Pseudo-Germain of Paris

A SHORT EXPOSITION OF THE ANCIENT GALLICAN LITURGY

Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae Gallicanae

From the Latin as printed by Martène (Paris, 1717) and in Migne, Patrologia Latina 72

English translation

Contributed to Mind of the Church by a friend of the library who wishes to remain anonymous

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About this translation

Translated from the Latin of the *Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae Gallicanae*, as printed by Dom Edmond Martène, O.S.B., in his *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, vol. V (Paris, 1717), and reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 72 (Paris, 1849), cols. 83–98, from the only manuscript, Autun, Bibliothèque municipale 184, formerly of the abbey of Saint-Martin at Autun.

The manuscript heads the work "Germain, bishop of Paris, wrote on the Mass", and it went long under the name of St. Germain of Paris (d. 576); it is now generally held to be later, of the seventh or eighth century, by an unknown writer of Gaul. It is the fullest account that survives of the Mass and offices of the old Gallican rite, before Pepin and Charlemagne brought in the Roman, and it explains each part — the chants, the readings, the prayer of the faithful, the dismissal of the catechumens, the offertory, the peace, the blessing and the communion — by its meaning.

Given here are Martène's preface, in which he sets out the order of the Gallican Mass from the *Exposition* and from Gregory of Tours and asks who wrote it and when, and the two letters of the *Exposition*: the first on the Mass, the second on the common office and the rites of the year. Martène's notes are not translated except where marked. Gaps in the manuscript, which the printed text marks with rows of dots, are shown as [lacuna]. The column numbers of Migne's edition are given in the text. An appendix gives, for comparison, some other early texts of the prayer of the faithful.

Dom Martène's Admonition: the order of the Gallican Mass

(cols. 83–84) After the ancient liturgy of the Gallican Church was abolished among our fathers and the Roman Mass put in its place, the latter so prevailed within a short time that after a few years all memory of the former seemed to have faded from nearly everyone, and scarcely was its very name heard among any. For this reason the careful writers of our age who have treated of liturgical matters have taken up above all this task: to raise it from the dust, lying as it was and almost buried in darkness. The first to attempt it, and not without deserved praise, was Cardinal Bona of pious memory, in his *Rerum liturgicarum*, chapter 12, where he sets before our eyes traces of the ancient Gallican rite *(cols. 85–86)* drawn from the old writers. But these are slight for the dignity and importance of the subject. Far more happily did Joseph Thomasius, a man of great learning, carry out the task, who printed at Rome three ancient codices of the Gallican liturgy from the library of the Queen of Sweden, afterwards reprinted at Paris by Mabillon together with the ancient Gallican Lectionary which he found at Luxeuil and illustrated with learned observations; and Mabillon himself published a fourth codex of the Gallican liturgy from the library of Bobbio in the first volume of the *Museum Italicum*. But in all these books we have only one thing, though it is the chief: we know the prayers which the celebrant priest recited at the altar, with the lessons which the sacred ministers proclaimed to the people. What the choir meanwhile sang, and in what order, has until now been hidden from us. Some have tried to show this by the authority of the ancients, but almost entirely in vain; for besides failing in many points, in some they have even erred.

The advantage that comes from the following *Exposition* of the ancient Gallican liturgy is that we now know its whole order, and what the choir sang in it.

1. First, the liturgy began with an antiphon, which the choir sang with a psalm verse and the *Gloria Patri*.

2. The antiphon was followed by the *praefatio*, or admonition to the people, which the priest read out beforehand to exhort the people to keep with due reverence the solemnity for which they had assembled. I am aware that some place between the antiphon and the *praefatio* an angelic hymn to be sung by the choir; but this has no foundation in authority. The two passages from Gregory of Tours which they bring forward to prove it prove nothing; they show only that the hymn was sung at certain other public supplications. Indeed, in the Gallican liturgy which Mabillon published from the Bobbio codex, the hymn *Gloria in excelsis Deo* is

appointed to be said privately, as thanksgiving after Mass. Hence the antiphon was followed by the *praefatio* or *praelectio*; so in our *Exposition* we read "the antiphon for the *praelegendo*," that is, before the exhortation which the priest read out.

3. After the *praefatio* the deacon proclaimed silence in a loud voice. Gregory of Tours mentions this rite in *Historia Francorum* VII.8, in these words: "So it happened that one Sunday, after the deacon had called on the people for silence, so that they might listen to the Mass…". Here I have no doubt that "Mass" means "prayers".

4. When silence had been proclaimed, the priest greeted the people, and added to the people's reply a collect, to be heard devotedly by all on bended knee, as certain sermons of St Caesarius show.

5. After the collect the choir sang the *Trisagion*, in Greek and in Latin; after it came the canticle of Zechariah, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*. In Lent this canticle was omitted with the other hymns of joy.

6. There followed the reading from the prophets and from the apostle. For besides the reading of the Gospel they sang two readings, one from the Old Testament and one from the New. This rite can be seen in Gregory of Tours, *De miraculis sancti Martini* I.11: "It happened that on that Sunday, when the prophetic reading had been read, the man who was to read the lesson of blessed Paul stood before the altar." On the feasts of saints, martyrs or confessors, their acts were also read publicly, that the people, hearing of their virtues, might be fired to do likewise. So Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* 86, tells that the passion of St Polycarp was read.

7. After the readings the choir sang the hymn of the Three Boys, and in my view by way of a responsory; Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* VIII.3, I suppose calls this a "responsorial psalm". For the ancients were accustomed to give the name of psalms to any canticles from Scripture. I think canon 13 of the Fourth Council of Toledo belongs to this rite: "That throughout all the churches of Spain or of Gaul, at the solemnity of every Mass, the hymn of the Three Boys be sung in the pulpit."

8. While the deacon was going to the lectern to chant the Gospel, the choir meanwhile sang the *Trisagion*, and repeated it when the Gospel had been sung.

9. After the Gospel the bishop gave a word to the people from the pulpit; or if ill health prevented this, or he was slow of tongue, he ordered homilies, his own or composed by others, chiefly of the holy Fathers, to be delivered by priests or deacons.

10. **Then the deacon poured out the prescribed prayers over the hearers and the catechumens**, on which rites we have said enough in book I of *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*.

11. **When the catechumens had been sent out, the deacon called for silence;** then he brought to the altar the body of the Lord, kept in a tower from the preceding sacrifice, as appears both from this *Exposition* and from Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* c. 86. The Romans carried it not in a tower but in a *capsa*, and this was observed also in some Gallican churches. From this rite some light may be thrown on canon 17 of the First Council of Orange, which almost all scholars until now have misread: "When the *capsa* and the chalice are to be offered, and to be consecrated by the admixture of the Eucharist" — that is, the *capsa* containing the Lord's body *(cols. 87–88)* is brought to the altar when, in the Mass, the offering of the chalice is to be made with the admixture, or presence, of the Eucharist to be consecrated.

12. When the Eucharist had been brought to the altar, the offering of bread and wine to be consecrated was made, and meanwhile the choir sang the *Sonus*, that is, an antiphon corresponding to our offertory, or something like it. Perhaps the *Sonus* was nothing other than what our *Exposition* soon after calls the *Laudes*. In the Mozarabic Missal the *Laus* consists of an *Alleluia* and one verse, but our *Exposition* teaches that in the Gallican liturgy the *Alleluia* was repeated three times to signify the three times — before the law, under the law and under grace — and perhaps with a threefold verse.

13. When the offering had been made, the sacred diptychs were recited, that is, the names of bishops and others written on a tablet laid on the altar. I have seen such an ivory tablet in the church of Bourges, on which the names of the archbishops are inscribed, though today no use of it survives at Bourges.

14. When the diptychs had been recited, the priest said the *Collectio post nomina*; then the faithful gave each other the kiss of peace; the priest then recited the *Collectio ad pacem*, which was followed by the *contestatio* (as they called the preface) and the canon, which was very short.

15. After the consecration the priest recited the prayer *Post secreta*, words which show that the words of consecration were said secretly and in silence by the priest. After this came the fraction and the commixture of the Body of Christ. Meanwhile the choir sang an antiphon; when it was finished, the priest recited a collect before the Lord's Prayer; and after the Lord's Prayer a second collect was pronounced by the priest.

16. Before communion a blessing was given to the people, with three prayers by a bishop, but a single short one by a simple priest, in this way: "Peace, faith and charity, and the communion of the body and blood of the Lord, be with you always."

17. During communion, or when it was finished, the choir sang the *Trecanum*. What the *Trecanum* may have been I do not quite grasp. Both the word and its etymology seem to signify a threefold song. The Rule of Aurelian prescribes that all communicate while psalms are sung. Some will perhaps explain the *Trecanum* as the apostles' creed, which sets out faith in the holy Trinity — in the Mozarabic Missal it is ordered to be said after the consecration and before communion, but in the Gallican liturgy it would have been recited after communion.

18. Finally the priest said the prayer *Post Eucharistiam*, which was followed by another collect.

These are nearly all the parts of the ancient Gallican liturgy which I have wished to set briefly before the eyes of the reader, for the readier understanding of the work that follows; in its second part, or second letter, many other things most worthy of notice occur, especially what it relates about Lent and the handing over of the creed, in which rites hitherto unknown are described.

On the author and date

As to the author: since the old codex of St-Martin of Autun, from which we have transcribed it, does not carry his name, we can decide nothing with certainty; we offer only conjectures. At the beginning we read: "Germain, bishop of Paris, wrote on the Mass". Either, then, we hold it to be Germain's own work, or an epitome of a longer work of his, written by one of his disciples, perhaps in the monastery of St Symphorian at Autun, where Germain professed the monastic life before he was raised to the see of Paris.

As to the date at which the *Exposition* of the Gallican Mass was written, two things seem certain to me: first, that it was after Germain was made bishop of Paris; second, that it was before the ancient liturgy of our fathers was abolished in the churches of Gaul, the Roman Mass being introduced in its place — which was done by Charlemagne at the urging of Pope Hadrian, as those who have written most carefully on these matters commonly teach, that is, towards the end of the eighth century. To bring the writing back to Germain's own times there is this: after the reading of the homilies of the holy Fathers it describes the prayers made by the deacon over the catechumens before they and the unbelievers were sent out of the church — a rite which scarcely reached Germain's time. We therefore judge that the following work was written at the latest in the middle of the sixth century; its rough manner of writing and barbarous words show its antiquity, and for that reason we have thought it right to correct nothing in it.

The First Letter: the order of the Mass

Short Exposition of the Ancient Gallican Liturgy, arranged in two letters. First Letter: how the solemn order of the Church is carried out, and by what instructions the ecclesiastical canon is adorned.

(col. 88) Germain, bishop of Paris, wrote on the Mass:

First and highest of all the gifts of grace, the Mass is celebrated in commemoration of the death of the Lord, because the death of Christ became the life of the world, that by our offering it may profit for the salvation of the living and the repose of the dead.

Of the Reading-Aloud (*De praelegere*)

The antiphon *ad praelegendum* is sung in the likeness of those patriarchs before the Flood who proclaimed in mystical voices the coming of Christ — as Enoch, seventh from Adam, who was taken away by God, prophesied, saying: "Behold, the Lord comes with his holy ones, in wondrous acts, to execute judgment" (Jude 14), and what follows. The apostle Jude, the brother of James, recalls this testimony in his Epistle. For as the hand of the Lord came upon the ark when the prophets prophesied, so as to leave a remnant of the earth among the condemned; so, while the clergy sing, the priest comes forth from the sacristy in the likeness of Christ, as though from heaven, into the ark of the Lord, which is the Church, that by admonition and exhortation he may nourish good works among the people and extinguish the bad.

Of the Silence (*De silentio*)

The deacon announces silence for two reasons: that the people, being silent, may hear the word of God the better; and that our heart too may be silent from every foul thought, so that the word of God may be better received.

The priest is given to the people so that when he blesses the people, saying "The Lord be always with you," he may be blessed by all in turn, who answer "And with your spirit"; and he is the more worthy to bless the people, the more he receives, by God's favour, a blessing from the mouth of the whole people.

Of the *Aius* (*De Aius*)

The *Aius* is sung before the prophecy in the Greek tongue because the preaching of the New Testament went through the world by way of the Greek language — except for the apostle Matthew, who was the first to publish the Gospel of Christ in Judea, in Hebrew letters. Let us therefore keep honour to the language that first received the Gospel of Christ in its old age, or taught the first canticle in its own letters. When the bishop of the church begins, the *Aius* is sung, in Latin together with Greek, to show that the Old Testament and the New are joined. "Amen," a Hebrew word, is like the title which, at God's prompting, Pilate put over the cross in three languages, confessing, though ignorant, "Jesus of Nazareth" — that is, the Holy One and King. The three children who follow with one voice *Kyrie eleison* \[signify\] the Hebrew, Greek and Latin, or the three ages of the world: before the law, under the law and under grace.

Of the Prophecy (*De prophetia*)

The canticle of the priest Zechariah is sung in honour of St John the Baptist, because the beginning of salvation lies in the sacrament of baptism, which is received through John's ministry by God's gift — with the shadow of the old falling away and the new brightness of the Gospel dawning. John, midway between the prophets' last and the evangelists' first, shone as a lamp radiating before the face of the true Light. Therefore the prophecy which his father sang at his birth is sung by the Church in alternating voices.

Of the Prophet and the Apostle

The prophetic reading keeps its own place: it rebukes the evils of the Old Testament and announces what is to come, that we may understand it is the same God who thundered in the prophecy, who taught in the Apostle, and who shone forth in the splendour of the Gospel.

Of the Apostle

What the prophet cries as future, the Apostle teaches as done. The Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse of John are read for the newness of Paschal joy, keeping the order of the seasons — as the history of the Old Testament is read in Quinquagesima — and the deeds of saints, confessors and martyrs on their solemnities, *(cols. 91–92)* so that the people may understand how greatly Christ has loved his servant, giving him a token of his power, whom the devout little flock asks as its patron.

Of the Hymn (*De hymnum*)

The hymn of the Three Boys, which is sung after the reading, is in the likeness of the holy men of old who sat in darkness waiting for the Lord's coming. For just as, while they were silent, a fourth angel came into the cloud of dew and, bringing in the burning fire, overcame it; so for these men waiting for Christ the Son of God himself, the Angel of great counsel, was at hand, who broke the realm of hell and brought them, set free, the joy of the resurrection, as the Evangelist teaches. In accordance with this the Church also keeps an order by which between the blessing and the Gospel no lesson intervenes but only the responsory, which is sung by little children, after the likeness of the Innocents, who are read to have been put to death for the Gospel in the company of Christ's nativity, or of those little ones who, as the Lord hastened to his passion, cried out in the temple "Hosanna to the Son of David" — the Psalmist singing "Out of the mouths of infants and nurslings you have perfected praise" (Ps 8:3).

Of the *Aius* Before the Gospel

Then at the coming of the holy Gospel the clergy again sing the *Aius* in a clear melody, in the likeness of the angels crying before the face of Christ at the gates of hell: "Lift up your gates, O princes, and be lifted up, eternal doors, and the King of glory shall enter in" (Ps 23:7).

Of the Gospel

The procession of the holy Gospel comes out like the power of Christ triumphing over death, with the aforesaid harmonies and with seven candlesticks of light — the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, or the five lights of the law fixed to the mystery of the cross — as it mounts the tribune of the lectern, like Christ taking the seat of his Father's kingdom, to thunder out from there the gifts of life, while the clergy cry "Glory to you, O Lord," in the likeness of the angels who, at the birth of the Lord, sang "Glory to God in the highest" (Lk 2:14) to the shepherds when they appeared.

Of the *Sanctus* After the Gospel

The *Sanctus*, which the clergy sing as the holy Gospel is carried back, is in the likeness of the saints who, when the Lord Jesus Christ returned from the dead, sang the canticle of praise to the Lord as they followed him; or of the seventy-four elders whom John mentions in the Apocalypse, who cast down their crowns before the Lamb and sang a sweet canticle.

Of the Homilies (*De omelias*)

The homilies of the saints that are read are set down for preaching alone, so that whatever the prophet, the Apostle or the Gospel has commanded, the teacher or pastor of the Church may preach to the people in

plainer speech, tempering it with skill so that neither uncouthness offends the wise nor learned eloquence becomes obscure to the simple.

Of the Prayer (*De prece*)

That the Levites sing prayers for the people takes its beginning from the books of Moses: that when the preaching of the apostles has been heard, the Levites may plead for the people and the priests prostrate before the Lord may intercede for the sins of the people, as the Lord said to Aaron: "You and your sons and the whole tribe of Levi shall bear the sins of my people" — not, of course, by bearing the penalty, but by lifting them up with their prayers.

Of the Catechumen (*De caticumino*)

The deacon cries "Catechumens!" for this reason, according to the ancient rite of the Church: that Jews, heretics and pagans who had been instructed, who as adults were coming to baptism and were being examined before baptism, should stand in the church and hear the counsel of the Old and New Testaments; that then the Levites should pray for them, the priest say the collect, and after the prayers they should go out — those not worthy to stand while the oblation was being brought in — and listen outside, before the door, prostrate on the ground, to the great deeds \[*magnalia*\]. This duty belonged to the deacon or the doorkeeper: that he should warn them to go out, and that the other should see that no unworthy person lingered in the church, according to the saying "Do not give what is holy to dogs, nor cast your pearls before swine" (Mt 7:6). For what on earth is holier than the making of the body and blood of Christ? And what is more unclean than a dog and a pig? The comparison is to someone who has not been cleansed by baptism or has not been marked with the sign of the cross.

Spiritually we are bidden to keep silence, watching at the door: that is, that being silent from the tumult of words and of vices we set the sign of the cross before our face, lest desire enter by the eyes or anger by the ear, lest foul speech come out of the lips, and that the heart may attend to this alone: to receive Christ in itself.

Of the *Sonus* (*De sono*)

The *Sonus*, which is sung when the oblation comes forward, drew its beginning from this. The Lord commanded Moses to make silver trumpets, which the Levites were to sound when the victim was offered, and this was to be the sign by which the people might know at what hour the oblation was being brought in, and all might bow down and adore the Lord until the pillar of fire or the cloud came that would bless the sacrifice. Now, as the body of Christ comes forward to the altar, the Church sings the splendid wonders of Christ in a sweet melody, not with blameless trumpets any more, but *(cols. 93–94)* with spiritual voices. The body of the Lord is carried in towers because the tomb of the Lord was cut in the rock in the likeness of a tower, and inside is the bed on which the body of the Lord rested, whence the King of glory rose in triumph. The blood of Christ is specially offered in a chalice because the mystery of the Eucharist was consecrated in such a vessel on the day before the Lord suffered, when he himself said: "This is the chalice of my blood, the mystery of faith, which shall be poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins" (Mt 26:28). The bread is transformed into the body and the wine into the blood, as the Lord said of his body: "My flesh is truly food, and my blood is truly drink" (Jn 6:55). Of the bread he said "This is my body," and of the wine "This is my blood" (Mt 26:26). The water is mingled either because it is fitting that the people be united with the Lord, or because blood and water flowed from the side of Christ on the cross — by the one we are cleansed from the stain of faults, by the other we are made ready for the kingdoms of heaven.

The paten is so called because the sacrament of the Eucharist is offered on it in commemoration of the Lord's passion. The linen *palla* has the likeness of that garment which, woven all round, was not divided by the soldiers — the tunic of Christ. The corporal *palla*, on which the oblation is placed, is pure linen because the body of the Lord was wrapped in pure linen cloths with spices in the tomb. The covering of the sacraments is adorned because the resurrection of Christ surpasses all ornaments, or because it is the vault of heaven that will soon hide the Lord from our eyes. The silk is adorned with gold or gems because the Lord commanded Moses to make the veils in the tabernacle of gold, blue, purple and twice-dyed scarlet and twisted linen: because all those mysteries went before as the marks \[*stigmata*\] of Christ.

The *Laudes*, that is the *Alleluia*, John in the Apocalypse heard sung after the resurrection. For this reason, at the hour when the Lord's pall covers the offering, as Christ is covered by the heavens, the Church is wont to sing the angelic canticle; and that it has the *Alleluia* first, second and third signifies the three times: before the law, under the law, under grace.

The names of the dead are recited at the hour when the pall is lifted, because then will be the resurrection of the dead, when at the coming of Christ the heaven will be rolled up like a scroll. They give each other Christ's peace so that by the mutual kiss they may hold in themselves the affection of charity, and whoever is troubled by some discord may quickly return to grace or ask pardon of his neighbour, lest by giving a false peace he fall into the company of the betrayer; and that the Eucharist received, or the blessing handed on, may profit the more, as Christ sees hearts at peace — for he himself, when he ascended to heaven, commanded his disciples, *(cols. 95–96)* saying: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you" (Jn 14:27), and "By this all will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another" (cf. Jn 13:35).

The priest bids us have our hearts lifted up (*Sursum corda*) so that no earthly thought may remain in our breasts at the hour of the holy oblation, and that Christ may be received in the mind the better, the more the thought alone strives to attend to him. The fraction and commixture of the Lord's body were made known in antiquity to the holy Fathers by such great mysteries that when the priest broke the oblation it seemed as though an angel of God were cutting up the limbs of a shining boy with a knife, and catching his blood in the chalice, so that they might say more truly the word of the Lord that his flesh is food and his blood drink. In this fraction the priest, as he wishes to add, should add at that point, because then heavenly things are mingled with earthly, and at the priest's prayer the heavens are opened. While the priest breaks, the suppliant clergy sing an antiphon, because when the sorrow of death was suffered the elements trembling bore witness.

The Lord's Prayer is placed at this point so that all our prayer may be closed with the Lord's Prayer. The Lord commanded through Moses that the priests pour out the blessing of the people, saying: "Speak to Aaron and to his sons; thus you shall bless the people: The Lord bless you and keep you" (Num 6:23–24), and what follows. Aaron bore the place of Christ, his sons the place of presbyters. The Lord commanded both to bless the people; but to keep the honour of the pontiff, the holy canons have ordained that the bishop should give a longer blessing, the presbyter a shorter one, and he says: "Peace, faith and charity, and the communion of the body and blood of the Lord be with you always." For even though no one can contradict the priest who gives that blessing which God dictated to Moses, \[yet\] heaven and earth will pass away. This blessing is therefore given before communion, so that the mystery of blessing may enter a blessed vessel. How sweet the holy communion is to soul and body Christ shows in the words of the Gospel: "If you abide in me, and my words abide in you, whatever you ask the Father in my name, it will be done for you" (Jn 15:7).

The *Trecanum*, which is sung, is a sign that the catholic faith proceeds from belief in the Trinity. For the first is turned into the second, the second into the third, and again the third into the second and the second into the first. Thus the Father in the Son encompasses the mystery of the Trinity: the Father in the Son, the Son in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit in the Son and the Son again in the Father. But now let the letter come to an end, in which the solemn order has been briefly set out, so that in the next letter, on the common office, it may, God willing, be laid open to the ear. Who lives.

\[Martène's note (cols. 94–96): the longer blessing before communion was formerly given by the bishop over the people, three prayers long, as found in many manuscript sacramentaries and as pontiffs still give it in some churches on solemn days; the presbyters' blessing, on the other hand, was a single short prayer.\]

The Second Letter: on the common office

Here begins the Second Letter. On the Common Office.

(cols. 95–96) Since by the Lord's favour we have touched briefly in the former letter on the order of the holy oblation, which was to be set out in few words, let us now commend in a short page, so far as the Lord has granted us to understand, by what reasoning the various gifts of grace in the Church stand.

The antiphons which the Church sings with sweet ceremony took their beginning from this. King Solomon, when he had built the most renowned house, set up singers there who with various instruments sang the wonders of God, so that among the other ornaments that shone in the temple, the divine words too might be brought forth in sweet utterance, and the word of God might be the more delightful the more gracefully it was unrolled in the adornment of the voice. The custom of singing was established in the Church on account of the carnal, not of the spiritual: that those who are not pierced by words may be moved by the sweetness of the melody, reflecting how great is the sweetness of the heavenly song, when in the sojourn of this world the Church resounds so gracefully with the praises of Christ. It is called *antiphona* because it is "put before" (*anteponitur*) first, and then the verse of the psalm is added, and the glory of the Trinity joined to it. There are four kinds of these: composed on the organ from the prophetic books, on the drum from the sacred thunder of the Gospel, or from the composition of the catholic Fathers, in the order of the seasons — either entreating, or narrating, or sounding forth the divine praises on the drum.

The responsories which are sung in the divine offices by day or by night derived their origin from the Pentateuch of Moses, when, after Pharaoh was drowned, Miriam the prophetess took a drum and led the canticle, and the people answered, gathered into a choir. There are likewise four kinds of them, as was set out above concerning the antiphons. The custom of leading and answering is proved not only at the Red Sea but among many nations of the Hebrews, as the history of the Old Testament tells more fully.

In Lent the *Sanctus Deus archangelorum* is sung, and not the canticle of Zechariah, because that melody is a prayer for the people, as the words of the text itself show. For this reason the prophecy is not sung, just as the baptistery is closed; for the canons prescribe it, or there is no baptism in Lent.

The oil that is blessed with the chrism is indicated by the voice of the psalm that is spoken of Christ (Ps 44:8): "God has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows," and that other: "With my holy oil I have anointed him" (Ps 88:21). So they were first anointed with the oil of the old law, and thus poured over with ointment. Specially, the oil is called in Greek and Latin "mercy", and by the oil the grace of the Holy Spirit is signified. For God consecrated this liquid in the Church for making the mystical ointments, for preparing the lamp, and for soothing the wounds of sins.

(col. 96) The creed is also handed over to the competent on the day written above, so that, as when God said "Let there be light" the illumination of belief might appear. "On the seventh day he blessed and sanctified \[it\] in rest": therefore on this day the faith of the people is made firm, and the creed is nourished with the milk of chrism, for on the seventh day the rest of Christ in the tomb is observed, and as the day now declines the triumph of his resurrection is consecrated. When the priest comes to hand over the creed, a soft cushion of feathers, or a white sheet, is spread over the chancel rail, and brought in are the cups of the chrism and of the oil to be blessed, and the book of the holy Gospel, covered with a red veil, because the people coming to the faith bear the figure of infancy. As an infant is tender and new in body, so the catechumen is tender and new in faith. The limbs of the infant are laid on feathers that it may be better nourished. To the catechumen the gentle words of the Lord are given, that he may be the more delighted. For he cannot bear stronger

precepts until by baptism he is confirmed in the grace of the Holy Spirit. The limbs of the little one are wiped with a sheet — that is, with a clean and fine linen — lest the skin be hurt. So to the catechumen the subtlety of the faith is opened in the creed, that through belief he may be wiped clean of every sin. First gently by tender precepts, lest the tender one be harshly vexed in understanding; afterwards \[lacuna\] by stronger commands, that he may grow strong by works. The infant is nourished with milk, and the catechumen anointed with chrism. Milk is sucked from the mother's breast, and chrism is consecrated in the bosom of holy mother Church.

The book of the Gospel, in the likeness of the body of Christ, is covered with a red veil, the sign of blood showing. The chrism vessels are brought in cups, because all the sacraments of baptism are made firm in the passion of Christ. The glass or crystal vessels of the chrism signify the clarity of baptism. The chrism is made with balsam. The lentisk is a kind of tree from which the resin of the balsam is taken; of this lentisk it is handed down that there was a part in the Lord's cross, where the impious man fixed the Lord's holy hands with a nail. So also the resin of this wood, by dispensation \[lacuna\], from ancient times \[lacuna\] is poured in. For the angel of God descends to the secret things on the altar as upon the tomb, and blesses the very host, in the likeness of that angel who announced the resurrection of Christ. Then, with tongue freed and in a clear voice, all the canticles which in Lent were shut up in silence are taken up again — the drowning of Pharaoh, and the *Sanctus* from heaven, and the *Alleluia* with joy, because the Lord is risen. The office is completed at midnight, because at midnight the Saviour broke hell; then from the mouth of the faithful people the flesh of the Lamb is eaten, and the blood sweetly drunk, *(cols. 97–98)* by which the whole world is redeemed at a glorious price, and at once the lesson is learned that at the first light of the dawn the praise of the Lord's resurrection be celebrated in a clear canticle with blessings.

The pall at Easter, with little bells, the Eucharist being veiled, is after the manner of the Old Testament, in which the priest's tunic is shown full of bells, signifying the words of preaching. The girding of the white garment with which the priest who is to baptize is girded is done in the sign of St John, who baptized the Lord girded. At Easter white garments are put on, as the angel was seen at the tomb in white garments; for white garments signify exultation.

The chasuble, which they call the *amphibalum*, which the priest puts on — wholly one piece — was first shown as instituted through Moses the lawgiver. The Lord commanded a distinctive garment to be made, so that the priest might put on one such as the people would not dare to put on. It is without sleeves because the priest blesses rather than ministers. It is whole all around, not slit, not open, because the secret mysteries of Holy Scripture are many, which the learned man must hide as it were under seal, and keep the unity of the faith, not turn aside into heresy or schism.

The pallium, which comes about the neck down to the breast, was called the *rationale* in the Old Testament: a sign of holiness over the memorial of the breast, the prophet saying in the person of the Lord: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me", and a little after, "to give to those who mourn in Zion a garland instead of ashes, the oil of gladness instead of mourning" (Is 61:3). The pallium \[signifies\] praises instead of a spirit of sorrow. That it is put around the neck is of ancient custom, because kings and priests were surrounded by a pallium of shining cloth, which prefigured grace. That fringes are attached to priestly vestments the Lord commanded Moses in Numbers: that at the four corners of their cloaks the children of Israel should make fringes, so that the Lord's people might bear the sign of God's commandments not only in deed but in dress.

The *manualia*, that is, sleeves, it is the custom for priests to put on, after the manner of the bracelets with which the arms of kings or priests were bound. They are of some precious fleece, not of the hardness of metal, or so that all priests, even those of lesser dignity in the world, may more easily find them in common.

A small garment, which is for no other use than for the frequenting of the sacrifice, either signifies that our hands are not to be weighed down with the honours of the world, but surrounded with the fine exercises of

God's commandments. The sleeve of the tunic, moreover, prevents any vile garment, or any touch of dirt, from appearing on the divine sacrifices where the hands of those who offer move about.

The albs which the Levites use the Fathers established because on a dyed garment a stain does not so quickly show as on a white one; and the minister of the altar uses it so that he may be careful and avoid every stain, and that the vestments of those ministering may in no way appear soiled even by the lightest touch, but be white outwardly in the garment and inwardly in mind. It is made of silk fleece because the Lord commanded the priests to have vestments from it, so that their garment might show the hope of the resurrection. For silk is made from wood by a worm. The worm after death goes forth with wings, and after setting and flight it prefigures Christ, who, resting from the wood of the cross in the tomb like a worm shut up in a narrow cocoon, rose from the grave and took flight to the heavens. White of other fleece shows only innocence of life. The alb is not bound with a girdle, but hangs and covers the Levite's little body, because the whole conduct of a Levite in desire of the heavenly country ought to hang free from earthly works and not be bound with the girdle of sins.

The stole, which the deacon puts on over the alb, signifies subtlety of understanding in the divine mysteries, and the ancients, putting on the stole, showed that they had the joy of a solemnity. For this reason it is not used in Lent, for humiliation, just as neither is the *Alleluia* in our Church; the *Sanctus*, the prophecy, the hymn of the Three Boys, and the Song of the Red Sea are not sung on those days. The angel appeared girded with a white stole when, sitting at the tomb of the Lord, he announced the solemnity of his resurrection. Therefore in Lent these canticles are to be forbidden, because they are heavenly and angelic. For from heaven the pillar of fire by night and the pillar of cloud by day, and the angel in the furnace of flame, were heard in heaven. The *Alleluia* and the *Sanctus* are therefore silent in penance, that they may be new at the Lord's Resurrection, when baptism too is unlocked. It behoves, therefore, the Levite to sing the heavenly canticle.

Appendix: Other Early Texts of the Prayer of the Faithful

The First Letter tells how, when the Gospel has been read and preached, the Levites sing prayers for the people and the priest says the collect. Gathered here, for comparison, are some other early texts of that prayer: a canon which the medieval collections ascribe to a Council of Orléans, two collects of the Roll of Ravenna, the litany called the Deprecatio of Saint Martin in two forms, and the Ambrosian litany *Divinae pacis*.

A canon “of the Council of Orléans” on the Sunday prayers

No council of Orléans has this canon in its acts; it circulates under that name in the canonical collections. Given here as Regino of Prüm has it, De ecclesiasticis disciplinis I.190 (Migne, Patrologia Latina 132, cols. 225–226); it is also in Burchard of Worms, Decretum II.70, and Ivo of Chartres, Decretum II.120.

It is fitting that on feast days and Sundays, after the sermon preached to the people within the solemnities of the Mass, the priest should admonish them that, according to the apostolic instruction, they should all together pour out prayer to the Lord for the various needs: for kings and for the rulers of the churches, for peace, for plague, for the sick who lie in bed in that same parish, for those lately dead. At each of these petitions the people are to say the Lord's Prayer in silence, while the priest solemnly completes the prayers belonging to the occasion at each of the admonitions. After this the sacred offering is to be celebrated. For the Apostle says: "I beseech you, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings be made…" (1 Tim 2:1).

Two collects of the Roll of Ravenna

From the Roll of Ravenna, a liturgical scroll of the sixth or seventh century now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan, which holds a series of collects for Advent and Christmas.

For Advent. Almighty God, you command us to pass through the gate of righteousness and to prepare a path for Christ the Lord. Grant in your kindness that we, who await the radiant presence of the heavenly physician, may be worn down by no weakness. Through [our Lord Jesus Christ].

For Christmas. O God, eternal majesty, whose ineffable Word was received by a spotless virgin when the angel brought the message, and who, made the dwelling-place of the Godhead, was filled with the light of the Holy Spirit: we ask that she herself protect your faithful people by her prayers, who in her holy and chaste womb was found worthy to bear God and man. Through [our Lord Jesus Christ].

The Deprecatio of Saint Martin

In the Stowe Missal (Ireland, late eighth or early ninth century; Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, fols. 16v–17r). The people answer the opening call "Lord, hear us and have mercy," and each petition after it ends "We pray."

Deprecatio sancti Martini pro populo begins. Amen. Thanks be to God.

Let us all say: Lord, hear us and have mercy; Lord, have mercy.

With all our heart and with all our mind, you who look upon the earth and make it tremble: we pray.

For the deepest peace and tranquillity of our times; for the holy catholic Church, which spreads from the ends of the earth to its farthest bounds: we pray.

For our shepherd N., bishop, and for all bishops, priests, deacons and all the clergy: we pray.

For this place and those who dwell in it; for our most devout emperors and the whole Roman army: we pray.

For all who are set in high authority; for virgins, widows and orphans: we pray.

For pilgrims, travellers and those at sea; for penitents and catechumens: we pray.

For those who in the holy Church bestow the fruits of mercy: Lord God of hosts, hear our prayers: we pray.

Let us be mindful of the holy apostles and martyrs, that through their prayers for us we may be worthy of pardon: we pray.

Let us ask of the Lord a Christian and peaceful end for ourselves: grant it, Lord, grant it.

Let us ask that the divine and holy bond of love remain in us: grant it.

Let us ask the Lord to preserve holiness and the purity of the catholic faith: grant it. Let us say:

A later and shorter form, from the processional of Laon (1755), in which every petition is answered "Lord, have mercy."

Let us all say.

With all our heart and with all our mind we adore you.

For the most stable peace and the prosperous government of the Empire, we beseech you.

For the Catholic congregation gathered in this place, we call upon you.

For our emperor and all his army, O King of kings.

For good weather, for the fruits and the fertility of the earth, O bountiful giver.

For this city and its preservation, we implore you.

For those who are sick and held by various illnesses, heal them.

For the forgiveness of sins and the amendment of them, we call upon you.

Hear us, O God, in all our prayer, for you are powerful.

Let us all say.

The Ambrosian litany *Divinae pacis*

Sung in the Ambrosian rite on the first, third and fifth Sundays of Lent. Each petition is answered "Lord, have mercy," the last with Kyrie eleison three times.

The Lord be with you. And with your spirit.

Beseeching you for the gift of divine peace and forgiveness, with all our heart and with all our mind, we pray you. Lord, have mercy.

For your holy catholic Church, here and spread throughout the whole world. Lord, have mercy.

For our Pope N. and our Pontiff N., and for all their clergy, and for all priests and ministers. Lord, have mercy.

[For your servants N. the Emperor and N. the King, our Duke, and for all their armies. Lord, have mercy.]

For the peace of the churches, the calling of the nations, and the quiet of the peoples. Lord, have mercy.

For this city and its way of life, and for all who dwell in it. Lord, have mercy.

For the mildness of the weather and the abundance of the fruits of the earth. Lord, have mercy.

For virgins, widows, orphans, captives and penitents. Lord, have mercy.

For those at sea, those on the road; for those in prisons, in chains, in the mines, in exile. Lord, have mercy.

For those held by various illnesses, and those troubled by unclean spirits. Lord, have mercy.

For those who bestow the fruits of mercy in your holy Church. Lord, have mercy.

Hear us, O God, in all our prayer and supplication. Lord, have mercy.

Let us all say: Lord, have mercy. Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison.