

THE
EVOLUTION
OF THE
MASS

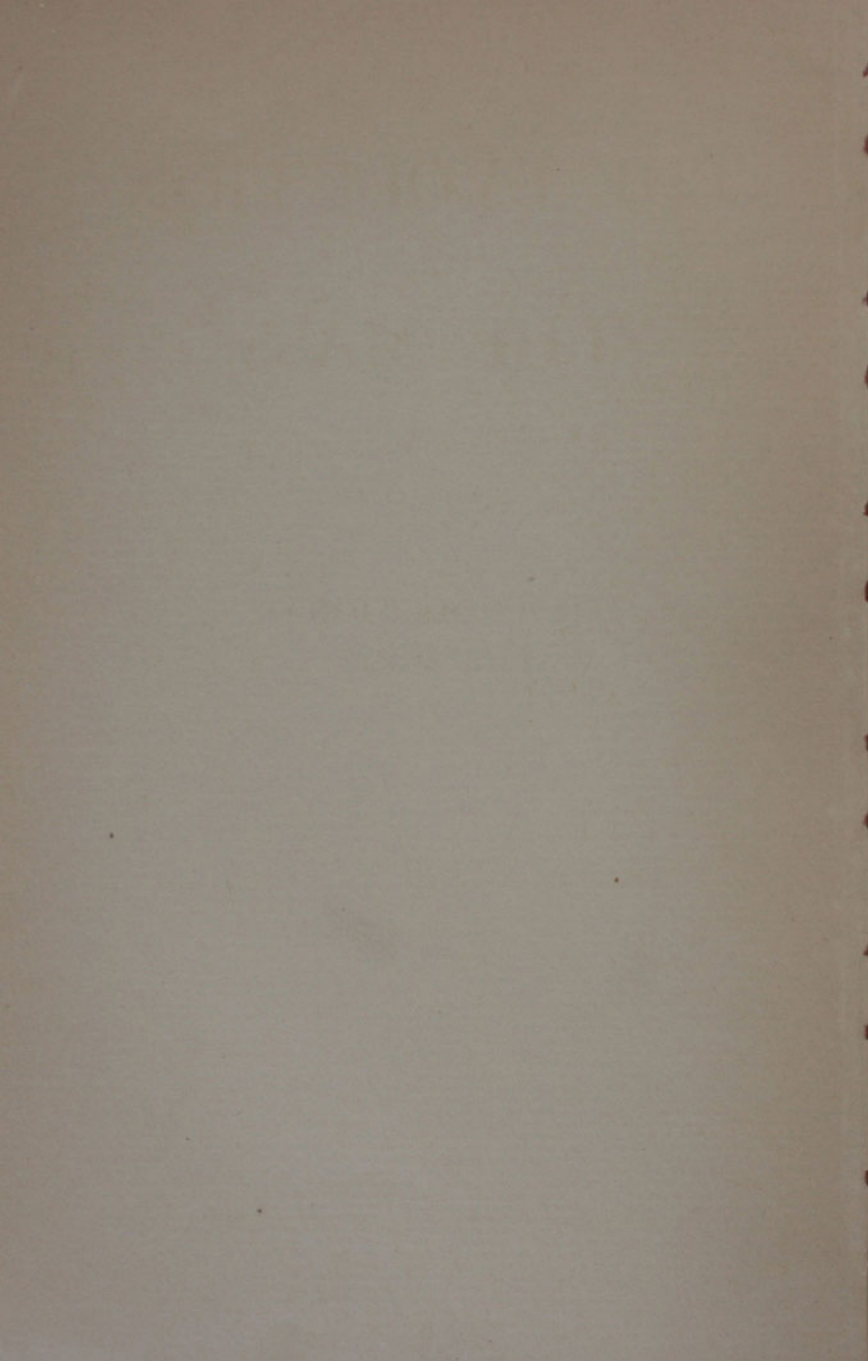
BY
LOUIS COULANGE

TRANSLATED BY
C. BRADLAUGH BONNER, M.A.

THIS history of the development of the Eucharist and of the Mass is the fruit of profound study and wide reading. The author, Monsieur Coulange, displays a masterly familiarity with the works of the Early Fathers and of medieval theologians, and propounds a theory which no one interested in the origins of Christianity can afford to overlook.

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THE MASS



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BY
LOUIS COULANGE

Translated by
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INTRODUCTION

FOR Catholics the Mass is a solemn liturgy. In the course of it the priest, with unleavened bread and a cup of wine on the altar in front of him, repeats the words spoken by the Saviour a few hours before his passion: "This is my body" and "This is the cup of my blood." Thereon a sublime miracle takes place, and Christ appears on the altar in the form of bread and wine, the substance of which no longer exists. He is there as victim, making an offering to his father of the blood shed and the death suffered on the Cross. Catholic doctrine declares that the Mass is essentially a sacrifice identical with that on the Calvary, differing only in the manner of offering. Thus Bossuet, in a letter to the minister Ferry, July 8, 1666, calls it "a sacrifice commemorating that on the Cross, whence its virtue."

A historical survey of the centuries leads to the following conclusions:—

At first there was a period during which the death of Christ was not celebrated at Christian banquets, but a thanksgiving was made to the Father whose care provides the necessaries of life.

Later, between 200 and 900 A.D., the commemoration of Christ's death was added to the thanksgiving. Scholars tell us that Christ was

not supposed to be present on the altar during the memorial at this time.

Still later the Church taught the faithful to believe that there appeared on the altar the Christ whose death they celebrated. Even then a considerable time elapsed before it was held that Christ materialized on the altar after the words: "This is my body; this is the cup of my blood."

Briefly, the modern Mass differs from the early Mass in that Christ is present as a victim on the altar; and the early Mass differs from the ancient banquet, its forerunner, since the latter did not celebrate the crucifixion. The proofs of these statements will be submitted to the reader in the following pages.

PART I

THE FEAST WHICH PRECEDED
THE MASS

CHAPTER I

THE EVIDENCE OF ST. PAUL, OF PLINY,
AND OF TERTULLIAN

It was customary in the Roman Empire for the members of a community to feast together on certain days. The early Christians conformed to this custom, and, since most of them had been Jews or affiliated to Judaism, they held their feasts on the Sabbath eve. The Christian feast cannot be said to have been instituted; it arose spontaneously, and no early document would have mentioned such an ordinary occurrence if abuses had not developed at these feasts at an early stage.

Such abuses were to be found at Corinth. From the text we are about to examine, it would appear that at this place the host merely lent his house to the community, and did not offer them a well-loaded table at which they had only to take their seats and fall to. On the contrary, each brought such food as his means would allow him.¹ The variations in quantity and

¹ Xenophon, *On Socrates*, 3, 14. "When those friends who came to dine with him brought, some little, others plenty, Socrates ordered his servants to put the smallest dish in common, or to offer to each a share of it. Then those who had brought abundant provisions would be ashamed not to partake of what was in common, and not to offer what they themselves had brought."

quality would not have caused any strife if a spirit of generous brotherhood had permeated the community and all that had been brought had been for common use, or if the rich, at least, had shown some liberality towards their poorer comrades. Egoism, alas! stifled brotherly love. Each thought of himself alone, and those who came laden with dainty dishes banqueted bravely in view of the poor, who had to be satisfied with their meagre diet. Grumbling arose. Complaints were made to St. Paul, and he gave the gluttons a lecture on manners, of which we present a version freed from the interpolations which have since spoilt it (I Cor. xi, 17-23)¹ :—

I praise you not, that ye come together, not for the better, but for the worse. When ye come together, therefore, into one place, each taketh first his own supper, and when one is hungry another is drunken. Thus ye shame those that have not. What shall I say to you? Shall I praise you in this? I praise you not. Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another.

After Paul the chief witnesses of the Christian feast are Pliny and Tertullian.

In the year 112 A.D. Pliny, then Governor of Bithynia, sent to Trajan a report in which he declares that the Christians were in the habit of meeting, "on a given day, before daybreak, to chant in responses a hymn to Christ as to a god, and to swear an oath not to commit any crime whatever, but to abstain from theft, brigandage, and adultery, never to swear falsely or to deny a deposit when it was claimed. After that they withdraw, but come together again to partake of a meal together, which is, however, quite in accordance with the law."

¹ Delafosse, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*.

The last phrase of the text informs us that the Christians met for a joint repast, for that is the meaning of the Latin *promiscuum*. Pliny adds that the said meal does not infringe the Roman laws which forbade excess at table. We shall soon see that those from whom Pliny obtained his information were personally interested in qualifying it in this manner. Nevertheless, Pliny was ready to believe them, so let us do the same, and say that the Christian banquet was frugal, at least in the large communities where discipline was all the better kept as it was the more required.

In his *Apologetica* Tertullian describes at some length the meetings held by Christians. He tells first (7-9) that the Christians were accused of giving themselves over to monstrous orgies at their feasts, in which cannibalism was joined with incest. He shows how false were these calumnies, which are repugnant to the deepest feelings of the human heart. Then, having told us what the Christian reunions were not, he tells us what they were and what was done there (39). Prayers were offered to God, Holy Writ was read, exhortations to lead a virtuous life were pronounced, the unworthy were reprimanded, even expelled, and collections were made for the unfortunate, for Christians love one another like brothers. All of which is most edifying.

But was this all? Was there nothing else at these Christian assemblies? Was there no banquet? Tertullian emphasizes the prayers, the pious readings, and the exhortations, but leaves the question of the feast in the background. Yet he cannot get away from it, and finally refers to it. With great skill he appends it to his description of the fraternal spirit that reigns among the Christians. See what he says:—

Is it astonishing that this great affection should show itself in repasts in common? Our frugal

feasts, which our enemies call abominable, are also said to be extravagant. [Here he gives a picture of the excesses at pagan banquets.] And yet it is only the Christian feast which is attacked! Why, its name alone shows what it is. It bears that name which among the Greeks means "Love" [*agape*]. . . . There is nothing in it to offend against proper behaviour and modesty. It is only after having prayed to God that the guests take their seats at table. They eat according to their hunger, and drink as sober men. They satisfy their needs, but never forget that during the night they must once more worship God. Conversation is joined in, but never in forgetfulness that the Lord can hear all. When all have washed their hands and the torches are lit, each guest is expected to offer praise to God, according to his ability, in the words of the Holy Scripture or in those in which he is moved to speak. That shows if we drink to excess. The meal finishes with prayer. Such a meeting of Christians is doubtless to be condemned if it is of the nature of a forbidden assembly. But do we never come together except to hatch some conspiracy? At our meetings we behave as we do when apart.

It is certainly a genuine meal that is presented to us in this description, in which we see the faithful "take their seats at table," "eat till their hunger be satisfied," "join in conversation," and "wash their hands." This is generally admitted, in spite of the sophisms formerly opposed to it. Tertullian admits that the Christian assembly is not entirely devoted to prayer, to pious readings, and to sermons; it also includes a banquet which was called *agape*. To admit the existence of this feast was a painful avowal for him, since it gave some ground, infinitesimal though it might be, to the unspeakable charges brought against the Christians. But he only makes this concession when he has taken

every precaution to prevent any hostile deductions. This is his plea :—

You make out that in our assemblies we abandon ourselves to hideous orgies. Firstly, I reply that, for us, the crimes of which you accuse us are impossible, so horrible do we consider them. And, secondly, I say that we assemble for prayer, for the praise of God, and for the observance of virtue. I do not deny that there may be feasting, but this feast, which we call *Agape*, is sober and could not be otherwise, as it is accompanied by the prayers and pious readings of which I have already spoken.

In *De Oratione* he corroborates the information given in the *Apologetica*. Prayer is represented as a sacrifice offered to God by Christians who are, in truth, priests. Then we read that prayer is crowned by the “agape” (*agape coronatam*). When the feast fell on a fast day many held that they should not take part in “prayers of the sacrifices,” since to receive the “body of the Lord” would have broken their fast (19). Tertullian condemns this scruple as an offence to the “eucharistia.” “Moreover,” says he, “you will always have the advantage of taking home with you the body of the Lord. So in any case accept it.”

After Paul and Pliny, Tertullian is the principal witness for the Christian banquet. He not only attests its existence, but also gives us some information as to its procedure. This information, though somewhat scanty, will be given later. At this point I will only refer to that part of the *Apologetica* in which he speaks of the torches lit in the course of the banquet. These torches make their appearance some considerable time after the assembly has begun, and indicate that the feast began in daylight and went on into the dark hours. And at what time did they break up? On

Easter Eve they did not go home till morning. In the second book, *Ad Uxorem*, 4, this fact is noted (*solemnibus, Paschae abnoctantem*), but no reason is given for it. Lactantius in *Divinae Institutiones*, 7, 19, and St. Jerome in *In Matth.*, 26, 6, however, explain to us that the Christians in their time used to spend that night awaiting Christ, who should, so they believed, return to establish a kingdom on earth. It can scarcely be doubted that the Christians of the second century had the same belief that Christ should return on Easter Eve. At the other feasts, when Christ's return was not expected, the faithful went home at an earlier hour. Even then this hour was frequently a very late one, for that is what we can deduce from the expression *etiam antelucanis coetibus* in *De Corona*, 3, by which is meant not meetings opening early in the morning, but those which ended in the morning, having been begun the evening before.¹ To tell the truth, the Easter Eve feast, when the guests passed the whole night at table, was not so very different from the others, except in the hope that inspired the feast-makers.

Tertullian sheds some light on an obscure text of the false Ignatius (letter to the Smyrniots, x, 2) in which are laid down the rules to be followed at baptism and in making the "agape." Evidently this "agape" must be, like baptism, one of the chief rites of the Christian religion. What was it, and what was its motive? Now, Tertullian tells quite clearly that the Christian banquet was known as the "agape." The pseudo-Ignatius has, then, in mind a feast, and he recommends Christians not to hold this feast except in the presence of a bishop.

Further, it is such Christian banquets called *agapes*

¹ Cicero, in the second *In Catilinam*, 10, says that Catiline's companions proved their stamina in feasts which lasted to the next morning, *antelucanis coenis*.

that are referred to in the Epistle of Jude, 12, and the Second Epistle of Peter ii, 13 (here the real text, interpolated in the Greek, has been preserved in the Vulgate). Moreover, these two epistles accuse certain Christians of turning the feast into a debauch. Their language is that of Tertullian, montanist, in *De Jejuniis*, 17, where he says: "Among you the agape is beyond faith and hope, since your young men use it as an opportunity of fornication."

Minutius Felix also refers to the existence of banquets in *Octavius*, 31, but adds that they are stained by no abuses whatever.

CHAPTER II

ALL RELIGIOUS MEETINGS INCLUDED A FEAST

THERE can be no doubt that the agape was a real feast, and that the existence of the Christian banquet must be admitted. It has been declared that there existed, in addition to the agape of which Tertullian speaks, another meeting mentioned by Justin which was devoted to the eucharist and was not a feast. Pliny is considered to draw a clear distinction between the two, stating that in the early years of the second century the feast took place in the evening and the eucharist in the morning.

Let us examine the evidence for two different classes of meeting, taking that of the Christian Justin first.

Justin, in his great *Apologia*, does what Tertullian did fifty years later: he defends the Christians against the calumnies of the Pagans. In their defence he first expounds their doctrines and then describes their meetings. His descriptions suffer from the confusion which is general in the whole *Apologia*. However, we must put up with that, and collect the details which are scattered throughout the text.

According to the *Apologia* (67, 3), the Christians were accustomed to meet every week on the day of the sun. They also met for the baptism of a new member of the community (65, 1). These meetings began with pious readings (67, 3), which were followed by a sermon. After this bread was brought and wine mingled with water (65, 3). At this point the presiding elder gave praise to the Father of the universe, and then performed a long

"eucharistia" (act of thanksgiving) to thank Him for having obtained for the Christians these "good things"—i.e., the bread, wine, and water. This *eucharistia* was accompanied by prayer, and was prolonged "as much as possible" (67, 5; 13, 1). When the elder has finished the people reply "Amen," and the deacons divide the offerings among those present. The absent were not forgotten. This was due (67, 6) to the generosity of the wealthy members of the community, whose offerings exceeded the immediate requirements. In this way the head of the community was able to help the orphans, widows, the sick, the poor, and to offer hospitality to guests. The *Dialogue* (117, 3) informs us that prayers and *eucharistia* offered to God by worthy men are the sole genuine sacrifices, and explains that in the *eucharistia* a symbol is made of the food and drink that God has placed at man's disposal, and (41, 1) that God is thanked for having created for man the world and all which is therein. The *Apologia* adds (66, 2-3) that the *eucharistia* is the body and blood of Jesus incarnate.

Such is the picture that Justin gives us of the Christian assembly. It is contrasted with that of Tertullian in order to prove that the Christians of the second century had two distinct meetings—one purely eucharistic, the other a feast. Justin portrays the eucharistic ritual as if Christians met for the purpose of celebrating that and that only. Tertullian, on the other hand, speaks as if the feast accompanied by prayer were the thing and nothing else. The substance of Justin's remarks is that in all the Christian meetings the presiding elder offers *eucharistia* to God with the gifts that have been brought. And Tertullian declares, almost exactly in these words, that all prayer was followed by a feast "which we call *agape*." Neither of them suggests that there was anything in the nature of meeting other than

that which he describes. It is not conceivable that either of them should have taken up such an attitude if there had existed a feast apart from the eucharist, or, what comes to the same thing, a eucharist apart from the feast. What are we to think when we find that each of them refers to a single form of meeting, and knows of one form only? How can we avoid coming to the conclusion that the texts of the two describe one and the same meeting?

I shall be told, no doubt, that if these two doctors were referring to the same thing the pictures they give should agree, and that they do not agree. Certainly there are differences in the two descriptions, but there are also resemblances. They both alike speak of sermons, of improving readings, and of prayers. And I should like to know how a satisfactory explanation is to be given for these identical details if two different gatherings are being described. It cannot be done. Let us look at the differences. They amount to two. The first is the eucharist which Justin emphasized, whereas in the *Apologetica* there is no word about it. The second is the feast which is in the very foreground of the picture in Tertullian, while in Justin it looms vaguely through a thick haze. Now, the first difference disappears if we add the evidence of the *De Oratione* to that of the *Apologetica*. Note, too, that in this book we learn that prayer, which is the sacrifice of the Christians, is crowned by the banquet of the agape (28), and, at the same time, that certain scrupulous persons would not come to the sacrifice for fear of breaking their fast by accepting the eucharist—that is to say, in receiving the body of the Lord (see above). This eucharist must have been an integral part of the sacrifice, since the only way of avoiding it was to stay away altogether. But what is the difference between it and the agape which crowned

the sacrifice of prayer? Let us trouble no further about the silence in the *Apologetica* as to the eucharist. This silence has its reason in the nature of the special pleading of the *Apologetica*, and is explained by the *De Oratione*. In this Tertullian shows clearly that the *eucharistia* is the same thing as the *agape*—that they are simply two names for the feast.

Tertullian, who in the *Apologetica* refers to a banquet only, mentions elsewhere the eucharist, and identifies it with the feast. Justin, on the other hand, is silent as to the banquet, and describes the eucharist only and the prayers which accompany it. These prayers are essentially a thanksgiving to God for having placed at man's disposal the fruits of the earth (see above). An examination of them shows that, had the eucharist been a banquet, they would have been perfectly appropriate. This conclusion leads us to wonder why Justin should not have mentioned the banquet. Was it because he had never heard of it? That would surely be impossible, since Pliny forty years earlier refers to it, and forty years later Tertullian deals with it. Perhaps he did it intentionally. I think that Justin found this feast, about which there were so many disagreeable rumours, very embarrassing. We have already seen how Tertullian, when he decided to speak openly of this banquet, took every precaution possible to avoid unpleasant interpretations of his words. That was how Tertullian overcame the difficulty. Justin was afraid of it, and limited himself to discreet phrases, which, without naming the banquet, allowed its existence to be guessed.

Justin and Tertullian knew of only one Christian meeting which was at one and the same time eucharist and feast. Pliny refers to two. One of these is a feast, the other is a service devoted exclusively to the singing of hymns. Let us see what this means,

If Pliny had been living about 250 A.D. the explanation would have been a very simple one. It would have been that the Christian rite, at first one and undivided, had been split into two parts. But Pliny was a subject of Trajan. Nor is it likely that two rites should have been united in one. That Pliny was mistaken does not seem very probable. It might, nevertheless, be true. Pliny, let us note first of all, drew his information from two sources—firstly, those who denounced the Christians before his tribunal, and, secondly, Christians who had been denounced and had become apostate. Here is the text of his letter to Trajan: "Others named by the informer declared that they had been Christians, but that they were so no longer, having ceased to be so."

These informers, when they denounced someone as a Christian, had to give reasons for bringing the individual before the tribunal. In this way Pliny learned that the disciples of Christ were accustomed to hold meetings by night at which, if public rumour was to be believed, they gave themselves over to most abandoned orgies. The examination in the trial bore principally on this point. The apostates, whose main aim was to save their lives, denied with might and main anything which could compromise them. They admitted only that which would give some force to their denials. The damning admission would have been the existence of the nocturnal banquets, for it was said that at these feasts the Christians committed unmentionable infamies. The apostates, then, declared that they had never done anything of the sort. Whenever they held a feast it was in full daylight, when no one could suspect them of anything untoward. Of course, Christians did meet at night, but only to sing hymns to the glory of Jesus Christ. In short, there were feasting by day and

liturgies by night. All that was missing was that the feasts went on till morning, and that the liturgies were a part of the feasting. In order to avoid torture these apostates hit upon the distinction between an assembly with a feast and one without. Pliny, delighted at being able to avoid shedding blood, accepted without further discussion all that they told him.

CHAPTER III

THE FEAST INCLUDED PRAYERS KNOWN AS *EUCCHARISTIA*

THE Jews of the Christian era sanctified all meals by prayer. On the Sabbath or a feast day these prayers were of a more solemn nature, and were accompanied by a ceremony in which a cup was blessed and then passed round among the participants. This was the *qidduch*.¹

The early Christians were converted Jews or former converts to Judaism. Before their conversion they had been accustomed to follow punctiliously the Jewish ritual and give thanks to God at the beginning and at the end of each meal. And they kept up this custom after their conversion to Christianity. In this manner the Christian feast was from the beginning tinctured with religion. By its nature profane, it was sanctified by prayer, or, as it was called, by the eucharist. Now, when the time for these prayers fell on the evening before the Sabbath they took on greater solemnity and became a rite. St. Luke (xxii, 17) tells us how Christ, having blessed the cup, passed it round among those present. That is to say, he performed the *qidduch*. From its beginning the Christian feast began with a blessing of a cup from which the participants then drank—that is, by the *qidduch*.

It probably used to end with a psalm. That, at least,

¹ See Mangenot, "Les antécédents de l'eucharistie," in the *Revue du clergé français*, Feb. 15, 1909, p. 320; and Lagrange, *Évangile selon saint Marc*, p. 338.

is what may be gathered from St. Mark xiv, 26, where he speaks of a song chanted by the disciples on rising from table. In the 11th Psalm Solomon announces the return to Jerusalem of the dispersed Jews, and among those of David there are many which celebrate the return to the home country or supplicate God to make this return possible by humbling the oppressors of Israel. The Jews had no difficulty in finding psalms to express their desire for their return and for independence. The Judeo-Christians, haunted by the same obsessions, were able to go on singing the same psalms that they had sung before their conversion. They seem to have preferred the 2nd and 109th (110th in the Hebrew), one of which celebrated probably the enthronement of John Hyrcanus and the other the victory of Judas Maccabæus, but which could be interpreted as meaning simply that God's elect were on the point of reigning in Jerusalem and of crushing the Pagans. "He will break many crowns."

When Pagans were admitted into the Church custom had become fixed. They acquiesced in it, but not without introducing certain modifications. The qidduch disappeared. The Day of the Sun—i.e., our Sunday—replaced the Sabbath. This change appears to have been dictated by hate of the Mosaic law, probably under the influence of Marcion. If this was so, it occurred somewhat before Justin's time, for he was aware of it. The reading aloud of the Pauline Epistles was probably introduced at the same time under the same Marcionite influence. On the other hand, it was as a protest against the great scorner of the Mosaic religion and of the Twelve that it became customary to read aloud before the feast an extract from the Old Testament and another from the writings of the apostles and evangelists—that is to say, chiefly from the Gospel of St.

Luke and from the Gospel of St. Peter. The songs which Pliny says were addressed to Christ "as to a god" must have been the Psalms, in particular the second Psalm, in which Jahveh crowns his "Christ" king of Jerusalem. As for the prayer, we know from Justin that it was a eucharist addressed to God as a thanksgiving for having given to men "these good things"—that is, the things to eat and to drink.

CHAPTER IV

THE EUCHARIST IN THE *DIDACHÈ* AND IN THE WRITINGS OF CLEMENS ROMANUS

IN chapters ix and x of the *Didachè*, the *Teaching of the Apostles*, we read :—

As to the eucharist, let it be done thus.

First of all the cup.

We give thanks unto thee, O our Father, for the holy vine of thy servant David, *which thou hast made known unto us through thy servant Jesus*. Glory unto thee for ever and ever !

Then the bread.

We give thanks unto thee, O our Father, *for the life and the knowledge that thou hast made known unto us through thy servant Jesus*. Glory unto thee for ever and ever ! As the grains of corn which make up this bread were scattered among the mountains and are now joined together forming one, even so may thy church be brought together from the extremities of the earth to thy kingdom. For to thee is the glory and the power, *through Jesus Christ*, for ever and ever.

Let none eat or drink of your eucharist unless he has been baptised in the name of the Lord. For it is of this that the Lord has said, "Do not give holy things to dogs."

When you have eaten and drunk your fill, then you will offer the eucharist in this manner :—

We render thanks unto thee, holy Father, for thy holy name which thou hast placed in our hearts, for the knowledge, the *faith*, and the *immortality which thou hast made known unto us through thy servant Jesus*. Glory unto thee for ever ! Thou,

O almighty Master, hast created all things in thy name. Thou hast given unto men the enjoyment of food and drink, for which they give thee thanks. *But to us thou hast made a gift of a spiritual food and a spiritual drink of the eternal life by thy servant.* Above all, we give thanks unto thee for that thou art powerful. Glory to thee for ever!

Bear in mind, O Lord, thy Church, and deliver her from all evil, and grant to her perfection in thy love! Sanctify her, and assemble her from the four quarters of the earth into the kingdom that thou hast prepared for her. For thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever. May grace come upon us and the world pass away! Hosanna to the God of David!

He who is holy, let him come. And he who is not, may he be converted! Come, O Lord!

Let the prophets offer the eucharist as they will.

One of the prayers just read should be uttered when the people are satisfied, "*méta dè to emplèsthénai.*" Here we have a collective repast sanctified by the eucharist. Why is this extract not placed with the texts of Paul, Pliny, and Tertullian as evidence of the Christian feast? For the reason that it is in its essence, and to a certain degree in its externals, of Jewish origin.

Its Jewish origin is shown by the qidduch with which it begins, the invocation to the God of David with which it ends, and the "vine of David" among the divine benefits. The eucharist offered to God thanks him for having given to men food and drink. At the same time God is requested to assemble the Jewish people in the kingdom prepared for them—that is, in Palestine. The "saints" who alone are admitted to the feast are Jews or proselytes admitted to Judaism. It is in this sense that the Psalms of Solomon speak of "saints." The "prophets" are the Jews inspired as were Agabus and the daughters of Philip, of whom

mention is made in the Acts. The "church" is, as in the Greek version of the Old Testament, the assembly of the Jewish people. After the dispersal of the Jews this assembly no longer existed, except in the thought of God, and when God shall have put an end to the dispersal the assembly will once more take place.

In its essence this extract (9-10) is of Jewish origin, but the text is not homogeneous. The Jewish prayers are accompanied by annotations which are intended to interpret them, but which effectively alter them. The Jewish text has been touched up by a Christian. The additions, shown above in italics, contain no trace of the celebration of the Passion, and are therefore earlier than the middle of the third century. They were probably made under the influence of Clement of Alexandria, for they are much in his style. However that may be, the *Teaching of the Apostles*, in the form in which it has come down to us, shows that the Jewish feasts were accompanied by eucharistic prayers which the Christians, with suitable adaptations, used as prayers for their banquets.

Such evidence throws light on the letter of Clement of Rome, to which I have not yet referred. Writing to the Corinthians, who had dismissed their priests from office, Clement's letter is chiefly one of blame for what they had done and an attempt to persuade them to return to the discipline from which they had broken away. In his exhortation Clement might well have spoken of the meetings, yet he does not mention them. He speaks of the priests, and says that their duties were to "make the offerings." This brief reference can now be explained in the light of the evidence obtained from Justin. Those whom Clement calls "priests" Justin calls "presidents." They preside at the assembly and make the offering of the gifts, to the

best of their ability, by an act of thanksgiving—that is to say, by a eucharist to God thanking him for placing at man's disposal the food needful for life. The gifts that the priest offers are the gifts of God, and he offers them to God in thanks. Reference to Justin explains Clement, 44, 4, and at the same time 41, 1, where Clement says that everyone should offer a eucharist to God according to his rank, by which it may be understood that all the people made a eucharist as did the president, but in different ways. Justin tells us that the eucharist of the people consisted in saying Amen to the president's hymn. The latter celebrated the munificence of God as well as he could. The people declared their agreement in this. Thus each made a eucharist according to his rank.

Moreover, there is another part of the letter to the Corinthians as to which the reading of Justin leads us to a conclusion. This is the long portion, 59–61, in which Clement, in grandiloquent phrases, exalts the greatness of God and his benefactions, without saying at all in what manner the Creator made provision for mankind. This reticence marks a notable difference between the hymn in Clement and the eucharist of the Christian assembly, which is primarily addressed to the Father provider of food to men. But if the contents are not exactly the same, the manner, the phrasing, and even the ideas, differ little. Clement must have been accustomed to composing these mystic effusions, which he writes with the pen of a master. He must have been a president of these assemblies, and the acts of grace that he addresses to God in his letter he must have been in the habit of offering together with others which he added when, as he says, he “offered the gifts” in the assembly of the faithful. That is the conclusion to which one is led after reading Justin.

CHAPTER V

THE FEAST ITSELF IS CALLED "THE EUCHARIST"

ORIGINALLY by "eucharist" was meant the thanksgiving made to God for his munificence in providing the means of living for mankind. Little by little, by an inevitable extension, the name became applied to the feast itself. This development appears for the first time in the great apology of Justin (66, 1) in which he says: "This food is called by us 'the eucharist.'"

A similar statement is to be found in Irenæus (4, 18, 5) when he declares that the bread, once it has been blessed, is no longer ordinary bread, but eucharist. Clement of Alexandria (*Pedag.*, 2, 2), after having spoken of the spiritual blood of Christ, tells us that the conjunction of the Word and of the wine is called "eucharist." In the Christian edition of the *Teaching of the Apostles* (9, 5) we read "Let no one eat or drink of your eucharist." Tertullian (*De Oratione*, 19), speaking to those faithful whose scruples would not let them be present at these banquets on fast days for fear of breaking their fast, says: "Thus the eucharist is a hindrance to the homage which we offer God! Is it not, on the other hand, that which binds us closer to God?"

He writes also in his *Prescriptions* (36, 5) that the Christians eat the eucharist. Origen too (*Against Celsus*, x, 57) refers to "the bread which we call 'eucharist.'"

In the time of Origen commemoration of the Passion

22 THE FEAST CALLED "THE EUCHARIST"

was included in the liturgy of the feast, and the dogma of the real presence was soon to follow. The term "eucharist" remains even after the incorporation of the commemoration of the Passion—even after the belief in the real presence was added. Both in the West of Europe and in the East it was applied to the consecrated bread, though in the West the term "Mass" was used for the ceremony of consecration. It had lost its early meaning, but the word persisted. Even in our own day it remains as a witness of the time when the Christians were accustomed to thank God for the provision he made them for their sustenance.

CHAPTER VI

THE EUCHARIST BECOMES A SACRIFICE

IN his *Dialogue* (41, 3) Justin speaks of the "sacrifice of bread in the eucharist and of the cup of the eucharist." It soon becomes apparent that this formula does not express exactly his meaning. Why does he employ it, then? It can only be said that he is here using the language current among the Christians of the time. Tertullian apparently does the same, for in *De Oratione*, 19, he calls the banquet "the sacrifice" and the guest table "the altar." From this it may be concluded that in the first half of the second century Christians were accustomed to call the banquet a "sacrifice." This was probably under the influence of the Pagan sacrifice, or of the Jewish sacrifice. Whether the idea arose among the Christians of Pagan origins or among those of Jewish source is a matter of pure conjecture.

One of the chief charges of the Pagans against the Christians was that they had no altars (Origen, *Against Celsus*, x, 19; see also Delarue's long note on the subject). As sacrifice was inseparable from the altar, the accusation meant that they had no sacrifices either. The Pagan was astounded to encounter a people without either altar or sacrifice. The converted Pagan was equally astounded and pained, when first admitted to Christian assemblies, by this lack of sacrifice. Unable to do without a sacrifice, he had to find a substitute for the Pagan rites in his new religion; and in the Christian feasts he found that which recalled the sacrificial feasts

in which he formerly participated in the temples, and which were an integral part of the sacrifice which they followed. When, therefore, the convert to Christianity went to the Christian banquet, he considered that he still went to sacrifice and to eat of the sacrifice. The feast received the name of "sacrifice" and the table that of "altar." In a similar manner, many Modernists in our time persist in keeping to formulæ which have ceased to have any meaning for them.

In such a manner the Judæo-Christian feast can be imagined to have taken on the aspect of a sacrifice as Pagans were admitted to Christian communities. At first sight it does not appear likely that a similar development should have arisen under Jewish influence. It is commonly said that sacrifices were not usual among the Jews after the dispersion, and at Jerusalem itself none was offered after the destruction of the temple. The Jewish Christians, accustomed as Jews to do without sacrifice, could not be expected to require sacrifices when they became Christian. This argument is based on the belief that the Jews after the dispersion ceased to sacrifice. They may have established a substitute in these communal feasts. The *Teaching of the Apostles* declares (14):—

Whenever the day of the Lord *recurs*, meet together, break bread, and offer the eucharist after having confessed your sins so that your *sacrifice* may be pure. Whoever may have a difference with his neighbour should be reconciled with him (Matt. v, 23), so that your *sacrifice* should not be profaned. For it is of this that the Lord said (Malachi, i, 11): "And in every place a pure offering shall be offered in my name."

The feast in this manner became a sacrifice, for the assembly which is here ordained, the sole motive of

which is to break bread, can be nothing other than a feast, though it may be called a sacrifice. In the text a quotation is made from Malachi as the will of the Lord. In addition an extract is given from the Gospel of St. Matthew, but we are not told that in Matthew the words are placed in the mouth of Christ. Such a neglect would appear strange, even impossible, in a Christian writer unless this text is to be looked upon as of Jewish origin, just like 9-10 of the same book. If that is so, then it would seem that the Jews after the dispersion, regretting their inability to take part in the sacrifice at Jerusalem, converted their banquets into sacrifices, and that this change was made under the authority of the prophet Malachi. Moreover, it would suggest that those who became Christians introduced this feast-sacrifice into the Church. Thus the Christian sacrifice owes its existence to the desire of the Jews for an offering, which they passed on to the Judæo-Christians; it was held on the Lord's day—i. e., the Sabbath.

Even if one believes that the conversion of the Christian feast into a sacrifice is due to the Judæo-Christians, the hypothesis that it may have been due to the Pagans is not without some bearing, since it explains how Christians of Pagan origin were able to adopt this sacrifice of Jewish origin, not only without repugnance, but even with eagerness.

In the days of the Doctors of the Church the Christian communities already possessed a sacrifice, and they would surely never have thought of calling a banquet by this name. As the thing had already been done, they had no choice but to make it legitimate, just as, much later, the jurists of Frederick the Great had to legalize all the conquests of their master. Their tasks were twofold. Firstly, they had to give to the sacrifice a proper legal status, and, secondly, to interpret it to

the satisfaction of intelligent and cultured Christians. Saint Justin accomplished the first of these. He had only to employ the arguments formerly used by the Jews. He declared (*Dialogue*, 41, 3) that the offering of bread and of wine (he carefully avoids the use of the word "banquet") was the realization of the prophecy of Malachi relative to a sacrifice offered to God throughout the whole world, and that the said sacrifice was therefore of divine origin. Justin's argument was adopted by Irenæus, and then by Tertullian, after which it took its place among the proved truths.

Justin, too, it was who clarified the popular idea according to which the banquet itself formed a sacrifice. He explained that it was not the banquet, but the prayers, that made the sacrifice, whether they were offered by an individual or together by the assembly. In saying this he probably based his argument on certain declarations in the Psalms—in particular Ps. 50, 19, in the Vulgate. In the *Dialogue* (117, 2), after affirming that prayers and thanksgivings offered by men of worth are the sole sacrifices agreeable to God, he adds that these are the *only* sacrifices made by Christians, "even in the commemoration of solid and liquid food in which they commemorate the passion suffered for their sake by the Son of God."

This explanation, together with the developments that Justin gives it, can be summarized in the two following statements: Firstly, *all* prayers are sacrifices. Therefore the thanksgiving offered in the course of the banquet is a sacrifice, not on account of its motive, but because it is a prayer. It is no more of sacrifice than a prayer uttered by any individual Christian. The attendant circumstances give to the thanksgiving of the banquet a peculiar emphasis, so that the prayers during the banquet immediately come to mind when mention is

made of the Christian sacrifice. Secondly, prayers *alone* are sacrifices. Therefore it is not the bread and the wine which make the sacrifice, but the prayers of thanksgiving uttered over the bread and the wine.

Evidently Justin is here expressing his personal opinion, and, consequently, in the extract quoted above (41, 3) uses the phraseology current at the time,

Tertullian, when he addresses the Pagans, follows Justin, and declares that the Christian sacrifice consists in prayers offered by Christians, whether alone or several together. With the exception of the *De Oratione*, 19, quoted above, he employs the same explanation whenever he speaks to Christians.¹

It must be admitted that the spiritual interpretation of the sacrifice to which Justin and Tertullian gave their authority was an unfortunate one. It had no influence on the popular idea, which, as we shall soon see, took possession of the liturgy, and could not be expelled. Neither did it meet with the favour of the theologians. Irenæus, although he makes use of it once (4, 17, 2), employs elsewhere the popular explanation, and declares that the Christian feast, in particular the wine and the bread, are the sacrifices.

¹ *Apol.* 30; *Ad Scapulam*, 2; *Adv. Judæos*, 5. To Christians, *De Orat.* 28; *Adv. Marc.* 3, 22; 4, 19.

CHAPTER VII

IT FINDS ITS WAY INTO THE CULT OF THE DEAD

NOT only was the Christian banquet not in its original form a funeral repast, but for a considerable period it had nothing to do with the cult of the dead. It was merely a thanksgiving to the Father, the provider of food to men. It took on a funeral quality in the following manner:—

Among other ways, the Pagans showed their great piety towards their dead by a funeral feast (Lucian, *On Mourning*, 24). When they became Christians they retained their traditions and honoured the dead with funeral feasts. But they gave to these banquets a Christian aspect by modelling them on the lines of the Sunday feasts. This was termed an offering. Tertulian, in *De Monogamia*, 10, describes to us a Christian widow making an offering on the anniversary of her husband's death. In *De Exhortatione castitatis*, 11, we see the husband making each year an offering in memory of his defunct wife. As is only to be expected, martyrs take the first place in the piety of the crowd. At their tombs, which were called memorials, were convened periodical banquets, to commemorate which stone tablets called *mensae* were erected. St. Augustine preached seven sermons at the *mensa* of St. Cyprian (13, 49, 114, 131, 154, 169, 305), and he refers to the same *mensa* in Sermon 310, 2.

PART II
THE EARLY MASS

CHAPTER I

IT IS FORESHADOWED

1. BY THE MESSAGE OF CHRIST TO PAUL

(a) *The Substance of this Message*

DELAFOSSÉ, in *La première Épître aux Corinthiens*, gives a fuller version of the reprimand addressed by Paul to the Corinthians on account of their banquet. The apostle says, in substance : The Lord revealed to me what he did on the eve of his Passion, and I communicated this revelation to you during my sojourn with you. Since you appear to have forgotten what I told you, I will repeat it. Know that the Lord took bread and a cup, blessed them, and said to his disciples : "Do this in memory of me." You should conform to this command and assemble, not to feast, but, even as did the Lord, to take bread and a cup of wine in memory of the Passion of our Saviour. If you want to feast, you have houses for that. The commemoration of the Lord's death should be made with bread and wine and not by feasting. Nor in these assemblies should you eat to appease hunger and thirst. The appetite should be satisfied at home before coming to the assembly.

Paul, then, forbids Christians to banquet at their assemblies, and declares that he had received a message

from Christ which he had already given to the Corinthians.

It now remains to be seen why Paul wished to suppress this banquet, and how he intended to do it.

Whoever may have visited a seminary will know how in these holy institutions no one sits down to table nor rises therefrom without offering prayer to God in a solemn manner and with a ceremony which does not lack majesty. They are also aware of the frank mirth which on feast days animates the participants between the opening rite and that which brings the feast to an end. All are grateful to God for his benefits, and believe in expressing their gratitude. Having done that, they hold that "good wine rejoices the heart of man." Briefly, the repast is a profane act in spite of its religious trappings.

The banquet of the Early Christians was similarly a profane act sandwiched between prayers. Thanks were given to God as the guests sat down to table, and again at the end of the feast. In between all was mirth and gaiety. The question was how to avoid excess and to prevent fraternization degenerating into license. The rumours circulating among the Pagans arose, no doubt, from misunderstanding. But we must not forget that the Epistle of Jude (12) and the Second Epistle of Peter (ii, 13) denounce the excesses committed at the agapes. Justin and Tertullian offer apologies for these feastings in the manner of lawyers making a case. The picture that they paint is an ideal which had little to do with the reality. In any case, whether its harmony was disturbed by excess or not, the Christian feast was a profane act, in spite of the accompanying prayers. The banquet was the essential part of the meeting, and the rest was accessory. The meeting, being so largely taken up with the feast, had naturally a profane

character. Hence the need for reforming it. Prayer, which had of custom been secondary, was to take the first place, contemplation was to replace dissipation, pious reading aloud was the substitute for genial conversation. The Christian assembly was to be infused with a religious spirit which up to then had been lacking.

The aim of the reform is now clear. The ways and means by which the aim was to be attained are now to be discussed. Three items appear in strong relief. They are the prohibition of the feast, the commemoration of Christ's death, and the use of the bread and wine for this purpose. Henceforward feasting was to take place at home. It would be quite out of place in an assembly devoted to the commemoration of the death of Christ. This commemoration would be made by means of the bread and wine that Christ blessed and distributed among his disciples on the eve of his Passion. The plan of realization is clear. It merits examination.

The idea of enjoying the Christian assembly as a memorial of Christ's death was sublime and could not fail to appeal to the truly pious. If it were to be other than a mere aspiration, energetic measures would be required to enforce it. Nothing of the earth earthy may cling to those assembled as guardians of the mystery of the Cross. The first two items of the programme are therefore consistent. It is not, however, obvious in what way so holy a commemoration, requiring prayer, thanksgiving, solemn chants, and edifying readings, could be rendered more sublime by means of bread and wine. This is but the forbidden feast in miniature. Perhaps it was considered that the complete absence of a banquet would not be palatable to the many, whereas the germ, the skeleton of a feast, would

be acceptable. Anyhow, there seems to be a certain inconsistency in introducing the banned feast under a disguise.

This is undeniably illogical, and requires to excuse it extenuating circumstances which were probably as follows :—The Early Christians who were wont to attend the banquet were accustomed to meet particularly for that purpose, and only for that. The feast was the magnet that drew the faithful. What would happen to the meetings if the feast disappeared? Would they not disappear too? Would the true believers be as ready to leave their homes if there were no longer the prospect of festive mirth and jollity? Certainly the gross reality would vanish, but the ideal that it was desired to attain would vanish with it. With the feast would go the commemoration, and the evil which was to be extirpated would draw in its fall the good which was to be accomplished. Obsessed by this fear, the reformer considered that the only way of purifying these meetings without putting an end to them was to give to the faithful the illusion of the feast while suppressing the reality. This, he opined, was required by the psychology of the crowd, the laws of which are not to be confounded with those of logic. Hence the bread the faithful are permitted to eat and the wine they are allowed to drink. But the feast and the festivity are no more. If there remains a meal, it is the "Lord's Supper." The author, who makes use of this expression in verse 20, does not mean by it a repast in the usual sense of the word, since he repeatedly recommends the faithful to dine at home and not at the assembly (verses 22 and 34), and we conform to his direction by using the new phrase "The Lord's Supper" to designate the new rule to which the Christian meetings are henceforth subject. The Christian assembly

devoted to the commemoration of the mystery of the Cross must indulge in no banquet or repast. All that may be celebrated is "The Lord's Supper."

By "The Lord's Supper" is meant, as is explained in verses 23-5, that the Lord on the eve of his passion took bread and wine, blessed them, and gave them to his disciples, bidding them in memory of him to do likewise. The reformer, who did not dare go as far as to suppress the feast completely, and who thought it necessary to make concessions to the multitude, foresaw that his concession, like an ineffective dyke, would be only too liable to be swept away by the torrent of custom. To prevent this he gives it a celestial origin. Instituted by Christ himself, the use of bread and wine becomes a sacred rite which must be followed without deviation. To the vulgar, ever ready to find occasion for festivity, the story of the Lord's Supper demonstrates that beyond that limit they would infringe the will of Christ. As Jahveh did before him, he declares: "'Thus far shall ye come and no farther,' ye shall enjoy the poor pretence of a repast, but not a meal in reality."

(b) *Its Origin*

Where is the message of Christ to Paul, the motive of which we have now fathomed, to be found? It has been shown that the Apostle, during his stay among the Corinthians,¹ never said a word concerning the revelation to which, in ii, 23, he refers as if he had already related it; and, further, it has been shown that the revelation of which he boasts was purely an expedient for discrediting the Twelve. It should be remarked also that in a text quoted above (p. 2) Paul authorizes the feast which he now frowns upon. Christ's message to Paul was

¹ H. Delafosse, *La première Epître aux Corinthiens*, p. 68.

not published by Paul, for it was in opposition to his doctrine. It was a fiction that could only have been fabricated in the school of Marcion. It was added to the Epistle to the Corinthians about 140 A.D. Its author interpolated an abridged form of the story in the Gospel of St. Luke, xxii, 19:—

And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.

In the Marcionite edition of the Ignatian letters (Eph. 20, 2) it is written that the Ephesians should "break a single loaf, which is an elixir of immortality, an antidote that preserves from death and gives eternal life in Jesus Christ."

This text shows us the result obtained when the new ordinance was in full force—i.e., among the Marcionite communities at first. According to Marcion's doctrine, Christ, by his death, withdrew us from the dominion of the Creator and obtained for us eternal life in the company of the good God. The bread employed to commemorate the death of Christ became a memorial of the redemption accomplished by the Saviour. In this manner it was, as it were, permeated by the virtue of the redemption. In receiving it a pledge of immortality was obtained. The Marcionite author of the Ignatian letters is not more explicit, but it is easy to divine that so wonderful a talisman would be given the deepest reverence. About 170 A.D. the Gnostic Theodotus derived from the Marcionites their profound regard for the bread of the eucharist, v. *Excerpta ex scriptis Theodoti*, 72.

(c) *It does Not Appear in the Orthodox Liturgy during the Whole of the Second Century*

The Marcionite element in the Epistles of Paul and the Gospel of Luke, together with the memorial of the Passion which appears in them, was composed before the condemnation of Marcion, and at a period when the disciples of the heretic were still received in Catholic communities. The latter adopted this doctrine, under the impression that it came from the authors over whose names it appeared. To read a text is one thing, to perform the rite is another. The manner in which the commemoration was received into the Catholic liturgy seems to have been as follows :—

In the first place, as Tertullian bears witness in his *Apologetica*, the banquet persisted in the Catholic assemblies. In view of the message of Christ to Paul, who established the commemoration of the Passion—the message which did away with the banquet—this is a serious thing. For over half a century after this message the banquet persisted, not as a matter which, although condemned, continues to be done, but as a regular established rite. At the very end of the second century it is evident that one part of the message had not been obeyed. This does not prove that the rest had not been observed, but it makes us suspicious. Let us, then, go further.

It is scarcely necessary to say that Clement of Rome makes no mention of the memorial of the Passion. In the text that has already been cited he writes that the priests "made offerings." This was, according to him, their particular duty and title to respect. The gifts in question were the foodstuffs placed by God at the disposal of mankind. Clement would surely have assigned to the priests a still more august part if he

had been aware that the aim of the Christian assemblies was to commemorate the death of Christ. He did not know it. If the reform took place about 140 A.D., there is nothing surprising in his ignorance. To those who attribute the establishment of the sacrifice of the Mass either to St. Paul or to Christ it is inexplicable.

In the opinion of Irenæus the religious element in the Christian assemblies was as follows :—

(4, 17, 5) The Christ, when he recommended to his disciples to offer to God the first fruits of God's creatures.....took the bread created [by God]..... and the wine which is a product of creation.....He taught what should be the oblation of the New Testament. The Church, instructed by the apostles, offers throughout the whole world to God *who furnishes us with food* the first fruits of his gifts..... which Malachi prophesied when he said that a sacrifice should be offered God in every place.....
 (4, 18, 1) The oblation of the Church that the Lord ordained to be done throughout the whole world shall then be accepted by the Lord as a pure offering.....(2) Those who make the oblation as slaves shall offer their first fruits, whereas those who have obtained freedom shall devote all their goods to the Lord.....(3) Man is not sanctified by sacrifices, but by his conscience when offering the sacrifice.....(4) Since the Church makes its offerings with righteousness, its gifts are in the eyes of God a pure offering.....We make our offerings to God, not because he has need of them, but as thanks for his gifts and for the hallowing of sacred things.

Irenæus proves by Malachi that the Church may sacrifice ; but he means by sacrifice thanks to the Provident Father for the nourishment he places at the disposal of mankind. Irenæus does not suggest that the object of the Christian assembly is to commemorate the death of Christ.

Tertullian, moreover, as we have already noted (p. 5), when he does not limit himself to the use of popular language, explains that the Christian sacrifice consists in prayers addressed by the faithful to God. There would not be the slightest doubt about this if there were not a text (*Adv. Judæos*, 14, quoted in *Adv. Marc.*, 3, 7) in which Tertullian explains the Mosaic ceremony of the two he-goats,¹ and interprets it in a manner that has led some to perceive in it a declaration that the eucharistic sacrifice commemorates the death of Christ. This is a misapprehension. The first goat in the Mosaic liturgy symbolizes the first coming of Christ ; the second goat eaten by the priests—that is, by the Christians (according to Tertullian all Christians are priests)—symbolizes the second coming, when Christ will establish the Kingdom on Earth (Tertullian is a millenarist). Then shall all Christians eat of the flesh of the goat—i.e., enjoy the benefits that Christ shall give them in the kingdom. The eating of the flesh of the second goat, in Tertullian's symbolism, has nothing in common with the meal of the Christian communities, since the eating of the flesh of the goat will take place in the kingdom to come, and will consist in the enjoyment of the good things of that kingdom.

The texts of Justin I have kept to the end on account of the problems that they raise.

In the great *Apologia*, 13 (also 67, 2), in which, it is true, there is reference only to private meals, there occurs the following :—

In whatever we eat we give thanks to the Creator of the universe.....for the life which He has given us, for what He has done to assure our existence, for the different qualities of things, for the changing

¹ Renz, *Die Geschichte des Messopfersbegriff*, i, 210.

seasons, for the immortality which He will give us as reward for our faith in Him.

In 65, in which a description is given of the assembly which follows on baptism, we are told that the president, in the presence of the bread and wine mixed with water placed before him,

addresses to the Father of all things.....words of praise and thanksgiving in that he had deigned to provide for us these good things (*uper tou katèxiōsthai toutōn par' autou*). When he has prayed and given thanks, the people say *Amen*.

The things referred to here are the bread and wine for which thanks are offered up to God.

In 67, 3-5, devoted to the Sunday assembly, is to be found the description of a similar rite, with this difference, that the president offers prayer and thanks "as best he can."

On the other hand, 66, 1-3 (which comes between 67 and 65) contains a memorial of the Passion, accompanied by the words, "This is my body, this is my blood."

The *Dialogue*, 41, 1, speaking of a Mosaic rite, describes it thus :—

The symbol of the bread of thanksgiving which our Saviour Jesus Christ prescribed to be made in memory of the Passion that he suffered for men whose souls are purified, for which we return thanks at the same time to God because he created for man the world and all that it contains, and delivered us from the evil in which we were born.

The same book (117, 3), after declaring that the prayers made by worthy men are the only sacrifices agreeable to God, adds that Christians,

by means of the memorial of bread and wine, recall

in addition the Passion that the Son of God endured for them.

An examination of the section of the *Apology*, 66, 1-3, can for the moment be deferred (see p. 43). It belongs to a second edition of the *Apology*, issued by Justin himself about fifteen years after the first.

The following conclusions may be arrived at, which fit in chronologically :—

When Justin composed the first edition of his great *Apology* (about A.D. 150) he was not aware that the purpose of the Christian assembly was to commemorate the death of Christ ; he had not heard of the message of Christ to Paul. He did not learn of this till about fifteen years later, when he wrote the *Dialogue*. Then, putting aside that part of the message which suppressed the banquet, he dwelt only on the memorial of Christ's death. He combined as well as he could the feast to which he was accustomed with this memorial, and declared that the Christians "by means of the memorial of bread and wine recall *in addition* the passion of the Son of God." At the time the *Dialogue* was written the Marcionites were in the habit of celebrating the commemoration of Christ's death prescribed by the heavenly message, and of abstaining from the feast condemned by the same message. The Catholic communities were accustomed to hold the banquet as a matter of tradition, and were still unaware of the commemoration, as is shown by Irenæus and Tertullian. The synthesis which Justin offers us is a product of his personal reflections—that is to say, that it did not really exist as fact.

2. BY THE WORDS "THIS IS MY BODY"

(a) *Their Origin*

The message of Christ to Paul, as we find it to-day, contains a declaration which I have hitherto passed over in silence, but to which I must now make reference. It is:—

This is my body which is given for you.....This cup is the new testament in my blood.

These words, I must state at once, are an addition. In the original the Christ of the message, after having blessed the bread, broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Do this in memory of me." Having blessed the wine, he sent the cup round among the disciples, saying, "Do this in memory of me." He thus made it clear that in eating the bread and drinking the wine his death was to be commemorated. Briefly, Christ's message to Paul established the Mass as a memorial of the Redemption, but as nothing more. The declaration that the bread is his body and the wine his blood does not come from him.¹

Who, then, originated this phrase? When the motive that inspired it can be determined its author may be apparent. It is to be remarked that, in a condensed form, the following statements are to be found in it: "This bread which I give to you is about to become part of your body; henceforth it can be said to be your body, for your body is made from bread. It is the same thing with me. My body as well as yours is made from bread. This bread is the matter which constitutes my body; *it is my body.*" The declaration, "This is my body," is a profession of faith in the incarnation of

¹ H. Delafosse, *La Première Epître aux Corinthiens*, p. 76.

Christ—a Catholic protest against the Marcionite conception of a spiritual Christ. It was not made until after 150 A.D.

Together with the phrase "This is my body" another declaration must be taken into consideration. I refer to the fragment of the discourse on the bread of life in which the flesh of Christ is presented as the food essential to life (John, vi, 51-57). Here again the spiritual Christ of Marcion is condemned in the following argument: "Faith is the nourishment of the spirit that feeds the soul and procures life eternal; he who holds the true faith believes that I am incarnate and possess a fleshly body; from this it follows that my flesh—that is to say, belief in my flesh—is the true food of the soul."¹

(b) *Truly Interpreted by Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian*

The real meaning of "This is my body" soon became obscured and lost. These three men, however, without suspecting the late origin of the words, preserved the authentic meaning.

Justin, in his *Dialogue*, 70, 4, says that

Christ commanded us to break bread in memory of his incarnation (*eis amnesin tou sesômatopoïesthai auton*).

This text shows us the eucharist as a memorial of the incarnation of Christ. If Justin did no more than present it as a memorial, we should imagine that he was commenting on the words, "Do this in remembrance of me." But he adds that the eucharist is a memorial of the incarnation. This addition is derived from "This is my body." Justin explains here the words, and sees in them a proof that Christ had a body such as we have.

The *Dialogue* was written about 165 A.D. It was at

¹ H. Delafosse, *Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 54.

about the same time that Justin inserted into his great *Apologia* the interpolation 66, 1-3, which did not appear in the first edition. This runs as follows :—

We have learned that this food, by which our bodies and blood are nourished by transformation, is the flesh and blood of Jesus incarnate. For the apostles, in the recollections that they have left, which are called Gospels, mention the command that Jesus gave them when, having taken bread and given thanks, he said : "Do this in remembrance of me ; this is my body.....this is my blood."

According to this text, the bread and wine are the flesh and blood of Jesus incarnate. But this same bread and this same wine become changed into our flesh and blood. In this manner the eucharist is at one and the same time, on the one hand, the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus, and on the other our flesh and blood. It possesses two distinct qualities, not distinct in themselves, but in the manner in which we perceive them. That bread and wine go to form our bodies we can observe by experience, which makes us aware that there is a "transformation" (*kata metabolen*) of food into our own substance. That this same bread and this same drink have formed the flesh and blood of Jesus during his life on the earth we know by the declaration that Jesus has left in the Gospels. Except in the manner in which we perceive them the two properties are merely one. The bread and wine of the eucharist are the flesh and blood of Jesus, just as they are our flesh and blood. They are the matter from which our bodies are formed, just as they are the matter from which was formed the body of Jesus during his life on earth. From this it follows that the bread and wine of the eucharist are a proof of the incarnation and a condemnation of the heresy of Marcion. That is what Justin means in the

Apologia, which the Catholic polemicists have held to be an expression of the dogma of transubstantiation. He is referring to the words, "This is my body," and explains that Christ means to say, "I have a body of the same nature as yours."¹

¹ The extract 66, 1-3, is a sequel to the description of the banquet which concludes the Christian initiation ceremony. It precedes the description of the weekly Sunday feast. It appears between the two banquets without belonging to either. Moreover, it is in contradiction with both, for it prescribes the commemoration of the death of Christ, which is not to be found in either of the two banquet descriptions. In these reference is made only to the eucharists which are due to the Father, the provider of food and drink to man (*vide* p. 38). 66, 1-3, is an interpolation, and does not belong to the original edition of the *Apologia*, in which 65, 5, was followed directly by 66, 4. 65, 5: When the president has offered the eucharist and all the people have said "Amen," those among us who are called deacons give to each of the congregation bread, wine, and water over which the eucharist has been made, and they take them to those who are absent. 66, 4: This the evil demons have imitated, and prescribed to be done in the Mysteries of Mithra. You probably know that bread and a cup of water are offered to the initiates with certain words in their ceremonies.

This conclusion to which the examination of the ideas has led us is confirmed by the requirements of the syntax. 66, 4, declares that the Mithraic initiation plagiarizes the Christian initiation ceremonies. It is 65 which speaks of the Christian initiation, and which shows the banquet as the crowning conclusion of this initiation. Therefore 66, 4, is the direct continuation of 65, passing over 66, 1-3. It is not unusual to find in Justin paragraphs which, though separated from one another by intervening matter, are yet in direct continuation of one another. Here the hypothesis of separation is excluded by the word *hoper*, which designates a thing of which mention has just been made. What the evil demons have plagiarized is the Christian initiation of which Justin has just spoken, from which they have borrowed the bread and wine ceremony to introduce it into Mithraism. Unless 66, 4, follows directly on 65 there is a lack of continuity, and *hoper* loses its meaning.

66, 1-3, is, then, an interpolation inserted in a description to which it was foreign. Was this the work of a forger? There are weighty reasons against this hypothesis. A forger would not have said that the eucharist is transformed into our flesh and blood. The formula *hon tropon* in 66, 2, is also to be found in Apol. 4, 7; 7, 3; 14, 1; 21, 6; 61, 1, etc., and the Hebraism *lousameno ton loutron* of 66, 1, is a frequent construction in

Irenæus (5, 2, 2) declares that refusal to admit the existence of the fleshly body of Christ prevented one from understanding how the eucharistic cup is the blood of Christ and the bread is the flesh. He adds :—

Because we are his members and are nourished by his creation, which he places at our disposal by causing his sun to rise and his rain to fall as he wills, he has made it clear that the cup of wine that is derived from his creation and which he gives us to drink is his blood, and he has declared that the bread which is provided by his creation and which causes our bodies to grow is his body.

From this cumbersome phrasing let us disentangle certain statements and an explanation. The statements are :—

Firstly, we are members of the Christ ;

Secondly, bread and wine, products of the creation, become the substance of our bodies ; and

Thirdly, Christ gave to the bread and wine the name of his flesh and blood.

The explanation is that the third of these is to the other two as a consequence to its premises. Because (*epeïdé*) we are members of Christ, and because bread and wine are transformed into our flesh and blood,

Justin. Moreover, *euaggelia* in the plural is not to be met with elsewhere, and it is here only that the bread and wine are called the eucharist, which otherwise in Justin means the act of thanksgiving.

The order of events can be reconstituted as follows. About 150 A.D., when Justin composed his great Apology, he knew the banquet in its early form only. Later on he became acquainted with a text according to which Christ had himself established the supper when he told his disciples to break bread and drink wine in his memory as a memorial of his incarnation (the author of this thesis would probably be the inventor of the words, "This is my body"). Justin, then, to incorporate this information, inserted in his *Apologia* the note 66, 1-3. Next, in his *Dialogue*, he took pains, without being completely successful, to make his remarks on the banquet conform with the new orthodoxy.

Christ gave to bread and wine the name of his flesh and blood.

There is, then, a close connection between the words, "This is my body," "This is my blood," the common phenomenon of taking nourishment together, and our position as members of Christ. Irenæus, though he affirms the connection, does not bother himself to prove it, and leaves us the trouble of finding it out. A central organ, as we may observe, takes part in the life of its members, and the phenomena accomplished by the latter are also to be found in the former. Since food becomes part of our flesh and blood, a similar transformation must have taken place in Christ whose members we are. This is the truth proclaimed in the words, "This is my body" and "This is my blood." This is why Irenæus uses them as an argument against the disciples of Marcion. They are in fact, as he understood them, a decisive argument against the believers in a spiritual Christ, since they signify: "This bread which feeds your body feeds mine as well; it is my body as it is yours."

Irenæus uses these words in another attack on the Marcionites in order to prove to them that Christ was not the representative of a God unconnected with this world. In iv, 17, 5, he depicts Jesus recommending to his disciples to offer to God the first fruits of his creatures; then, taking bread created by God, he blesses it and says: "This is my body." After that he takes a cup of wine derived from the creation and declares it to be his blood. In iv, 18, 5, he assails the heretics for whom the Father of which Jesus speaks is not the Creator. He argues to this effect: "You make of this God, who, so you say, did not create the world, an envious spirit that would take possession of the goods of another, since you offer to Him the things produced by the Creator." He goes on:—

What explanation can they give to show how the bread over which thanks have been offered is transformed into the flesh of their Lord, and that the wine is his blood, if they refuse to admit that the Lord is the son of the Creator—i.e., the Word which gives to the trees their fruit, to the springs their waters, through whom the earth produces first the stem, then the ear, and then the grain of corn?

In iv, 33, 2, he demonstrates first that the pretended good God of the Marcionites is not good, but, on the contrary, is unjust, since He entices men away from the dominion of the God who created them, and who is for that reason their Master. He says:—

If the Lord is not the son of the Creator, but of another, what authority has He, taking bread derived from the creation, to say that it is his body? and, taking wine and water, to pretend that it is his blood?

In these texts Irenæus declares that Christ, if he had not been the son of the Creator, would not have had the right to call bread his flesh, nor wine his blood. At the same time he does not say why Christ should have had this power even then. He affirms and does not explain. On a more careful scrutiny it may be seen that this thesis is a particular form of the hypothesis that Christ, if he were not the son of the Creator, would not be able to make use of the property of the Creator. The explanation becomes therefore apparent. When he gives to bread the name of his body, Christ declares that he makes use of the bread produced by the Creator to the point of transforming it into his own body. He would not have been able to make this declaration if he had not been the son of the Creator, for, according to this hypothesis, he would not have been able either to have caused the bread to do what

he wished, or even to take a body formed with the matter of creation. In the second polemic, as in the first, Irenæus takes as his basis that by the words, "This is my body," Christ meant "My body is made of this bread which feeds it."

The commentary that Tertullian made on the same text is yet to be examined. It appears in *Adversus Marcionem*, iv, 40:—

Having taken bread and given it to his disciples, he made of it his body, saying: "This is my body." There can be no symbol if there is not a veritable body. An object without reality such as a phantom can have no shape. In any case, if Christ had not had a real body and had wished to represent the bread as his body, he would have had to sacrifice the bread on our behalf. It would have been a triumph for Marcion if the bread had been crucified! But why call by the name of his body bread rather than the melon which takes the place of heart in Marcion?

Continuing this line of argument, Tertullian proved by means of Biblical texts that, in the Old Testament, bread was the symbol of the body of Christ, wine the symbol of his blood. Exactly what he was trying to prove, and his motive for it, he tells us himself in v, 8, where he declares, referring to iv, 40, which we have just mentioned: "I have proved that the reality of the flesh and blood of the Lord, as against the phantom of Marcion, is taught in the gospel by the symbolism of the bread and the cup of wine" (*Probavimus corporis et sanguis dominici veritatem adversus phantasma Marcionis*). To prove the truth of the body of Christ—in other words, to prove that the body of Christ was a body of flesh and blood like ours and not a phantom, as Marcion thought—that was what Tertullian required of the words, "This is my body." As he is sincerely

convinced in doing this that he is interpreting the thought of Christ, we must conclude that Christ, when he said "This is my body," meant "I have a real body."

After Tertullian the key to "This is my body" was lost. A thick layer of oblivion covered the true interpretation of this phrase, which fulfils the requirements that brought it into being. Since some sort of meaning had to be given to the words, various artificial interpretations were advanced which we shall meet with presently.

3. THE EUCHARISTIC BREAD BECOMES HIGHLY PRIZED DURING THIS PERIOD OF PREPARATION

Tertullian, who (2 *Ad Uxorem*, 4) speaks of the "Lord's feast" (*convivium dominicum*) to which the Christian wife should dutifully go, in *De Spectaculis*, 25, calls the bread which is there received a "Holy Thing" (*Sanctum*), and says in *De Corona*, 3, that the bread is the sacrament of the eucharist—i.e., is a symbol of the thanksgiving offered to God. He adds that this sacrament is received from the hand of the president of the assembly. He tells us also (2 *Ad Uxorem*, 5) that the Christian wife takes each morning, before touching other food, a scrap of eucharistic bread that she has brought home with her.

Irenæus (4, 18, 5) says:—

Just as the bread produced by the earth, after it has been blessed by a prayer addressed to God, is no longer ordinary bread, but a eucharist in which there enter two elements—the one earthly and the other heavenly—in the same way our bodies, when they have received the eucharist, are no longer doomed to destruction, but have the hope of the resurrection.

And in the second edition of his *Apology* (66, 2) Justin declares that the bread and the wine cease to be

ordinary bread and wine when the eucharist has been made over them and they have become themselves eucharist.

This evidence proves that the eucharist was, from about 160 A.D., treated as a precious object by the Christian people and by their teachers. Two factors concur to produce this development, which preceded the institution of the Mass.

One of them was the mental attitude that the turncoats from Marcionism gave to the Catholic communities. Although we have no information as to their number, we can be sure that they were numerous. Marcionite ethics imposed a burden of weighty duties. Many of those who, in a moment of enthusiasm, had been converted to the Marcionite doctrines soon abandoned them discouraged, and returned to the Catholic fold from which they had strayed. They were careful to forget all that they had learned at the feet of Marcion—everything, that is to say, that was not of definite utility. The pledge of immortality, of which Ignatius's letter to the Ephesians makes mention, would naturally fall among these last. Returned to Catholicism, the Marcionite renegades would probably remain convinced that the bread and wine of the eucharist, filled with mysterious virtue, were a guarantee of immortality. We are not likely to be mistaken in saying that they had little difficulty in persuading their brother Christians of the truth of this. The bread of the eucharist which the Christians of the time of Tertullian took home with them to eat a little each morning before taking other food is the talisman that Ignatius refers to in his letter to the Ephesians—i.e., a borrowing from the Marcionites. The bread of which Irenæus speaks is just such another, charged with mysterious power, since he joins to the terrestrial element a celestial part.

The Gnostic Theodotus probably was intermediary in this borrowing. The value which the Catholic communities attached to the eucharist from the middle of the second century onwards is partly due to the influence of the Marcionites ; that is, finally, to the message of Christ to Paul.

Partly, also, it is due to the profession of faith in the body of Christ, which, from the end of the second century onwards, was required of the faithful when the bread of the eucharist was handed to them. About the year 150 A.D. the congregation, according to Justin, replied "Amen" to the prayer of thanksgiving uttered by the president, and by that "Amen" made profession of thanks to the Father, food-giver to men.

Later on the rites were performed differently. The priest, as he gave the bread of communion to the faithful, said to each one : "The body of Christ." And each, as he received the bread, responded "Amen." By the end of the second century this ceremony was already in general use, since Tertullian tells us that the faithful received the host from the hands of the president (*De Corona*, 3), and that they replied "Amen" (*De Spectaculis*, 25), and that the bread was "the body of the Lord" (*De Oratione*, 19). It was a profession of faith in the incarnation of Christ, just as was the phrase "This is my body." But at an early date the faithful forgot the original meaning of this declaration of faith ; they came to believe that the bread that was handed to them was itself the body of Christ of which the priest had just spoken. From this arose a new motive for eating the bread with great reverence, and for expecting from it the most marvellous results.

It must not be forgotten that all this took place before the message of Christ was introduced into the Catholic liturgy, and before the establishment of the Mass.

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MASS

1. BY HIPPOLYTUS

ABOUT 220 A.D. there appeared a regulation for newly inducted bishops giving directions for the rite of the eucharist. Here it is :—

The deacons bring in the offering. The bishop, with the priests, stretches forth his hands over the oblation and gives thanks, saying :—

The Lord be with you all,

and all the people answer :—

And with thy spirit.

The bishop says :—

Lift up your hearts.

They reply :—

We raise them towards the Lord.

He says :—

Give thanks to God.

And all the people answer :—

That is right and just.

After that the bishop, followed by the priests, repeats the prayer of the eucharist :—

We give thanks unto thee, O God, by thy well-beloved son, whom thou hast sent to be our saviour, our redeemer, and the messenger of thy will. He is thy inseparable Word ; it is by him that thou hast made all things, and thy goodness has been in him. Thou sent him from heaven into the womb of the virgin. There he became flesh, and, being born of the Holy Spirit and the virgin, he is manifested as thy son. Doing thy will and establishing

a holy people, he stretched forth his hands when he suffered, to deliver from suffering those who believe in thee. When he was delivered of his own will to the passion that death might be brought to an end, that the bonds of the devil might be destroyed, that hell might be spurned by his feet, that the just might be enlightened, that an end (of their imprisonment) might be made, that his resurrection might be made manifest, then, taking bread and giving thanks to thee, he said: "Accept and eat; this is my body which is broken for you." Then, taking a cup of wine, he said: "This is my blood which is shed for you. *When you do this, do it in remembrance of me.*" *Therefore, in remembrance of his death and of his resurrection, we offer to thee this bread and this cup*, giving thanks that thou hast deigned to permit us to stand before thee and to serve thee. And we beg of thee to send thy Holy Spirit in the oblation of the Holy Church. Give us all, the saints whom thou hast assembled and who will receive these things, to be filled with the Holy Spirit, to be confirmed in the truth of the faith, for which we praise thee and glorify thee through thy son Jesus Christ, by whom is glory and honour to thee, to the Father, to the Son, with the Holy Spirit in thy Holy Church now and for ever. Amen.

This liturgy—for it is one—has been known for a long time. It may be read, with certain variations, in the *Testament of our Lord* (published in 1899 by Rahmani), in the *Fragments of Verona* (published by Hauler in 1900), in the *Egyptian Ecclesiastical Rule* (published many times, particularly by Funk in 1906, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ii, 97). The respective ages of the documents were the subject of heated controversy. To-day, after the researches of Schwartz and Dom Connolly, the discussion is closed. The liturgical composition that we have just read was composed at

Rome—it is the work of Hippolytus, who included it in his treatise entitled *The Apostolic Tradition*.¹

In it the bread and the cup are said to be offered "in memory of the death" of the Christ, which was followed by his resurrection. The word "therefore" that is employed indicates that the memorial should be accomplished from respect of Christ's will which ordered that it should be carried out in his remembrance. Now, it is in Christ's message to Paul that the order to cause bread and wine to be offered to commemorate his death occurs. The heavenly message is here admitted into the Catholic liturgy. Before this it was written in apostolic texts, but the liturgy of the Catholic communities had not accepted it. Reverence for the bread of the eucharist had been introduced, but the words had not succeeded in making their way into the ritual. Henceforward their exclusion is at an end. The consequences of this may be seen. Since the Catholic liturgy is intended to conform with Christ's message, it must carry it out to the letter. But the memorial of the Passion is only one part of the programme; the suppression of the banquet is another. The Christian assembly must henceforth meet to commemorate the mystery of the Cross, and will exclude the repast which hitherto had been its aim. The ritual initiated by Hippolytus is that which has been in force under the name of the Mass during the Middle Ages. Hippolytus founded the Mass.

It must be clearly understood that he founded the ceremony. The name did not yet exist, and is to be met with for the first time in the following passage in a letter from St. Ambrose to his sister (Letter 20, 4, on

¹ Dom Connolly, "The So-called Egyptian Church Order," in *Texts and Studies*, viii, 1916; Schwartz, in *Schriften der wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft*, Strassburg, 1910.

the Arian attempts to get possession of the basilica of Milan) :—

On the next day, which was Sunday (Palm Sunday), I had completed the reading of the homily, I had dismissed the catechumens, and was explaining the symbolism to certain initiates in the baptistery of the basilica. I was informed that officers had been dispatched from the imperial palace to the Portian basilica to put up awnings, and that some people were going in that direction. I remained nevertheless at my post and began the Mass (*missam facere coepi*).

The word "*missa*" means dismissal. It was used with reference to the dismissal of the catechumens which took place after the homily had been read. Here Ambrose is certainly not the author of this catachresis. He has borrowed it from the people who were in the habit of using it daily. It is to be noted that the word "*missa*" underwent further development after Ambrose's day, till it ended by meaning not only that part of the liturgy which follows the dismissal of the catechumens, but the whole liturgy. The three meanings of the word—the original, the middle (that in which Ambrose uses it), and the modern—remained in force throughout the Middle Ages.

2. HIPPOLYTUS'S REFORM MAKES ITS WAY LITTLE BY LITTLE INTO ALL THE LITURGIES

St. Cyprian says in Letter 63, 17 :—

We mention the passion of the Lord in all our sacrifices, since the sacrifice that we offer is the passion of the Lord.

Moreover, in *De Oratione*, 31, he quotes the following fragment of dialogue :—

Before the prayer the bishop introduces a preface to prepare the minds of the brethren, saying, "Lift

up your hearts," to which the people answer: "We raise them towards the Lord."

St. Cyril of Jerusalem describes (*Catechesis*, 23) the rites of oblation. After various preliminary ceremonies comes the dialogue :—

Lift up your hearts.
We raise them towards the Lord.
Give thanks unto God.
That is right and just.

The bishop then celebrates the greatness of God, after which Cyril adds :—

Having been hallowed by holy songs, we pray God who loves men to send the Holy Ghost into the objects which are there, so that the bread may become the body of Christ and the wine his blood, for all that the Holy Ghost touches he sanctifies and transforms.

The *Sacramentary of Serapion*, xiii, 12, describes the same rite in the following terms :—

We offer unto thee this bread in the likeness of thy only son. This bread is the likeness of his body, because, on the night when our Lord Jesus Christ was betrayed, he took bread and broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying: "Take and eat, this is my body broken for you in remission of sins." That is why we, in the likeness of his death, offer this bread, and we pray thee, by this sacrifice, be reconciled with us and be appeased, God of Truth. Even as the bread was scattered on the mountains and, gathered together, became one, even so gather together thy holy church from all the nations, from all the cities, from all the villages and the households and make of her a single living Catholic church.

We offer too this cup in the likeness of his blood, because the Lord Jesus Christ, having taken a cup after the supper, said to his disciples, Take,

drink, this is the new covenant—that is to say, my blood shed for you in remission of sins. That is why we offer to thee this cup in the likeness of his blood.

Let thy Holy Word, God of Truth, descend upon this bread so that the bread may become the flesh of the Word, and on this cup so that the cup may become the blood of truth. Let us all who are in this communion receive a remedy of life.....

In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii, 12, the bishop chants a responsory with the people. Then he celebrates at length the benefits of God (6-27) and those of his son (28-34). When he has mentioned the death and resurrection of Christ he adds :—

Therefore in remembrance of that which he endured for us we render thanks unto thee, O Almighty God, not as much as we should but as much as we can, and we fulfil thy commandments. For on the night on which he was betrayed he took bread in his holy and immaculate hands, and with his eyes raised towards thee, his father and and his God, he broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying : "This is the mystery of the New Testament, take, eat ; this is my body which is broken for many for the remission of sins." At the same time he mixed in the cup wine and water, and blessed it and gave it to them, saying : " Drink of it all of you ; it is my blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins ; do this in remembrance of me ; for every time that you eat this bread and drink this cup you will proclaim my death until I come again."

Therefore in remembrance of his passion and his death, and of his resurrection, of his ascension to heaven and his future return to earth in glory and power to judge the living and the dead and to recompense each according to his works, we offer to thee, king and God, according to his command-

ment, this bread and this cup, returning thanks that you have deigned to permit us to stand before thee and to offer thee a sacrifice. We pray thee to look kindly upon these offerings placed before thee, O God who needest nothing; we beg thee to accept them as agreeable on account of thy Christ, and to send into this sacrifice thy Holy Ghost witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, so that he may change this bread into the body of thy Christ and this cup into the blood of thy Christ, in order that those who will partake of them shall be confirmed in piety, receive remission of their sins, and be delivered from the devil and his deceits, and be filled with the Holy Ghost.

The papyrus of Deir Balizeh (Upper Egypt), discovered in 1907, contains the following liturgical fragment :—

Fill us, therefore, with thy glory, and condescend to send thy Holy Ghost on these, thy creations. Make of this bread the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of this cup the blood of the New Testament. Since Our Lord himself Jesus Christ, on the night on which he was delivered to his enemies, took bread, blessed it, broke it, and gave it to his disciples and to his apostles, saying: "Take and eat of it all of you; this is my body which is given you for the remission of your sins." In the same manner, after the supper, taking the cup he blessed it, drank from it, and gave it to them, saying: "Take and drink of it; this is my blood which is shed for the remission of your sins. Do this in my remembrance. For each time that you shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup announce my death and proclaim my resurrection." We announce your death and we proclaim your resurrection.

The Gallican liturgy as found in the *Missel Gothique* contains in the Mass of St. Stephen the following texts (Migne, 72, 231) :—

Collectio post sanctus. He is truly holy, truly blessed, our Lord Jesus Christ, thy only son who.....before shedding his compassionate blood for the salvation of mankind, instituted the sacrament that was to be celebrated in holy fashion. For on the eve of his death (our text just adds the story of the supper which the priest recited. Then it goes on.) Therefore, O Lord, we do that, we observe those precepts, we proclaim in our holy liturgy the passion of the sacred body.

And in a commentary on the same liturgy, wrongly attributed to St. Germanus of Paris, which was, however, written in France in the Merovingian period, we find :—

The Mass is celebrated in remembrance of the death of our Lord. The mystery of the holy eucharist is offered in memory of the passion of our Lord.

In the *De Sacramentis*, 4, 21–27, which is probably a sermon by St. Ambrose noted down by one of his congregation, is to be read :—

Do you require proof that the consecration is made by the heavenly words? Listen to these words. The bishop says: "Let this offering be approved, accepted as adequate and fitting, since it is the emblem of the flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. On the eve of his passion he took bread in his holy hands, looked towards heaven to thee, O Holy Father, Almighty, Eternal God, as he gave thanks to thee. He blessed it and broke it, and, after having broken it, he gave it to his apostles and to his disciples, saying: "Take and eat of this all of you, for it is my body which shall be broken for many."

Also, after having supped on the eve of his passion, he took the cup, cast his eyes towards heaven to thee, O Holy Father, Almighty, and Eternal God, and, giving thanks, he blessed it, and

gave it to his apostles and disciples, saying : " Take it and drink of it all of you, for this is my blood." Learn now how great is this sacrament. Behold the Lord saith : " As often as you do this, so often will you celebrate my memory till I return." And the bishop says : " *Therefore in remembrance of thy most glorious passion, of thy resurrection from hell, and of thy ascension to heaven, we offer to thee this immaculate wafer, this proper host, this host without blood, this blessed bread, this cup of eternal life ; and we ask thee and pray thee to accept this offering on thy altar from on high by the hands of thy angels as thou hast been pleased to accept the offerings of thy child Abel, the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the sovereign priest Melchisedech offered thee.*"

Lastly, the Roman canon, after having quoted the words uttered by Christ at the supper, adds :—

Therefore, Lord, we, thy servitors and thy holy people, *remembering the blessed passion* of thy son this same Christ, our Lord.....we offer to thy august majesty, using thy gifts and thy benefits, this holy host.....We beg thee, Almighty God, to ordain that these things be carried by the hands of thy angels to thy altar on high.

And this prayer, of which I quote here only a few words as it is so well known, dates back to the fourth century at least, for the phrase, "*summus sacerdos Melchisedech,*" is mentioned by the author of the *Questions on the Old and the New Testament (Quaest. ex utroque mixtim,* 109, appendix to the works of St. Augustine, vol. iii).

All the texts which have just been cited have elements in common which are to be found in Hippolytus All have borrowed from Hippolytus.

As they represent the various procedures that have

been in vogue for the celebration of the eucharist in the churches of the Christian world, it follows that the Apostolic tradition of Hippolytus is, as it were, the soil in which all the eucharistic liturgies have germinated and flourished—those of Egypt and of Syria as well as those of Italy; those of the Orient as well as those of the Occident.

3. THE REFORM APPEARS IN PATRISTIC WRITINGS

We have just seen how the memorial of the Calvary took possession of the eucharistic liturgy. We will now follow it into another domain and see how it became a quoted authority in ecclesiastical literature.

Here is what St. Cyprian says in his letter (63, 17):—

We speak of the Passion of the Lord in all our sacrifices, because the sacrifice which we offer is the Passion of the Saviour (*ib.* 14). Since our Lord and God Jesus Christ, the high priest of God the Father, offered himself as a sacrifice to his Father and ordained that we should make this sacrifice in his memory, the priest who would truly take the place of Christ must do as Christ did, and he will offer in the church to God the Father a true and perfect sacrifice if he begins by making the offering in the manner that Christ made it.

The Roman theologian known as the Ambrosiaster (at the end of the fourth century) says of the eucharist (commentary on I Cor. xi, 25):—

It is the memorial of our redemption. We celebrate the memory of the Redeemer in order to merit even greater benefits at his hands. As we have been delivered by the death of the Lord, and as we recall this deliverance when eating and drinking, we take as a symbol the flesh and the blood which have been offered for us.....The blood

is the witness of the divine favour. To symbolize it we take the mystic cup of blood.....

St. Ambrose (*De Fide*, iv, 124), commenting on the Gospel text in which Christ says that his flesh is food, turns towards the Arians and says :—

You hear flesh spoken of, you hear blood spoken of, you know the symbols of the death of the Lord, and you deny his divinity?.....Every time that we take these symbols, which, by the mystery of holy prayer, become the emblems of flesh and blood, we assert the death of the Lord.

Commenting on Psalm 43, 36, he says :—

Our fathers ate the lamb as a symbol of the Passion of the Lord Jesus, whose emblem we use each day as food.

Augustine, in his book *Contra Faustum*, xx, 21, speaks in these terms of the sacrifice of the Calvary :—

The flesh and the blood of this sacrifice were, before the coming of Christ, promised by figurative victims ; in Christ's Passion they were truly given ; since Christ's ascension they have been celebrated by the sacrament of the memorial.

In the same book, vi, 5, he mentions the unique sacrifice of the Calvary, and adds "the memory of which we now celebrate." In the *De Trinitate*, iii, 10, he explains that the names of the body and blood of Christ are given

to the produce of the earth consecrated by mystic prayer which we take in conformity with the rites for our spiritual salvation in remembrance of the Passion of our Saviour for us.

Augustine's friend Evodus, telling him of the death of a young man, adds (*Ep.* 158, 2) :—

For three days we praised the Lord with hymns

over his tomb, and on the third day we offered up the symbols of the redemption.

Pope Gregory (*Homil. in Evan.* 22, 7) explains that for the communion to be carried out effectually it is necessary,

when the sacrament of the Passion for the redemption is received in the mouth, to attempt seriously to perform an act of imitation.

Elsewhere (*Hom.*, 37, 7) he recommends Christians to have Masses said in these terms :—

Let us immolate on his altar victims of appeasement.....Singularly potent for our absolution is the victim of the holy altar offered with tears and generosity, for he who, since he is resuscitated from the dead, no longer dies in himself, suffers again for us in his mystery through this victim. For as often as we offer a victim of his Passion, so often we renew the Passion for our absolution.

Isidore of Seville (*Etymol.*, 19, 38) explains that the Mass is a sacrifice,

because a consecration is made through a mystic prayer in memory of the Passion of our Lord for us. In consequence of which we speak of the body and blood of the Christ according to the order which he gave us. We give this name to that which issues from the fruits of the earth, is blessed, and becomes sacrament.

Bede (*Homil.*, 1, 14) :—

Christ washes us every day in his blood when memorial of his Passion is made on the altar, when by the ineffable blessing of the Spirit bread and wine are changed into sacraments of his body and his blood.

Amalarius (*De ecclesiast. officiis*, 4, 25, 26) sees in the second part of the canon the symbol of Christ being

lowered into the tomb. He thus shows the way to Jean d'Avranches, to the author of the *Micrologus*,¹ and to others among the liturgists of the twelfth century for whom the canon was a symbolic reproduction of the drama of the Passion.

We will now turn to the Greek Fathers.

St. Basil (*Morals*, 21, 2) begins by saying that no profit is gained from the communion if the reason for which the communion is given is not kept in mind. Then he adds (3) :—

The body of the Lord must be eaten and his blood must be drunk in remembrance of the dutifulness which was our Lord's even unto death, in order that those who live do not live for themselves but for him who died and rose again for them.

The same thought appears again in the *Little Rules*, 172.

St. Chrysostom (*In Matth.* 82, 1) teaches that the Christ prescribed to be done in his memory what he did himself at the Last Supper—that is to say, in remembrance of the remission of sins procured by the Passion. To those heretics who ask how it can be known that Christ is dead he answers by referring to the "mysteries," and adds :—

If Jesus were not dead, what meaning would the symbols have which we use ?

¹ *Micrologus*, Migne, 151, 987. "Notandum est per totum canonem dominicæ passionis commemorationem potissimum actitari."

CHAPTER III

HOW THE FATHERS INTERPRET THE MEMORIAL OF THE MASS

WHEN the faithful began to celebrate regularly the memorial of the Calvary at their assemblies in the third century the Mass could be said to have been established. We have yet to discover the idea that the Fathers of that time and later in the early Middle Ages had of this celebration. Let us say at once that the conclusion we shall come to is this. The Mass was, for the Fathers of those distant times, a memorial of the Passion at which the victim was not present. Although only the masters of Christian thought will be taken into consideration, without examining writers of second rank, the inquiry may be accepted as conclusive. Augustine is the dominating influence of the Latin Church, the lighthouse whose beacon shed its rays for many centuries over religious thought of the West. First of all, his opinions deserve scrutiny.

1. SAINT AUGUSTINE¹

(a) *In Letter 98 to Boniface*

In Letter 98 Augustine explains that signs commonly bear the name of the thing signified, symbols the name of the thing symbolized, and that there are for this reason many expressions which, taken literally, would

¹ Lawson, Eucharist in St. Augustine, in *Revue d'Histoire et de la Littérature Religieuses*, 1920.

be lies, but which deceive no one, since no one takes them literally. Among the phrases which do not deceive for this reason is to be found the daily immolation of Christ on the altar, the presence of the body and blood of Christ at the eucharist.

Was not Christ immolated a single time in his own person? Nevertheless, is he not sacrificed for the peoples not only at every Easter but every day in such fashion that no lie is told when he is said to be immolated? If symbols bore no relation to the things they symbolize they would no longer be symbols. That is why they are known by the names of the things themselves. Therefore, just as, in a certain manner, the symbol of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, so the symbol of faith is faith.

(b) *In First Communion Sermons*

By this name I mean the four sermons (227, 229, 272, 3 and 6 in the collection of Michel Denis ; sermon 229 is only a fragment of the last) delivered some on Easter Day, the others on Whitsunday, to Christians who had been baptised and who had received the communion on the day before. The preparatory catechism for baptism had no reference to the bread and wine, and the newly baptised had communicated without a proper knowledge of what they were doing. These sermons explain the signification of that mysterious act. The following extracts are taken from sermon 272, with which the three others are closely connected :—

Last night already you saw what you see on the altar of God ; but you had not yet learned what it is, why it was instituted, and of what great thing it is the symbol. It is bread and wine that you see. But for your faith, which must be instructed, the bread is the body of Christ and the cup is the blood of Christ. Faith desires instruction.....

You might say to me : " Our Lord Jesus Christ..... is now seated on the right hand of the Father. How, then, can the bread be his body ? and how can the cup or what is in the cup be his blood ? " These things, my brothers, are called symbols because they show us one object, and by that means make us understand another. What is visible has a bodily form ; what is perceived by the spirit bears spiritual fruit. If you wish to understand the body of Christ listen to the words of the apostle who said : " You are the body of Christ and his members. "

If, therefore, you are the body of Christ, if you are his members, it is your symbol which is on the table of the Lord, it is your symbol which you receive, it is what you are that you ratify when you say Amen. You hear said, " The body of Christ, " and you reply, " Amen. " Be members of the body of Christ, so that your Amen may be true. But why bread ? As to this I shall say nothing myself. Listen once more to the Apostle. Speaking of the sacrament, he says : " We all are a single loaf of bread and a single body. " Understand and rejoice.....Remember that a loaf of bread is not made with a single grain of corn, but with many. The exorcisms to which you have been submitted are a sort of millstone which grinds you into meal. Baptism is the water with which you are moistened. The Holy Ghost is the fire which bakes you. Be what you see and receive what you are.....It is thus that the Lord has symbolized us, that he wished we should be his, that he consecrated on his table the symbols of peace and our unity.

The letter to Boniface taught us that the eucharist is not, properly speaking, the body and the blood of Christ, as might be believed from the phrasing used to indicate it. The sermons of the first communion show that the eucharist is the symbol of the mystic body of Christ which is made up of the faithful. From this it follows

that those who communicate worthily receive the symbol of their own condition. These sermons are, therefore, complementary to the letter to Boniface. It is to be noted that, since they were delivered to Christians who had not yet heard of the eucharist (see Tract. in Jo. 11, 3 and 4; in Epist. Jo. ad Parthos, 3, 4), they are of capital importance. Explaining the sacrament of the altar to the faithful who were as yet unaware of it, Augustine was bound to confine himself to essentials. To leave on one side the essentials in order to expatiate on the subsidiary would have been a lack of common sense that would not be suspected in a Doctor of the Church.

(c) *In the Treatises on St. John*

In Treatise 25, 12, Augustine, after a reference to the words of Christ declaring that the food of the soul is belief in himself, goes on to say :—

That is what is meant by eating the food which never perishes, but which lasts for the life eternal. Why be eager with teeth and with belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten.

In 26, 1-12, he says :—

To believe in Christ is to eat living bread. In former days this bread was symbolized by manna. To-day it is symbolized on the altar of God by the eucharist. Manna and eucharist are the symbols of the same nourishment, and are only distinguished by their physical reality. The Hebrews who ate manna had not the same bodily food that we have who eat the eucharist, but they had the same spiritual food.....That which gives life eternal is the virtue of the sacrament and not the visible sacrament, that which is eaten in the heart and not that which is chewed by the teeth.

When he comes to the verses where Christ ordains

that man shall feed on his flesh and drink of his blood Augustine explains them as follows :—

The faithful know the body of Christ if they do not neglect to be the body of Christ. Let them become the body of Christ if they wish to live in the spirit of Christ. The sole means of living in the spirit of Christ is to be the body of Christ..... Do you wish to live in the spirit of Christ? Be, then, in the body of Christ.....The Christ desired us to understand by this food and this drink (of which he speaks and which procure the life eternal) the society of his body and his members—that is the Holy Church in the predestined, the called, and the justified.....The sole food, the only drink, which give immortality and incorruptibility is the society of the saints in which shall be peace and unity perfect and complete. To eat of this food and to drink of this beverage is to dwell in Christ and to have Christ dwelling in oneself.

What is the part played by the eucharist in this theory of the communion with Christ? It is a symbol of the mystic body of Christ. That is what Augustine declares, for, immediately after having explained that the body and blood of Christ are formed by the Church of the predestinate, he says :—

The symbol of this thing—that is to say, of the unity of the body and of the blood of Christ—is laid on the table of the Lord here every day, as well as on special days.

Treatise 27 returns to the text in which Christ teaches that he who eats of his body and drinks of his blood dwells in him. This is the commentary :—

The sign that has been eaten and drunk is that Christ dwells and serves as a dwelling, that he inhabits and serves as a habitation. By these mystic words Christ teaches us that we must be in

his body, having him as head and forming part of the members, eating his flesh and not deserting his unity.....The Jews think that Jesus came to distribute among them in portions the flesh with which, as Word, he was clothed.....Jesus told them that he would mount to heaven whole.....In saying that his flesh was to be eaten and his blood to be drunk he taught us to dwell in him so that he may dwell in us. Now we dwell in him when we are his members.....and it is the unity that gathers us together in such manner that we are his members.Just as our spirit does not quicken the members separated from the body, because these separated members are not members of the spirit, in the same way we are only members of Christ, members quickened by him, if we are included in his unity. From this it follows that we should love unity and fear separation.....we should, then, not be satisfied to eat in symbol the body and blood of Christ, as do many evil ones ; we should eat and drink till we participate in the spirit, dwelling in the body of the Lord as members that are at last animated by his spirit.

Here Augustine proves that the flesh of which Christ requires us to partake is not that in which he was embodied in his incarnation. Since the Ascension that body dwells wholly in heaven. That is the proof that Christ did not destine it to be partaken of by man. What, then, is the flesh with which we should be nourished or fail to enjoy eternal life? This flesh is the Church of the predestinate, the company of saints. Our flesh is animated by our spirit, of which it is the dwelling. The company of saints is also animated by the spirit of Christ, who dwells in it as in a temple. It is the flesh of Christ ; it is his body. The expression "eat of my body" is, then, a metaphor expressing the unity of the mystic body of Christ. To eat of the body of Christ is to have Christ in oneself. To have

Christ in oneself one must be a member of the company of saints. To belong to the company of saints there must be no separation from the visible Church. As for the eucharistic bread, it is the symbol of the mystic body of Christ, a symbol appropriate to its function, since it is composed of a multitude of grains assembled in a single whole, just as the mystic body is made up of numbers of the faithful quickened by the spirit of Christ.

(d) *In the City of God*

In this book Augustine deals with the sacrifice offered by the Church. The following are quotations from his words :—

10, 5. The visible sacrifice is the sacrament—that is to say, the sacred symbol of the invisible sacrifice. In the Psalms may be read that holocausts are not agreeable to God, but that a soul broken with sorrow is a sacrifice to God. God spurns the sacrifice of a slaughtered animal and requires the sacrifice of a contrite heart.....That which all call sacrifice is the symbol of the true sacrifice.

10, 6. All work that is done to unite us more closely to God is true sacrifice.....Our body, too, when we chasten it by temperance, if we do that for God.....is a sacrifice.....From this it comes that the redeemed city, considered as a whole—i.e., the society of saints—is a sacrifice offered to God by the high priest, who also offered up himself in his passion in order that we should be the body of that head in so far as it took the form of a slave.

10, 20. In the form of a slave the Christ Jesus preferred to be sacrificed than to receive sacrifice.He is the priest, since he makes the offering ; he is also the offering. And he willed that the daily sacrifice of the Church should be the sacrament of that thing. Being the body of this head,

the Church learns to make an offering of itself by the head.

17, 20. The book of Ecclesiastes tells us that the sole joy of man is to eat and to drink. Of what does it apparently speak but of the partaking at that table that the priest mediator of the New Testament offers us, according to the order of Melchisedech with his body and his blood? This sacrifice has, in fact, taken the place of all the sacrifices of the Old Testament.....In place of all the sacrifices, of all these offerings, his body is offered, and it is distributed among the communicants.

19, 23. The most glorious and most excellent sacrifice that can be offered to the Lord is ourselves—that is to say, his city. We celebrate the mystery of that thing in our offerings which are known to the faithful.

These extracts contain thoughts which appear impossible to reconcile. In 10, 20, we learn that the Church has a daily sacrifice that can only be the Mass. How can the Mass be a sacrifice, since the only sacrifice acceptable to God is the Church itself, the society of the faithful? And how can this sacrifice subsist, since the sacrifice of Christ put an end to the ancient sacrifices? We have not to seek an explanation of these apparent contradictions—Augustine himself gives one. The Church is the body of which Christ is the head. In the sacrifice that she makes of herself she makes an offering of her head, which is the Christ. This sacrifice is, then, nothing but the sacrifice of the Calvary of which it is a prolongation. As for the Mass, the offerings that are there offered to God are the "Mystery"—that is to say, the symbol of the immolation of the Church. The Mass is, therefore, the tangible expression, the visible expression, of the immolation of the Church. And as this immolation is one and the same thing as

the sacrifice of the Calvary, the Mass is the sacrament of the immolation of Christ. There is applied to the Mass this superior principle: the visible sacrifice is the sacrament—that is, the sacred symbol of the invisible sacrifice (10, 5). The Mass is merely the sacrifice of Christ extended to the sacrifice of the Church. Only the custom has become universally established of giving it the name of “sacrifice” (10, 5).

Before leaving Augustine let us quote the following text from the book *Contra Adimantum*, 12, 23:—

The Lord was not afraid to say, “This is my body,” when he gave the sign of his body.

And the rule of exegesis formulated in the *De Doctrina Christiana*, 3, 24:—

If a commandment forbids an infamy or a crime, if it commands a useful or charitable action, it is not figurative. But if it appears to command an infamy or a crime, or to forbid a useful or charitable act, it is figurative. The text, “If you do not eat the flesh of the son of man and if you do not drink of his blood,” appears to command an infamy or a crime; it is, therefore, an image ordering us to participate in the Passion of our Lord, to recall with emotion and to our profit that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.

We commonly speak of the sunrise and sunset. We use these phrases unrestrictedly, and would think it pedantic to explain them. Similarly Augustine often speaks of the eucharist as the “body of Christ” or as the “blood of Christ.” He uses these phrases without any reserve, and with perfect right, since we know from his letters to Boniface that they deceived no one, and that in his sermons for the first communion he was careful to explain them once and for all to new Christians.

2. ST. CYPRIAN, ST. AMBROSE, AND ST. JEROME

Cyprian, in Letter 69, 5, proves that, to merit the title of Christian, schism must be avoided and the Holy Church adhered to. Here is the proof that he takes, so he says, from the "sacrifices of the Lord":—

When the Lord gives the name of his body to the bread formed of the union of a great number of grains, he shows that our people borne by him should be united. And when he gives the name of his blood to the wine made from the fusion of a great number of bunches of the fruit of the vine and of single grapes, he points out that our flock consists of a great multitude fused into one unity.

Further, in Letter 63, 13, after stating that in the Old Testament wine symbolizes the blood of Christ, and that in the Apocalypse the waters symbolize the nations, he points out the application of this truth in what he calls the symbol of the chalice:—

Just as Christ who bore our sins bore us all, we see that the water means the people, and that the wine means the blood of Christ. When, therefore, water is mingled with wine in the chalice the people are joined with Christ—the mass of believers are united with him in whom they believe, a union that cannot be broken.....That is why in sanctifying the chalice of the Lord it is not enough to offer water only, any more than to offer wine only. For if wine alone is offered, then is the blood of Christ without us. And if water only is offered, the people are without Christ. But when the two elements are mingled and blended together, then the heavenly and spiritual sacrament is accomplished.

The first of these texts tells us that the elements of the eucharist symbolize the mysterious body of Christ—that is to say, the Christian people. And the second

declares that the chalice contains at one and the same time the blood of Christ and the Christian people, both by the same right and in the same manner—i.e., symbolically. Cyprian sees in the eucharistic bread the symbol of the Christian people, the mystic body of Christ. That is his manner of interpreting the saying, "This is my body," the idea of which he owes to Tertullian (*De Oratione*, 6), and which he passed on to St. Augustine. He is also aware of the message of Christ that appears in the liturgy that he received from Hippolytus (p. 54). He knows, then, that the celebration of the eucharist is a memorial of the Passion of Christ. He even says that it is "the Passion of the Lord" (p. 54). But the explanations that have been read above prevent us from taking this remark literally. It simply means that the ceremony of the eucharist commemorates the Passion. Cyprian knows the ancient Mass, but not the modern one.

Yet he knows that the Mass is a sacrifice. In Letter 63, 14, he speaks of the "true and complete sacrifice that the priest offers to God the Father in the Church." His choice of words is certainly novel, but we must not forget that the sacrifice made its entry into the Christian dogma in the first half of the second century, at a time when the early banquet had not yet given way to the Mass. Cyprian had not created the sacrifice. The innovation of which he is the author is solely a transfer of ideas—the application to the Mass of the Pagan notion that the Christian people had applied to the banquet (*vide* p. 127).

According to Ambrose, the eucharist obtained for those who received it remission of sins, and guaranteed them immortal life. This virtue belongs to it, since it applies to Christians the fruits of the redemption. It applies these fruits, since it is the symbol of the redeem-

ing death of Christ, the symbol of the immolated body, the symbol of the blood that has been shed. In effect it replaces for Christians the body and the blood with which Christ redeemed mankind—it is this body and this blood. In what manner are the bread and the wine promoted to this sublime dignity? By “the mystery of holy prayer,” or, more exactly, by that phrase in the holy prayer in which Christ’s words are incorporated declaring that the bread and the wine are his body and blood. When these words are pronounced the bread and the wine are “transfigured” into body and blood—i.e., they become the symbols of the body that was immolated and the blood that was shed on the Calvary. At the same instant the body of Christ is transfigured into the bread—i.e., it is represented by the bread and the wine. This representation is, moreover, not an empty word. In the first place, because the bread and the wine, when they become symbols of the body and blood of Christ, are the treasure houses of the fruits of redemption. Secondly, because the Christ-Holy Ghost—i.e., the Word—dwells in these things which are effectively his body and his blood. Since the Holy Ghost is present in the water of baptism, why should not Christ be present in the eucharist? The Holy Ghost in this manner endows the water with its divine virtue, and is itself present at the ceremony of baptism. In the same manner the Christ-Ghost dwells in its eucharist body. It must not be forgotten that the Word commands Nature, which is its work, and bends her to its will.¹

¹ *De Fide*, iv, 124 (the eucharistic elements are transfigured into flesh by the sacrament of the holy prayer). *De Incarnatione*, 23 (an offering is made of the body of Christ which is to be transfigured). The meaning is that the historic body of Christ is transfigured into bread; see Wilmart in the *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature chrétienne*, 1911, p. 283. In Ps. 118, 8, 48. In Ps. 43,

Such is the doctrine that may be disentangled from the fragmentary texts in which it is scattered. Ambrose believes that the Word is present in the elements of the eucharist, just as the fathers of his time believe that the Holy Ghost is present in the water of baptism. He believes, therefore, that the eucharist, symbol of the death of Christ, is the treasury of the graces acquired by the redemption. He goes no farther. But these formulæ, isolated from their text and distorted in meaning, will, in days after the Carolingian period, be exploited by the teachers of the time and made to serve their particular ends. Ambrose, willy-nilly, becomes one of the principal founders of the eucharistic theology defined by the Council of Trent.

It is to be remarked that he owes this rôle of founder chiefly to the *De Sacramentis*, which has been quoted as his, and rightly I think, and from which certain extracts must be given here.

In 4, 16, the author, having said that bread becomes, after consecration, the body of Christ, explains this change :—

I tell you that, after consecration, it is the body of Christ. He spoke and the fulfilment followed; he ordered and the creation was accomplished. Yourself, you existed, but you were a creature of a former date. After the consecration you began to be a new creature.

A little further on (19) the author says that the wine mixed with water which is in the cup becomes blood after the consecration. He goes on to say (20) :—

You will say to me perhaps, "I do not see any blood." No, but there is the symbol. Just as

36 (nourishment by the sacrament of the Passion). *De Mysteriis*, 46, 50-52, 58. Note 24-27, in which the Holy Ghost is represented in the water of baptism. *De paenitentia*, 2, 13, 18.

you receive the symbol of death (reference to the baptismal immersion, symbol of burial), so you drink the symbol of blood. Thus you do not feel the horror that blood inspires; nevertheless, the reward of redemption is procured for you.

This is what he says as to the words of consecration (21):—

Do you want proof that consecration is produced by heavenly words? These are the words. The priest says: "Let this offering be confirmed and approved as proper and acceptable, since it is the symbol of the body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ."

Lastly, we may read in 6, 2:—

So that the horror that blood inspires may be dispelled, and that, nevertheless, the benefit of redemption may remain, you receive the sacrament in symbol, but you obtain the benefit and the virtue of the thing itself

Briefly, then, the Christ procured for us redemption by the shedding of his blood. The eucharist is, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ in symbol, and for this reason has the same virtue as the blood itself. In a similar fashion to that in which a Christian, after baptism, becomes a new creature, the eucharist, symbol of the body and blood, undergoes a transformation. But after transformation the Christian remains a man. Similarly the eucharist remains bread and wine. Note, then, that in 4, 21, the elements of the eucharist are, by anticipation, looked upon as consecrated. It is, in fact, only after the consecration that they can represent the body and blood of Christ. Otherwise ordinary bread and wine would have to be declared the symbols of the body and the blood, which would be perfectly inept.

Jerome, when he speaks of the eucharist, takes his

doctrine from Origen, whose disciple he was for a long time. Origen said (*In Matth. series*, 85) :—

The bread that the God-Word calls his body is the word which feeds our souls, the word uttered by the God-Word.....For what the God-Word called his body is not the visible bread that he held in his hands, but is the word of which the broken bread is the symbol of the distribution.

Jerome appropriated this exegesis of the words "This is my body," an exegesis that originated with Clement of Alexandria (*Pedagog.* i, 6; *Quis Dives*, 23). He says in his commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, 1, 7 :—

The blood and the flesh of Christ can be interpreted in two manners. There is first the spiritual and divine flesh of which Christ says himself: "My flesh is truly food." There is also the flesh which was crucified and the blood that was shed by the blow of the spear.

And in the commentary on Ecclesiastes :—

2, 24. The true nourishment, the true beverage, that is good to take, is the flesh and the blood of the lamb which we find in the holy books. 3, 10. Since, in a lofty sense, the flesh of the Lord is a true nourishment and his blood is a true beverage, our sole weal in this life is to nourish ourselves with his flesh and to quench our thirst with his blood, not only in the mystery (the eucharist), but also by reading the Scriptures.

According to these words, the eucharist, just like the Scriptures, offers to us the flesh and the blood of Christ, though "in mystery"—i.e., in symbol. The eucharistic food symbolizes the food that Christ procures for the soul in his doctrine drawn from the Scriptures. The eucharist is, then, a symbol.

On the other hand, Jerome, leaving Origen, draws his inspiration from the message of Christ to Paul.

Then, attempting to give precision to his ideas, he calls the eucharist the "type" of the Passion, and the wine the "type" of the blood. These phrases are to be found in the commentary on Jeremiah, 31, 10, and in the books against Jovinian, 2, 5, and 17. As is only to be expected, he often fails to use terms with exactness, and speaks of the "body" and the "blood" of the Lord as common expressions without taking the trouble to explain them.

In short, the eucharist is, according to St. Jerome, the symbol, in part, of the spiritual nourishment that revealed doctrine gives the soul, and, in part, of the passion of the Saviour. The elements of the eucharist become symbols, however, only after a "solemn prayer" (*In Sophon.* 3, 7) uttered by the priest that the Lord may descend. Jerome, in common with the doctors of his time, believed that the water of baptism was impregnated with the Holy Ghost (*Dialog. contra Lucif.* 6), and that the Word descended into the eucharist, or, at any rate, blessed it.

3. ST. LEO, ST. GELASIUS, AND ST. GREGORY

Pope Leo considers the eucharist partly in its relation to the Passion of Jesus Christ and partly in relation to his mystic body.

In the former the eucharist is a symbol. The bread and wine are the "sacraments of the Passion and death" of the Lord, according to the words of sermon 58, 4. Since Christ could not die unless he had a human body such as we have, the eucharist at one and the same time represents the Passion of the Saviour and proves that the Saviour had during his life on earth a human body like ours. It is then a refutation of the heresy of Eutyches. This refutation of the monophysite heresy by means of the eucharist appears several times in

Leo's works, notably in sermon 91, 3, and in letter 59, 2, which theologians wrongly quote as proving Leo's belief in the real presence.

In the latter respect the eucharist continues the work begun by baptism. By baptism the Christian (sermon 23, 5) becomes "the body" of Christ and (sermon 63, 6) "the flesh of the crucified" (see also sermons 21, 3, and 66, 4). The eucharist (sermon 63, 7) causes us to pass into the flesh of Christ. The quality of the eucharist is then of the same mode as that of baptism. There is only a difference of degree between the two, and from this point of view baptism is the superior, since it establishes our incorporation in Christ.

In sermon 74, 4, may be read :—

The Son of God, now withdrawn in the glory of the majesty of His Father, is separated from us by his humanity, but approaches nearer to us in an ineffable manner by his divinity.

Catholics believe that Christ is a man, both in heaven and in the eucharist. Leo was unaware of this dogma which little children learn nowadays in their catechism.¹

Pope St. Gelasius, in his book *De Duabus Naturis*, 14, speaks of the eucharist in these terms :—

Surely the sacraments of the body and the blood that we receive are a divine thing, since, thanks to them, we participate in the divine being. And yet the substance or nature of the bread and of the

¹ St. Leo's sermons throw light on the sermon of Faustus (*Homél.*, 5, in the sermons of Cæsarius of Arles), which teaches us that the Christian who has become part of the body of Christ by baptism should not be astonished to behold the bread become the body of the Lord. Faustus teaches, like Leo, that after the ascension the body of Christ is no longer on earth. He adds that by means of the Mass the divine victim lives "in remembrance"; but the hand of the interpolator is apparent here and there, bringing the text into agreement with the Roman Councils of 1059 and 1079.

wine does not cease to exist. It is, in fact, the image and the semblance of the body and the blood of Christ that we celebrate in these mysteries.

Gelasius thought that the Word was united hypostatically to the eucharist, the substance of which was not changed. This theory was taught and developed at length by Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, in *Eraniste*. Facundus of Hermiane adopted it in his book *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum*, 9, 5. And in the fourth century Gregory of Nyssa upholds it in his *Catechetical Discourse*, 37, 9 and 10, with this difference, that he does not recognize the hypostatic union.

Pope Gregory has much to say of the Mass and of the eucharist in his *Dialogues*, 4, 55-59, several texts of which are repeated in homily 37, 7-10, on the Gospels. When speaking of these things he uses many expressions that have since passed into the vocabulary of modern theology. The Mass is a sacrifice, a sacrifice in which God is offered the appropriate victim and the water of the holy offering is immolated—i.e., the host of the body and blood of Christ. Then the body of Christ is taken, his flesh is distributed for the good of the people, his blood flows in the mouths of the faithful. At the hour of sacrifice the heavens open at the voice of the priest and the choir of angels assembles at the mystery of Jesus Christ. From homily 14, 1, on the Gospels we learn that the Christ satisfies the faithful at the Mass with the food of his flesh. Homily 22, 7, tells us that the faithful drink the blood of the lamb which the sacrament of the eucharist has taken for redemption, and 22, 8, declares that the faithful communicate receive the body of the redeemer. Lastly, from the *Morals* 22, 26, we are instructed that in the daily sacrifice the true believers take their fill of the flesh of the Saviour.

I must now mention arguments that up to the present I have left on one side, and which are opposed to the preceding doctrine. In *Dial.* 4, 58, 59, appears :—

Our soul is delivered from death eternal chiefly by the *victim* which renews for us *in mystery* the death of the only son who of a certainty may not die again and is no longer subject to death, since he was resurrected from the dead ; but, although living *in himself* an immortal and incorruptible life, he is offered up afresh *for us* in this mystery of the holy sacrifice.....Let us consider, therefore, what this sacrifice, which repeats ever the passion of the Only Son, is for us.....But when we do these things we must make our offering to God by contrition of the heart, since we, who celebrate the mysteries of the Passion of the Lord, must imitate what we do. When we make victims of ourselves, then will there be truly a victim offered for us to God.

And this thought is expressed as follows in the Homily 37, 7, on the Gospels :—

The host of the holy altar offered with tears and in a generous spirit works in quite a special manner for our absolution because he who, resurrected from the dead, no longer dies in himself, suffers again for us in his mystery. For as often as we offer the host of his Passion, so often we renew his passion for us for our absolution.

According to these texts, the Christ, after his resurrection, can no longer die nor suffer. Yet in the Mass he suffers again, he is again sacrificed, his Passion and his death are renewed, and the eucharist is the host of the Passion ; we are faced by a contradiction. Our texts not only ask the riddle but also give the solution, for they distinguish between what took place in Christ himself and what takes place for us in mystery by means of the host of the Passion. "In himself" the Christ can neither die nor even suffer. It is "for us" and

“by it”—that is to say, by means of the host of the Passion—that the Passion and death of Christ are renewed. All this happens in the host of the Passion only—that is, in the eucharistic bread and wine. The host alone is sacrificed, offered up, and destroyed by the communion. The moment of immolation is the moment when the faithful consume the eucharist that becomes their food.

That is the reality, but “for us,” who celebrate these rites in memory of the death of the Christ, there is something else. “For us” the sacrifice of the eucharistic elements is the renewal of the immolation of Christ on the Calvary. “For us” the host of the holy oblation is the body of the Redeemer. As we take it, we receive the flesh of Christ and drink his blood. All that takes place “in mystery”—that is to say, in symbol, since Christ himself does not die. But if we immolate ourselves, if we imitate what we do, if we make ourselves victims, then the mystery takes a sharp outline in our minds and Christ is present for us—he is there as the victim offered to God. Gregory, who knew nothing of the real presence of Christ at the sacrifice of the Mass, believes that his psychologic presence can be obtained, and he teaches the faithful the means of obtaining this benefit. Influenced by this idea, he makes on the words, “This is my body,” the following singular commentary (*Hom. on the Gospels*):—

The good shepherd gave his life for his sheep that his body and his blood might be changed in our sacrament.

To-day Catholics believe that at the eucharist the bread and the wine are actually changed into the body and the blood. Gregory believed in the contrary transformation, in which the body and the blood of Christ are changed into bread and wine. By virtue of

this transformation the bread and the wine of the eucharist are rightly called the body and the blood of Christ. Let us note that St. Ambrose in *De Incarnatione* speaks of the "transfiguration" of the body and the blood of Christ into bread and wine.

4. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, BEDE, HRABANUS MAURUS,
AND FULBERT

Isidore, in his *Etymologies*, 6, 38, says:—

The sacrifice is consecrated by a mystic prayer in memory of the passion of the Saviour for us; because of this, conformably with the command of the Lord, we call it the body and the blood of the Lord.

According to Isidore, the eucharist is called body and blood of the Lord because it is a memorial of the Passion.

Bede could find no better explanation of the discourse on the bread of life than to transcribe Augustine's texts. On verse 6, 56 of St. John, for example, he gives the following commentary drawn from St. Augustine:—

What men require of food and drink is to satisfy their hunger and quench their thirst. But in truth this result is only obtained by the food and drink that procure immortality—that is, by the society of saints in which peace and unity are complete and perfect.

In Homily, 1, 14, he explains that Christ washes us every day in his blood "when we make a memorial of his passion on the altar."

Hrabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz, in the numerous encyclopedias that he wrote, scarcely speaks of the eucharist other than to give the texts of Augustine, of Isidore, and Bede. I shall not do more than analyse his letter to Eygil, abbot of Prüm. Hrabanus had just been informed that Paschasius Radbert affirmed

the identity of the body in the eucharist with that born of the Virgin Mary. He denounces this as an innovation that he had never heard speak of before. The truth was that Christ had three bodies—one born of the Virgin Mary, a second constituted by the Church, and a third formed by the Holy Ghost from the substance of the bread and the wine. The body born of the Virgin is, since the Resurrection, "inconsumable flesh," the eucharist is "consumable flesh," and the Church is "corruptible flesh." The inconsumable flesh, therefore, gives its consumable flesh to its corruptible flesh in order that the corruptible may become incorruptible.

Hrabanus expounds the same doctrine briefly in a letter to Heribald.

Fulbert of Chartres, writing at the beginning of the eleventh century, draws his comments (sermon 8) on the bread of life solely from the works of St. Augustine. In the matter of the eucharist Fulbert is an Augustinian; yet, thanks to two forgeries, he is usually looked upon as a representative of modern orthodoxy. The first is an interpolation inserted in sermon 8, incontestable since it is not to be found in any of Fulbert's manuscripts, and is evidently the work of editors (the interpolation consists in the insertion of the words "the heretic will say"). The other forgery is the attribution to Fulbert of two letters (3 and 5) which conform approximately with modern orthodoxy, but which are not his.¹

5. THE GREEK FATHERS

I quoted above (p. 78) a text from Origen from which St. Jerome drew his inspiration. I have also mentioned St. Gregory of Nyssa and Theodoret (p. 81). Here I append further evidence.

¹ Pfister, *De Fulberti Carnutensis vita et operibus*, p. 11.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem said in the *Catechesis*, 23, 19, 20 :—

Holy are things placed on the altar after the Holy Ghost has descended upon them. You also, you are holy after you have been nourished with the Holy Ghost.....The singer whom you invite to the communion of the holy mysteries says to you : Taste and behold that the Lord is good. It is not with the palate that you must judge, but with a faith free from all doubt. It is not the bread and the wine that you should taste, but the symbols of the body and the blood of the Lord.

St. Basil, letter 8, 4, makes the following commentary on the bread of life :—

We eat his flesh and we drink his blood in this sense, that, thanks to his incarnation and to his life upon earth, we participate in the Word and in the Wisdom. For what is called his flesh and his blood is his mystic presence (on the earth) and his doctrine as much that which is practical and natural as that which is theologic.

St. Chrysostom (*Hom. on the Cemetery and the Cross*, 3) describes the consecration :—

When the priest, standing in front of the holy table, hands stretched out towards the heavens, invokes the Holy Ghost that he should come and touch the offerings, there is a great calm and a great silence. When the Holy Ghost breathes forth his grace, when he descends from heaven, when he touches the oblations, when you see the victim immolated, then you make a noise, you fill the air with quarrelling and with abuse.

The *Apostolic Constitutions*, 5, 14, 7, declare that Christ gave to his disciples at the Last Supper "antitypal mysteries (i.e., symbols) of his precious body and blood"; in 6, 30, 2, the eucharist is called the antitype of the royal body of Christ.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSECRATION IN THE EARLY MASS

DURING the time of the banquet the dishes were hallowed by a prayer of thanksgiving, and thus became a eucharist. When the eucharist was promoted to the honour of symbolizing the redeeming death of Christ there was an even greater need of prayer to consecrate it for so lofty a duty. This consecration had, therefore, its origin in the prayer of the early banquet, and was adapted to the new part that the eucharist had to play.

This consecration took three principal forms. The first was for a considerable time in general use, and is still in the Greek Church; the second is that of the Roman canon; and the third appeared in France.

1. CONSECRATION BY THE HOLY GHOST AND THE WORD

At the end of the second century the water of baptism was hallowed by the Holy Ghost, who, at the prayer of the bishop, descended on or in the water and gave it the virtue of regenerating the Christian. Tertullian is our authority for this statement. In *De Baptismo*, 4, this Father explains that the water of baptism sanctifies the Christian after having been sanctified itself by the Holy Ghost, who impregnates it with His power. The elements of the eucharist which commemorate the death of Christ, and which symbolize his body and blood, require as powerful a consecration as the water of baptism, and need the visit of a divine person. Hippolytus and his disciples were quite clear as to that.

In his liturgy, from which nearly all others are

derived, the passion of Christ is commemorated ; the words and deeds of the Lord at the Last Supper are recalled, and God is prayed to send the Holy Ghost (at times the Word) on to, or into, the elements of the eucharist. This august personage having become the protector, even the inhabitant, of the bread and the wine, these objects are worthy of representing the sacrificed Christ, of being what the liturgies call the body and blood of the Lord. Such is the consecration as it appears to us in nearly all the liturgies (pp. 54-60). In fact, it is attributed to the "epiclesis"—i.e., the prayer which causes the Holy Ghost to descend upon the eucharist ; but the real agency is the Holy Spirit (or the Word). We read in Hippolytus's liturgy :—

He said : This is my body which shall be broken for you.....When you do that, do it in memory of me. Therefore in memory of his death and resurrection we offer Thee this bread and this cup..... and we ask Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit into the oblation of the Holy Church.....

The marvellous prayer after which the Holy Spirit (or the Word) comes down upon the elements of the eucharist is frequently mentioned by the Fathers. St. Ambrose (p. 77) speaks of "the mystery of the holy prayer by means of which the sacraments are transfigured into flesh and blood." St. Chrysostom (*Hom. on the Cemetery*, 3) describes the moment in the liturgy when the priest, "hands raised towards heaven, invokes the Holy Spirit to touch the gifts offered." In his *Treatise on the Priesthood*, 3, 4, he says that the priest at the altar "offers long prayers" that grace may descend on the sacrifice. St. Jerome, in his commentary on Sophonius, 3, 7, mentions the "solemn prayer" with which the bishops "supplicate the Lord to come into the eucharist." In letter 98, 13, having declared that

“the mystic waters of baptism are consecrated by the coming of the Holy Ghost,” he adds that—

The bread of the Lord in which the body of the Saviour is shown.....and the sacred cup.....are sanctified by the invocation and the coming of the Holy Spirit.....

St. Augustine explains, in sermon 234, 2, that the bread becomes the body of Christ when it has “received the benediction of Christ.” In another place he says (*Ser.* 227) that the “sanctification of the sacrifice” takes place before the Lord’s Prayer. Lastly, in *De Trinitate*, 3, 10, in which he is less laconic, he gives the following teaching :—

What we call the body and blood of Christ..... is only the produce of the earth consecrated by a mystic prayer which we take conformably with the rites for our spiritual salvation in memory of the passion of our Saviour for us. This thing which is brought into visible form by the hands of men is sanctified to become so august a sacrament only by the invisible operation of the spirit of God.

In what form exactly was the Holy Ghost or the Word present at the sanctification of the eucharist? At the time of the Nestorian controversy certain doctors, notably Theodoret and Pope Gelasius (p. 81), compared it with the hypostatic union. They said that the bread and the wine, having been blessed, yet without losing anything of their nature, formed with the Holy Ghost or the Logos a union similar to that between the two natures of Christ. But this doctrine was generally unknown, and it was thought that the Holy Spirit or the Word came down on to or into the elements of the eucharist in the same way that it descended on to or into the water of baptism, and endowed it with a virtue such as is nowadays possessed by blessed objects.

2. CONSECRATION ON THE HEAVENLY ALTAR

The Roman canon, in the form in which it has come down to us, does not include a prayer begging God to send the Holy Ghost or the Word on to the eucharist. The system of hallowing that it offers us is quite different. After having commemorated the Passion of the Saviour in conformity with the orders of the Saviour himself (the prayer *Unde et memores*), God is requested to accept the eucharist by means of which this commemoration has been made (the prayer *Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu*). To obtain the acceptance of God the priest has to repeat the following prayer (*Supplices te rogamus*), bowing deeply :—

We pray thee, O Almighty God, to ordain that the hands of thy angel shall carry these things on to the altar above in the presence of thy divine holy majesty, so that we all, when, by our participation at the altar, we have received the sacrosanct body and blood of thy son, may be filled with all heavenly blessings and grace.

This prayer offers to us a theology according to which the elements of the eucharist are taken away by a heavenly angel whom God sends at the priest's request, and are borne by this celestial messenger to the altar of heaven. (This heavenly altar has its scriptural foundation probably in the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, suggests M. Couchoud. The influence to which the prayer "Supplices" in the Roman liturgy is due is not known. Anyhow, the Roman canon such as we have it to-day does not contain any other form of consecration.) There they receive the consecration which makes of them symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and loads them with blessings.

I must say that the modern form of the Roman canon

is, according to a generally accepted conjecture, later than Pope Gelasius, who in his letter to Elpidius (Thiel, p. 486) appears to attribute the consecration of the eucharist to the epiclesis. It is certainly later than Hippolytus, whose liturgy (p. 88) must have been in use at Rome for an undetermined period of time. It must be recognized that the consecration of the eucharist was thought in Rome and elsewhere to be due to the descent of the Holy Spirit on the offerings, and that this descent was obtained by the epiclesis. This former concordance of the Roman liturgy with the other liturgies has only an archæological interest. What is certain is that since the time of Pope Gregory, perhaps earlier, Rome ceased to invite the Holy Spirit by means of the epiclesis to hallow the eucharist, and that an angel was given the duty of carrying the bread and the wine to heaven, where they were consecrated.

Let us now observe the history of the Roman canon. For a long time it was known only in Rome, and in the churches that owed immediate obedience to Rome. This region, limited to central Italy and the islands, was relatively small. At the beginning of the seventh century the Archbishop of Canterbury imposed it on the Anglo-Saxon church which he had just founded in the name of Pope Gregory. A century and a half later the Anglo-Saxon Boniface, devoted to Rome, attempted to introduce it into the Frankish church. The work initiated by Boniface was completed by his powerful disciple Pepin the Short, and in the last quarter of the eighth century the Roman liturgy, with the addition of certain foreign elements, which do not concern us here, became general in the land of the Franks. Soon after, associated with the prosperity of the Frankish Empire, it was established from the Baltic to the Ebro. Spain, resisting the Frankish yoke successfully, escaped the

yoke of the Roman canon and preserved its liturgy, called the Mozarabic, though its religious independence fell before Gregory VII. At the end of the eleventh century, throughout the Western Church the Mass was said according to the Roman canon. Henceforth this was to be the rule. Except among the Christians of the East, the Holy Ghost was no longer to be invited to descend upon the offerings; everywhere in the Catholic world the priests, having commemorated the Passion of Christ, asked God to send his holy angel to carry the elements of the eucharist to the heavenly altar, and completed the work of consecration by the prayer *Supplices*.

Never, it must be admitted, could a prayer be so robbed of sense. When it was introduced into the Frankish Church it met with a doctrine directly opposed to it. From the beginning there was direct opposition between the prayer *Supplices* and the thought of the priests who recited it. This opposition, instead of lessening, became greater and more complex with time. This we shall see later.

3. CONSECRATION BY THE SIGN OF THE CROSS

The sign of the cross which Christians, as early as the time of Tertullian, were in the habit of tracing on their brows (*De Corona*, 3), and which, from the time of Augustine (*Tr. in Jo.*, 118, 5), had a part in all religious ritual, was not likely to be left out of the Mass. We know, in fact, from St. Chrysostom (*Quod Christus sit Deus*, 9) that "the mystic banquet" was not celebrated without the sign of the cross. It played, however, a secondary part. In the Orient and in Africa it had been eclipsed by the epiclesis, which had the power of evoking the Holy Ghost in the elements of the eucharist. At Rome it was the angel who had the

whole duty of carrying the eucharist to heaven to be consecrated. The Frankish Church held aloof in this matter from the Eastern Church, and from the churches of Rome and of Africa. In this church the consecration of the eucharist was accomplished essentially by the sign of the cross made over the bread and the wine. As a consequence a certain degree of honour was accorded to the hand which made the holy sign, deriving this power from the rite of unction.

In *Vitae Patrum*, 16, 2, Gregory of Tours recounts that the holy abbot Venantius, while taking part one day in the Mass, received the following favour from heaven :—

At the moment when the holy offering is blessed by the sign of the cross according to Catholic use, he saw an ancient man honoured by the clergy climb down in some way or another by a ladder placed against the window of the apse and bless with his right hand the sacrifice placed on the altar.

During his stay in France Boniface became acquainted with the theology of the signs of the cross, and was convinced that these signs were necessary for the hallowing of the eucharist. On the other hand, he was accustomed to say Mass according to the Roman canon, and found himself therefore confronted with a weighty problem, that of deciding at what points of the canon the signs of the cross should properly be made. Since he could learn nothing from the Frankish bishops in this difficulty, he turned to Pope Zacharias (751) and asked him for the information that he required. Zacharias, very probably, had never given a thought to the problem posed by Boniface. As he wished to be agreeable to so good a servant of the Roman Church, he, nevertheless, marked on a roll the points at which the signs of the cross should be made. (Migne, 89, 953.)

Further information is lacking. We can, however, easily complete it by induction. Boniface, having obtained the solution that he desired, used his influence to enforce its use. It was due to him that in France Mass began to be said according to the Roman canon, with the signs of the cross interpolated at the points marked by Zacharias. When Pepin the Short forced upon the Frankish Church the Roman liturgy, the road to follow had already been marked out. The following texts will give us an idea of what was thought of the sign of the cross.

The Fathers at the Council of Paris in 825, in their letter to Louis the Debonair, 14, among several proofs of the superiority of the sign of the cross over images, advance this :—

What shall we say of the consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the holy solemnity of the Mass? From the moment the consecration begins right up to the end, they are blessed without interruption by the sign of the cross, and whoever wishes to make this consecration in a manner acceptable to God must always consecrate by the sign of the cross.

Alcuin, in the Caroline Books, 2, 27, although faithful to the old Roman theology, describes the part played by the hand of the priest, and, in consequence, refers to the sign of the cross.

The sacrament of the body and the blood of the Lord.....is made by the hand of the priest and by the invocation of the divine name.....In order to consecrate these things the priest.....celebrates the passion of the Lord, his resurrection, his most glorious ascension, and prays that these things may be carried by the hand of an angel to the august altar of God and placed before his majesty.

Hincmar (*Epist.* 1, 15) emphasizes the sign of the

cross, and associates with it the "prayer"—i.e., the canon :—

The hand [of the bishop] which has received the unction of the holy oil causes the bread and the wine to become the body and sacrament of the blood of Christ by the prayer and the sign of the cross.

The Council of Tribur, in 895, speaking of priests summoned to take the oath, says (canon 21) :—

The body and the blood of the Lord are made by their hands.

4. QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE CONSECRATION

In this section it is proposed to deal with certain acts associated with the consecration in the ancient Mass.

The *Liber Pontificalis* says that Pope Alexander (c. 120) "mingled the passion of the Lord in the sermons of the priests when Mass was celebrated." This assertion is irreconcilable with the text of Irenæus, who was unacquainted with the Mass, and antedates by a century the reform that Hippolytus accomplished. But it is singularly embarrassing for theologians to learn that the memorial of the passion was introduced into the Mass by a Pope of the second century.

The first Roman *Ordo* mentions the *Sancta* and the ceremony to which it gave rise. The *Sancta* was a scrap of the eucharist which had been blessed by the Pope ; but, not being consumed immediately, had been put away in the cupboard of the sacristy after the Mass. At the next Mass the *Sancta* was placed on the altar, and the Pope, just before the communion, placed it in the cup. There must be added to the *Sancta* the "ferment" or the "scrap of ferment" to which reference is made in a famous extract from the letter of Innocent to Decentius and in the first *Ordo*. This ferment was also part of the consecrated eucharist that the Pope

used to send to the titular priests of the churches of Rome, and which these priests used to put in the cup at the moment of communion. The *Sancta* and the ferment were intended to produce a unity of sacrifice. Thanks to the former, the sacrifice of the morrow became one and the same with the sacrifice of to-day. Thanks to the latter, the sacrifices made in the various churches of Rome were one and the same with that made by the Pope.

Before the time of Pope St. Gregory the *Pater* did not form a part of the Roman Mass. St. Gregory introduced it, taking as his example the oriental liturgy. In his letter to John of Syracuse he explains his motive thus :—

I have placed the Lord's prayer just after the supplication because it was the custom of the apostles to consecrate the host by prayer only (*quia apostolorum fuit ad ipsam solum modo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent*). It seemed to me most unfitting that over the oblation should be recited the supplication, the work of a man of letters, and not to recite over the body and blood of the Redeemer the prayer which he himself composed.

What Gregory said about the apostles has no historic value, but from the theological point of view his text creates considerable difficulties for the apologists and drives them to the most unlikely arguments to overcome the obstacles.

The Frank edition of the first Roman *Ordo*, that which the Bishop of Metz, Amalarius, was in the habit of using, prescribed in the office of Good Friday the placing of a piece of host consecrated the day before in the cup before the latter was consecrated. It then added :—

The unconsecrated wine is sanctified by the sanctified bread.

Amalarius, taking the *Ordo* as his authority, declared it the most natural thing in the world that the consecrated host should sanctify the wine with which it is mingled. Later, when he was aware of the letter of Pope Gregory to John of Syracuse, he stated that the consecration could take effect by means of a *Pater*. It must be borne in mind that we are still dealing with the early Mass, and that the consecration had not yet taken its modern signification.¹

¹ Cp. the work of Dulac and Walafrid Strabon in the *Revue d'histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, 1920, p. 415, and 1921, p. 126; the *In ordinem romanum commentarius prævius* of Mabillon in vol. 78 of Migne's Latin Patrology, art. 6 and 12. Martène thinks that the ritual of the Roman *Sancta* used to exist with variants in the Gallic liturgy. See his Preface to the *Expositio brevis antiquæ liturgiæ gallicanæ*, 11, and his note on the rite *de sono*, Migne, 72.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

1. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE EARLY MASS BY THE FATHERS

FROM the middle of the third century the Fathers, when they refer to the Mass, fix their attention on the message of Christ to St. Paul and on the words "This is my body." With these as their authority they declare that the Mass is the memorial of the redeeming death of the Saviour. They say, moreover, that the elements of the eucharist become converted during the ceremony into the body and the blood of Christ.

But what do they mean by the body and blood of Christ? After the death of Tertullian the Fathers lost all knowledge of the circumstances that gave rise to "this is my body," and which were the key to its meaning. They were driven to fabricating fantastic interpretations. The body of Christ, said Cyprian and Augustine, is the Christian people, or, if you will, the Church. It is, said Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Basil, and Jerome, the doctrine by which the Word nourishes our souls. Pope Leo declared that it was the supernatural life that the Christian is endowed with when reborn by baptism. According to Ambrose, Christ, when he said "This is my body," meant his earthly body which was nailed to the Cross. This last explanation, to which Origen and Augustine gave at times their support, is as unnatural as the others, but it has the advantage of being connected with the memorial of the passion which was celebrated at

the Mass. From the time of St. Gregory onwards it steadily drove out the other interpretations.

The Fathers of the Church do not, then, agree when they interpret "This is my body." They are at one in their relation of these words to the elements of the eucharist. They one and all are of opinion that the bread and the wine are symbols. Symbols of the Church, of the Christian people, symbols of revealed doctrine, symbols of regeneration by baptism, symbols of the body crucified and the blood shed on Calvary, their mission is to symbolize a higher and invisible reality, which is, since Pope Gregory, redemption by the death of Christ.

When the Fathers wished to emphasize this attribute they made use of various expressions (symbol, antitype, type, sacrament, mystery), among which the name "sacrament" has remained in the Latin Church. The Latin Fathers are in the habit of telling us, therefore, that the bread and the wine are the sacraments of the body and blood of the Saviour. It is not possible to be mistaken on this point, since St. Augustine tells us in so many words that (*De Civitate Dei*, 10, 5) the visible sacrifice is "the sacrament—that is to say, the symbol," of the sacrifice invisible. A sacrament is a sacred symbol.

The Fathers do not always explain that the eucharist is to be regarded as the symbols, the antitypes, the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ. They put it briefly that the bread and the wine are the body and the blood of Christ. They cannot avoid these expressions, since they are to be found in the canonical books and in the liturgy, where their original sense has been lost. But when they employ such language they always make clear in what sense they use it. For example, St. Cyprian tells us that the blood of Christ is in the

chalice, but he adds that the Christian people are there also. This second statement throws light on the first. Pope St. Gregory says that the faithful are fed on the flesh of the Saviour and drink the blood of the lamb. He goes on to say that Christ no longer dies in himself, and that the drama of the passion which is unfolded at the Mass takes place partly in the symbols and partly in the imagination of Christians. As an example of the use made by the Fathers of the expression "body and blood of Christ," it is to be noted that St. Augustine does not refrain from employing it himself. We are, then, brought back to our opinion that the eucharist was for the doctors a sacred symbol and nothing more.

Nothing more, and nothing less. Promoted to the honour of representing the body and blood of Christ, the bread and wine receive this investiture by means of an august consecration. They are sacred symbols. We have seen by what rites the consecration is accomplished. Its power is great, as may be seen in the liturgies and in the Fathers who declare that the Holy Ghost, or the Word, comes down upon the bread and wine, or that an angel bears them in his hands to the altar of heaven, or even that a transformation is occasioned in the substance of the host. It is great, but it must not be forgotten that the Holy Ghost comes down on the water of baptism. It is great, yet the Fathers rejoice over the transformation wrought in the Christian at baptism. Consecrated or not, the bread and wine remain bread and wine, just as the water of baptism remains water and the Christian remains a man. Not one of the Fathers is acquainted with transubstantiation. All, including Pope Gregory, for whom the transformation is one of body and blood into bread and wine (which is pure fiction)—all of them look upon the mass as a commemoration of the sacrifice on

Calvary, but not one of them thought that the victim of Calvary was actually in the bread and wine used in the eucharist.

2. THE POPULAR INTERPRETATION

If the eucharist and the Mass were interpreted in these ways by the Fathers, what was their meaning for the people?

The eucharist which the faithful took home from the Mass, which they even took on journeys with them, was for them an amulet. Gregory of Nazianzun (*Orat.* 8, 18) tells how his sister Gorgonia, stricken by a paralytic stroke, rubbed her body with the sacred host (he says "with the symbols of the precious body and blood") and was cured. Satyrus, the brother of Ambrose, in peril of death by drowning, found safety through the eucharist. He had not yet been baptized, and did not therefore carry on his person the "divine sacrament of the faithful." One of his companions possessed a morsel. Satyrus begged it of him, wrapped it in a cloth, and fastened it round his neck. He then threw himself into the waves and swam safely ashore. Ambrose (*De Excessu sui fratris*, 1, 43, 46) recounts this happening as a marvel, though he fails to add that the eucharist, fastened to Satyrus's neck, became soaked in salt water and had afterwards to be thrown on the dust heap as a nasty sodden mess. In Africa a mother discovered no better remedy for the blindness of her child than a holy wafer compress. Augustine, in telling this story (*Opus imperfectum*, 3, 162), cites it with approval as a mark of faith.

So it may be seen that the early Christians looked upon the eucharist much as modern Christians look upon the water of Lourdes. It was, just as the scapulary is to-day, an infallible pledge of salvation. They

considered (a conviction derived from Marcion) that the eucharist was a talisman, so powerful indeed that a scrap of consecrated bread was placed in the mouth of a corpse to assure salvation. Although this practice was condemned by the Council of Hippo in 393, it continued for a long time afterwards, except that the eucharist was placed on the breast of the dead instead of in the mouth. St. Benedict, patriarch of monastic life, handed the eucharist to a layman so that it might be placed on the breast of a young monk who had died outside his monastery. Pope Gregory recounts this (*Dialog.*, 2, 24) without apparently finding anything reprehensible in it. Bede, in the life of St. Cuthbert, tells a similar tale—how the monks placed the eucharist on the breast of the holy bishop before carrying the body out of the monastery. This is not to be found in the texts of Bede that have come down to us, but is cited by Amalarius (*De eccles. officiis*, 4, 41).

I shall conclude with a few words on the attitude of the people towards the Mass. When Cæsarius took direction of the church at Arles in the beginning of the sixth century, the first part of the Mass was read in the midst of such a din of chatter that the voice of the officiating priest was drowned. When the reading of the Gospel ended, the hubbub ceased, for the simple reason that "nearly everyone" had left. At Antioch, when Chrysostom dwelt there about the end of the fourth century, the congregation remained at the Mass after the reading of the holy books, but "when the Holy Ghost descends and touches the offerings the communicants shout out, quarrel, abuse one another, and come to blows." In Africa, at the close of the fourth century, holy communion developed into drinking bouts which occasionally ended in drunkenness. Augustine tells us how, at the peril of his life, he suppressed

these shocking doings at Hippo. His predecessors had allowed them to go on, and we have ground for believing that his brother bishops elsewhere in Africa failed to follow his example.¹

Briefly, the early Mass was for the Fathers of the church the memorial of the death of Christ, or, as they said, the sacrament of the Passion. For the people the eucharist was an amulet, and the Mass was the workshop where it was made.

¹ Appendix to the Sermons of St. Augustine, Ser. 281, "pene omnes recitatis lectionibus de ecclesia exeunt"; Chrysostom Hom. de cemetario, 3; Hom. de baptismo Christi, 4; Hom. in diem natalem Christi, 7; Augustine, Ser. 252. 4.

PART III

THE MODERN MASS

THE Mass of which I have been speaking was a memorial of the sacrifice on the cross without the victim. This Mass, which we know from the evidence of—to name only a few—St. Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Leo, and Gregory, has vanished. To the memorial without a victim has succeeded the memorial with a victim, which is the essence of the modern Mass. I propose first to show how and when the modern Mass made its appearance. I shall then deal with the problem of the consecration and that of the sacrifice. Lastly, I shall point out the survivals of the early banquet, which have lasted through many centuries, some even to the present day.

CHAPTER I

HOW AND WHEN THE MODERN MASS DEVELOPED

1. INFLUENCES WHICH PREPARED ITS APPEARANCE

TWO great influences made for the change from the early Mass to the modern Mass—first, that of the words “This is my body,” and next, that of piety.

“This is my body” was to be found in the liturgy, and the people hearing it frequently read aloud could not but be aware of it. With a slight variation it came into the rite of the communion, for the priest as he handed to each communicant the holy wafer was used to say, “The body of Christ,” to which the Christian answered “Amen.” We know now these words to have been originally a Catholic protest against the doctrine of a spiritual Christ. The dialogue of the communion meant, “Do you believe that Christ took an earthly body such as ours?”, to which the answer was “I do believe.” We know further that the doctors of the church gave various fantastic interpretations of these words, having lost the key to their meaning. It now remains to be seen what the people made of them.

The people had their own fancies as to the meaning, which were not those of the doctors. Whereas the latter saw in the eucharist the symbol of the church, of the revealed doctrine, of the life of grace, of the body of the Saviour, the people took the words literally. This is clearly shown by the success of the charlatan

Marcos, who, according to Irenæus, changed water into wine. Marcos, who was active about A.D. 160, used not to commemorate the death of Christ; he uttered only the prayers of which Irenæus gives us some extracts. He did not say the Mass, but he gave illustrations of the words "This is my body.....This is my blood." This had a noteworthy success. The people, fascinated by the marvels of the conjurer Marcos, came in crowds to watch the impostor, and drank with conviction the blood of Christ that he offered them. So that as early as 160 A.D., long before the days of the Mass, the people showed their belief in the literal interpretation of "This is my body."

This belief was confirmed later by the doctors themselves. In their popular instruction they abandoned the symbolic subtleties dear to Origen, to Augustine, and to Leo. They cast aside such terms as sacrament, symbol, and mystery, and made use simply of the words of the Gospel, often throwing into relief the paradoxes. This is what we find in Cyril of Jerusalem,¹ in St. Ambrose (*De mysteriis* and *De sacramentis*), in various homilies of St. Chrysostom, notably in that on St. Matthew and that on St. John (82 and 46). They did not hesitate to use the most realist expressions. Chrysostom says that Christ is crushed between the teeth of the faithful, and that his flesh is torn. In thus employing words that did not express their doctrine, the doctors desired to inculcate a proper respect for the eucharist. Their phrases were chosen to strike the popular imagination, and nothing more. The result was, however, to strengthen the people in their idea of a literal interpretation.

¹ In Catechism 21, 3, Cyril says that the divinity of the Holy Ghost resides in the oil of confirmation, and that the faithful, once anointed, participate in Christ and even become Christ.

The Mass of to-day can be said to have existed in an embryonic state in popular beliefs from the third century. Having captured the popular imagination, it had then to conquer the convictions of the intellectuals. To accomplish this, piety had to come to its aid. Piety could not work hand-in-hand with ritual until it had been properly established. For a long time the Mass inspired little pious sentiment. There were exceptions. Gregory of Nazianzun used to celebrate the memorial of Calvary with emotion, if we may judge by these lines in his letter to Amphilocus (11):—

Most holy servant of God, do not fail to pray for us when, by means of your word, you cause the Holy Word to come down and with the bloodless blade of your prayer you separate the body and the blood of the Lord.

St. Monica, if her son does not attribute to her his own sentiments (*Confessions*, 9, 27), was attached to the altar where “the holy victim was distributed.” In any case, St. Augustine must have been a devotee of the Mass, since he teaches us that to eat the flesh of Christ is to “recall with emotion that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.” St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Melanie, the monks of the *Historia monachorum* (translated by Rufinus), and Bishop Cassius, who, so Pope Gregory tells us, used daily to celebrate the Mass “immolating himself in great sentiments of contrition”—all these performed the rite with piety. But what are these spread over twelve generations? During four centuries, it can be asserted, Christians came to the Mass without a jot of piety. The mob, which no inconsistency can shock, thought it perfectly natural to go to Mass to eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, and to behave as if at a fair. The bishops, too, recited the Mass with scarce a vestige of reverence, and thought it

sufficient to require a decent attitude from the flock without exacting more. The ideal of Chrysostom was that at the Mass the congregation should behave as though at the Olympic games (*On the Baptism of Christ*, 4).

Pope Gregory changed all this. In his *Dialogues*, in some of his homilies on the gospels, this Pope spoke with great emotion of the sacrifice of the Mass, its grandeur, its virtues, and also of the duties it imposed on the faithful. He says (*Dial.*, 4, 59) :—

When we do these things we must of necessity offer ourselves to God with a contrite heart. For we who celebrate these mysteries of the Passion of our Lord, we must imitate in our person what we do. It is when we have made hosts of ourselves that there is really a host offered up to God.

St. Gregory was the apostle of devotion at the Mass. He was so during his life, and became even more so after his death. His books, read and venerated in the monasteries almost to the same extent as the gospels, were the missionaries of his doctrine. In his school the priest learned that, if only he offered himself up to God when he celebrated the Mass, the immolation on Calvary would be renewed. He learned that this sublime mystery should not be impeded by an ill-disposed frame of mind. The Mass came to arouse sentiments of piety.

Little by little the spirit of piety did its work. The faithful came to Mass as to a drama, just as though it were the Passion at Oberammergau, or to the liturgy of the stations of the cross. The divine actor was there, hidden behind a veil. At each performance he gave his life anew for the salvation of the world, as he had done formerly upon the cross. With him the communicants offered themselves. The more the offering was com-

plete, the deeper were the Saviour's wounds, the thicker fell the blows that bruised his adored flesh, the fiercer struck the hammers on the nails that pierced his hands and feet, and the more generously the blood welled forth from his torn side. The eyes of faith saw once more the Passion of the cross, just as much as the eyes of the body behold it at Oberammergau or at the procession of the stations of the cross. But the acting of the players and the sight of the pictures leave only a passing illusion ; and the evidence of the senses warns the spectator that it is only an illusion. Drama ever gives at its conclusion an impression of awaking from dream to reality. At the Mass, on the other hand, everything is invisible ; nothing counteracts the illusion. Nothing except the voice of tradition, which, since the third century, tells Christians that the Mass is a memorial of the Passion ; nothing but that—that the Passion is renewed in symbol, and in symbol only.

Piety then clashed with tradition. At first inspiring a few devout only, it was modelled on the examples of Gregory of Nazianzus, of Basil, of Chrysostom, and of Pope Gregory, and was subjected to the demands of history. Little by little, piety spread till it dominated the monasteries. Through the monasteries it dominated the clergy, and through the clergy the people. The inevitable result was that the pious organized the Mass according to their notions ; the divine victim came down from heaven and passed into the bread and wine of the eucharist. To justify this reform, witnesses were prepared who were ready to repeat whatever was put into their mouths. Piety attacked tradition, overthrew her and gagged her. That is how the modern Mass, which had been lying dormant in embryo for so long, became recognized by the theological world and took its place among accepted dogmas. I propose to show briefly

the manner in which this occurred. It must not be forgotten that from the time of Pope Gregory the modern Mass was fermenting, as it were, in the monasteries, and that it was bound to develop, although some events might hinder its progress and others accelerate it. The moment of its public acceptance was certain to produce incidents which would give rise to a buzz of passing rumour.

2. DATE OF ITS APPEARANCE

In 844 Charles the Bald was presented with a book, dedicated to him, which dealt with *The Body and the Blood of the Lord*. The author was Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbie, near Amiens. He taught that the eucharist contained the flesh of the Saviour, the true historic flesh, which, as he said, "was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered on the cross, and rose again." He proved this assertion by the words with which Christ ordained that his flesh should be eaten and his blood drunk in the sermon on the bread of life. He also mentions the words (ch. xv), "This is my body," etc., which later, in his letter to Frudegard, he gave the first place. This book was violently attacked by Ratramne, by Hrabanus Maurus, whose polemic was echoed in the following century by the monk Heribert. Paschasius was denounced as an innovator. It was true he was an innovator. But he expressed in clear phrases what many had thought up to then in a confused and inarticulate way. Moreover, the pious were pleased. One by one he gained adherents. One of the most important was Odo of Cluny, who, in his *Collationes*, 2, 30, quoted Paschasius Radbert with eulogy. With Odo, Cluny fell away from the past. Tradition, however, found defenders. If we may judge by Fulbert of Chartres, the two forces were about equal during the

tenth century. Shortly after, the episode of Berenger shows us that the reign of tradition had come to an end.

Berenger was a teacher of theology at the cathedral of Tours, and what Bossuet would have called a man "de l'ancienne marque." A great reader of the Fathers, he looked upon the Mass as the memorial of the Passion, the eucharist as a symbol of the body of Christ. Hearing that the prior of the Abbey of Bec, Lanfranc, was in the habit of referring to him in abusive terms, he sent Lanfranc a scornful letter, which was the beginning of his troubles. It was forwarded to Rome, read before the Council which was then being held (1050) in that city, and condemned by Pope Leo IX. This first condemnation was followed by several others, among which was one at the Council of Rome presided over by Pope Nicholas II in 1059, where Berenger was condemned to burn his writings himself in the presence of over a hundred bishops, and to sign the following profession of faith:—

I, Berenger, unworthy deacon of the church of St. Maurice of Angers.....I profess from my heart and from my mouth.....that the bread and the wine placed on the altar are, after their consecration, not simply a symbol, but the veritable body and the veritable blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that this body is palpably, and not merely symbolically, but in truth, touched by the hands of the priests, broken and torn by the teeth of the faithful.....

This profession was published throughout the towns of Gaul, of Italy, and of Germany, and wherever the "aberrations" of Berenger had been known. Cited by Yves de Chartres (*Decretum*, 2, 10), and later by Gratian (*De Consecratione*, 2, 42), this declaration became law for the theologian.

An unparalleled event in the history of the Papacy

can here be mentioned. The definition formulated by the Roman Council of 1059, on which theologians were to base their arguments for the real presence, was treated by Pope Gregory VII as null and void. The reason for this may be found in the following facts. Paschasius Radbert, the promoter of the new doctrine, was French; Odo of Cluny was French; Leo X was an Alsatian and a friend of Cluny; Lanfranc, though Italian by birth, was a member of a French monastery; Humbert, Guitmond, and Durand were French monks. Hildebrand, on the other hand, was neither French nor a disciple of Cluny. Brought up in an atmosphere of tradition, he took to the new ideas slowly, and for many years protected Berenger from his enemies. When he became Pope he determined to seek new enlightenment, and charged the Roman Council of 1079 to clear up the vexed question of the eucharist. In this Council the partisans of Berenger were in a minority. For two days this devoted minority defended their cause. On the third day, or even at the end of the second, the Pope judged the matter sufficiently disputed, declared for the majority, and required Berenger to sign a profession of faith similar to that of 1059.

Gregory VII brought up at this tribunal a matter that had already been judged by his predecessors, and behaved as if the Berengarian controversy had not already been definitively closed. His sentence can be added to that of Nicholas, and the old doctrine of the memorial of the Passion may be said to have fallen at the Councils of 1059 and 1079, never to rise again. Though Paschasius Radbert had dealt it a mortal wound, it had struggled on till then, when the Church gave it its death blow. Henceforth, when the elements of the eucharist are consecrated, there is no longer any bread or wine except in appearance. A conversion of substance

has been performed, and Christ has taken their place. About 1150 the theologian Roland Bandinelli, later Pope under the name of Alexander III, gave to this change the name of transubstantiation (Gietl, *Die Sentenzen Rolands*, p. 231). This term, which is frequently met with during the second half of the twelfth century, was adopted officially at the Council of Latrano, 1215.

In what manner are the body and the blood of Christ present under the aspect of bread and wine? The Council of Rome of 1059 enjoined Berenger to believe that the body of Christ was "broken and torn by the teeth of the faithful." But theologians gave up this cannibalistic prescription at an early date. The old texts considered the bread and wine to be impregnated with the virtue of the Holy Ghost (or the Word), and declared that this power was in no way divided, but resided whole in the least little fragment of the bread. From the end of the eleventh century this doctrine was applied to the body and the blood of Christ, which was said to enter integrally into the smallest quantities of the holy elements.¹ In other words, Christ is present in the eucharist in the manner of ghosts. From this it follows that the doctrine of the indivisible presence laid down by the Council of Trent is derived from texts which were unaware of the doctrine of the real presence.

Anyone can see what a waste of time it was for people like Descartes to attempt to reconcile this dogma with scientific fact!

¹ Sermon of Faust, Homily 5 in the Sermons of Cæsarius of Arles.

CHAPTER II

CONSECRATION IN THE MODERN MASS

AFTER the Council at Rome in 1059 the Mass ceased to be a simple memorial of the passion. Christ was made to come down upon the altar and take the place of the bread and the wine, which remained there only in appearance. This prodigy was produced by the consecration which had taken place formerly, but which now took on a new power and caused transubstantiation.

In what manner will this consecration exercise the marvellous power which is henceforward vested in it? Will it preserve its old form? Will it take on a new aspect? History will answer our questions.

1. CONSECRATION STILL MADE BY THE SIGNS OF THE CROSS

The *Micrologos*, written in 1090, is one of the most important books of the eleventh century. Bernold, its author, is an ardent admirer of Gregory VII. He adopts the doctrine commended by Radbert and sanctioned by Rome; he believes in the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. He has, however, no idea that the words "This is my body" can have any influence in this prodigy. He comments (12-14) on the canon without even mentioning them. On the other hand, he attaches great importance to the sign of the cross that the priest makes over the offerings. He explains in detail when, how often, and in what manner they should be made. In a letter written to Barnhard he says that the corporal things

placed on the altar are converted into divine things by the "sacerdotal benediction." Bernold interprets this benediction as the Roman Church has done since 1059; but he makes his explanation in the manner usual in France in Merovingian times.¹

In 1075 Gregory VII, having heard that the priest Luitprand had been mutilated on account of his attachment to ecclesiastical discipline, wrote him a letter of consolation (*Extravag.* 19, Migne 148, 661) in which he said:—

Courage, martyr of Christ! the function of priest, which was confided to you the first time by the unction of oil, has been a second time confirmed by the bath of blood.

Gregory here attributes to the unction of hands the ordination of the priesthood. He would probably attribute the consecration of the eucharist similarly to the signs of the cross. At this date he was not yet a declared supporter of the real presence.

Pope Urban II, in the Council at Rome 1099, forbade clerks to render homage by means of the hand. Why? Since it would be abominable to render homage by means of "hands which, with the sign of the cross, create God, who is the creator of all, *Deum cuncta creantem suo signaculo creant.*"²

The homily said to be by Leo IV, which was made use of by many bishops in the tenth century, instructs the priests (13) how they should make the sign of the cross over the cup and the host. It adds that without the sign of the cross there is no benediction.³

¹ Dulac, "Bernold of Constance," in the *Revue d'histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, 1911, p. 464. Note that the supplement to the *Micrologos* published by Bäumer is apocryphal.

² Text of Roger of Hoveden in *Annales rerum anglicanarum*, 1, anno 1099. Hefele gives an inaccurate précis.

³ Lawson, *L'homélie dite de Léon IV* in *Revue d'histoire et de Litt. rel.* 1914, p. 117.

Udalric, Bishop of Augsburg in the tenth century, was a saint. His biographer recounts how several priests saw "the hand of the Lord" making with him the sign of the cross, *viderunt dexteram Domini cum eo sacramenta consecrare et signum crucis imponere*.¹

Gilbert, Bishop of Poitiers in the twelfth century, on hearing that a priest, when he saw after the Pater that there was neither water nor wine in the chalice, had recited the whole canon a second time, wrote as follows:—

When the signs of the cross have been made according to custom, Christ is wholly and entirely in the sacrament of bread and wine. The priest should not, therefore, make the signs a second time over bread that has already been consecrated, nor should he pour wine and water into the chalice, but hold communion with the bread only.²

Jean d'Avranches, who describes the rites of the Mass in *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, makes no mention, it is true, of the sign of the cross, nor does he refer to the words "This is my body." He says, moreover, that, after the last syllables of the *Pater*, the priest should "complete the work of consecration." According to him, consecration develops progressively throughout the canon, and is not complete till the moment when the priest places in the chalice a fragment of the host.³ It would seem that he, too, attributes a leading part to the signs of the cross.

Yves de Chartres, in letter 63, explains that ordination is necessary in order that the "mystic benedictions and supplications by means of which the consecration

¹ *Vita Oudalrici*, Migne, 135, 1015. Also *Vita* by Bernon, Migne, 142, 1191.

² Note 9 by d'Achéry on *De pignoribus sanctorum*, by Guibert de Nogent, in Migne, 156, 1024.

³ Migne, 147, 36.

of the body and blood of the Lord is accomplished" should be properly made. He teaches also that the laying on of hands by a bishop gives to those who receive it the power of making the "sacerdotal benediction," and of consecrating by means of "a mystic benediction" the body and blood of the Lord. In letter 231 he divides into two categories the signs of the cross made at the Mass. In the first class come the signs "by means of which the gifts.....are changed into the body and blood of Christ"; the second class includes those that make the gifts thus changed salutary for us. Lastly, in sermon 5, he explains that the signs of the cross "commemorate the death of the Lord," and that, in consequence, they realize "the form of the consecration" prescribed by the Saviour, who ordained that his death should be commemorated. Yves attributes quite clearly the consecration to a series of signs of the cross which the priest makes in the course of the Mass. He does not give his authority for this series.¹

2. CONSECRATION BY THE WORDS "THIS IS MY BODY"

St. Ambrose and Chrysostom thought that the Holy Ghost, invoked by the epiclesis, came down upon the eucharist (p. 88). In certain texts they look upon the words "This is my body" as the agent of consecration. Ambrose says in *De Mysteriis*, 52, 54:—

If benediction by man can change the nature of these things, what shall we say of the divine consecration that the words of the Saviour himself

¹ Migne, 162. In sermon 5, which is very long, the important passages are on pp. 556-558. The words "cum interpositione dominicorum verborum," p. 566, if they have not been interpolated, must refer to the command given by Christ as to the commemoration of his death.

accomplish? For the sacrament that you receive is made by the words of Christ.....The Lord Jesus cries, "This is my body." Before the benediction by these celestial words another designation is used; after consecration the body of Christ is spoken of.

In *De Sacramentis*, 4, 14, 16, 23, similar phrases are employed.

Ambrose and Chrysostom have apparently contradicted themselves. In appearance only. As we have already noticed, they use at times, in referring to the eucharist, realist expressions with a pedagogic intent in order to strike the imaginations of their hearers. There is nothing further in these texts which touches on our immediate problem. When Ambrose and Chrysostom say that the words "This is my body" replace the bread and wine with the body of Christ, they only mean that these words raise the bread and wine to the dignity of a memorial of the Passion; that they make of them a representation of the body immolated on the cross. No doubt in using this language they hold themselves aloof from the popular opinion embodied in the liturgies. The difference comes briefly to this: If the liturgies and the bulk of the doctors are to be believed, it is the coming of the Holy Spirit that invests the eucharist with the right of representing the body and the blood of Christ, and of being called by these names. Ambrose and Chrysostom distinguish between investiture and the sanctity which is its necessary consequence. According to them, the words "This is my body" make the bread the representative of Christ. The Holy Ghost gives to the eucharist the sanctity without which they would not be worthy of their sublime mission.

Paschasius Radbert, when he wrote the book that

marks the turning point of eucharistic doctrine, had read the *De Sacramentis* of Ambrose, and from this he became convinced that "This is my body" produces, when the priest utters it, the prodigy of transubstantiation. Nevertheless, his conviction passed unnoticed. Two centuries later, when the controversy over Berenger broke out, the *De Sacramentis* was once more exploited, and many of its readers, notably Brunon, Bishop of Angers (Migne, 147, 1203), professed the same opinion as Radbert. But even then the attention of theologians was not yet drawn in this direction. Consecration by the words "This is my body" took the place of the signs of the cross and the descent of the Holy Ghost only from the middle of the twelfth century. Three men in particular brought about this change. They were Abelard, Gratian, and Peter Lombard. Abelard reproduced in his *Sic et Non* (117, Migne 178, 1520) the texts from *De Sacramentis* and made them known to many disciples. Gratian quoted the extracts from Abelard in his Decretal (*De Consecratione*, 2, 55, 72). Peter Lombard made use of the extracts in Gratian, and introduced them in his *Sentences* (4, 8, 3). Abelard drew no conclusions from the texts, as far as we know from what is now extant of his writings. Gratian and Peter were less restrained, and taught that the consecration was produced by the words "This is my body" that the priest uttered in the canon. This doctrine had a rapid success. Hugues de Mortagne, in *Somme des Sentences*, 2, 4, which was to be met with till recently under the name of Hugues de Saint Victor; Robert Paululus in *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, 2, 32; Innocent III in *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, 4, 18, followed, and were followed in turn by the great scholastics of the thirteenth century. Peter Lombard was the principal agent in the propagation of the new

doctrine, though it is to be noted that, before him and outside the sphere of his influence, Roland Bandinelli, the future Pope Alexander III, had followed in the footsteps of Gratian.

3. PROBLEMS

It may be said, therefore, that from the middle of the twelfth century, with ever-increasing support, the doctrine has been held that Christ is brought down on to the altar by means of the words "This is my body," and that he takes the place of the bread and wine of which there remains only the appearance. Nevertheless, the priest, although Christ has appeared, continues to make the signs of the cross such as he had been making before the august moment of consecration. What could be the use of these gestures over the body of the Saviour? Robert Paululus, 232, 37, and Innocent III, 5, 2, made no attempt to hide the difficulty they had in finding some explanation. It was only by an appeal to mystic considerations that they were able to formulate any explanation at all.

At the time of the Council of Florence, Latin theologians discovered that in the Greek Church the consecration was not made as in the Roman Church, since the Holy Ghost was invoked after the words "This is my body" had been pronounced. This did not trouble them in the least; they did not consider that an important historical problem had been raised. Their verdict was simple. Since the custom of the Roman Church is the true one, that of the Greek Church must be false. The Greeks were therefore summoned to discontinue their liturgy. They riposted through the mouth of Cabasilas: "In your church the priest, after having uttered the words of consecration, calls on God to cause an angel to carry the offering to

heaven. Is such a request any less incongruous than ours?"¹ Such an objection left the Latin theologians quite untroubled; they ignored it.

The situation altered with the arrival of the Protestants, for they passed the canon of the Mass through a sieve and brought to light all the contradictions that exist between the canon and the dogma of transubstantiation. They added that these differences were a mark of the variation of the Roman Church from the true faith. The liturgy of the Mass, they said, was composed at a time when the doctrine of the real presence did not exist, and that it was exactly adapted to the purpose required of it. If to-day it demands of the priest acts and words of a nonsensical nature, that is not the fault of the liturgy, but is due to the changes in belief. The manner in which the Catholics attempted to parry this attack can be seen in Bossuet's *Explication de quelques difficultés sur les prières de la messe*. The great bishop, in many an elegant and well-balanced phrase, serves up a defence without a scrap of reasonable argument.

The people were, of course, unaware of these controversies which passed over their heads. The sole rite which they understood was that of the communion in which the priest said: "May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul for the life eternal." With their faith firmly grounded in this liturgy, they consumed in tranquillity the flesh of Jesus Christ and serenely drank his blood. They did not worry about the whys and wherefores of this mystery. If they thought anything, it was that the divine power accomplished its work gradually, attaining perfection at the moment of communion. The discussions of theologians

¹ Turmel, *Histoire de la Théologie Positive*, 1, 450.

were as null and void until the day on which they produced a new rite—that of the elevation.

4. THE ELEVATION OF THE HOST

The theologians of the Middle Ages, including those of the twelfth century, when they describe the rites of the Mass, note that the priest, at the moment when he is about to recite the *Pater*—that is, at the end of the canon—with the help of the deacon raises aloft the host and the chalice. According to the *Micrologos*, this act symbolized the taking down from the cross of the body of Christ by Joseph of Arimathea to place it in the tomb. The elevation of to-day did not exist. To what, then, was it due?

It was instituted by Eudes de Sully, Bishop of Paris from 1196 to 1208, in the following decree:—

When the priests, in the canon of the Mass, begin *Qui pridie* holding the host, they should not raise it aloft straightway, for it would then be seen of all the people; but they should hold it in some manner breast high until they have uttered the words *Hoc est corpus meum*. Then they should raise the host so that it should be beheld by all (Mansi, *Concilia*, 22, 682).

It has been said that this decree is directly contrary to the doctrine according to which the transubstantiation was not accomplished in the host till after the consecration of the chalice.¹ The decree does not show a trace of this opposition. It was evidently intended to correct a practice of showing the host to the people before the words "This is my body" had been said. It obviously means that to show the host to the people was to offer it for adoration, which signified that the consecra-

¹ This theory was maintained, Césaire de Heisterbach, *Libri Miraculorum*, 9, 27; but Eudes did not intend this.

tion was achieved; but this is not so until the words "This is my body" have been said. It was opposed to the doctrine that the consecration was complete before the recitation of the words "This is my body." This doctrine appears in *De Canoni Mystici Libaminis*, which was composed at the end of the twelfth century by Jean de Cornouailles according to some, by Richard of Wedinghausen according to others, and which is to be found among the works of Hugues de Saint Victor. In this work we are told that the consecration of the eucharist is due to the signs of the cross which are made between the *Qui pridie* and the *Unde et Memores*.¹ We are not told, it is true, that the host should be shown the people before the words "This is my body" have been pronounced, but principles are expounded which would authorize such a practice.

The chain of events which led up to this state of affairs can be distinguished. The old Frankish theory of consecration by means of signs of the cross was adapted, after the Council of Rome in 1059, to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and laid down that this phenomenon was caused by the signs of the cross made over the eucharistic elements. Several of its partisans believed that the signs did not achieve their effect till the end of the canon. Others thought that the consecrating signs were those made during the prayer *Supplices*; and this opinion, which was apparently in literal agreement with the Roman canon, appears to have been held by Yves de Chartres. When the doctrine of consecration by "This is my body" made its appearance

¹ Migne, 177, 459: "It is the cross of Christ which.....consecrates and sanctifies the sacrament on the altar..... (462) It is by the third group of the signs of the cross rather than by any others that the bread and the wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ."

the partisans of the signs of the cross, fearing that their positions were threatened, announced that consecration was due to the signs of the cross in the prayer *Qui pridie*, and they displayed to the people the host over which the sign of the cross had just been made. This, then, was the origin of the elevation—an engine of war, so they thought, against the doctrine popularized by Peter Lombard. The decree of Eudes de Sully doubtless instituted our elevation of to-day, but it did not introduce the idea of elevation. It put the moment of elevation later by a few seconds, and by so doing gave the partisans of Peter Lombard the weapon which was destined to be fatal to it.

The decree of Eudes de Sully, the true motive for which was soon forgotten, became more and more widely accepted, and in the end took its place in the catalogue of rubrics.¹

In 1606 the rite of elevation was imposed on the whole Latin Church. During the thirteenth century the host alone was raised. The elevation of the chalice was introduced in the fourteenth century, but was not recognized in the Roman missal till the time of Pius V (1572). The priest's genuflexion was added at the end of the fifteenth century. In the thirteenth century, moreover, the moment of elevation, at least in certain churches, was announced by ringing the bells. The moment of consecration is one of the best known by the people.²

¹ The rubrics are rules prescribing the ceremonies the priest shall accomplish in order to celebrate the Mass.

² As to the persistence of the old belief that the wine was consecrated by contact with the consecrated host, see Dulac, *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, 1920, p. 415, and 1921, p. 126.

CHAPTER III

THE SACRIFICE

It is known that about the middle of the second century the Christians of pagan origin gave to the Christian banquet the name of sacrifice (p. 74, Pt. I, ch. vi). When the memorial of the Passion was inaugurated it inherited the title that the banquet had possessed for over half a century. The Mass was, therefore, from its very beginning a sacrifice, not because it commemorated the sacrifice on the cross (this sacrifice was known through the Epistle to the Hebrews, which raises the death of Christ to the degree of a sacrifice), but because it was the successor of the banquet which had a pagan source.

This state of affairs is to be discerned in the prayers of the Leonian sacramentary, in which there is mention of the sacrifice. Here are some examples taken from the month of April, 13, 16, 28, 40 :—

Receive, Lord, this sacrifice of placation and of praise in order that by the intercession of the saints it may procure for us pardon and institute for us a perpetual thanksgiving.

Lord, we offer up this sacrifice to celebrate the birth of the sainted martyrs.....

We offer thee, Lord, this sacrifice of praise in memory of thy venerable saints.....

Lord, let the votive sacrifices of thy people be acceptable to thee, and the prayer of those in honour of whom they are offered obtain what our weakness may not obtain.

The sacrifices referred to here are the provisions laid on the table. The immolation to which they are about

to be devoted is the repast at which they are to be served. God is prayed to accept them, and to obtain his acquiescence recourse is made to the saints for intercession. Intrinsically the offerings have no value ; whereas the sacrifice of the cross, if it had any relation whatever with the offerings, would have conferred on them some particle of its virtue. These sacrifices are completely foreign to the sacrifice of the cross, of which, moreover, no mention is made. They owe their origin to memories of paganism.

Let us now see what the doctors have to say on the subject. St. Cyprian (Ep. 63, 17) remarks :—

We speak of the passion in all our sacrifices, for the sacrifice that we offer is the passion of the Lord.

In this text, which we have already quoted (p. 73, Pt. II, iii, 2), the expression is elliptic, and the meaning is that the Mass commemorates the death of the Lord. But why does Cyprian give the name of sacrifice to what is only the memorial of the sacrifice on the cross ? The following reproach which he addresses to a miserly Christian (*De opere et eleemosynis*, 15) gives us the explanation :—

You come to the assembly of the Lord without a sacrifice, and you partake of the sacrifice that the poor have brought.

This naïve language, which calls by the name of "sacrifice" the provisions which each brought to the religious assembly, can only be an echo of popular terminology. The people created it and put it into circulation ; but Cyprian, who could not have imagined it, is not afraid of using it, and roundly declares that whoever goes to church should take his sacrifice with him. This gives us the key to letter 63, 17, in which we read that the Mass is at one and the same time a memorial and a sacrifice. These juxtaposed statements are in no

way connected. They have not even the same origin. In one Cyprian is referring to the message of Christ to St. Paul; in the other he makes use of popular terminology, derived from paganism. As he paints it, the Mass is a commemoration of the passion because Christ ordained it for Christians. It is a sacrifice, not in respect of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross which it commemorates, but because the people, to accord with their childish recollections, gave the name of sacrifice to the banquet from which the Mass is derived.

We have already seen what St. Augustine has to say on the subject of the Mass (p. 71—i.e., of the thing, but not of the word Mass, which is not to be found in his writings). He told us that the pretended sacrifice of the Mass is not one in reality, and is only a manner of speaking in general use. It must not be forgotten that Augustine would not have given to the Mass an unsuitable name if it had not been in common use. The Bishop of Hippo employed the usual term, pointing out its inaccuracy at the time.

Augustine was not the dupe of the custom to which he conformed. As much cannot be said for St. Gregory. This Pope was convinced that the Mass was a sacrifice. In early times he was the teacher of the sacrifice of the Mass (p. 81). How did he explain this sacrifice, as he had no idea of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and believed that the bread and wine remained bread and wine? At times he teaches that the sacrifice is that of the bread and wine at the moment at which they are eaten and drunk by the faithful; at times it is the sacrifice of Christ in the imagination of the true believers. Gregory expresses, therefore, two notions—one derived from tradition, and so from paganism; the other personal to himself. Far from realizing that these two ideas are irreconcilable, he does not seem aware that

there is any difference between them. Sometimes he joins the two in one phrase and offers the second, his own, as an explanation of the first, which without it he does not find sufficiently clear. By such childish means Gregory defended his belief in the sacrifice.

At first sight it would appear that the Roman Council of 1059 must naturally have favoured and fostered the belief in the sacrifice of the Mass. As a matter of fact, the Mass ceased to be a simple memorial of the Passion when it possessed the victim of the cross himself. Since the death of Christ was, according to the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a sacrifice, the Mass at which Christ was present in person must consequently be a sacrifice also. This idea did not last long. After the resurrection Christ, so the Epistle to the Romans tells us, cannot die. Brought down on to the altar by the syllables of the consecration, he is in a state of glory and not in the position of victim. The Mass, once endowed with the real presence, could no longer be a sacrifice as it could before the reform of 1059. For a long time the scholastics realized clearly the position; so that when they dealt with the sacrifice of the Mass they provided for this problem a solution, which, freed from all extraneous detail, can be reduced to this—that to call the Mass a sacrifice is a mode of speech; that it is not really a sacrifice; that this name should nevertheless be given to it, as it commemorates the sacrifice of the cross. Peter Lombard and St. Thomas can be taken as authorities.

In *Sentences*, 4, 12, 7, appears the following, based on texts from all sources, including a passage from Lanfranc attributed to St. Augustine:—

What is offered and consecrated by the priest is termed sacrifice and oblation because it is a memorial and a symbol of the true sacrifice, and of the holy

immolation that was made on the cross.....It follows from that that what is laid on the altar is called a sacrifice, and that Christ sacrificed once is offered up every day, though formerly in one manner and now in another.

In the *Somme Théologique*, 3, 73, 4 :—

The sacrament of the eucharist.....commemorates the passion of the Lord, which was a veritable sacrifice, and from this point of view it is called a sacrifice.

3, 83, 1 :—

According to the words of St. Augustine to Simplician, symbols are currently known by the names of the things of which they are symbols..... Now, the celebration of the sacrament is a symbol which represents the passion of Christ, which was a veritable immolation. That is why the celebration of the sacrament is called the immolation of Christ.

Following the lead of these two authorities, theologians retained the sacrifice of the Mass in their vocabulary and suppressed it in their explanations. Things went on thus until the sixteenth century. But at this epoch the Council of Trent, with a sudden change of face, gave to theology a new direction, and enjoined the teaching of the reality of the sacrifice of the Mass by the following clauses (session 22, canons 1 and 3) :—

If anyone declares that in the Mass there is not a real sacrifice, truly named, which is offered to God.....may he be anathema.

If anyone says that the sacrifice of the Mass is a commemoration only of the sacrifice accomplished on the cross.....may he be anathema.

How are these trenchant clauses to be explained, for it is unnecessary to say that they did not aim at the great doctors of the Middle Ages, though they effectually arraigned them? The situation of the moment required it. The sacrifice of the Mass, to which theologians

referred only with the greatest prudence, was celebrated without reserve by the people and in the religious books commonly in use. The Protestants, on the other hand—those of France and Switzerland as well as those of Germany—were unmeasured in the sarcasm they heaped on what appeared to them to be the chief source of Catholic superstition. The Council fought with all its might in defence of the Holy Ark, and took under its ægis the sacrifice of the Mass, which, jeered at by the Protestants, was venerated by the masses. It smote the adversaries of piety, heedless that its blows fell equally on the revered doctors of the past. It took as its motto the old adage, that the safety of the State is the supreme law.

Theologians obeyed the call of the Council of Trent with the self-denying discipline of soldiery volunteering for a forlorn hope. The Council required them to be absurd; and absurd they were, not by halves, but entirely. Melchior, Cano, Bellarmin, Vasquez, Suarez, Lugo, to name only a few of the earliest, juggled with words, piled sophism on sophism, in order to prove that Christ is sacrificed at the Mass—to prove, that is to say, a consequence in contradiction with their premisses. To do them justice, it must be admitted that they were pitiless towards one another, and to read them all is to realize that all were equally self-deluded. In each generation the young were undismayed by the ill success of their elders, and new demonstrations blossomed forth unchecked. Even to-day there are theologians self-devoted to this task, just as there are those who seek the quadrature of the circle or the invention of a perpetual motion machine.¹

¹ In the *Proclamation of Utrecht*, September 24, 1889, the old Catholic episcopate returned to the idea of a eucharistic sacrifice such as was held by St. Thomas and all the scholastics before the Council of Trent.

CHAPTER IV

SURVIVALS OF THE EARLY BANQUET

TO-DAY the Mass is a sacrifice related to the sacrifice on the cross, of which yesterday it was only a memorial; and the day before yesterday it was neither, being just a banquet. What remains of the banquet to-day?

It is almost unrecognizable, so greatly has it been changed. All the same, it has not been entirely suppressed, and a few survivals have come down to our own days, though many have fallen by the way, having dragged on a painful struggle for existence century after century.

1. SURVIVALS OF TO-DAY

(a) *Archaic Secrets and Postcommunions*

Among the Secrets and Postcommunions which the priest recites to-day at the Mass there are some which, relative to the doctrine, not only of the sacrifice, but also of the memorial, appear out of place. I shall divide them into three categories. In the first category fall those prayers which invite God to accept the gifts offered up to him through the intermediary of the saints in whose memory the offering is made. These prayers are not uncommon. I will quote only a few here.

(1) Let the good prayer of thy saints, O Lord, be not lacking to us *that it may render our presents acceptable*, and may ever obtain for us thy indulgence. (Secret of the Mass of the Holy Innocents and of the Mass of a Father.)

(2) Receive, O Lord, these gifts which we bring unto thee in memory of thy holy martyrs, Maurice

and his companions, that, made acceptable for their sake, they become perpetual by their intercession. (September 22. The essence is to be found in the secret of the second Mass of several martyrs.)

(3) Receive, Lord, the gifts which we offer thee on the holy day of him whose patronage, we trust, will save us. (Mass of St. John the Apostle and first Mass of a virgin martyr.)

(4) Find acceptable the offering of thy holy people in honour of thy saints whose merits, as they know, brought them help in tribulation. (Mass of the martyrs of August 22 and of a virgin un martyred.)

(5) Receive, O Lord, these gifts offered earnestly ; and, *by the intercession* of the merits of the blessed Lawrence,¹ let them be a help to our salvation. (Mass of August 10.)

(6) Let our offering, Lord, be received favourably before thee, O Lord, and let it be for our salvation *by the prayer of him* on whose holy day it is presented.² (Second Mass of a martyr who was not a pope.)

Other prayers offer to God a sacrifice in which the victims consist of provisions placed upon the altar, and pray him, often out of consideration for the saints in whose honour the offering is made, to look upon the sacrifice as acceptable and to sanctify the victims. These form a second group, e.g.:—

(1) We pray thee, Lord, that the prayer of the blessed Apostle Peter *recommend* the prayers and the *victims* of thy Church in order that what we celebrate in his glory may serve for our pardon. (Mass of the pulpit of St. Peter at Rome.)

(2) May the victims which we consecrate in thy name, Lord, be accompanied *by the prayer of thy apostles in consideration for which* thou wilt allow

¹ Et beati Laurentii suffragantibus meritis.

² Ejus nobis fiat supplicatione salutaris.

us reconciliation and defence. (Mass of the Apostles Peter and Paul.)

(3) Receive, Lord, with goodwill, through the merits of thy blessed martyrs, Fabian and Sebastian, these victims which are offered thee, and let them procure us perpetual aid. (Mass of January 20, second Mass of a virgin martyr and Mass of a martyr.)

(4) We sacrifice to thee, O Lord, these victims in thy praise, and we have confidence of being delivered through them from present and future evils. (Mass of St. Eusebius, August 14, and first Mass of a non-pontiff confessor.)

(5) On these victims let, O Lord, thy copious benediction descend that it may produce sanctification in us by thy clemency. (Mass of St. Agnes, January 28.)

In the third group may be placed a few prayers pronounced after the communion. They ask God to find acceptable that which has just been accomplished, out of consideration for the saints whose holy day is being celebrated.

(1) Lord, thou hast satisfied thy family with thy sacred gifts, we pray thee to protect us, on account of his intervention whose holy day we are celebrating.¹ (Mass of St. Agapitus, August 18, and of a virgin non-martyr.)

(2) Restored by the holy food and drink, we beg thee humbly, O our God, to ordain that we should be *protected by the prayers of him in whose memory* we have taken them. (Mass of St. Eusebius, August 14, and of a confessor not a pope.)

(3) Lord, by the intercession of thy apostles, preserve from evil those whom thou hast filled with heavenly food. (Mass of the apostles Peter and Paul.)

¹ Ejus quaesumus semper interventiones nos refove cujus solemnia celebramus.

(4) Now that we have received the sacraments, we pray thee, Lord, *by the intercession* of the blessed Paul, to ordain that which we have done *for his glory* should serve us as a remedy. (Mass in commemoration of St. Paul.)

(5) Filled with the abundance of thy divine gift, we pray thee, O Lord our God, to cause that, by the intercession of thy holy martyrs, Timothy, Hippolytus, and Symphorian, we may live for ever by taking part in it. (August 22, and second Mass for a virgin martyr.)

(6) May the mysteries in which we have taken part serve us as help; and by the intercession of the blessed Agatha, thy virgin and martyr, may they guarantee us eternal protection.¹ (February 5, and first mass of a virgin martyr.)

(7) We pray thee, Lord, that what we have taken by the mouth we may take also by the spirit, and that the *temporal gift*² may remain with us an eternal remedy. (Prayer recited every day at the first ablution of the hands, which is immediately after communion.)

These prayers were originally spoken over the gifts offered to God—gifts that consist of bread and wine laid on the altar to which they give the name of sacrifice or of victim. These gifts, sacrifices, or victims are offered in memory of, and in honour of, one or several saints, and the prayers request God to find the offerings acceptable. To obtain the divine goodwill these presents or sacrifices or victims are placed under the patronage of the saint or saints whose holy day it is. God is prayed to accept them out of consideration for this saint. After the communion the priest asks God that the temporal gift with which he has been gratified should

¹ Et intercedente beata Agatha.....sempiterna protectione confirmant.

² Et de munaere temporalis fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.

be a pledge of eternal welfare ; and, so that his demand should obtain a hearing, he claims the support of the saint of the day.

Such is the aim of the prayers which we have just read. Let us now examine the theology of the memorial of the Passion. Here is no matter of offering gifts to God. Christ's death is to be commemorated, and the words which he used after the Last Supper are to be uttered. The sacrifice to be made is the reconstitution of that on the Calvary, and the victim present in the thoughts of all is Christ. To request God to accept with goodwill this sacrifice and this victim is pure nonsense, and to invite the intercession of the saints would be delirium. Evidently the prayers which have just been quoted cannot apply to the commemoration of Christ's death. Nevertheless, such prayers, which can be easily found in the missal, take an important place in the liturgy of to-day. One of them, and that not the least characteristic, is recited every day by the priest immediately after communion.

In face of such facts it is imperative to discover how such forms of prayer can have made their way into a liturgy with which they are in direct contradiction, and, further, how they could have remained there and not been rejected. The great medieval architects of the liturgy, from the days of Alcuin, have always held these prayers in the great respect that antiquity inspires. They certainly would not have invented them, nor would they have introduced them. They found them there ; they dared not reject them, so they preserved them. "Possession is nine points of the law."

But how did they get into the liturgy? Can this be the work of Popes Gregory and Gelasius when they reformed the Roman liturgy? It must be stated here that these secretæ and these postcommunion prayers

are to be found in part in the sacramentary of Leo, essentially a Roman book, remarkable for its great antiquity, and also, alas, for its disorder. If the whole of this sacramentary were extant (more than a quarter is missing), probably all these prayers would be found in it; at any rate, the most important are there.¹ Now, the Leonian sacramentary, except certain additions, is anterior to the end of the fifth century, and the hand of St. Leo is apparent in many parts. To arrive at the origin of these prayers we must go as far back as this Pope. Yet this is not far enough, for Leo, in all the pieces incontestably from his hand, follows the doctrine of the memorial of the passion, and in no case does he overlook it or contradict it. Like Alcuin, like Gregory, like Gelasius, he has maintained in their place the prayers in question out of respect for their age; he was incapable of writing them. Therefore to ascertain their origin we must go farther back. Was Hippolytus their author, the man who established the Mass? Are we to say that the man who impressed the doctrine of the memorial of the Passion on the liturgy was also the man who ignored and combated this doctrine? Reason refuses to admit such a hypothesis. These prayers must, therefore, belong to the prehistory of the Mass. They were composed at a moment when the Mass did not yet exist, when the faithful met together to partake

¹ As it is often impossible to employ the designation of the prayers in this sacramentary by the month, I have neglected it entirely. The two paginations used are, firstly, vol. 55 Migne, 1886 ed.; secondly, Feltoe, *Sacramentarium leonianum*. The prayer *Quod Ore Sumpsimus* appears in 75, 69; *Satiasti Domine Familiam Tuam*, 94, 95; *Hostius Tibi.....dicatas*, 30, 12; *Divini Muneris Largitate Satiati*, 133, 143 (*intercedente* has been added); *Accepta Tibi Sit*, 93, 93; *Refecti Cibo Potuque*, 93, 92; *Accipe..... Munera Dignanter Oblata*, 96, 96; *Laudias.....hostis immolamus*, 25, 5; *Apostolica Pro Nobis Interventio*, 52, 39; *Accepta Sit In Conspectu Tuo*, 100, 102; *Respice, Domine, Munera*, 25, 6.

of a banquet such as Tertullian tells us began and ended with prayer. They are survivals of the early feast which the reformer Hippolytus found himself incapable of suppressing, and which he retained in his liturgy.

So far I have referred only to the ignorance of the memorial of the Passion shown in these prayers. It is not difficult to find other characteristics. In the *Secrets* are references to "gifts" brought and placed on the altar. In particular note the prayer in the Mass of St. John the Baptist:—

Lord, we load thy altar with gifts.¹

In several of the postcommunions the faithful declare that God has "filled" or "refreshed" them, as though they had just partaken of a meal.² Where to-day are these gifts with which the altar is loaded, and the repast with which the faithful are filled? These prayers, which are in contradiction with the doctrine of the memorial of the Passion, are, moreover, denuded of any meaning whatever, since the custom which gave rise to them no longer exists.

Before concluding this survey reference must be made to a secret which has not yet been mentioned. It appears in the Masses of the conversion and commemoration of St. Paul (January 25, June 30):—

In consideration of the prayers of thy Apostle Paul, O Lord, hallow the gifts of thy people in order that these gifts, already acceptable to thee on account of thy institution,³ may become still more acceptable by the patronage of him who prays.

This prayer, which has recourse to the intercession

¹ Tua, Domine, muneribus altaria cumulamus.

² Satiasti, Domine, familiam tuam (*virgin non-martyr*). Divini muneris largitate satiati (*virgin martyr*). Refecti cibo potuque cœlesti (*confessor non-pontiff*).

³ Quae tuis sunt instituta praeceptis. It appears in 54, 53.

of St. Paul to obtain from God the acceptance of offerings, declares at the same time that the offering of gifts is of divine institution, and seems, in spite of its early aspect, to show acquaintance with the doctrine of the memorial of the Cross, which is somewhat disconcerting. In the Leonian sacramentary this same prayer is applied to several apostles (probably the two apostles Peter and Paul), 50, 36. The sacramentary also contains two other prayers of interest at this point. 34, 17 invites God to accept the presents which he has ordered to be offered, and which the glorious festival of the saints requires. 66, 57 deserves a more careful examination. It runs thus :—

Consecrate, O Lord, the fruits of the earth that thou hast *ordained should be offered in thy name*¹ in order that our service may be acceptable to thee for their sake, and that thou shouldst make of them the symbols of our eternal salvation.

The phraseology used here is borrowed from Malachi, 1, 2, where Jahveh declares that everywhere a pure sacrifice is "offered in his name." This borrowing is practically a reference. God is told in the prayer that the fruits of the earth are offered to him in conformity with the scripture, according to which offerings made by the whole earth in his name are acceptable to him. This prayer is the key to the others of this type, and at the same time explains to us the secret of the Masses of St. Paul from which it is taken. It teaches us that the divine institution in which it glories is derived from the book of Malachi, and not from the words of Christ. Irenæus, it is to be noted, draws from the same source

¹ *Quae de terrenis fructibus nomini tuo dicanda mandasti.* In the Latin version of Malachi appears "*offertur nomini meo oblatio munda.*"

in 4, 18, 1, where he speaks of the ordinance of God commanding the offering of a pure sacrifice throughout the world. He refers to it in 4, 17, 5 also.

(b) *The End of the Canon*

One survival of the early banquet is to be found in a number of secrets and postcommunions of the Mass. Another appears in the following words, which the priest utters at the end of the canon of the Mass, making at the same time three signs of the cross. Having just spoken of Christ, he says :—

By whom, Lord, thou createst always all these blessings, thou hallowest them, thou quickenest them, thou blessest them, and thou makest for us a provision of them.

During the Middle Ages the theologians, in their commentaries on the Mass, passed over this assertion without noticing anything abnormal in it. Some of them, such as the author of the *Ordo* and Jean d'Avranches, just drew the attention of the deacon to the rubric dealing with this point. Others explained, without coming to any agreement, why the priest made three signs of the cross. "He makes them in honour of the Trinity," expounds the *Micrologos*. "It is done," declares Etienne of Autun, "to celebrate the three blessings hidden in the mystery of the cross." "These three signs of the cross," says Innocent III, "recall the crucifixion of Christ at the third hour, and that the Jews shouted three times, 'Crucify him.'" Durand of Mende, who took into consideration the words, observed that they referred to the bread, the wine, and the water of the sacrifice. Before him Etienne of Autun made the same remark in somewhat obscure terms. These pious commentaries testify to untroubled confidence; the theologians were at ease.

This unruffled comfort was disturbed by the Protestants, who said: "When the priest declares that God sanctifies, quickens, and blesses all these things through Christ, what you call transubstantiation is accomplished. According to your beliefs, there no longer remains on the altar any bread or wine or water; there is the body of Jesus Christ. Now the flesh and the blood of Christ stand in no need of sanctification, nor of animation, nor of benediction. Since they already possess these beyond measure, they are incapable of receiving further hallowing, or quickening, or blessing. Even if the impossible were to come about, and a surplus of sanctification could be handed out to them, this could only be done through Jesus Christ, and they themselves are Jesus Christ. From this it would appear that the words 'by whom, Lord, thou createst all these things' are pure twaddle."

In face of this harsh objection the arguments that had satisfied the Middle Ages appeared childish. Apart from Protestantism, the end of the canon caused searchings of mind among the Catholic theologians. Pundits, however, after a close examination of the ancient books of the liturgy, announced that in former days the people brought and placed on the altar such objects as grapes, milk, oil, and honey. The priest used to bless these in the words so rudely criticized by the Protestants. Several archaic benedictions were quoted in support of this, among others one from the Gregorian sacramentary for August 6:—

Bless, O Lord, these fresh grapes that thou hast deigned to bring to ripeness by the dew of the heavens, the falling of rain, the kindness of the seasons, and which thou hast placed at our service that we might enjoy them, in giving thanks unto thee in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, *by*

whom, Lord, thou createst all the benefits, thou hallowest them, thou quickenest them, thou blessest them, and thou givest them to us.

The apologists drew great solace from this discovery, and they returned to the fray triumphantly, crying: "It is true that the words 'by whom.....' have no longer any meaning now; but in former days it was very different, for they are a remnant of a rite no more in use."

The truth must be admitted that the Church was guilty of a considerable oversight in incorporating the tail end of the blessing on the products of the earth in the canon after the complete rite had fallen into desuetude.¹ Let us leave the apologists to their triumph, and search further as to the origin of this rite, of which a shapeless remnant lodged in the canon by oversight. We have got back to Hippolytus, in whose Apostolic Tradition, just after the memorial of the death of Christ, we read:—

When an offering of oil is made, just as with an offering of bread and of wine, a thanksgiving should be made, but in other words, though with the same efficacy, as follows: O God, sanctify this oil and give health to those who shall use it and consume it. This oil with which thou hast anointed kings, priests, and prophets, may it give strength and health to them that use it.

Similarly, when cheese and olives are brought, there should be said: Sanctify this curdled milk and join us in thy charity. Let thy sweetness dwell in the fruit of this olive tree. It is the symbol

¹ This oversight can be explained, but not justified. The fixed formulæ of benediction, differing according to the nature of the objects blessed, were inscribed on separate parchments, but the final benediction, which was always the same, was written at the end of the canon. The separate documents were lost, and the priests concluded that the final benediction was part of the canon.

of thy unction, which extends from the symbol to us as the essence of life for those who place their hope in thee.

The offerings in question are just those customary in the early Middle Ages, and the benedictions are essentially those of the sacramentaries. The rite formerly usual at the end of the canon falls into line with the liturgy of Hippolytus, and had a claim to his patronage. Was he the author of it? We must refrain from drawing such a conclusion. For Hippolytus to recommend to the faithful to make offerings of the fruits of the earth as part of the Mass he instituted would have been in contradiction to his doctrine. He would not have been guilty of such confusion of thought. The matter may be considered from another point of view, and it may be said that the people imposed their will on Hippolytus, and that it was not Hippolytus who moulded the ways of his flock. Early in the third century the true believers, according to ancient usage, brought to the assembly provisions of all sorts in part for the joint feast and in part for the clergy and the poor.¹ When Hippolytus established the memorial of the death of Christ, logically he should have forbidden the bringing of food other than bread and wine as likely to excite feelings of a temporal nature which would distract the minds of the faithful from a proper consideration of the memorial. But he doubted his power to push his reform so far. Instead of suppressing the bringing of food, he made rules for it. The bread and wine was employed in the memorial, and the other articles were placed on the altar after the memorial. In this manner a survival of the early banquet appears officially in the middle of the Mass. Bit by bit it was driven out, but

¹ Justin, *Apolog.* lxvii, 6.

the prayer and the signs of the cross remain. Once it was foreign to the canon, now it is included in it, and the priests recite it daily. Lacking the fruits of earth, they bless the body and blood of Christ, and the absurdity of the act does not disturb them. Not theirs to reason why. Their duty was to carry out their orders without seeking to understand them ; they did their duty.¹

(c) *The Mixing of Water with the Wine*

The priest, having poured wine into the chalice, adds a few drops of water. Up to the time of Peter Lombard the addition of water to the wine was essential to the rite. Since then it is obligatory, but apparently not essential, although Bellarmin does not dare say so. Moreover, in the early Middle Ages the admixture of water was considerable, and the Council of Tribur in 895, canon 19, merely requested that the water should not be more than one third of the wine. For a long time, in conformity with a decree launched by Eugene IV at the Council of Florence (a decree sanctioning a two-century old custom), water should only be added in very small quantities, *modicissima aqua*. These variations need not detain us. Let us discover why the addition should be made. According to the Council of Trent, which was purely an echo of the fathers (*sessio 22, de sacrificio missae*, 7), water should be added to the wine for three reasons. Firstly, Christ is supposed to have done so. Secondly, because the lance thrust which pierced his side made water spurt out as well as blood. And, lastly, because, according to Apocalypse, xvii, 15, the waters symbolize the peoples, from which it follows that water and wine represent the union of the faithful

¹ Note canon 6, session 22, of the Council of Trent : " If anyone says that the canon of the Mass contains errors, let him be anathema."

with Christ. One historical reason is joined to two mystic reasons, and may be examined first.

There is no gospel text to support the admixture. It is a probable conjecture, since such was the custom of the time. On the other hand, the synoptics are all in agreement with Paul in declaring that Christ inaugurated the eucharist at the termination of the Last Supper. St. John gives us the incident of the washing of feet, and states (xiii, 14) that Jesus told his apostles to do as he had just done himself. Now behold the strange spectacle of to-day. The priests are obliged to mingle water with the wine, since Christ may very probably have done so ; but, contrary to the act of Christ, who celebrated the eucharist after a repast, they may not take their meal till after the Mass ; and, despite the formal precept of Christ, they are not obliged to wash one another's feet. On the one hand, Christ's example, though hypothetical, is to be followed obligatorily ; on the other, Christ's formal order is not sufficient to effect accomplishment.

So fantastic a rule can lead only to error, and must be rejected. History has already informed us that the Mass was originally a banquet, and also tells us that in Greece and in the Roman Empire the ancients were accustomed to mingle water with their wine. The addition of water to the wine in the chalice now appears reasonable. It is, just like the benediction of the fruits of the earth, a survival of the primitive banquet.

It yet remains to be seen why the admixture should have been essential in former days and is now obligatory. About the middle of the third century certain African bishops were in the habit of putting water only in the cup of the Mass. St. Cyprian called them to order, and in the famous letter (*ep.* 63 to Cecilius) gave an unanswerable demonstration that the sacrifice instituted

by Christ required, not a cup of wine, but one of wine and water. His argument, into which various Old Testament texts entered, was briefly thus:—Without water the Christian people would not be in the cup, since Rev. xvii, 15, teaches us that water symbolizes people. Without wine Christ would not be in the cup, since Christ declared (St. John xv, 1): "I am the true vine." To offer water without wine is to separate the Christian people from Christ, to whom they should be indissolubly united.

In reasoning in this manner Cyprian's attention was concentrated on the necessity of using wine. Water he spoke of as of an accessory in order to show its insufficiency to people who thought otherwise. His argument, separated from its context, made a deep impression on all the fathers of the early Middle Ages, who passed it from one to another and quoted it as an oracle. Water, admittedly, was indispensable at the sacrifice of the Mass. This verity, already supported by Cyprian's authority, received an additional support from the event of the lance-thrust which caused water and blood to spurt out of Jesus's side. Lastly, apocryphal papal bulls completed the demonstration.

When the dogma of transubstantiation took hold the admixture became an absurdity. St. Cyprian's text, which mingled pellmell the Christian people and the blood of Christ, became singularly embarrassing. If only it could have been suppressed, no doubt it would have been; but the operation was out of the question, so deeply was it encrusted in tradition (not a father since the seventh century had failed to give it a place of honour). The text had still to be mentioned, but only with great care. The Council of Trent refrained from quoting it textually, which was only following the example of most fathers after the thirteenth century. In

particular, efforts were made to counteract its influence on the problem of the admixture—an unhallowed influence, since it was in conflict with transubstantiation. The wine is transformed into Christ's blood; the water which adulterates the wine can but hinder the transformation, and is an encumbrance. Logically, the practice of adding water should have ceased, but it was preserved by the innumerable texts referring to it. But its quantity was strictly and closely limited. The priests were warned of the danger of adding too large a proportion of water to the chalice, and never was warning better observed. The material diminution was accompanied by a reduction of importance. From essential the water became merely obligatory. The importance it preserved was still immense, for the old texts would not allow further retrogression.

The mingling of water with the wine is simply a survival of the old banquet, whose history has been complicated by an ill-understood passage in St. Cyprian, and again by the dogma of transubstantiation. The so-called proofs put forward to authorize it are afterthoughts.

(d) *The Washing of Hands*

The washing of hands following on the oblation of the host and the chalice is to be explained, if the liturgists are to be believed, by mystic reasons. In reality it has no sense. The first Roman *Ordo*, published as a whole by Mabillon (Migne, 78, 937; Mabillon's commentary, pp. 851-936), gives us a picture of Rome in the early Middle Ages. It is Sunday, and the hour when the faithful go to Mass. Some are going to one of the patriarchal churches, at which the Pope will officiate; others make their way towards the titular churches. All carry a loaf of bread and a flask of wine. Mass opens with chants and readings (there are no longer

any catechumens, and so no *missa*—i.e., the dismissal of the catechumens). At a certain moment the Pope, or some other officiating priest, followed by half-a-dozen assistants, leaves the choir, and passes along the rows of the congregation, collecting the loaves, which he places in a great cloth that two acolytes carry by the corners. A deacon takes the flasks of wine and empties them in a cup, which is, in its turn, emptied into a basin. The assistants act similarly in other parts of the church. When the collection is completed the priest returns to his seat and washes his hands. In the smaller churches the officiating priest himself made the collection of loaves and wine, and a wash was necessary at the end of it. This is the origin of the modern rite, which has lost its meaning, since no collection of gifts is now made. This collection of gifts was in itself a survival of the early banquet, so that the washing of hands appears as a remnant of the primitive Church.

To return to the loaves and wine. The former were piled on the altar, near which was placed the basin of wine. At communion the congregation each received a loaf and a mouthful of wine. Then the secrets which mention presents had some meaning, though many of the post-communions had lost theirs as the ancient repast had already disappeared.

2. SURVIVALS NO LONGER EXTANT

Having considered extant survivals, let us note witnesses of the early banquet, which have failed to endure to our own times, although descriptions of them have been preserved.

(a) *Milk and Honey*

Formerly a drink of milk and honey was given to the newly baptised. St. Jerome mentions it in his *Dialogue*

Against the Luciferians, 8, but he gives no details. A MS. of the Gregorian sacramentary places it in the office for holy Saturday, and says it should be blessed at the end of the canon of the Mass before the words *per quem*.¹ At the date of this MS. neophytes were still given this mixture at communion, but it received a benediction apart from that of the bread and wine.

In canon 23 of the Council of Hippo, A.D. 393 (Migne, 56, 426), is written: "In the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord should be offered only what is prescribed by the Lord—i.e., bread and wine mingled with water. The milk and honey commonly given on the solemn day of baptism may be offered on the altar, but with a special benediction which distinguishes them from the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord."

Deacon John wrote a letter to Senarius (Migne, 59, 405) in reply to certain questions asked by the latter. One question was (12): "Why, on Easter Saturday, are milk and honey put in the most holy chalice and offered with the sacrifices?"² To which the Deacon replies with mystic considerations which do not interest us. What does arouse attention is the custom mentioned by Senarius and admitted by John. The work of Muratori completed by Gallandi leads us to date this letter c. 500 A.D., and not in the ninth century, as Mabillon and Martène made out.³ On the other hand, many expressions in the letter refer clearly to the Roman Church. So it appears that at Rome about 500 A.D. it was customary at the Mass of Holy Saturday (and

¹ Note 358, Ménard on the Gregorian sacramentary, Migne, 78, 380.

² Cur in sacratissimum calicem lac mittatur et mel Paschae sabbato cum sacrificiis offeratur?

³ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i, 2, p. 69; Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, i, 146 (Rouen, 1700); Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, i, 32; Gallandi in Migne, 59, 397.

consequently at that of Whit Saturday) to offer to the newly baptised at communion milk and honey which had been placed in the "most holy chalice" and offered "with the sacrifices." Obviously this peculiar rite is the origin of the observations referred to above. It was maintained, such was the prestige of antiquity, by Hippolytus and by Leo. They could not have instituted it; therefore it must be anterior to them. This is confirmed by decisive texts, since Tertullian twice mentions the beverage of milk and honey that followed baptism.¹

The history of this beverage may be briefly reconstituted as follows:—

(1) At the end of the second century the banquet which concludes the ceremony of initiation includes a cup of milk and honey that is offered the newly baptised.

(2) Hippolytus, when he established the Mass, dared not suppress the popular custom. The sacrifice of the Mass which follows the rite of baptism is offered with a mixture of milk and honey in the chalice. From the middle of the fourth century baptism was administered only on Easter Saturday and the Saturday of Pentecost. So at the Mass on these days the chalice contained milk and honey. (A passage in St. Jerome, *In Isa.* 55, 1, suggests that in the East the mixture was of milk and wine.)

(3) The Council of Hippo, 393 A.D., struck by the incongruity of this rite, displaced it, though it dared not remove it altogether. For over a century this reform was a dead letter at Rome, as is shown in the letter to Senarius. This letter sheds light on a passage in the Leonian Sacramentary (Migne, 55, 40; Feltoe, 25)

¹ *De Corona Militis*, 3; *Adv. Marc.* i, 14.

which would be otherwise unintelligible, since it gives for the Mass of Pentecost Saturday a benediction of a beverage of milk and honey.

(4) Finally Rome grasped what Africa had perceived in 393, and, as a first measure, changed the place of the benediction of this mixture, which was no longer put in the chalice. Later it suppressed the beverage completely.

(b) *Leavened Bread*

For a long time in the Latin Church Mass was celebrated with leavened bread. In *De Sacramentis*, iv, 14, the believer says: "This is bread such as I use daily" (*Meus panis est usitatus*). At the end of the sixth century, when Pope Gregory asked a woman, to whom he was offering the "body of the Lord," why she laughed, she replied: "It is because, in what you call the body of the Lord, I recognize the loaf I baked yesterday."¹ However, little by little, unleavened bread came into common use in the Mass. The first authoritative evidence for it is that of Bede in the eighth century, in his commentary on St. Luke, xxii. In the ninth century Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbert prescribed the use of unleavened bread. In the eleventh century leavened bread ceased to be used in the Latin Church, although it is customary in the Greek Church to this day. The difference in usage was one of the causes of separation put forward by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople.

(c) *The Offering of the Chalice to the Congregation*

Formerly it was usual, after having distributed among the congregation the eucharistic bread, to offer them a cup of wine, from which they drank. In several of

¹ John the Deacon, *Vita Sancti Gregorii*, ii, 41.

his sermons St. Augustine mentions the consecrated wine which communicants drink.¹ At Rome, in the middle of the fifth century, the Manichæans frequented assiduously the services of the Catholic Church to escape from the attentions of the imperial police. They were accustomed to accept the consecrated bread, but their dualist principles prevented them from taking the wine. "You will recognize them by this sign," said Leo to the true believers (Sermon 42, 5). Forty years later Pope Gelasius, when he heard that certain Christians in Calabria were in the habit of receiving the eucharistic bread without the wine, declared indignantly that this separation introduced into an integral and unique mystery a hideous sacrilege.² Communion made with bread alone was incomplete, and could be excused only when it was impossible to obtain the two elements. To facilitate the administration of the complete communion the bread was now dipped in the wine, which was called *intinctio*. This act was sanctioned by canon 6 of the Council of Macon in 585, which prescribed the sprinkling with wine of the "remains of the sacrifices"—i.e., the surplus of bread left after communion—which could then be given to the little children, who should come fasting on the Wednesday and Friday each week (the wine was sanctified by contact with the bread).³ The dipping was common in Spain about the middle of the seventh century (canon 1 of the Council of Braga in 675). In the Frank countries it was general after the end of the ninth century. It is easy to explain this fashion. All drank from the same cup—young and

¹ Sermons 227 and 272.

² Ep. 37, in Thiel, p. 452: "Divisio unius ejusdem mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire."

³ Quaecumque reliquiae sacrificiorum.....supersederunt.....innocentes.....conspectas vino accipiant.

old, ill and whole, men and women. Soaking the bread did away with this, and appealed to a sense of cleanliness and of hygiene. The theologians made a violent protest against it, unaware that the tradition which they supported was a survival of the former banquet. They made out that to communicate with the dipped bread was to communicate as did Judas (this was a first-rate argument), and demonstrated that the bread and wine should be taken separately. Taking as their authority the Council of Clermont in 1095, canon 28, they succeeded in suppressing the *intinctio*, but they were unable to enforce the communion with wine and bread. In the middle of the thirteenth century the use of the chalice still existed in the majority of churches; so St. Thomas tells us. By the end of the fourteenth century the change was complete everywhere and irrevocably; so that in Bohemia, when an attempt to reintroduce the old custom was made, its sole result was to cause blood to be shed in torrents.¹

(d) *Masses for Martyrs and for the Dead*

The most notable of the survivals of the early banquet I have left to the last; its duration was least. I have shown that this accessory or that detail of the banquet

¹ Ordo, x, 34, eleventh century, Migne, 78, 1022, prescribes the soaking of the bread in the wine when communion is administered to the sick. It adds that when the wine is brought into contact with the eucharist it is transubstantiated into the blood of Christ. Jean d'Avranches, *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, Migne, 147, 37, authorizes the sop "summa necessitate timoris sanguinis Christi effusionis." The author of *Micrologos* M. 151, 989, censures it. Humbert, *Adv. Graecorum calumnias*, 32, M. 143, 951, and Pascal, ii, ep. 535, M. 163, 442, censure it also. Robert Pulley, *Sententiae*, viii, 2, condemns it, but recognizes that it was customary—"pleraque per loca." (See note by Mathoud, M. 186, 1139.) Thomas, iii, 80, 12, says in the conclusion that the communion of the laity without wine is "multorum ecclesiarum usu"; in the body of the article he says "in quibusdam ecclesiis."

made its way into the Mass and subsisted till to-day, or succeeded in keeping its place for many centuries. Now I must relate how for two centuries the feast itself, with its train of singing and wassail, remained attached to certain specific Masses. Ordinary Masses were neglected; those that commemorated the death of a parent or of a martyr were selected, such as we call nowadays interment or anniversary masses (these used to be termed "*de Natalitio*"). The *Didascalia*, 6, 22, 2, recommends that Christians should meet in the cemetery at the death of a relative and celebrate there "the eucharist which is the image of the royal body of Christ." The recommendation was perfectly useless. It was not only in cemeteries on the occasion of funerals of friends and kin that assemblies gathered together, but also round their *mensae*, for the "memories" of the martyrs. Mass was heard there, and at the same time there was feasting. Eusebius, Bishop of Alexandria, though aware that the martyrs are flattered by feasts in their honour, particularly when the poor are invited, complains bitterly of the ill behaviour of guests who by disorderly conduct hinder the hearing of holy readings and the chanting of the liturgy. At the time of which he speaks (fifth, or perhaps sixth, century) the Council of Laodicea, canon 28, had much earlier forbidden feasting in churches. This rule was null and void. The Council of Gangres, canon 11, authorizes such feasts when celebrated in a spirit of faith.

For the customs of the West we may take Augustine as our guide. He tells us in *Confessions*, 6, 2, the ill hap that befell his mother when at Milan she wished to do as was customary in Africa, and brought to church with her a basket of food to celebrate the memory of the dead: she was repulsed by the doorkeeper. He tells us at the same time how St. Ambrose suppressed

at Milan the festivities that dishonoured the commemoration of martyrs. When he became a priest Augustine extended to the African Church the reform imposed by Ambrose in Milan. In 392 A.D. he requested the Bishop of Carthage (*ep.* 16) to put an end, by a decision in Council, to the scenes of excess that disgraced the churches on martyrs' days. Manifestly due to this request, the canon 33 of the Council of Hippo in 393 A.D. forbade bishops and clergy to hold banquets in churches. Having obtained the edict he desired, Augustine had it enforced. Letter 29, 9 and 10, informs us what were the two chief obstacles he encountered.¹ He was asked: "If our conduct is reprehensible, how is it that up to the present no one has blamed us for it? And why should we not be allowed to do what is done daily with impunity in St. Peter's at Rome, where scenes of drunkenness are notoriously common?" Augustine explained that the bishops, at Rome as well as in Africa, had till then been powerless to uproot the evil which they bewailed. This answer was apparently satisfactory, since after 395 he was able to celebrate commemorations of martyrs from which all form of festivity was banished.

At the very moment when Augustine, following in the footsteps of Ambrose, was breaking with tradition, Rome still held to the old customs. In 397 the wealthy Senator Pammachius, on the death of his wife, had a service said for her at St. Peter's.² This consisted of a Mass at which the pious senator "offered to God in memory of the apostle sacred victims and pure wine for the libations." The poor of Rome were invited to this Mass, and they came in such numbers that the immense

¹ De basilica beati apostoli Petri quotidianae vinolentiae proferebantur exempla.

² Letter 13, St. Paulinus, gives us a long description of this ceremony in dithyrambic style.

basilica could not contain them, and many had to remain outside. Pammachius gave food and drink to his guests—"he moistened their dry throats" (*Aridas sitientium fauces rigares*)—and in this manner immolated the victims which he had brought (*In cujus tabernaculis verae jubilationis hostias immolasti, reficiens et pascens eos*).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

THE Mass is for the Catholic a sacrifice at which Christ, present on the altar as victim, offers himself up to God, as formerly he did on the Calvary. Several rites of this sacrifice have lost all meaning, and the sacrifice itself is, strange to say, in direct opposition to the principles of Catholic doctrine.

These strange anomalies are due to the slow evolution of the ceremony. Before it was endowed with the victim immolated on the cross, the Mass was simply a memorial of the passion. Prior to commemorating the drama of the Calvary it was simply a banquet accompanied with prayers in the Jewish manner.

Several rites of the Mass are derived from the early banquet, including the rite of sacrifice.

In short, the Mass has its pre-history, in which is to be found the explanation of all the incoherencies which burden it to-day.

When the priest is before the altar he wears on his left arm a band of cloth called a maniple. This was in early days a towel. In the time of the banquet its use was evident. Since then its value has vanished, and to-day it is nothing but a relic. It is a witness to departed things, and to the obstinate conservatism of the Church, which preserves the inessential when the essential exists no more. The story of the maniple is a miniature of that of the Mass. Like the towel of former days, nowadays loaded with embroidery, the Mass is itself a witness, and attests a mentality long out of date.

LIST OF FATHERS, ETC., REFERRED TO

- ABELARD, lecturer at Paris, etc., 1092-1142.
Alcuin of York, preceptor of Charlemagne, 734-804.
Alexander III, Roland Bandinelli of Siena, Pope, from 1159-1181.
Amalarius, presbyter of Metz, 811-836.
Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, 333-397.
Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (Bona) in Africa, 354-430.
BASIL, Bishop of Cæsarea, 329-379.
Bede of Jarrow, 673-735.
Bellarmin, Robert, Jesuit Cardinal, 1542-1621.
Berenger of Tours (Berengarius), d. 1088.
Bernold, author of *Micrologus*, 1090.
Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, 1627-1704.
Bruno, Bishop of Angers from 1047-1081.
CÆSARIUS of Arles, Bishop of Arles, 469-542.
Cæsarius of Heisterbach, Cistercian monk, c. 1220.
Chrysostom, John, Patriarch of Constantinople, 354-407.
Clemens Romanus, d. c. 101.
Clement of Alexandria, d. 217.
Cuthbert, disciple of Bede, d. 735.
Cyprian of Carthage, 200-258.
Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, 315-386.
DURAND, Bishop of Mende, d. 1296.
Durand, monk of Normandy, c. 1070.
ETIENNE, Bishop of Autun, d. c. 1139.
Eudes (Odo) of Sully, Bishop of Paris 1196-1208.
Eugenius (Eugene) IV, Pope from 1431-1447.
FACUNDUS, Bishop of Hermiane, 546.
Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, founder of Chartres Cathedral, 950-1029.

160 LIST OF FATHERS, ETC., REFERRED TO

GELASIUS I, Pope, d. 496.

Gratian, monk of Bologna, *c.* 1100–1150.

Gregory I, Pope, *c.* 540–604.

Gregory VII (Hildebrand), Pope, 1015–1085.

Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, 1053–1124.

HIPPOLYTUS, Bishop of Rome, *c.* 180–240.

Hrabanus Maurus Magnentius, Archbishop of Mainz,
776–856.

Hugues (Hugh) of St. Victor (of Mortagne), friend of
St. Bernard, 1097–1141.

IGNATIUS, d. *c.* 109.

Innocent III, Pope, 1160–1216.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, *c.* 130–202.

Isidore, Bishop of Seville, d. 636.

JEAN (JOHN) of Cornouailles (of Cornwall?), *c.* 1176.

Jerome of Stridon, Dalmatia, 331–420.

John, deacon at Rome, 875.

Justin Martyr, d. *c.* 155.

LACTANTIUS, tutor of Crispus, eldest son of Constantine
the Great, d. *c.* 330.

Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury (Prior of Bec),
1005–1089.

Leo IV, Pope from 847–855.

Leo IX, 1002–1054, Pope from 1049–1054.

MARCION, d. *c.* 165.

Melania, d. 410.

Melchior Cano, Dominican, of Salamanca, Bishop of
Canary Islands, etc., 1504–1560.

Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople in 1053.

Monica, mother of St. Augustine, 332–387.

NICHOLAS II, Pope from 1058–1061.

Odo, Abbot of Cluny, d. 947.

Origen of Alexandria, *c.* 185–254.

PASCHASIUS RADBERT, Abbot of Corbie, 844-851

Peter Lombard, pupil of Abelard, d. 1164.

Pius V, 1504-1572, Pope from 1566-1572.

Pliny, 61-115, proprætor of Bithynia and Pontica,
103-105.

RADBERT. *See* Paschasius.

Ratramnus, monk of Corbie, contemporary of Radbert.

SUAREZ, FRANCISCO, Jesuit, 1548-1617.

TERTULLIAN, Rome and Carthage, *c.* 150-*c.* 210.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, nr. Antioch, 391-458.

Thomas Aquinas, 1227-1274.

UDALRIC, Bishop of Augsburg, canonized 993.

Urban II, Pope from 1088-1099.

VASQUEZ, GABRIEL, d. 1604.

YVES (IVO) OF CHARTRES, Bishop of Chartres, pupil of
Lanfranc, 1040-1116.

