow monastery, made several visits to Rome. Not only did he return with large consignments of books, but, as Bede tells us, he imported masons and glaziers to build churches. On one occasion he persuaded the precentor of the basilica of St. Peter's to return to Northumbria with him to teach the monks to sing and celebrate services in the Roman manner.

All the evidence indicates that the Roman rite became firmly established throughout England. It must nonetheless be remembered that we are dealing with an age in which exact uniformity would have been impossible. Not all that was required for Mass was contained in one book. The Divine Office required many books. Such books as there were would have been exceedingly costly. Even these would have contained variations resulting from the errors of copyists or peculiarities in the texts they used. Sometimes, one might hazard, the predilections of the scribe might be reflected in his work. It is difficult to imagine how the travelling bishops and presbyters serving small oratories managed. Perhaps there were hand-books, like the Irish so-called Stowe Missal⁷, containing the canon of the Mass and three sets of variable prayers to be continually and monotonously repeated. If so, none have survived⁸. But people with limited access to books appear capable of developing excellent memories. Most of the

⁶ Theodore the Greek, the most illustrious of archbishops of Canterbury, was born in Tarsus – Paul's own city. He became a monk but was not ordained. Later he settled in a Greek monastery near Rome. When he was 66 he was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury and consecrated. He changed his rite as well as his whole way of life. For twenty two years, with remarkable skill and success, he presided over the youthful English Church. His duties as bishop included "academic" teaching and we possess tributes paid him by his illustrious pupils. The English Church owes a very great deal to this remarkable Greek. It is worth observing that he was in what we would now call his "second year of retirement" before his twenty two years of vigorous activity had even begun.

⁷ The "Stowe Missal" c. 800 with later additions.

⁸ No English service books survived the Viking invasions which began at the end of the eighth century.

priests would have known the canon, as well much of the psalter, by rote.

There is abundant evidence that by the beginning of the eighth century the Roman rite was in use throughout England, and that considerable effort was expended in attempting to ensure that it was done as exactly as possible. Nonetheless it was a uniformity of a far less rigid sort than that imposed on the English by royal tyrants in the sixteenth century. The kind of conformity attempted at the Reformation would have been out of the question in the days before printing and it is doubtful that, if it had been possible, it would have been entirely welcome in this earlier and happier age.

It is to be noted that this choice of the Roman rite was not imposed by popes. Indeed, before the sixteenth century, it was very seldom that the Roman authorities made any attempt to impose their own liturgical customs on other churches⁹. In Saxon England neither dogma nor liturgy nor disciplines were imposed by civil authority. The adoption of Roman customs was clearly the free choice of the English church. Obviously, influential saints and scholars such as Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid had taken the lead; even so, these leaders were many and of diverse backgrounds. Prominent among them was the archbishop, Theodore of Tarsus, who, for the first sixty-five years of his life, had lived in accordance with a Greek rite and practices.

CANONICAL AUTHORITY

In 673 Archbishop Theodore held a council at Hertford, which established an annual council at a place called Clovesho (whose location has not been determined, though it was clearly not far from London). The only councils of Clovesho for which we have authentic evidence are those of the years 742, 747, 794, 798, 803, 824, and 825. The acts of the assembly of 747, referred to as Clovesho II, have been preserved in their entirety.

Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, presided at Clovesho II, and most of the bishops of England south of the Humber attended, together with many other clergy of various ranks. The attending bishops, whose names are listed, are all from the province of Canterbury. That the presence of prelates *"from diverse provinces of Britain"* is noted must not lead us to suppose that the council had canonical authority for York; it certainly had none for those parts of the island of Britain which were not England. However, the council did receive two letters from Pope Zacharias addressed to *"those who inhabit the island of Britain"*, and doubtless some Northumbrian clergy were in attendance. Ethelbald, king of Mercia, was present in company *"with his princes and leaders"*. His attendance would have been as protector and to give countenance and dignity to the proceedings.

The thirteenth canon of the council decrees that *"all the holy festivals of Our Lord made Man and all things appertaining to them; the office of Baptism, the Celebration of Mass, the order of chanting: are to accord with the example which we have received in writing from the Roman Church"* and also that the *"feasts of the saints throughout the course of the whole year be kept on the same day according to the martyrology of the Roman Church and with the proper psalmody and chant"*.

The fifteenth canon decrees that the Hours of the Office be diligently kept and that the uniformity of monastic psalmody be universal, and that *"none may presume to sing or to read anything which is not allowed by common use, but only what is derived from the authority of*

⁹ Although after Trent the papacy tried to regulate all Latin rites, it was not until the 1960s that an attempt at complete uniformity was made. Even now Roman Catholics of Eastern Rite are left free.

*Holy Scripture and what the customs of the Roman Church permit*¹⁰.

The sixteenth canon similarly orders the celebration of the litanies and a fast until Mass in the late afternoon on every twenty-fifth day of April: to be done *juxta ritum Romanae ecclesiae* - "according to the rite of the Roman Church". Again, the eighteenth canon invokes the same authority in drawing attention to the need for proper observance of the fast on Ember days. The council also urged frequent communion and recommended that those who were not clerics should take as full a part as possible in the celebration of liturgical offices.

It is clear that in its liturgical and disciplinary decrees Clovesho II was not innovatory. It was clarifying certain matters and reminding the church of its obligations; but, in so doing, it was giving full canonical status to what had been the practice for over a century.

There is no extant evidence for a council of the province of York corresponding to Clovesho. However, we know very well that Northumbria was no less deeply committed to the Roman rite than was the south. In the seventh century, Wearmouth-Jarrow, Hexham and York had been outstanding centres of its promulgation. Egbert, Archbishop of York at the time of Clovesho II, had studied in Rome in his youth, and had there been admitted to the diaconate. When he became archbishop in 735 he went to Rome to receive the pallium. The founder of York's great library, Egbert was a considerable scholar whose writings include advice and directives on liturgy and discipline – all in accordance with the Roman tradition.

The fathers of Clovesho had a considerable knowledge of the subject of their legislation, and, as they stated, written authority. It was a period when there was constant journeying between England and Rome, and doubtless most of the bishops would have visited Rome at least once. By this time, sacramentaries abounded, and detailed accounts existed of the ceremonial for a Roman stationary Mass.

The youthful English Church was engaged in vigorous missionary enterprises on the Continent and English missionaries among the pagans took the Roman rite with them. Soon they were working in close co-operation with Christian Franks, who had used rites of the family known as 'Gallican', but who during the eighth century began to adopt a modified form of the Roman rite. In this change the English were influential, and were indeed of greater help to the Franks than Rome itself.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

If we consider the Roman Mass (being careful to distinguish the text – i.e. the words said – from the manner in which it is used) it is clear that the text at least has been preserved in England until our own time. During the middle-ages the text came to be used in a manner which tended increasingly to obscure its original and essential character. Much extraneous matter, often from Gallican sources, was added. However, the canon of the Mass remained almost exactly as it had been in the time of Gregory the Great. During the sixteenth century the Roman text was proscribed by the civil authorities, although the Book of Common Prayer which was imposed in its place drew more of its material from the Roman liturgy than from any other single source. Some twenty years ago, it was again proscribed: this time, ironically, by the Roman Congregation for Sacred Worship. Nonetheless, it remains a living tradition, though in England precariously so.

¹⁰ In other words, in addition to Scripture, only those patristic writings received at Rome were to be used (e.g. for homilies at Matins). It is unlikely that precise use of the lectionary of the Roman basilicas was envisaged.

The canons of Clovesho II have never been rescinded, either by proper authority of the English Church or by any higher magisterium. We English Orthodox are bound to them exactly as churches of the East are bound by their canonically established traditions. For us the Roman rite in its classic form is prescriptive. However, it should not therefore be supposed that no other rite must be used by Orthodox in England, for there are also pastoral considerations. If a community with a rite of its own emigrates to another place it is subject to the jurisdiction of the Orthodox bishop of that place (if there is one), but it has always been accepted that it may continue to use the rite of its own tradition. From very early times, for example, immigrants and their descendants have used their own rites at Rome. Similarly, there were Latin churches in Constantinople. In both cases, jurisdiction belonged to the local bishop.

In England the number of converts to Orthodoxy increases rapidly. These converts have had of necessity to adopt – at least provisionally – one or other of the Greek traditions. Many have come to love the rite of their adoption and to find in it a source of rich spiritual benefits. Clearly it would be very wrong to impose another rite on such Orthodox on "canonical" grounds: such is certainly not the intention of this writer. But there is a problem, and a complex one. Orthodoxy has returned to England, not at the hands of energetic and enthusiastic missionaries, but as a collection of immigrant churches almost exclusively concerned with the needs of their own people. Converts have had to find Orthodoxy for themselves. Many ethnic Orthodox even of the second and third generation act as though the Church were the special property of their own culture. This attitude is often reflected in the outlook of converts, some of whom take it as axiomatic that conversion to Orthodoxy entails becoming, in some measure, an "Eastern Christian". Besides being theologically erroneous, this lends countenance to the old-fashioned "branch theory"¹¹ of the church, an ecclesiology which would have been utterly unacceptable to the fathers of both East and West. Regrettably, even now, evangelical fervour among Orthodox is negligible.

It remains to answer the anticipated objection that, because the text of the Roman rite has for a long time flourished only among those deemed to be outside the Church, it has lost its authority. However, this objection is without force and has, indeed, been explicitly rejected by the heads of the ancient Eastern patriarchal sees. When some Chaldaeans of Asia returned to Orthodoxy they retained their very ancient form of the Syrian rite. The Copts of Egypt are presently closer to Orthodoxy than any other Christian community. The abandonment of their liturgy and disciplines – apparently older than those of either Rome or Constantinople – could scarcely be made a condition of full communion. On those occasions when the See of Constantinople was in heresy, it was never suggested that it was thereby in danger of forfeiting its liturgical tradition.

Those who were using venerable rites before they returned to communion with Orthodoxy ought positively to be encouraged not to surrender them. It is the duty of such converts to restore to Orthodoxy a real part of her own heritage. In particular it is their duty to make it manifest that Orthodoxy is not the Eastern Church but, rather, the Ark of Salvation for all men.

A very different objection might be that, although the Roman rite is authoritative, it is not for the moment expedient to restore either it or any other legitimate western Orthodox order. But

¹¹ The "branch theory" was developed in the last century by Anglo-Catholics. It asserts that, though there is only one Church, the vicissitudes of history have resulted in its division into three "branches" - viz. Anglican, Orthodox and Roman Catholic.

can it really be inexpedient – now? In spite of the extraordinary absence of evangelical zeal the number of converts to Orthodoxy grows. Many in Western Europe are turning towards the Church. Surely this cannot be the moment to obscure matters by giving the impression that the universal Church has turned out to be no more than an adjunct of Greek and Slavonic culture.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE MASS

We distinguish between (a) the form of words¹² - i.e., what is actually sung or said during service - which may conveniently be called the "text"; and (b) the other actions of those taking part – the "ceremonial" – being here taken to include not only absolute essentials such as the offering of bread and wine, but also matters of lesser importance such as the postures of the clergy and people.

The Text or Form of Words

We can divide the words used at a celebration into five classes: (i) the canon or anaphora, together with the Lord's Prayer and the prayer *Deliver us, O Lord...* which immediately follows it and separate the canon from the fraction and communion; (ii) the brief prayers sung by the bishop or priest which fall outside the canon and which vary according to the season or feast; (iii) the lessons from Scripture; (iv) anthems appropriate to the day sung during the entrance, between the Epistle and Gospel, at the offertory and at the communion; (v) a few invariable items. There are no private prayers appointed to be said by ministers while something else is being sung. Authority directs that the clergy pray before the altar while the introit anthem continues, and also that, if a bishop is present, he blesses the deacon about to read the Gospel; but no formulæ are provided for these occasions.

(i) The canon of the Mass begins immediately after the prayer over the oblations¹³, which is the conclusion of the offertory. As in most Eucharistic liturgies of Christendom, it begins with the dialogue *Sursum corda* ("Hearts are uplifted"), and proceeds to the preface and the *Sanctus* ("Holy, Holy, Holy..."). The preface may vary according to the occasion, but in its general structure it ascribes praise and thanksgiving to God the Father, makes reference to the heavenly hosts and, finally, asks God that he may so order things that our worship may be joined to that of the angels. Then all sing the *Sanctus*-hymn. After this the priest continues, in a loud voice, the long prayer beginning *Te igitur clementissime Pater...* ("Wherefore O most merciful Father..."). The prayer concludes with a solemn doxology and the whole assembly joins itself to the action and the prayer with a corporate *Amen*.

The size of this present work precludes a discussion of the history of the Roman canon. We can only indicate some agreed conclusions. If, for convenience, we ignore the variable elements of the preface, we can say with confidence that the canon reached its present form by the beginning of the sixth century. However, this was but the near culmination of an already venerable tradition.

At the end of the sixth century Gregory the Great added *diesque nostros in tua pace disponas*

¹² Liturgists often use the term "rite" to distinguish the words from the ceremonial. As, in this work, "rite" is employed in a different – though equally acceptable sense – "text" is used here in order to avoid confusion.

¹³ The canon begins immediately after the prayer over the oblations... – thus the early sacramentaries. Later the term "canon" was used only for what followed the *Sanctus* hymn.

("dispose our days in thy peace"). Gregory seems also to have been responsible for the orderly arrangement of the two lists of saints in the canon. Some three centuries later, when the Roman canon came into general use outside Rome, *pro quibus tibi offerimus* ("for whom we offer")¹⁴ was introduced. Three or four *amens* were added. There have been no subsequent alterations to the text of the canon¹⁵.

(ii) The variable prayers sung by the bishop or priest are on most occasions three in number: the *oratio* or prayer of the day; the *oratio super oblata* or 'secret'; and the *ad complendum* or 'post-communion'. In addition, when there are lessons before the Epistle there is an *oratio* before each one. On weekdays in Lent the bishop sings a 'prayer over the people' which differs each day. These various "collects" are regarded as the great literary masterpieces of the Roman service - they are entirely free from sentimentality and emotionalism. Prayer and sound theology are expressed in very few words. The clarity of thought, the economy of language, the cadence and the rhythms render the best of our collects prose passages of exceptional beauty. Many, including Gregory, contributed to the vast store of Roman collects but none surpassed Leo the Great (440-461), who has been proved beyond reasonable doubt the author of a number of them. The old sacramentaries supply large numbers of these variable prayers. Even on a specific day, a choice could be made from a considerable selection. Eventually one set of prayers became obligatory for any one occasion. The number of variable prefaces was also reduced, so that nine or ten had to serve for the whole year. However, the sacramentary of Leofric (Bishop of Exeter 1050-1072) still provided a special preface for each service and an occasional opportunity for choice among collects.

(iii) Two lessons are usually sung at Mass: Epistle and Gospel. A passage from the Old Testament, the Acts of the Apostles or the Apocalypse sometimes takes the place of the Epistle. The Roman Rite once had several lessons at each celebration, and this persists on certain days of ancient observance, e.g. the Ember Wednesdays and Saturdays. There is always psalmody between lessons.

(iv) Anthems proper to the day are sung during certain actions, from which actions they have come to take their names, viz. introit, offertory and communion. With rare exceptions the text of these anthems is taken from Scripture and usually from the Psalms. During the middle-ages the general offertory of bread and wine by all the faithful was abandoned in most places¹⁶. Usually the priest was the only communicant. Because the action was thus reduced, it was considered sufficient to sing only the antiphon of the anthem; these antiphons are all that obtained a place in missals from the later middle-ages onwards. According to the classic Roman rite with which we are here concerned, after the cantors have sung the antiphon, they proceed to sing the psalm, all joining in the repetition of the antiphon after each verse. When the action is finished the anthem is concluded with *Gloria* and a final repetition of the antiphon. (Missals retain a vestige of this custom in the setting out of the Introit.) Between the Epistle and the Gospel are anthems of another sort: the gradual and the tract or *alleluia*. These

¹⁴ See the chapter *The Later Development of the Roman Mass*.

¹⁵ There have been no subsequent alterations to the text of the [Roman] canon. But the Russian Synod introduced a Byzantine style epiclesis and made two other minor changes when it promulgated the Roman Rite in 1870. Unfortunately this corrupt form has been retained by many "Western Rite" Orthodox.

¹⁶ An illumination in a 14th century Spanish manuscript shows bread oblations offered during Mass. The women are on one side, the men on the other - a vested priest and an acolyte receive the bread. At Milan men and women from the almshouses continue to offer the bread and wine at solemn celebrations. In France, until recently, the offerings were made by mourners at funeral Masses.

also are usually scriptural. Their appointed chant is complex, but even if a simple psalm tone is used, there is adequate matter to occupy the time taken by the deacon in carrying the Gospels to the ambo. Nonetheless, they may be repeated.

(v) There are a few passages used at Mass outside the canon which do not vary according to the day. The *Kyries* are sung in Greek. (They are not necessarily limited to nine petitions.) The *Gloria in excelsis* is the bishop's hymn: presbyters use it only on Easter Day. It is always omitted on fast days. The creed does not form part of the Roman Mass: it is clear that it does not belong to ordinary public worship since it was composed in the singular and all Mass prayers use the plural. The Lord's Prayer is a very solemn part of the service: Gregory placed it before the fraction, though it had previously been regarded as specially related to communion. That all but the last clause of the Prayer is sung by the bishop or priest is clearly demanded by this rite, though one might perhaps wish it otherwise. The prayer *Libera nos...* ("Deliver us, O Lord...") which follows the Lord's Prayer is another primitive item. The singing of *Agnus Dei* ("Lamb of God...") during the fraction was introduced in the seventh century. It seems strangely out of harmony with the spirit of the Roman rite.

Apart from occasional salutations with their appropriate responses, and the diaconal biddings, the above items constitute the entire Roman Mass. Only the bishop of the place gives blessings, and he does this to various groups as he returns to the sacristy from the altar.

The Ceremonial

On rather more than seventy days in each year it was the custom that the Bishop of Rome went in procession to a basilica or some other appointed church to celebrate Mass with special solemnity. He was accompanied by representatives of the seven regions of Rome, and usually by a considerable concourse of people. These occasions are known as 'stations'. The stational days came to include all the days of Lent¹⁷ (except the second Sunday), the Ember Days and a number of feasts between Christmas and Pentecost.

We possess a series of very important documents called *Ordines Romani* ('The Roman Orders') which are detailed descriptions of various ceremonies used by the Bishops of Rome between the seventh and tenth centuries. What has come to be called *Ordo I* describes in detail a papal stational Mass on a feast day. *Ordo II* indicates the changes which have to be made if a presbyter or some other bishop has to deputize for the bishop of the city. Michel Andrieu demonstrates that *Ordo I* existed outside Rome before 750 (Clovesho II assembled in 747), and that it seems to have been drawn up in Rome during the episcopate of Sergius (687-701). All that we know about what happened in church at a stational Mass in the time of Gregory the Great a century earlier is consistent with what we read in *Ordo I*, save that in the earlier period *Agnus Dei* was not used. The rite set out in this book is in accordance with *Ordos I* and *II*.

The ceremony described, although simple and, in some measure, austere, is nonetheless very solemn. Many presbyters, deacons sub-deacons and acolytes assist. Bishops from the suburban diocese were often present.

Apart from the September Ember Days no stations are appointed between Pentecost and Advent. It is obvious that most celebrations of Mass were not of the stational type. Presbyters

¹⁷ Until the middle of the seventh century there was no station on the Thursdays of Lent. The second Sunday was kept "free" because the Saturday was an Ember Day, with an evening Mass of exceptional length because of the ordinations.

celebrated on Sundays and feasts in the various titular churches, and there were also many other churches and occasions for Mass. (However, we must not overestimate the total number of celebrations in this early period. Papal registers show that only a few clerics were ordained deacon or priest.)

At celebrations other than the stational Masses it is clear that the standard Roman canon was used together with the various variable prayers and lessons. Presbyters certainly did not use the throne, nor was *Gloria in excelsis* sung, except on Easter Day. The service would not have resembled the 'low' Mass of later periods – the presbyter would have been assisted by such other ministers as were available and everything would have been sung in some manner. Doubtless the various anthems were used which corresponded to those sung at the stations. Perhaps there was no processional entrance of the ministers, and so no Introit anthem.

On the Order here given

Since we know in detail how a papal stational Mass was celebrated, but can only make guided guesses about the ceremonial of other forms of the service, the order set out in the present work is that of a stational Mass, which is taken as the norm or standard. It has here been simplified so that it can be celebrated in an ordinary parish church by a presbyter with a limited number of assistants. Suggestions are appended as to what is to be done if there are more or fewer ministers (*Ordo II* gives limited but authoritative guidance),

Almost all the text which we require can be found in the traditional Roman Missal. Additionally, a psalter is required to extend the introit, offertory and communion anthems. If the 'common' is thought inadequate for the festivals of saints who have flourished in more recent times, extra forms will have to be supplied.

Those who compiled the edition of the Roman Missal authorized by Pius V in 1570 were indeed attempting to return to the classic Roman rite - "*ad pristinam missale ipsum sanctorum patrum normam ac ritum restituerunt*"¹⁸. However, knowledge of ancient liturgy was at that time exceedingly limited. In particular it seems to have been supposed that 'low' celebrations were ancient and that 'solemn' celebrations were somehow derivative. In fact the most primitive form of the Mass is that of a bishop assisted by his presbyters, deacons and other ministers. If, for the time being, the Roman Missal is used at services, the rubrics provided there in such abundance must be totally disregarded. There are also numerous private prayers appointed for the use of the priest which are neither primitive nor in accordance with the spirit of the rite. However, the canon in this missal is so little changed that it could be used as printed – provided that one remembers to name the appropriate bishop.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE ROMAN MASS

Prayers addressed to God the Father

In the Roman Rite, prayer is directed to God the Father through the mediation of the Son in union with the Holy Spirit, The only exceptions are items of an exclamatory nature like the *Kyrie*, *Agnus Dei* and part of the hymn *Gloria in excelsis*. These are elements that came late to Rome. Subsequent missals contain many prayers addressed to the Son – these are usually Gallican additions made after the end of the eighth century or compositions of a later date.

¹⁸ From the introduction to the "Tridentine" Missal of 1570 [ed. Pius V's *Quo primum*].

The Saints

The saints are mentioned twice in the canon where, on each occasion, a list is provided. There are also variable prayers for the feasts of the saints, but the saints are never directly addressed. We honour them, venerate their memories and ask, quite frequently, that our help may come from God by the aid of their intercessions. That is all. The *cultus* of saints has doubtless been as great in the West as in the East, but in most Western liturgical rites the direct invocation of saints has remained the exception rather than the rule.

Before it was brought to England the Roman canon had been peculiar to one specific city, so it is scarcely surprising that the martyrs mentioned are saints especially venerated at Rome. The commemorations are exceedingly ancient, though the lists seem to have taken their present form towards the end of the sixth century, perhaps indeed the work of Gregory the Great. When the Roman canon was adopted in Gaul, other names, usually appropriate to the place, were often added. At Rouen in the eleventh century there were twenty three additional names. Sometimes saints who were neither local nor martyrs were added; these included Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory and Jerome. Additions do not seem to have been made in England, and elsewhere there was a tendency to return to the original Roman list, though in France, Hilary and Martin maintained their position until relatively recently.

The lists now in our canon remain those of a local church – albeit the greatest of local churches – as they were in the sixth century. It would seem that it was never intended that they should be regarded as closed, and consequently some alteration for use in England in the present century would not amount to 'revising the canon': indeed, adding a few names of local significance would not differ greatly from the insertion of the name of the bishop of the place.

Perhaps four things could be done; (i) the addition of a few martyrs honoured by the whole church who flourished between the sixth century and the present, and (ii) that of two or three saints specially venerated in a particular county or area (- thus England might choose Gregory and Cuthbert, and Ireland, Patrick), (iii) the addition of the patron saint of the church, monastery or town; and (iv) the removal of a few names from the present list on grounds of hagiographical dubiety.

The present writer is of the opinion that the acceptance of any changes before the Roman canon is in general use among us would be most unwise. He would also suggest that the lists should never become very much longer than they are at present.

Epiclesis

In the more restricted use of the term, "epiclesis" may be defined as a prayer addressed to God the Father asking that he may send down the Holy Spirit to sanctify our oblations that they may be for us the Body and Blood of Christ. There is no clear evidence that such a definite consecratory epiclesis is either primitive or universal. However, in the Byzantine liturgies it has been both prominent and unambiguous for a very long time. Some kind of epiclesis is found in most early liturgies though not in such a precise form as was developed among the Greeks. As to whether the Roman anaphora has an epiclesis and, if so, where it is placed, is a much disputed question. If we must find an epiclesis in our canon it would seem to be the prayer *quam oblationem* which immediately precedes the words of institution - "this oblation do thou O God vouchsafe in all things to make blessed ... that it may be (*fiat*) to us the Body and Blood of thy most beloved Son". However, there is no explicit reference to the Holy Spirit. Another candidate is the prayer *supplices te rogamus*, which comes some little way after the dominical words, when we pray that "God command that these things be carried by

the hand of thy holy angel to thy altar on high in the sight of thy divine majesty so that as many as shall partake at this altar shall partake of the most holy Body and Blood of thy Son". The fourteenth century Greek theologian, Nicholas Cabasilas, insists that this prayer is the epiclesis of the Roman canon. This view has received some support in the West. The *supplices te rogamus* is certainly difficult to interpret, but it makes no mention of the Holy Spirit and it is very different from the epiclesis of the Greeks.

The question of an epiclesis was of limited importance until the rise of scholastic theology which led to speculation about the exact moment of consecration. When the oblations are placed on the altar they are but bread and wine offered to God; but when we receive them in communion they have are the Body and Blood of Christ. A change has taken place and the scholastic attitude claims that it is legitimate to ask questions. Precisely when did the change occur? By the use of what formula? Eventually both Western and Eastern theologians became convinced that they had found the answer. Unfortunately, as was to be expected at this period, their answers differed. Western scholastics decided that the indispensable formula was the institution narrative. After the words *hoc est enim corpus meum* had been pronounced, the bread became Christ's Body. Likewise after *hic est enim calix ...* there is the Blood of the Lord. Greek theologians, however, argued that the consecratory words are to be found in the epiclesis, though Nicholas Cabasilas is quick to point out that the Roman canon is not without an epiclesis, viz. the prayer *supplices te rogamus*.

While the opinion of their scholastics has become for Roman Catholics a matter of defined doctrine which, for them, must be regarded as both clear and permanently binding, Orthodox are entitled to appeal to tradition. Before the scholastic period there was no attempt to search for a precise moment of consecration. There were occasional references to the descent of the Holy Spirit, and others to the dominical words – that is all. It is apparent that in earlier ages the only answer to the question "*when does the consecration occur?*" would have been "*during the eucharistic prayer*". Moreover, the Roman canon as it now stands was used for centuries by the most conservative of the Orthodox churches. It had no explicit epiclesis. Hence, since we must learn our theology from our own traditions, it must be concluded that none is necessary. Furthermore, were we to accept the later Latin view, it would follow that the Greeks had the Lord's presence before they were aware of it; but if, on the other hand, we took the Greek position, the Latins thought they had Christ's Body before they really did; and this is absurd. Finally, the notion of a precise moment of consecration must be rejected on purely logical grounds.

Incidentally, it may be noted that the Western church has consistently taught that sacramental grace is given by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

Intercession

From the time of Gregory the Great the Roman stationary liturgy had no intercessions for the specific needs of the Church and the world except on Wednesday and Friday in Holy Week. However, this had not always been so. The solemn prayers of the faithful, still prescribed for use on Good Friday, are not specifically concerned with the Cross and Passion. They once formed part of every solemn celebration, and they might well be used more frequently - perhaps on all Sundays which are not great feasts. Their proper place is after the dismissal of the catechumens, immediately before the offertory. In this place an *Oremus* remains, which, if they are omitted, is the call to a prayer which does not in fact follow.

Naming the Bishop

In the first sentences of the canon following the *Sanctus*, prayer is made for *famulo tuo papa nostro N.* No one else is named. This is a Roman prayer once used only in the city, where the people are praying for their own bishop. In the early sacramentaries made for use in places north of the Alps the same form is used (*papa* was not yet entirely unknown as a term referring to the bishop of the place) and it is in this sense that it is to be understood when used in a city other than Rome. The missal of 1570 prays for *papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N.*, i.e. for the pope and then for the bishop of the place. Most English mediaeval missals name the pope, next the bishop and finally the king.

To retain the original form, mentioning by name only the bishop of the place, does seem theologically the most sound practice. Within the church our relationship with our bishop is more important and significant than that which we have with a monarch or a patriarch.

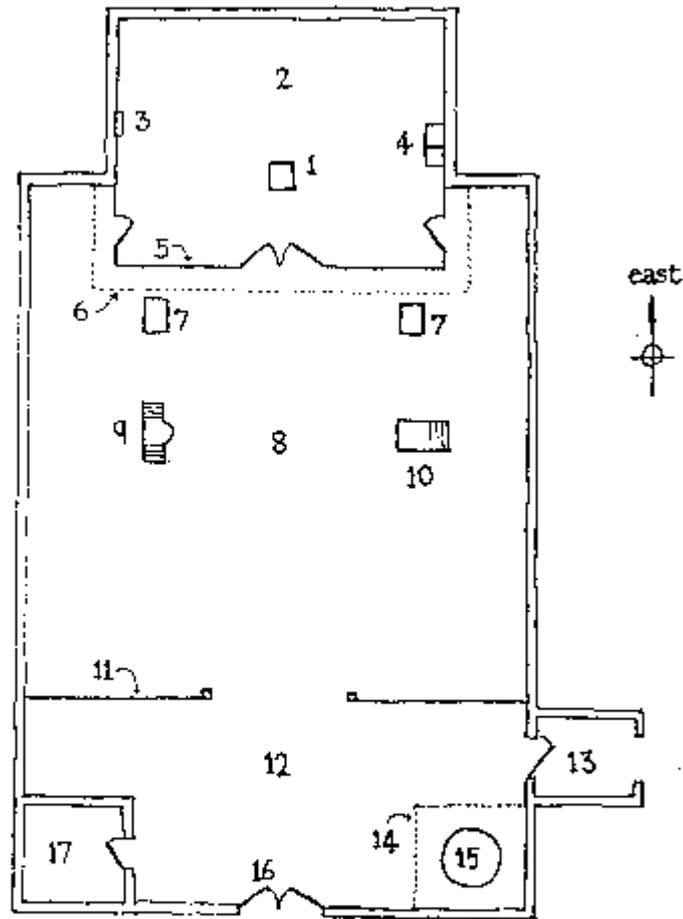
The Limited Penitential Emphasis

Eastern Eucharistic rites place considerable emphasis on the unworthiness of men to approach the altar of God. Accordingly, prayers of repentance and calls for mercy and forgiveness are frequent. Many of these petitions are clearly accretions of a relatively late date, but, even in the early period when the basic structures of these rites were in formation, these elements were already important. Men are bound down by their sins, God's mysteries are awesome. The altar is a place "of terror and of shuddering".

During the middle-ages, various churches of the West which had adopted the Roman rite began to add to the Mass various sets of prayers to be recited privately by the priest (though these never intruded into the canon). The greater part of these additions was concerned with penitential preparation, e.g., prayers before going up to the altar, before beginning the canon, and in preparation for communion. This approach to the Eucharist found its apogee in the Office for Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer, where there is more about sin than about thanksgiving. Though the Book of Common Prayer can be regarded as providing a new liturgy for a new religion, it is in this respect continuing the tradition of late mediaeval piety.

The classic Roman Rite makes no provision in its Eucharistic liturgy, either in words or actions, for "*humble access*". Requests for the gifts of repentance and for mercy occur in the variable prayers, but usually only when they are appointed for Lent or some other season of fasting and preparation. The scriptural passages similarly often include calls for mercy, but here again they tend to reflect the mood of the season. Latin theology is much concerned with man's sinful nature: but it seems that at Rome the Mass was not regarded as the occasion to dwell overmuch on these things. At the Eucharist we are the children of God who have come to give thanks. This is perhaps the moment when a Christian can *stand tall* in God's presence. He is an invited guest.

A simple church arranged for this rite.



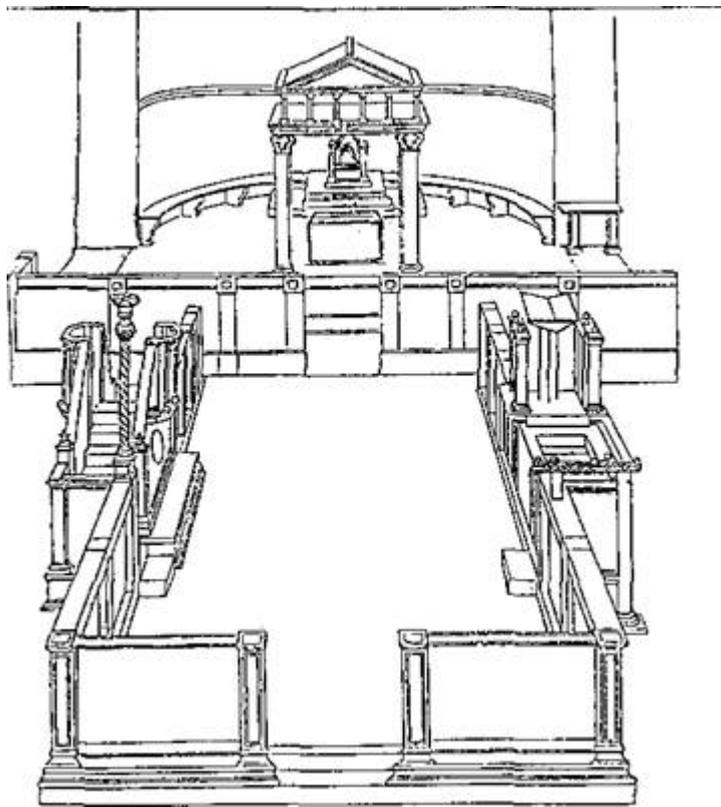
1 Altar; 2 Position of Bishop's Throne (when he comes);
 3 Ambrey (suggested); 4 Piscina & Credence (suggested);
 5 Low sanctuary rail with central & side gates; 6 Step up to
 sanctuary; 7 Lecterns for cantors; 8 Nave; 9 Gospel ambo
 or raised lectern; 10 Ambo or lectern for lessons; 11 Screen;
 12 Narthex; 13 Porch; 14 Step down to Baptistry; 15 Font;
 16 West doors for processions etc.; 17 Vestry;

The Spirit of the Ceremonial

The ceremonial of the old Roman rite is dignified but always exceedingly simple. Most of what is done is entirely functional. Thus, immediately before the offertory, the minister throws the corporal over the top of the altar so that there is a clean surface on which to place the oblations which are being collected. If any act does have a symbolic content it is the most obvious and evident meaning that is to be taken. We avoid the search for allegory. If incense is used, it is to provide fragrance. It is carried before the Gospels and before the bishop of the place as a token of honour. It is not used to put us in mind of our ascending prayers, still less

to commemorate the spices which Joseph used at Our Lord's burial. When the ministers put on albs they do so because of the dignity at the office which they are about to perform: because it comes naturally to men to put on special garments for special tasks. The albs are not to signify purity of heart as some mediaeval prayers came to suggest.

In the first half of the ninth century Amalarius of Metz was active in the adoption of the Roman rite in the Carolingian Empire. He was partly responsible for introducing to that rite certain Gallican ceremonies which eventually became a permanent feature of the later Roman rite. It is unfortunate that he was given to allegorical interpretations of liturgical actions. He frequently looks for far-fetched and absurd symbolic origins for liturgical formulæ and ceremonies. Perhaps he learnt this kind of approach during his sojourn in Constantinople; it is Eastern in origin, and it is Gallican: but it is not Roman. It is unfortunate that this attitude influenced the understanding of liturgy until long after the middle-ages.



The Roman basilica of St. Clement. The present church was built in the 12th century, but many of the furnishings are from the larger 4th century basilica over which it stands. The enclosed area with the ambos is for the singers - the *solea schola*.

ON THE CELEBRATION OF MASS - I

The Arrangement of the Church

(The possible adaptation of an existing church is here kept in mind.)

It is a tradition common to both East and West that the principal acts of public worship are performed facing east - or roughly so. Until the sixteenth century most churches in Western

Europe were thus orientated and, in England, this custom was maintained by Anglicans until the middle of the present century. Occasionally, however, churches were built so that the altar was at the west end, i.e. they were occidentated. Some large Romanesque churches, including the pre-Norman cathedral at Canterbury, had altars at both the east and the west ends. It is the orientation or occidentation of the church which determines whether Mass is celebrated *versus populum* or *contra populum*. We know that at Canterbury the principal celebrant faced the people when using the altar in the western apse. In a building which faces neither east nor west and which cannot reasonably be so arranged, it can only be suggested that the end most suitable for use as a sanctuary should be regarded as the conventional east.

A low screen with central gates and one or two steps separate the sanctuary from the nave. The purpose of the screen is not to cover or to hide anything, but merely to mark off an area used for the greater part of the liturgical action. If the size and shape of the building allow, other gates on either side of the sanctuary might be provided to facilitate the return to the nave of those who have approached the altar to offer and to communicate.

The altar made of stone or wood stands inside the sanctuary. Since nothing is placed on the altar save the Gospels during the fore-mass and the oblations during the canon, it may be quite small – of a convenient height and neither wider nor longer than it is high¹⁹. The altar may be surmounted by a cimborium (canopy) or a tester may hang above it. Lamps may be hung about the altar suspended from the cimborium or from the roof. There may be standing candle-sticks and censers, but neither these nor the columns of a cimborium should be so placed as to impede the free movement of the ministers. On the south side of the sanctuary might be a piscina (i.e. a sink draining directly to the earth, used for washing the vessels) and a shelf or credence table. This might be an appropriate place for a safe in which the vessels are stored. If the church has no sacristy the north wall would seem a suitable place for an aumbrey or safe for keeping the Eucharist and the Chrism²⁰.

Immediately outside the sanctuary – or, if the sanctuary is large, inside – are one or two lecterns for the cantors. Lecterns on both the north and south side would assist the antiphonal singing of the psalms at Office. Towards the east end of the nave on the north side is an ambo (a low pulpit) for singing the Gospel and the Easter proclamation. (A lectern raised on a small platform and reserved exclusively for these functions might provide an adequate substitute for an ambo.) An ambo or lectern of lesser dignity might be placed on the south side for the epistle and for lessons during Office.

If the font cannot be housed in a separate building it should be near the principal entrance of the church. It is fixed, low and large²¹. The baptistry is a sacred area which might be surrounded by a low screen and have its floor at a lower level than the nave.

The vesting place of the ministers is best situated at that end of the church most distant from the sanctuary so that they come through the church at the introit.

There are certain ceremonies, e.g. the exorcisms before baptism and the exchange of oaths at

¹⁹ Even the high altars of the great mediaeval cathedrals - with certain notable exceptions - remained small. Putting one or two lighted candles on the altar at Mass time had, by the 16th century, become fairly common practice. During the middle-ages altar crosses were rare.

²⁰ In the Roman basilicas the Eucharist and Chrism were not kept in the sanctuary, what is suggested in the text is only for convenience in small churches.

²¹ Mediaeval fonts were designed for the baptism of infants by immersion. Now that the baptism of adults is becoming again more common a font sunk in the floor might prove more useful.

matrimony, which belong to the narthex. In the middle ages they were usually performed in the church porch. If the church has neither a structural narthex nor a porch of adequate size, a liturgical narthex might be made by erecting a screen across the width of the church towards the western end. This would be higher than the chancel screen because it is meant, in some measure, to hide. The unbaptized do not go beyond the narthex.

A few moveable stools or chairs could be provided in the nave and narthex for those unable to stand for the whole service. The use of pews or fixed rows of chairs is as alien to the spirit of the Latin rite as it is to that of the Greek. Their presence seems to suggest that people have come to listen and to watch; but they have come as the people of God to worship and to share fully in the celebration of divine service. Moreover, this present order of Mass involves considerable movement both at the Offertory and at the Communion. The relaxed atmosphere which is an often, and rightly, applauded aspect of contemporary Byzantine services tends to be maintained because of the absence of rows of seats. In this respect our own tradition is exactly that of the Greeks. It persists throughout Mediterranean lands.

In its strictly liturgical rites the Latin Church does not use images. The most suitable place for images would seem to be on the walls. Here again East and West have a common tradition. For many centuries and enduring changes of artistic style the basilicas at Rome retained an image of Christ enthroned and flanked by his Apostles as the standard iconography for the apse or for the space above the chancel arch.

The Books

These are the Gospel book, the books for the epistle and other scriptural lessons, the gradual and the sacramentary. The sacramentary is for the bishop or priest. It contains the canon and the prayers which change according to the season or feast. The gradual is the chant book for the cantors. In the present rite a psalter would also be required by the cantors for the extension of the introit, offertory and communion anthems. It is to be hoped that, eventually, the missal will not be used at public service. (Unless language presents problems of intelligibility, it is undesirable that everything be followed in books.)

The Bread and the wine

Ordinary leavened bread made with pure wheat flour and unfortified wine is used. A small quantity of water is added to the chalice immediately before it is put on the altar at the offertory.

At communion, portions of appreciable size are used. The post-communion prayer often refers to the physical nourishment we have received as parallel to the spiritual refreshment. Such prayers are not to be understood metaphorically. We have indeed received ordinary natural sustenance from the Eucharistic gifts. If only minute morsels, mere tokens, are used, we are in danger of obscuring this. (If for reasons of health anyone needs to take only a very small portion he can tell the minister when he comes to receive.)²²

As far as is possible people bring to church bread of their own baking just as many Greeks still do. Bread could be made available in the porch for offerers who cannot bring their own.

²² Although communion in both kinds is the norm, from the earliest ages it is clear that it was accepted that one kind would suffice in special situations. A communicant suffering from a contagious disease might be content to receive only under bread. Similarly, for very young children a drop of wine might suffice. (In practice the Greeks now communicate the sick under one kind only. Clearly, wine is scarcely present then an intincted fragment of bread has been dried and then kept for the whole year.)

Where wine is not a common drink it would seem sufficient if only one or two offered it. It is practically convenient if the bread oblations are shaped like the *prospora* of the Greeks - a kind of small cottage-loaf. The fraction can then be done by breaking the top from the bottom of each loaf²³.

If, during the course of the communion, it seems that there is insufficient wine in the chalice for those approaching the altar, more ordinary wine might be added to the consecrated wine²⁴. (In the greater basilicas at Rome it was the custom to consecrate only one chalice. Other chalices of wine were later hallowed by co-mingling.)

Because of the size of the portions it is desirable that not much more of either species be consecrated than will be needed for communion. The above suggestions concerning the offerings will help to ensure this, for if all who are to receive have offered, some half of the bread oblations will be required for the communion.

The Frumentum and the Sancta

When the bishop of the place celebrates, portions of the consecrated Bread – called *frumentum* – are taken by clerics to other churches in the vicinity where presbyters are celebrating. It is put along with the Bread consecrated in these churches.

At each Mass a portion of the consecrated Bread – called the *sancta* – is reserved until the next celebration when it is brought to the altar before the communion.

The significance of each of these ceremonies is very clear. The *frumentum* shows that the fullness of the priesthood belongs only to the bishop. The presbyters are his delegates and their ministrations depend on their being in full communion with him. Both the *frumentum* and the *sancta* demonstrate that there is only one Sacrifice, one Eucharist and one Church.

The *sancta* also provides the Bread for the communion of those unable to come to church and ensures its regular renewal. (Because we use leavened bread, it would seem that there can be no reservation in a church unless Mass is celebrated there fairly frequently.) The *frumentum* presupposes that there are other churches in the place and that Mass will not have been celebrated in these churches before the bishop's celebration. It will, perhaps, be a long time before we see the restoration of the *frumentum* ceremony. However, the problem of carrying the Eucharist through the streets presents no excuse since it was certainly done at Rome in the days of active persecution.

The Vessels

The bread oblations remain on the corporal (a linen cloth which covers the top of the altar) until the fraction, when they are transferred to the paten. This needs to be large. (Traditionally it is a kind of rectangular tray with a rim - this would seem the most convenient shape.) The chalice also is large and has handles. For the distribution of communion, the use of additional smaller patens and chalices may be found convenient²⁵. A pyx with a tightly fitting lid is

²³ Again, this is a suggestion for convenience. The bread is broken over the paten; but experiment shows that this method makes crumbs less likely.

²⁴ The Greeks now add a considerable quantity of water to the consecrated chalice immediately before communion. This practice has received symbolic interpretation, but it clearly originated as a practicality – to dilute the wine and to increase the volume.

²⁵ If there are many communicants and no minister to hold the great paten, the priest could take some portions in a small paten which he holds in his left hand. The smaller paten could be replenished as required. (At Rome,

needed for reservation of the Eucharist. Additional vessels include dishes for the reception of the oblations, a small cruet for the water, and a ewer and basin for hand-washing. (At Rome the wine was received at communion by sucking it through a reed made of precious metal.)²⁶

Vestments

Most sacred vestments in both East and West are derived from ordinary secular formal dress such as would have been worn by men of dignity. As popular fashions changed the clergy tended to retain the older form of dress. Eventually their vestments became quite distinct from the clothes of ordinary people. In the time of Gregory the Great (c. 600 A.D.) special garments were put on for Mass but, in style, they did not differ from the dress of secular magistrates when performing official acts. Only the pallium distinguished the bishop. By the eighth century, church vestments were clearly distinct from other garments. In Saxon England this difference would certainly have been more noticeable than at Rome.

The vestments proper to the rite presented in this work are the alb of white linen, the chasuble, the maniple and, for convenience, the amice²⁷. The presbyter's stole is a later innovation, but there seems no reason why it should not be used by those who wish to do so. It is to be noted that all the ministers wear the chasuble (*planeta*)²⁸, though during the greater part of the service, for reasons of practicality, the deacon lays aside his chasuble or else wears it rolled over one shoulder. Even the acolytes wear the chasuble, and put it to use when carrying sacred objects. (Perhaps if the acolytes are not in fact ordained to that order they could be content with plain linen chasubles.) It is suggested that chasubles, though they may be made of rich fabric, should be unlined and unencumbered with embroidery. For reasons both of practicality and aesthetics they should be very full. The maniple, which is held in the left hand or attached to the wrist, could, if made of linen, be put to use as a napkin.

The notion that the vestments, etc. should be of specific colours to accord with feasts and seasons is a late one. However, where possible, it would be no bad idea to have a richer set of chasubles for great feasts and more sombre ones for penitential seasons. (In England it soon became the custom to mark Lent by the use of vestments made of unbleached linen.)

It is to be noted that the Roman rite is characterized by dignity and simplicity. What is fussy, pretty or merely ornamental is to be avoided.

linen sacks held by acolytes were used.)

²⁶ Drinking directly from the chalice has been suggested for simplicity.

²⁷ Not in universal use until the end of the 12th century. It provides an excellent method of protecting the other vestments from the neck and for covering incongruous secular attire.

²⁸ The Greek - as distinct from the Russian - *phelonion* is very like our chasuble. It is regrettable that this dignified vestment is now usually spoilt by attaching to its back a crude, gaudy, mass-produced medallion. It is also regrettable that, early in the 17th century, Greek bishops ceased to wear the chasuble, substituting for it the rather ugly *sakkos* which is in fact the Western deacon's dalmatic in a rather debased form.

It would seem that the use of the dalmatic and tunicle by the deacon and subdeacon was introduced among the Franks in the 9th century. However, these ministers have always kept the chasuble (which in Baroque times came to be folded in grotesque fashions) for penitential seasons. Perhaps the association of the folded chasuble with penitence is to be explained by the fact that most stational days fall during such seasons. Acolytes soon ceased to wear the chasuble. The under vestment, the alb, continued to be made of white linen, but was usually ornamented with patches of woven material called *apparel*. In some places acolytes wore tunicles over their albs on great feasts. During the late 16th and 17th centuries acolytes occasionally wore chasubles of white linen.

Posture

As far as possible all remain standing at Mass except on those few occasions when the deacon directs kneeling. The women and girls stand on the Gospel side of the nave, the men and boys on the epistle side. The men, including the ministers, remain bareheaded while in church; the women have their heads covered. These customs accord with those still in use among observant Byzantines.

Music

The Mass is always sung. The music is plainsong – sometimes called Gregorian chant. It is rendered in unison and unaccompanied. The *Ordo Romanus* is describing a very solemn episcopal function at which much of the singing was done by trained clerics – a *schola* of men and boys.

On ordinary occasions it would seem desirable that as many of those present who are able and willing should take part in as much of the singing as possible. A small group of men and boys act as cantors; in cases of necessity one would suffice. The cantors sing what is "proper" to the day, which would need to be sung from the book. All could begin to join in the repeated antiphons of the offertory and communion anthems. The ordinary responses, i.e. those used at every Mass - the *Kyries*, *Sanctus*, etc., would be known by heart. If the more simple settings for the "ordinary" were chosen almost everyone should be able to take part. The various chants provided in the gradual for use between the epistle and Gospel, however, have come down to us as pieces of considerable complexity, probably accessible only to cantors of some ability. An alternative would be to sing these anthems to a simple psalm tone. The nature of the music should always be subordinate to the meaning of the text sung.

The Language

The definitive texts of the Mass are in Latin. This was the vernacular of the city of Rome in Gregory's time. The Hebrew words *Amen* and *Alleluia* had been used from the beginning. Occasionally the Gospel was sung in Greek as well as in Latin. In the late fifth century the Greek *Kyries* were introduced. In the preparation of English translations of the Mass it might be appropriate to retain a few fragments of Latin, such as certain phrases which, though entirely intelligible, cannot be literally translated: viz. the short dialogue beginning *Sursum corda* which introduces the canon, and the diaconal dismissal *Ite, missa est*. Perhaps we might also add the salutative *Dominus vobiscum*. All these phrases are accompanied by gestures and ought to present no more problem of intelligibility than we now have with *Amen*. It is generally agreed that translations of the Latin text should be done into traditional liturgical English²⁹.

The Occasion of Celebration

Mass may be celebrated on any day other than Good Friday and Holy Saturday. It belongs pre-eminently to Sundays, and after that to great feasts, the weekdays of Lent, the Ember Days at the four seasons of the year, the Rogation Days and the eves of certain feasts. However, Mass ought not to be celebrated unless it is anticipated that there will be some who will offer and communicate³⁰.

²⁹ Having completed the translation presented in this work, its author is led to wonder if the correct recipe is formal modern English with the retention of the second person singular.

³⁰ "Low" Mass, private Mass, said Mass, etc., have no place in this rite. In this respect the Byzantines have

On Sundays and feasts the proper time for Mass is the morning, after Terce. On fast days it is towards evening, after None and before Vespers. (In situations where it is necessary to accommodate worship to duties in a secular world, perhaps Mass on weekdays – whether feast or fast – might be celebrated in the evening and followed by Vespers, with the absolute Eucharistic fast perhaps regarded as beginning about the middle of the day.)

The Divine Office

The Roman Mass is very short. It ought to be augmented by the singing of at least some of that other part of the Church's public worship, the Divine Office. Morning Masses might suitably be preceded by Lauds and Terce. These two Offices would take only some forty minutes even if sung to note. Matins with its scriptural lessons and homilies from the fathers could be sung earlier or anticipated late the previous evening. If Mass is celebrated towards evening it would be preceded by None and followed immediately by Vespers. It is desirable that in ordinary parish churches some of the Office be recited every day³¹. The presence of an ordained minister is not necessary for the public celebration of Office.

Notes on the Example Text

The bishop of the city or region is properly the president at a celebration of Mass and, accordingly, pontifical Mass is the normative form of the service. However, in order to demonstrate as clearly as possible what the Roman rite involves in a small church – a parish church for example – in what follows it is a presbyter's Mass that is described, for the purpose of illustration it is assumed that there are precisely one presbyter, one deacon and three acolytes who are ministering. At the conclusion, notes are provided to indicate what would be done if there were more, or fewer, clergy and also how the ceremonies would differ at the bishop's Mass.

The service for one specific day has been chosen, more or less at random.

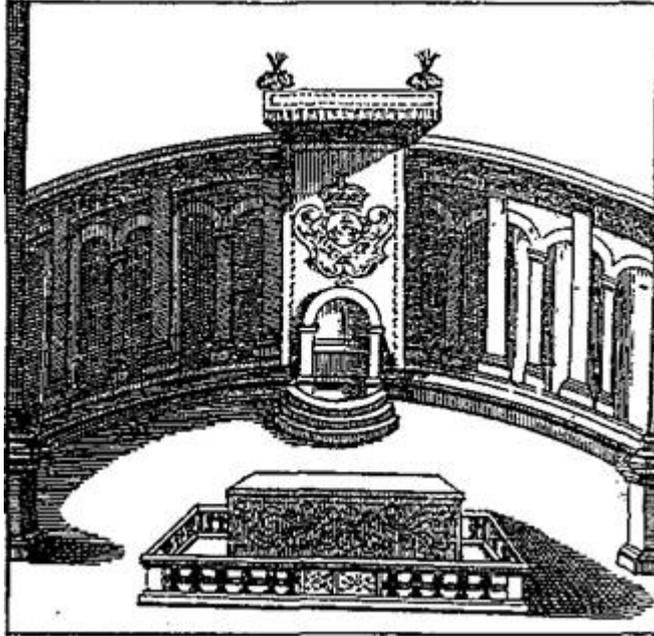
Of the text of what is sung, some belongs only to that specific day. It is called the *proper*. It is here indicated by vertical lines at the margin³². The remaining text is used at every celebration of Mass. It is called the *ordinary*.

A few items have been included which do not strictly belong to this order. They are of two kinds: (i) a few responses - e.g. those before the Gospel reading - which came to be used from the early middle ages; and (ii) the great intercession before the offertory (whose location is noted, and whose text is given in a later section). This latter set of prayers is very ancient, but before the seventh century its use had become limited to Holy Week. Such "anachronisms" are indicated by the use of square brackets.

maintained primitive tradition and set us a worthy example.

³¹ If no ordained ministers are available the men of the parish might perhaps take it in turns to recite Office in the church each morning and/or evening. The author has seen two boys of 14 or 15 maintaining the Office publicly in church – which they had to do in Latin.

³² In this edition **heavy type** is used instead of the vertical lines in the 1989 edition.



The sanctuary of the cathedral at Lyons as it was at the end of the seventeenth century. If we assume the altar railing was removed during Mass, we have a perfect – if somewhat austere – arrangement for a bishop's Mass according to this rite.

MASS ON THE THIRD SUNDAY OF LENT

In Rome this day's Station is at St. Lawrence's-outside-the-Walls

During the psalms of the Hour Immediately before Mass the deacon, before he has put on his chasuble, goes through the church to the altar followed by an acolyte carrying the Gospel book in the folds of his own chasuble³³. If the altar has a top covering the deacon removes it. He places the Gospels on the altar and returns to the vesting place preceded by the acolyte.

When the Hour is concluded and the ministers are ready the cantors begin singing the Introit anthem.

(Ps. 24) My eyes are on the Lord always for he shall pluck my feet from out of the snare : look upon me and have mercy upon me for I am poor and alone.

To thee O Lord have I lifted up my soul: In thee, O my God, I put my trust; let me not be ashamed.

(More verses of the psalm may be sung with the verse: My eyes are on the Lord... between each,)

Glory to the Father and to the Son: and to the Holy Spirit.

As it was in the beginning, is now and always: for ever and ever. Amen.

My eyes are on the Lord...

(As many as are able should take up the chant, particularly at the Glory to the Father.)

During the introit anthem the ministers come through the church to the sanctuary. After a pause for prayer the priest and deacon go to the altar and kiss it — the priest its middle, the deacon its south side. They then go to the south side of the sanctuary and stand facing the altar³⁴.

The Introit anthem done, all sing the Kyries alternately with the cantors. The number of petitions may exceed nine.

Kyrie eleison	Christe eleison	Kyrie eleison
Christe eleison	Kyrie eleison	Christe eleison
Kyrie eleison	Christe eleison	Kyrie eleison

[The hymn Glory be to God on high]

The priest - remaining on the south side - turns to salute the assembly:

V. Dominus vobiscum. V. The Lord be with you

R. Et cum spiritu tuo R. And with thy spirit

Oremus Let us pray

³³ It is very likely that this ceremony was peculiar to the stational service since the codex was probably brought from the Lateran. The ceremony is included here in accordance with the intention to adapt the *Ordo Romanus* to small churches rather than to indulge in conjecture.

³⁴ Presumably they take this position so as not to obscure the (empty) throne. This would seem to explain why, in more recent times, the collect etc. came to be sung at the epistle end of the altar. However, our rite was formed before it was considered permissible to use the altar as a book stand. (*In dextero altaris* I take to indicate the right hand of the ministers as they approach the altar.)

Then, turning to the east, he sings the prayer of the day:

Almighty God, we beseech thee to regard the desires of thy humble people, and stretch forth the right hand of thy majesty to our defence. Through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord who lives and reigns with thee in the unity of God the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. R. Amen,

An acolyte takes the book of lessons to the ambo or lectern on the south side.

The lesson from the epistle of blessed Paul the apostle to the Ephesians. Brethren,' Be ye followers of God...' (Eph. v, 1-9) [R. Thanks be to God]

A cantor sings the gradual³⁵ and tract:

(Ps. 9) Arise, O Lord, let not men prevail over us; let the Gentiles be judged in thy sight. When my enemy shall be turned back they shall be weakened and they shall perish before thy face. (Ps.112) O thou who dwellest in the heavens, to thee have I lifted up mine eyes. Behold even as the eyes of servants are on the hands of their masters, V. As the eyes of the handmaid are on the hands of her mistress: so are our eyes upon the Lord our God until he have mercy on us. V. Have mercy on us O Lord, have mercy on us.

While the gradual is sung the deacon removes his chasuble, folds it and puts it over his left shoulder, fastening its ends on his right side. He takes the Gospel book from the altar and, preceded by acolytes with candles and incense, he goes to the ambo or lectern on the north side.

[V. Dominus vobiscum [V. The Lord be with you

R. Et cum spiritu tuo] R. And with thy spirit]

The continuation of the holy Gospel according to Luke.

[R. Glory to thee O Lord]

At that time; Jesus was casting out a devil... (Luke XI, 14-28)

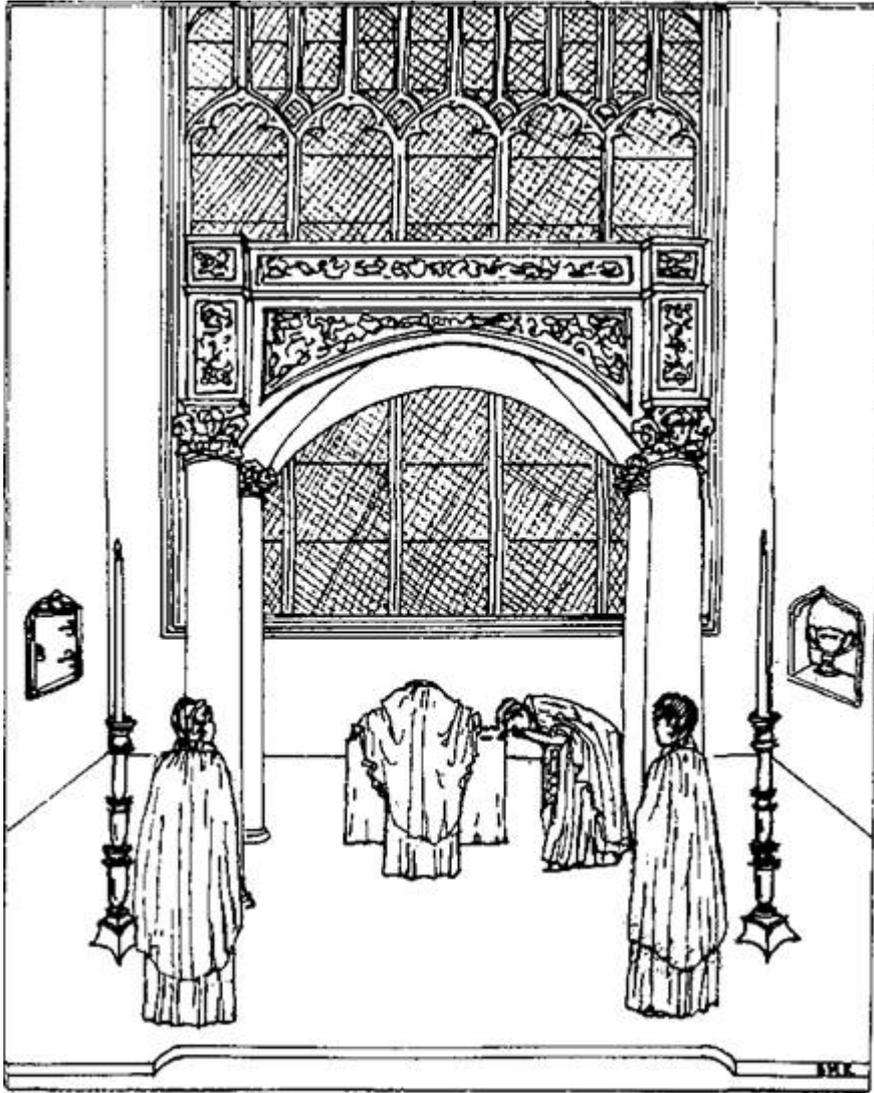
[R. Praise be to thee O Lord]

Returning to the sanctuary he offers the book to the ministers for veneration, and then gives it to an acolyte who carries it back to the vestry in the folds of his chasuble.

If there is to be a homily this is its appointed place. If there are any present who are not yet baptized the deacon ensures that they withdraw - at least to the narthex³⁶.

³⁵ The tract is used during penitential seasons: at other times there is an *Alleluia*. The repetition of verses would seem permissible – even desirable.

³⁶ When all those present were baptized the dismissal had become an empty form and was accordingly abandoned. However, modern circumstances seem to demand its restoration. The use of the dismissal assumes acquiescence.



The priest and deacon venerate the altar at the beginning of Mass before going to the south side of the sanctuary. The deacon will take off his chasuble before the Gospel procession.

The priest comes to the altar. He salutes the assembly:

V. Dominus vobiscum V. The Lord be with you

R. Et cum spiritu tuo R. And with thy spirit

Oremus Let us pray

[If the great Intercessions are made this is the appointed place.]

He then goes to a convenient place on the south side, either near the altar or at the entrance to the sanctuary, and collects the bread oblations from all the men who intend to communicate. Then, moving to the north side, he collects from the women, and finally from the clergy. Meanwhile the deacon throws a linen cloth (the corporal) over the top of the altar and then comes to receive such wine as is offered. Finally the priest and deacon add their own oblations.

The priest goes to the altar and places on the corporal as many loaves as he considers

sufficient for the communion. The deacon puts wine into the chalice to which he adds a little water, pouring it in the sign of a cross. The deacon himself sets the chalice on the altar on the right hand side of the loaves.

During the offertory the cantors begin the offertory anthem:

(Ps. 18) The justices of the Lord are right rejoicing the heart and his judgements are sweeter than honey and the honeycomb for thy servant keepeth them.

*One cantor sings verses of Ps. 18 and after each verse as many as are able repeat the antiphon: **The Justices of the Lord...***

The priest stands at the altar facing east (as he does without interruption until the end of the canon). He concludes the offertory singing the prayer over the oblations.

May this victim³⁷ we beseech thee O Lord wash away our sins and sanctify the bodies and minds of thy servants for the celebration of this sacrifice. Through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord who lives and reigns with thee in the unity of God the Holy Spirit for ever and ever.

R. Amen.

Here begins the canon. The first part, called the preface and proceeded by the dialogue, is sung to an appointed melody.

V. Dominus vobiscum	V. The Lord be with you
R. Et cum spiritu tuo	R. And with thy spirit
V. Sursum corda	V. We lift up our hearts
R. Habemus ad Dominum	R. Unto the Lord
V. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro	R. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God
R. Dignum et justum est	R. As is just and right

It is truly just and right and for our salvation that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, holy Lord, almighty Father, eternal God, **who by our bodily fasting dost curb our vices, lift up our minds and bestow power and gifts³⁸**, through Christ our Lord; through whom the angels praise thy majesty, the dominions worship and powers stand in awe; the heavens and the virtues thereof and the blessed seraphim together join in joyous celebration. We entreat thee bid that our voices also may be joined to theirs while we suppliants praise thee singing: *all bow and sing together:*

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,	Holy, holy, holy,
Dominus Deus Sabaoth;	Lord God of hosts;
Pleni sunt cali et terra	Heaven and earth are full of thy
gloria tua.	glory.
Hosanna in excelsis.	Hosanna in the highest.
Benedictus qui venit in	Blessed is he who comes In the
nomine Domini.	name of the Lord.

³⁷ This seems the only possible equivalent of *hostia*. That the oblations are referred to as *hostia* even before the preface is theologically significant.

³⁸ The preface proper to Lent.

Hosanna in excelsis.

Hosanna in the highest.³⁹

The priest lifts up his hands and continues the canon in an audible recitative.

Wherefore O most merciful Father we suppliants do pray and beseech thee through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord to receive and to bless these gifts +, these offerings +, these holy and pure sacrifices +⁴⁰. In the first place we offer them to thee for thy holy catholic church that it may please thee to make her peaceable, to watch over her, to bring her to unity and to govern her throughout the whole world; also we offer for thy servant N. our bishop and for all orthodox teachers of the catholic and apostolic faith⁴¹. Remember O Lord thy servants and handmaidens (*here those especially to be prayed for may be named by the priest or the deacon*) and all who are standing here whose faith and devotion are known to thee and who offer this sacrifice of praise for themselves and for all of theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of salvation and safety and who now pay their vows unto thee the everlasting living and true God.

Uniting together⁴² and venerating the memory: first of the glorious and ever virgin Mary mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ and likewise of thy blessed apostles and martyrs of Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, of Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damion and of all thy saints; According to their merit⁴³ and prayers grant that we may be guarded by thy protecting help in all things through the same Christ our Lord.

Accordingly, O Lord, we ask thee to be appeased and to accept this offering of our service and also that of all thy family: disposing our days according to thy peace and so ordering it that we may be delivered from eternal damnation and numbered among the assembly of thy chosen ones, through Christ our Lord.

And this oblation do thou O God vouchsafe in all things to make blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable and acceptable that It may be to us the Body and Blood of thy most beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord; who, the day before he suffered, (*he takes up a loaf*) took bread into his holy and venerable hands and, with eyes lifted up to heaven towards thee, O God, his almighty Father, giving thanks to thee, he blessed it and broke it and gave it to his disciples saying; Take and eat of this all of you; for this is my Body. In like manner after he had supped (*the priest holds the chalice*) taking this excellent cup into his holy and venerable hands and, again giving thanks to thee, he blessed it and gave It to his disciples saying; Take and drink from it all of you: this is the cup of my Blood of the new and eternal testament; the mystery of faith; which shall be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins. As often as you do these things you shall do them in memory of me.

³⁹ In many MSS only the first words are supplied, but it would seem that this was an abbreviation of a well known anthem in which everyone took part.

⁴⁰ A cross is made over the oblations at these points. Often such a symbolic gesture is indicated in other places in the canon. Frere suggests that this gesture may have begun as a simple pointing to the things mentioned.

⁴¹ Not in all early MSS, but it does seem primitive.

⁴² On a very few days, before the saints are listed, a mention is made of the mystery commemorated on that day.

⁴³ There is a star here, indicating that the author's intended to insert a note. Such a note was never included. The notion of "merit" was often a subject of conversation between Dr. Winch and myself. In accordance with Orthodox objections to the later Roman Catholic doctrines concerning supererogation, he would admit this word in Latin to mean "strength" as in *virtus*. In this translation, *merit* is given in the singular to emphasise this point.

Accordingly, O Lord, we thy servants and thy holy people, calling to mind the blessed passion of thy Son our Lord and God and also his resurrection from the dead and his glorious ascension into heaven, offer to thy excellent majesty, from thy own gifts bestowed on us, a pure sacrifice, a holy sacrifice, a spotless sacrifice, the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation, Be pleased to look on them with a favourable and gracious countenance and to receive them as thou wast pleased to receive the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel and the sacrifice our father Abraham and that which thy high priest Melchisedech offered unto thee, a holy sacrifice, a pure victim,

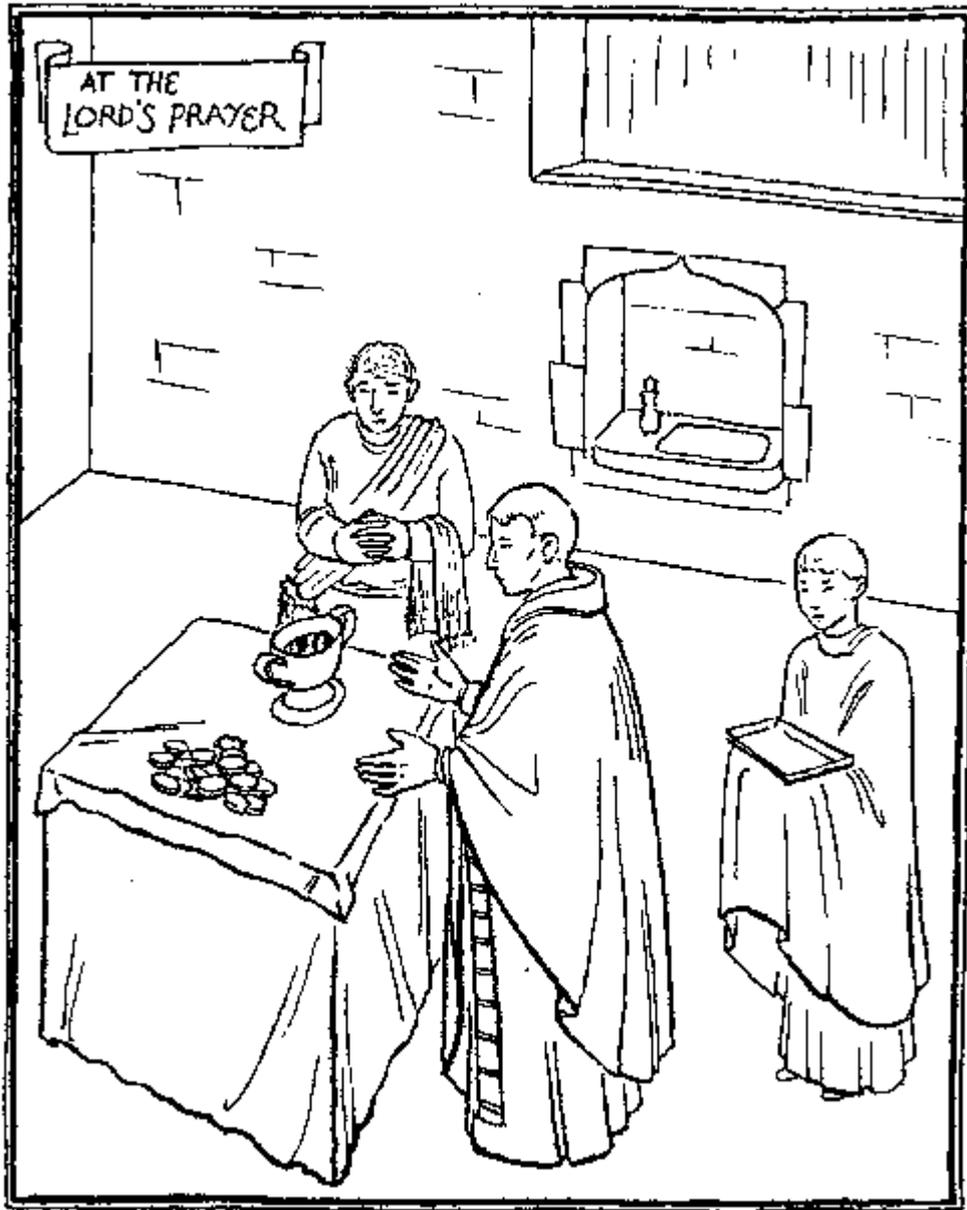
We humbly beseech thee, almighty God, command that these things be carried by the hands of thy holy angel to thy altar on high in the sight of thy divine majesty so that as many of us as shall partake at this altar shall partake of the most holy Body and Blood of thy Son and be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace through this same Christ our Lord.

(On days which are not a Sunday or a great feast) Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaidens (here the departed who are to be prayed for may be named)⁴⁴ who are gone before us with the sign of faith and who sleep the sleep of peace. To these, O Lord, and to all who rest in peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord.)

Unto us (also) thy sinful servants hoping in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecily, Anastasia, and with all thy saints into whose company we beseech thee to admit us, not weighing our merits but freely bestowing thy pardon. Through Christ our Lord: by whom, O Lord, thou dost always create, sanctify, give life, bless and bestow upon us all these good things. Through him and with him and in him is to thee, who art God the Father almighty, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory for ever and ever.

This concludes the canon. All unite themselves to it by singing Amen.

⁴⁴ By the 9th century this commemoration of the dead came to be used at all celebrations. In situations where few people can come to service on weekdays, this commemoration might, perhaps, be sometimes used on Sundays.



The consecrated elements rest directly on the corporal. The acolyte has brought the paten which will presently be used for the fraction. The deacon is wearing his chasuble folded and hanging from his left shoulder.

The priest continues, singing to the appointed chant:

Let us pray. Instructed by thy saving precepts and following thy divine institution we dare to say;

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come: thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread: and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation:

R. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

The priest says in a loud clear voice:

Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present and to come; and by the intercessions of blessed and glorious Mary ever virgin and mother of God, together with thy blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew, and all the saints, graciously grant peace in our days: that, by the assistance of thy mercy, we may be always free from sin and secure from all tribulation. Through the same Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord who with thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit lives and reigns, God for ever and ever

R. Amen.

While this prayer is being said an acolyte brings the paten to the altar. The deacon brings the sancta to the altar and places it on the corporal.

The priest takes the sancta – or a particle of it – and, making a sign of the cross over the chalice with it three times, he puts it in. (If the sancta is not kept, a portion of the newly consecrated bread is used). As he does so he sings:

V. Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum

V. The peace of the Lord be with you always.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

R. And with thy spirit,

The kiss of peace is given to the deacon, then to the acolytes, then to the clergy and the people in order⁴⁵. The priest and the deacon begin the fraction, breaking the loaves over the paten and placing the portions on it. Meanwhile is sung:

Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us.

This verse is repeated by the cantors and people until the fraction is finished.

After the fraction the communion is distributed. The priest receives the bread and then gives a portion to the deacon. The deacon takes the chalice and administers it to the priest, then the priest assists the deacon to drink from the chalice. The acolytes come to the altar to receive. Then those who are not ministering in the sanctuary come in the proper order. (If it can be conveniently arranged it would seem appropriate that the communicants come right up to the altar.) The priest distributes the bread and the deacon administers the chalice. Each communicant receives the bread on his right palm which he holds extended and resting on his left hand. He puts the bread into his mouth before moving towards the chalice. [The priest may say to each: The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ and the deacon likewise: The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.]

During the communion the cantors begin the anthem:

(Ps. 83) The sparrow hath founded herself a house and the turtle dove a nest where she may lay her young: even thy altars O Lord of hosts, my King and my God. Blessed are they that dwell in thy house; they shall proclaim thee for ever and ever.

*One cantor sings verses .of Ps. 83, and after each verse all who are able and not engaged in ministering or receiving the communion sing: **Blessed are they that dwell in thy house: they shall proclaim thee for ever and ever.***

When the communion is done the deacon puts away a fragment of bread for the sancta. The ministers consume what remains of the bread and wine. (If the quantity which remains is

⁴⁵ The kiss among the ministers and the men might be exchanged by clasping each other's elbows with the hand and kissing the right shoulder.

large they might be assisted by other communicants.) The deacon begins to clean the vessels and the acolytes fold the corporal.

The priest turns to the people:

V. Dominus vobiscum	V. The Lord be with you
R. Et cum spiritu tuo	R. And with thy spirit
Oremus	Let us pray

Turning to the east with arms uplifted he sings the appointed post communion prayer.

In thy mercy we beseech thee O Lord, do thou absolve from all guilt and peril us whom thou grantest to participate In so great a mystery: through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord who lives and reigns with thee in the unity of God the Holy Spirit for ever and ever.
R. Amen.

The deacon turns to the people and sings:

V. Ite, missa est ⁴⁶ .	V. Go, the mass is done.
R. Deo gratias.	R. Thanks be to God.

When the vessels have been cleaned the ministers leave the sanctuary, the deacon having resumed his chasuble. The oblations which have not been consecrated might be distributed unless there is reason to take them to others not present.



Gregory the Great; with his father and mother. The seventeenth century artist appears to be working from an ancient artefact no longer extant. All three are wearing contemporary formal clothes, viz. sub-tunica, tunica and *casula* (chasuble). Only the pallium distinguishes the bishop.

⁴⁶ If another service follows, e.g. Vespers after evening Mass, he sings instead *Benedicamus Domino*.

The Text of the Prayers of the Faithful

These are placed after the dismissal of the catechumens and immediately before the offertory. The bishop, or in his absence the senior presbyter, exhorts the assembly to pray for certain special intentions. The deacon directs all to kneel (*flectamus genua*) for brief silent prayer. He then asks them to stand (*levate*) while a brief collect is sung.

i) Let us pray, most beloved, for God's holy church, that our God and Lord may make her peaceable, gather her together and preserve her throughout the whole world, subjecting to her principalities and powers, and granting to us a quiet and tranquil life so that we may glorify God the Father Almighty. Let us pray...

Almighty and everlasting God, who in Christ hast revealed thy glory to all, watch over the works of thy mercy, that thy church spread throughout the world may persevere in the confession of thy name with steadfast faith; through our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son who with thee lives and reigns in the unity of God the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

ii) Let us pray for our most blessed bishop N., that our God and Lord who has chosen him for the office of bishop may preserve him in health and safety to this holy church for the governing of God's holy people. Let us pray...

Almighty and everlasting God, by whose judgement all things are established, mercifully regard our prayers and, of thy goodness, preserve our elected pastor that the Christian people who are guided by his authority may, under such a bishop, find an increase in the merits of their faith; through...

(If the bishop of the place is present it would seem appropriate that this exhortation and prayer be sung by others.)

iii) Let us pray for all bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, doorkeepers, religious, virgins, widows, and for all the holy people of God. Let us pray...

Almighty and everlasting God by whose spirit the whole body of the church is sanctified and governed, hear our prayers for all its orders, that by the gift of thy grace, all may render thee faithful service; through...

iv) [Here was the prayer for the Roman Emperor.]

v) Let us pray for the catechumens, that our God and Lord may open their hearts of mercy, that, by the washing of regeneration, having received the remission of all their sins they too may abide in Christ Jesus our Lord. Let us pray...

Almighty and everlasting God, who ever makest thy church fruitful with new offspring, increase the faith and understanding of our catechumens that, being reborn in the font of baptism, they may be joined to the children of thy adoption; through...

vi) Let us pray, most beloved, that God the Father almighty may purge the world of all errors, drive away diseases, repel famine, open prisons, break the chains of captives, grant travellers a safe return, give health to the sick and a safe port to seafarers. Let us pray...

Almighty and everlasting God, comfort of the sorrowful and support of the weary, may the

prayers of those who call on thee in tribulation come to thee, that all may rejoice that thy mercy delivered them in their distress; through..

vii) Let us pray for heretics and schismatics, that our God and Lord may deliver them from all error and be pleased to call them back to our holy mother the catholic and apostolic church. Let us pray . . .

Almighty and everlasting God, the saviour of all, who desirest that none be lost, help those misled by the deceits of the devil, that laying aside all the corruptions of heresy and rejecting the errors in their hearts they may turn to the unity of thy truth; through..

viii) Let us pray for unbelieving Jews, that our God and Lord may remove the veil from their hearts, that they too may come to acknowledge Jesus Christ our Lord.

Almighty and everlasting God, who dost not repel from thy mercy even those Jews who do not believe, hear the prayers that we offer for the blindness of these people, that, acknowledging the light of thy truth which is in Christ, they may be delivered from their darkness; through..

ix) Let us pray for the pagans, that almighty God will remove evil from their hearts, that rejecting their idols they may be turned to the living and true God and his only Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God. Let us pray..

Almighty and everlasting God, who seekest the life, not the death of sinners, graciously receive our prayers, that they may be delivered from the cult of Idolatry and joined to thy holy church, to the praise and glory of thy name; through...

The fourth petition is for the emperor – regarded as one with universal secular jurisdiction – and for the Roman Empire itself. Clearly this petition must be omitted until a worthy bidding and collect for those in civil authority has been composed and authorized. The prayers assume that those outside the Church must fall into one of three categories, viz.: (i) schismatics and heretics; (ii) Jews, i.e. those of Jewish race who have not become Christians but remain attached to the old Law; (iii) pagans, conceived of as idolators. These prayers are much older than the rise of Islam, and it would be well to have a bidding and prayer for Muslims. There is also need for a prayer for those who have no religion - perhaps making a distinction between those who seek and have not found, and those who are indifferent.

ON THE CELEBRATION OF MASS - II

Celebration with more or fewer Ministers

As was previously noted, the order of Mass has been set out above on the assumption that one priest, one deacon and two or three acolytes are ministering. If it necessary for a presbyter to serve with out the assistance of a deacon he must sing the Gospel himself. There is no reason why he should not leave the sanctuary and go to the ambo to do this. An acolyte could collect the wine oblations. If an acolyte is actually ordained to that order he might administer the chalice at the communion⁴⁷. Without an ordained acolyte it would be necessary for the communicants to approach the altar twice: first for the bread and then for the chalice.

⁴⁷ It is clear that in the days of persecution acolytes took the Eucharist to those unable to be present at the Mass. In the later basilican rite acolytes carried the Eucharist about, although there were many ministers in higher orders present. It is assumed that acolytes who perform functions such as these are ordained to that office.

If there is more than one presbyter, all of them would put on vestments and stand about the altar and assist at the fraction. However only one of them should sing the canon, since everyone present is, according to his order, joining fully in the celebration. If there is more than one deacon the duties may be shared among them. It is the most senior deacon who places the chalice on the altar at the offertory. At the communion the presbyters administer the Eucharist to each other, and the deacons to each other also⁴⁸. If there is a sub-deacon it is he who sings the epistle and who has care of the sacred vessels. To the sub-deacon properly belongs the task of bringing the reserved Eucharist (*sancta*) to the altar immediately after the Lord's Prayer.

The Bishop's Mass

"*Bishops who rule over cities perform all things as does the pope himself*". But here we are concerned with situations in which things must of necessity be done on a modest scale.

The bishop's throne – the *cathedra* – is behind the altar and faces the body of the church. It is set on a dais so that the bishop can see and be seen. The throne is a permanent feature of the cathedral church but in other places it is only set up when the bishop comes.

When the bishop goes to the sanctuary he is preceded by lights and incense⁴⁹. After prayer and before kissing the altar the bishop exchanges kisses with those who are to minister with him. He goes to his throne and stands facing his people. Unless it is a fast day, when the *Kyries* are done he intones the hymn *Glory be to God on high*, and immediately turns to the east. Before the collect he faces the people to sing *Pax vobis*, but then to the east again to sing the prayer. During the epistle and gradual chants etc. he sits in his throne. The deacon prostrates himself for the bishop's blessing before taking the Gospels⁵⁰. If the bishop preaches he does so after the Gospel from his throne. (In large churches, a seat at the entrance to the sanctuary may be more convenient).

At the offertory the bishop begins the collection of oblations from the people and clergy. He puts his own oblation on the altar last. He starts the canon at the altar facing east. After the Lord's Prayer, at the prayer *Deliver us O Lord...*, the senior deacon elevates the chalice and the bishop touches the side of the chalice with the *sancta*.

Our authority directs that the bishop receives communion sitting on his throne. However, unless he is assisted by several clergy in major orders, it would seem most convenient that he receive at the altar. In any case the bishop begins the general distribution of communion.

After *Ite, missa est* the bishop returns to the vesting place preceded by lights and incense. As he retires he gives blessings to clergy and people in their various orders. (Only bishops give blessings during Mass and Office: a tradition which persisted in England until after the Reformation.)

⁴⁸ Similarly if there are bishops, none of whom is bishop of the place, they give the bread to each other. It seems that the deacon proffers the chalice, but if there is more than one deacon, they present the chalice to each other, i.e., the only ministers who take the Eucharist directly are the bishop of the place, or a priest serving alone without a deacon. If a priest serves without another priest but with a deacon, he communicates himself with the bread, but receives the chalice from the deacon. This seems to be the meaning of the text.

⁴⁹ The continuing use of ceremonial honour previously accorded to certain secular magistrates. The Bishop of Rome was preceded by seven acolytes with lighted candles. The number seven had no mystic significance.

⁵⁰ This exceedingly extravagant gesture is quite out of keeping with the rest of the rite. Presumably it is a survival from the etiquette of the late imperial court.

Sometimes the pontifical ceremonies may need to be modified because there are too few ministers to assist; indeed it may be necessary for the bishop to celebrate without the assistance of priests or deacons. English bishops of the seventh and eighth centuries must often have found themselves in this situation. Of necessity the bishop's pastoral work involves a good deal of travel; moreover, very few clerics or monks were ordained priests or deacons.

The pontifical Mass is clearly the normative order. The Mass of a presbyter is derived from it. The presbyter is only the delegate of the bishop serving on his behalf.

It is important to note that the pontifical ceremonies referred to here belong only to the bishop of the place⁵¹. In particular only he may use the throne. If the bishop of another place comes to celebrate he might, out of courtesy, be granted certain privileges, e.g. he could be provided with a fold-stool on the south side of the sanctuary.

The bishop may wear a tunicle – *super-tunica* – over his alb and beneath the chasuble. The vestment peculiar to bishops in both East and West is the pallium – a kind of scarf worn above the other vestments. However, in the West its use came to be restricted to bishops who were also metropolitans. Newly elected archbishops obtained it directly from Rome and it tended to be regarded as a token of unity with that see.

The crosier is an ancient symbol of authority, but it was only briefly in use at Rome. For this reason it comes late to the English church though it was in use among the Celts at an earlier period. It is a symbol of direct jurisdiction and is used not only by bishops in their dioceses but by abbots and abbesses. Bishops do not carry the crosier outside their dioceses. The mitre came into use towards the end of the eleventh century.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMAN MASS

The later development of the Roman Mass is not strictly germane to the purpose of this work. However, a cursory account of the changes which took place between the eighth and twentieth centuries may be of some help in removing possible misunderstandings.

The development may be conveniently divided into seven stages which are here set out in chronological order, though there was some concurrence.

(i) From the middle of the eighth century, partly under the influence of English scholars and missionaries, the Frankish Empire began to adopt the Roman rite. In most of Frankland, unlike England, the rite was made to replace already existing rites of the Galilean type, and, not unnaturally, much Gallican material was retained. The great English scholar Alcuin of York (735-804) spent the second half of his life in the Carolingian Empire at the service of the church and the state. To him fell the task of editing a sacramentary which was intended to act as a kind of model. For this he used a papal sacramentary which provided proper prayers only for those days where at Rome a papal station was held - less than a third of the days in the year. He had to supply propers for other days, which included more than half of the Sundays in the year. Most of the extra matter he took from other Roman sources, but he included some Gallican prayers as well as other rites peripheral to the Mass such as the paschal-candle ceremonies before the Easter vigil. Since most of Frankland was essentially rural, there would

⁵¹ "The bishop of the place"... i.e. the Orthodox bishop who rules all the Orthodox in a specific city or place. Unfortunately in this country there are no such bishops. Church order demands that there should be such and it is our duty to work towards this end.

be many people who were often unable to come to church but who nonetheless arranged for oblations to be offered on their behalf. Accordingly, Alcuin or some one else of this place and time, added to the canon the phrase *and for whom we offer*. (Apart from *Amen* in some places, this was the very last change in the text of the Roman canon.) It was several centuries before the phrase was universally received. Although Alcuin was an Englishman, his liturgical directives were not intended to apply to this country, since England never formed part of the new Western Empire. However, very soon they did begin to influence English customs. The popes did nothing to promote or encourage the use of their rite outside their own city. To Alcuin's work they seem to have taken an attitude of almost studied indifference. Nonetheless, by the second half of the tenth century, service books of the Romano-Frankish type were in use in Rome itself, mainly because Rome had begun to import the actual books from imperial scriptoria. By the eleventh century these books had come to be generally and erroneously regarded as the repositories of the authentic Roman rite.

From the end of the eighth century the English church suffered enormously at the hands of the Danes. Eventually the English converted their enemies. However, the destruction of temporal things had been almost complete. No monasteries, schools or libraries remained. Not even a single copy of a service book survives. When restoration began the English Church was much influenced by the continental churches north of the Alps. Thus many Gallican ceremonial customs which had survived there found their way to England from the end of the tenth century.

(ii) In Frankland the creed began to be used after the Gospel at Sunday Mass. Alcuin had at least some share in bringing this about, and it has been noticed that the Latin version which he supplied is based on the Celtic form. In 810 the pope approved of this use of the creed in Gaul and at Aachen with the proviso that the *filioque* was not included. In Rome the creed was not sung at Mass until 1014 when the pope gave way to imperial demands. We do not know when the creed was first used at Mass in England - long before 1000 one would expect.

(iii) From the end of the ninth century it became customary for the ministers at Mass to use extra private prayers, particularly before going up to the altar, during the offertory and in preparation for communion. At first these were said at the discretion of the celebrants, but they soon became formularized and eventually incorporated into the text of the ordinary of the Mass. The prayers were said inaudibly by the ministers, a practice which continued. These prayers varied considerably in content according to locality or religious house.

(iv) Far more important in the history of liturgy, and with considerable devotional and spiritual ramifications, was the emergence of the cult of the private Mass⁵², i.e. Mass celebrated without music by a priest assisted by a single minister and, although usually celebrated in the open church, having no specific regard for the presence of other Christians. Since the celebration of Mass is a rich source of grace it began to be felt that the greater the number of Masses, the greater would be the ensuing merits. To this end it became the custom that each priest celebrated every day. All choir monks received ordination to the priesthood. Secular clergy who aspired to the higher orders intended to be ordained to the priesthood. Since a deacon could not celebrate Mass by himself, the permanent diaconate was abandoned. By the high middle-ages the pernicious chantry system was an important feature of church

⁵² The rite of "low" Mass began gradually to be used for public worship. Aelfric (c. 1000) says that those who, on a Sunday or feast, choose to be present at a "low" Mass rather than at the high Mass were attempting to cheat God. However, in the 19th and 20th centuries the vast majority of Catholics - particularly in the British Isles and America - have taken it for granted that participation in "low" Mass is the norm.

life. The multiplicity of private Masses did not, until many centuries later, lead to the abandonment of solemn sung Mass; indeed, throughout the middle-ages and for a long time afterwards a communal high Mass was celebrated at least once a day⁵³ in all monasteries and collegiate establishments. Even in the smallest parish church, where the priest's only assistants may have been two or three relatively literate boys⁵⁴, it would seem that the nearest possible thing to a high Mass was the accepted norm⁵⁵ on all Sundays and many other days of general public observance. However, the private form of celebration came to exert a strong influence on the ritual of the solemn Mass. It was deemed necessary that the priest should say in a low voice everything that was sung by others, e.g. he read the Epistle to himself while the subdeacon was singing it aloud. Such illogicalities persisted until the middle of the present century.

(v) From the eleventh century the western Church came to place excessive emphasis on the Eucharist regarded as a *thing* rather than as a *deed*. Devotion to the *Blessed Sacrament* increased and continued to increase until our own day. Though never entirely forgotten, the Mass as essentially an occasion of *giving thanks* became somewhat obscured. The only effect which this had on the ceremonial of the Mass was the introduction, in the thirteenth century, of the *elevation*. However, it had an immense influence on the way in which people thought about the Mass and so on how they conducted themselves during celebration⁵⁶.

(vi) During the middle-ages elaborate and rich ceremonial developed, particularly in northwest Europe and England. Most of this was outside the Mass, e.g. the processions before celebration on holy days and at the services of Holy Week. These elaborations tended to be of a symbolic sort. The precise form of this additional ceremonial varied considerably from place to place, and even from church to church, though ordinary parish churches were supposed to follow as best they could the customs of the cathedral church. Sometimes the customs of one place were copied - more or less - in other places. Thus arose what are called "uses". Hence we speak of the Use of Salisbury (Sarum), the Use of Lyon, the Use of the Friars Preacher, etc. The various uses are not different rites: those mentioned are all variations of the Roman rite. The general structure of the Mass remains the same, the identical canon is used in all places, and the old Roman proper prayers are retained - along with a multitude of additions. (The Latin Church does have other rites than the Roman: the Ambrosian Rite of Milan and the Mozarabic Rite are not mere "uses" based on the Roman Rite but have a status parallel and equal in dignity to the Roman Rite.)

(vii) In accordance with the directions of the Council of Trent a standard Roman missal was published in 1570. As has been mentioned in a previous section, this Tridentine book was

⁵³ In the great churches, if a feast day fell on a solemn feria, the high Mass of the feast was sung after Terce, and that of the feria after None. In most great churches there was also a daily sung Mass in honour of Our Lady. Even this is an oversimplification of what actually happened.

⁵⁴ From the high middle-ages there was ample provision for higher education, but little organised elementary schooling. Perhaps we have here the answer to the historian's problem.

⁵⁵ In England all parish churches were bound by law to possess the things needed for solemn celebration, e.g. thurible, processional cross, chant-books etc., and these regulations were enforced by archidiaconal visitations. There was "low" Mass every day, but it is clear that when all the people came on days of "obligation" - i.e. all Sundays, many feasts and some fasts - they came together and attended a solemn sung service. On those days it was also the custom of the people to attend Matins before Mass and Vespers in the afternoon.

⁵⁶ For example, very infrequent communion became the rule. But something rather similar was also happening in the East.

intended, and by many supposed, to be a return to a primitive order. In fact it does no more than set limits to the more exuberant mediaeval ceremonial and provide rules and regulations of a rigidity previously unknown. It maintains the erroneous notion that a "low" celebration is somehow the most primitive. It assumes that it will be exceptional for anyone except the bishop or priest to receive communion.

The Tridentine use was imposed only on Rome and on such other churches of the West as had no long-standing traditions of their own. Had there been no Reformation, England may well have continued with her own peculiar ways. The Tridentine missal came into very general use for two reasons. First, the sixteenth century was one of renewed missionary activity. The newly evangelized territories obviously possessed no "uses" and so were expected to use this missal. Thus it became prescriptive for Roman Catholics in the Americas. Secondly, churches which had their own "uses" began, of their own desire, to use the Tridentine book: that they thus avoided the expense of printing their own books in comparatively small numbers played no insignificant part in this⁵⁷. In the end very few different "uses" were preserved, and these mainly among certain religious orders. (The acceptance of a standard Divine Office was a much more gradual process.) In some countries, notably in Spain, while the Tridentine missal was in use, many local traditions contrary to the letter of that book survived until a few years ago.

ADDENDUM

I would like to reiterate in summary the line of thought which is fundamental to the matter set out in this work.

By the establishment of a tradition and by the enactment of formal canons the English Church committed itself to follow the liturgical rites and the ecclesiastical disciplines as they were used in the city of Rome.

Dealing here only with the Eucharistic liturgy, I have indicated that we have access to all the texts required for its celebration. We also know in detail the ceremonial used when the Bishop of Rome celebrated solemnly on days of liturgical importance. Accordingly I have accepted the former and deduced from the latter a form for the celebration of Mass *juxta modum Romae ecclesiae* and present it in a form suitable for small churches so that Mass may be celebrated in accordance with our tradition and with the canons. I have not, primarily, been concerned with what the English Church did⁵⁸, but rather with showing how we can now do

⁵⁷ Many dioceses continued to publish their own breviaries. Paris was issuing its own missal until the middle of the 19th century, though that of 1847 – apart from its propers for saints – scarcely differs from the Roman one. Roman Catholics often claimed rigid liturgical uniformity. Such uniformity as there was did not come about until the 19th century, and was, even then, not complete. Millions of Roman Catholics use the Byzantine Rite – the so-called "Orthodox Rite". They also follow Eastern disciplines. The present Roman Code of Canon Law [ed. 1983] begins with a categorical statement that it is not applicable to Catholics of any Eastern Rite.

⁵⁸ The English Church of the seventh and eighth centuries, while insisting on the Roman Rite, does seem to have accepted a measure of flexibility. Dr Mayr-Harting points out that, at the consecration of the church at Hexham, Wilfrid seems to have included ceremonies of a Gallican kind. Similarly Clovesho II, while confirming the celebration of the litanies on April 25th *juxta ritum Romanae Ecclesiae*, also insisted on the Rogation Days *secundum morem priorem nostrorum*, though these were not observed at Rome until some fifty years later. The council also ordered that the name of Augustine be added to the litany after that of Gregory I but previously, at Rome, the litany had not included the Invocation of saints. Also, Bede hints that, at his monastery, incense was

that which it determined ought to be done.

I anticipate that it will be urged against me that I am setting out a "British Museum" liturgy. I admit an element of truth in this but am not ashamed. I maintain that the Roman Mass remains a living tradition. However, it has suffered from the vicissitudes of history. I urge that that we had best restore it to Orthodoxy by using it in that form in which we first received it. Let us begin by doing, obediently and as correctly as we can, those things which authority demands of us. After that we may perhaps consider allowing ourselves some diversity in matters which are not essential. At this particular moment in history it is vitally important that Orthodox Christians avoid the error of accommodation to the standards of a rapidly changing secular society.

Besides the correct prayer formularies and the proper performance of the ritual actions by the ministers, the recovery of the spirit of this rite will depend much on things that may seem incidental or trivial. That we stand during Mass, that men and women occupy different sides of the church, that we avoid attempting to follow things in books, that in communion we receive portions of substantial size etc., are more important than they may seem at first sight.

Obviously the proper use of these rites makes demands in respect of architecture and other applied arts: but it does not entail the resuscitation of any specific style. As far as possible churches should be spacious, well arranged and uncluttered: vestments simple, full and dignified. It is sufficient that all things be made to serve the liturgy.

The normative language of the Roman Rite is Latin, though in the city of Rome Latin remained the formal vernacular for a long time. When the rite first came to England there was no local literary vernacular and Latin was retained. (In another place a literary language was devised by the missionaries and the Roman Rite came eventually to be used in Slavonic.) Since the worship set out in the service-books clearly implies that there is no language barrier we ought not to create one. We can retain such Latin phrases as can be understood by all. In some monasteries and other places where Latin is generally known its retention would seem appropriate.

I am sometimes asked if it would be lawful for Orthodox to use this rite here and now - at once. I am not competent to answer this question. Certainly the Roman Rite - as distinct from my interpretation of it - is already authoritative for us. However, every presbyter has a bishop whose delegate he is, and consequently it does seem clear that a presbyter ought not to use this rite without the permission of that bishop. When a group of English Orthodox come together in one area it would seem appropriate that they ask a bishop to make provision for them. However, in England there are at present no bishops with what is called "ordinary jurisdiction".

Though it has been mentioned above, it must be further emphasized that this rite ought not to be imposed on communities which already have a rite of their own which they wish to maintain. Whenever groups of people migrate there is the possibility that different rites will be used by different communities living in the same place. Diversity of rite is permissible: but there can be only one properly lawful bishop in each place.

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GLOSSARY

ACOLYTE or COLLET: a clerk ordained to assist in the ministry of the altar. In England it seems to have been accepted from early times that men and boys who are not ordained can

perform most of the duties of acolytes.

ALB: the under-vestment of white linen reaching to the ankles. In form it remains as it was when part of formal dress in late antiquity. The Greek sticheron is derived from it.

ANTIPHON: a sentence, usually from Scripture, sung before and after a psalm. At mass the antiphon is repeated between the verses of the psalm,

CANON or ANAPHORA: the central prayer at any Eucharistic service. It begins soon after the offerings have been placed on the altar and continues until the Lord's Prayer a little before the communion.

CHASUBLE or PLANET: the voluminous upper vestment. Mediaeval custom restricted its use to bishops and priests at mass, deacons and subdeacons having it only during certain seasons. In this rite it is worn by all who minister at mass. The Greek phelanlon is a chasuble.

The COMMON: prayers, lessons etc. to be used on those feasts which have no propers of their own; e.g. *the common for a martyr bishop*.

FRACTION: the breaking of the consecrated Bread into portions for communion.

GRADUAL: a scriptural responsory sung between the lessons at mass.

LAUDS: the early morning office of psalms and canticles.

MASS: the whole Eucharistic service. The word, derived from the Latin *missa*, has been in our language since the coming of Christianity. It denotes both eastern and western forms of celebration.

MATINSS or NOCTURNS: the night office, in practice often celebrated in the morning or anticipated the previous evening. In most western rites it includes, besides psalmody, scriptural and patristic lessons.

ORDINARY: those parts of the mass which are every day the same.

NONE: a brief office of the late afternoon. (N.B. In most churches certain offices are celebrated together. Thus, on fast days, none, mass and vespers are celebrated the one immediately after the other. However, the time of day must be observed at least approximately. Vespers in the morning of fast days became common practice in the middle-ages, as it is now of many Greeks. This is clearly a gross anomaly. It was done to curtail fasting by a pretence.)

PRESBYTER: a cleric ordained by a bishop to be his delegate in the celebration of certain sacraments. In ordinary parlance presbyter and priest tend to be used synonymously. In strict discourse it is best to preserve the distinction. A bishop is a priest but he is not a presbyter.

'PRO-MASS': the prayers etc. of mass omitting the offertory, canon and communion. Such an office can be used as a devotion by any Christian.

RITE: the liturgical offices, calendar, ecclesiastical disciplines and canon law peculiar to a local church or group of churches. The Church has many rites both in the East and the West. That a rite, born in the fullness of Orthodoxy, is not lost on account of a period of schism and heresy is exemplified by the preservation of the Constantinopolitan Rite during such periods – most notably that of Iconoclasm.

STATION: the occasion of the pope's going in procession to a specific basilica to celebrate mass with many of his clergy and people. There are over eighty stational days each year and

some forty different churches were thus visited.

TERCE: a brief mid-morning office. On Sundays and feasts it is followed by mass.

USE; liturgical customs peculiar to a local church within a rite. Thus the different customs of the Russians may be regarded as a 'use' within the Byzantine Rite.

VESPERS: the evening office, principally psalms, a hymn and the *Magnificat*.

Appendix I – The Gregorian Club

[Editor's note: the Gregorian Club is no longer in existence. This text reveals Dr. Winch's thinking and aspiration to Western Rite Orthodoxy in England.]

The Gregorian Club is an association of Orthodox who pray, study and work for the restoration of Orthodoxy's Western heritage.

By "Western heritage" we mean the spirituality, the saints, the liturgical rites, the monasticism, the ecclesiastical disciplines, the art and the culture which belonged to the Latin West in those times when the churches of the West were indisputably Orthodox, and when the traditions of both East and West supplied each its share in contributing to the total tradition of the whole Church.

Some reasons why we are led to pursue this objective:

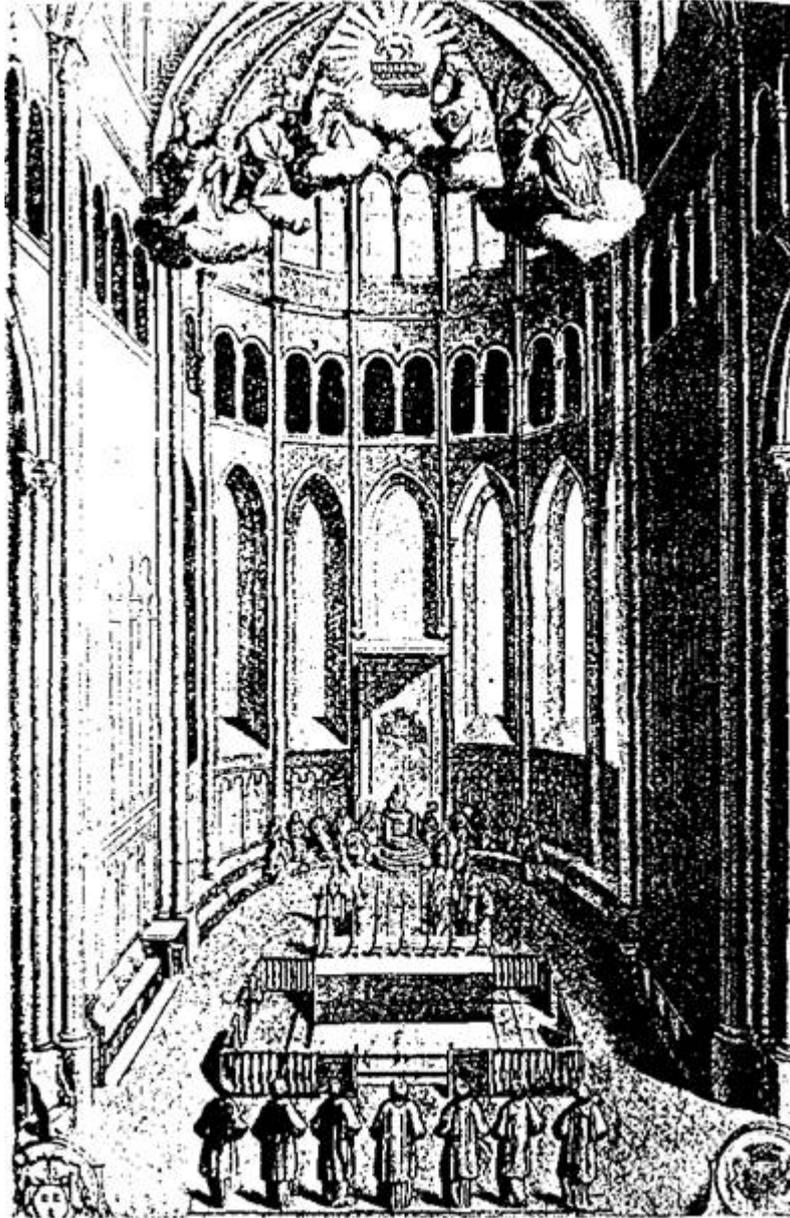
- (i) The Church of God is for all men in all times and in all places. To identify the Church more or less exclusively with what is Greek or Slavonic is to obscure its universality.
- (ii) Orthodoxy is now becoming more aware of its missionary duties. These are both great and urgent. Most men of the West will tend more readily to appreciate Orthodoxy in the light of that tradition to which they themselves belong.
- (iii) Hitherto the great heritage of Latin Christendom has in some measure been preserved by those who are not Orthodox. Now it is being rapidly abandoned. We believe this heritage to be of great intrinsic worth. If it is not to be lost altogether we Western Orthodox must make it our own again.
- (iv) We wish to worship and live according to our own traditions - those of our saints.

We regard the unity of the Church as of paramount importance. We look to a future when canonical order is restored in the West and – irrespective of culture, rite or race – there will be only one Orthodox bishop in each place,

Membership of the Club is open to all Orthodox. Those who are not Orthodox may join as associate members. Further information, lists of publications, etc, may be obtained from The Gregorian Club, 41, Essex Street, Oxford.

Appendix II – The Lyons Rite

This illustration and text appeared on the flyleaf of the 1989 edition.



During the epistle at the bishop's Mass at Lyon in the eighteenth century. The bishop sits in the throne facing the people with his presbyters on either side. The deacons and sub-deacons stand between the throne and the altar. The seven acolytes face the throne. A sub-deacon has gone to the pulpitum (outside the picture) to sing the epistle. The ceremonial is precisely that in use at Rome eleven centuries earlier and which continued at Lyon until twenty years ago. (From the Missal of 1737.)

Appendix III – The Latin text of the Roman Canon
CANON MISSAE

(post hynum qui incipt “Sanctus, sanctus...”)

Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus ac petimus: uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc + dona, hæc + munera, hæc + sancta sacrificia illibata, in primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro *illo* <et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.

Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum *N.* et *N.* et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio; pro quibus tibi offerimus vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ, tibi que reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero.

Communicantes, et memoriam venerantes: In primis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ, genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum Petri et Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis, et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani, et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas; ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio; Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari; Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Quam oblationem tu, Deus Omnipotens, in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictum + ascriptam + ratam + rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis + Corpus et + Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas: et elevatis oculis in cælum, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens + benedixit, fregit: deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim Corpus meum.

Simili modo, posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum calicem in sanctas et venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens, benedixit + deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim calix Sanguinis mei novi et æterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei commemorationem facietis.

Unde et memores, Domine, nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ Passionis, necnon et ab inferis Resurrectionis, sed et in cælos gloriosæ Ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis Hostiam + puram, Hostiam + sanctam, Hostiam + immaculatam, et Calicem salutis perpetuæ.

Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere sicut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahamæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculata hostiam.

Supplices te rogamus, Omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinæ Majestatis tuæ, ut quotquot, ex hac altaris

participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui + Corpus et + Sanguinem sumpserimus, omni + benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur; Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Memento etiam, Domine, animarum famulorum famularumque tuarum *N.* et *N.* qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis: Ipsi, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur; Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus; Cum Johanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Lucia, Agatha, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis; Intra quorum nos consortium, non æstimator meriti, sed venire, quæsumus, largitor admitte; Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas + vivificas + benedicis + et præstas nobis. Per + ipsum et cum + ipso et in + ipso est tibi Deo Patri + omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus + Sancti, omnis honor et gloria; Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Orthodox history is marked outwardly by a series of sudden breaks: the capture of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem by Arab Mohammedans; the burning of Kiev by the Mongols; the two sacks of Constantinople; the October Revolution in Russia. Yet these events, while they have transformed the external appearance of the Orthodox world, have never broken the inward continuity of the Orthodox Church. The thing that first strikes a stranger on encountering Orthodoxy is usually its air of antiquity, its apparent changelessness. He finds that Orthodox still baptize by threefold immersion, as in the *pri* Description of the Roman Mass of the West for Orthodox Believers by the late Dr Winch. It is, moreover, a heritage which has canonical authority which has not been abrogated. Although we must be cautious of too legalistic an approach, this tradition clearly remains prescriptive for us. It was freely and, indeed, enthusiastically adopted by the lively emergent English Church during the seventh and eighth centuries and it has exercised a lasting influence on our religious culture. He received this tradition directly from the Church of the City of Rome. In this present study I deal only with the Eucharistic liturgy. We possess the text of the Mass as it was used at Rome nearly five