

From papal ceremony to the Roman Missal: Eucharistic rites¹

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Introduction

When approaching liturgical studies, it is important to understand their ritual dimension. The holy liturgy, the integral public worship of the Mystical Body of Christ, cannot be considered, apart from its religious character and social value, outside of its incarnation in time and the vast complex of signs, gestures, symbols, etc., that it constitutes. The liturgy, as the believer perceives and would define it, is this set of signs, in a word, rites, rites that are significant—in a manner more or less effective according to their nature—of sanctifying realities². From there, the liturgist will have an interest in deepening the theological, and in doing so spiritual, notion of the sign: what is the reality signified? Why is it signified by this or that material reality? What is its value? Do human beings give validity to signs, or do they acquire it only because of the divine Incarnation that the Church consummates in time through the celebration of the mystery³? But liturgical science, with the foundations of sound theology laid, will also be the knowledge of rites, not only for the purpose of performing them accurately—which would constitute ritualistic science—but also and above all for understanding their intelligibility and economy, thanks to the study of sources and the treasure trove of liturgical books. Such a study requires a keen sense of the homogeneous, fully traditional evolution of liturgical forms. While this evolution is connected to dogmatic developments, it is also linked to the formation of Christian civilisation, at the heart of which the Church asserts itself as a perfect society. Its ritual functions therefore take on a social or political character, which makes the

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² Cf. Saint THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, IIIa, Q. 60, A. 2: "*Signs are given to men, by which they may come to know what is unknown. And therefore it is properly called a sacrament, which is a sign of some sacred thing pertaining to men: so that it is properly called a sacrament, according to what we now speak of sacraments, which is a sign of a sacred thing insofar as it sanctifies men.*"

³ Cf. Joseph de SAINTE-MARIE, O.C.D., *L'Eucharistie salut du monde*, Paris: DMM, 1981, p. 295 et seq.: "In themselves, Christ's Resurrection and Ascension accomplish everything. But after them, there is a delay and an extension of time for the fulfilment of the mystery in and through the Church. If the Incarnation, the Passion and the Resurrection-Ascension are the three fundamental stages in the realisation of the mystery by and in Christ during his earthly life, at the centre of history, these three stages will in a sense be found again in the life of the Church. These will be Pentecost, which is like the Incarnation extended to the Church, the Passion of this Church, established in her condition as the body and bride of Christ, and her glorious Resurrection at the Parousia (Rev 21:2). Only then will the end of history, which began with the Resurrection of Christ, and even with his conception, be consummated. And it will be so because the Church, in the time given to her for this purpose, will have fulfilled her mission, which is precisely to consummate the mystery of Christ. She does this by the power of the Spirit, in whom she was conceived and by whom she was born on the day of Pentecost. She does so through her witness and through her liturgy, that is, through the celebration of the sacraments of the mystery, the permanent source of this outpouring of the Spirit of the risen Christ in his mystical body. She does so through her whole life." (pp. 298-299).

Eucharistic celebration of the Roman pontiff and the bishop a princely rite. This social or political aspect, which is fundamental to understanding liturgical books, is particularly tangible when reading the ceremonial books (), *the Ordo romanus* I of the 8th century to the post-Tridentine *Cærimoniale episcoporum* and the Roman Pontifical, which Mgr. Andrieu described as manifesting "the plan and foundations of the ideal construction"⁴ that was "the edifice of medieval society". Now, whether we like it or not, whatever the upheavals of history, we are the heirs of this Christianity, of "that time when, in the words of Leo XIII, the philosophy of the Gospel governed the states"⁵ and of the civilisation that sprang from it, charged with learning its lessons and not losing sight of its spirit.

The perfect logic and harmony of the post-Tridentine books, the measured magnificence of their rites when one takes the trouble to practise them as they should be practised, the atmosphere that emanates from these books, the sense of order and sober elegance that they establish, all of this is capable of nourishing the soul and the heart, and of awakening many vocations in the face of the representation of the Church offered by the holy liturgy, and especially the Roman liturgy, the purest. These numerous rites, even if we do not understand them all, even if some of their reasons escape the studies of the most learned liturgists, convey a scent of antiquity, connect us to other ages, and give us the feeling of belonging in time and space to a Tradition that is not frozen but alive.

As I studied these rites, I decided to investigate where they came from and why they seemed to me to have such an ecclesiological dimension. To do so, it was necessary to study pontifical rites. Indeed, many of the rites of low Mass and solemn Mass can only be understood in the context of the

⁴ Michel ANDRIEU, *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen Âge* - T. III: "Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand," Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Studi e Testi* 88, 1940, p. VIII et seq.: "If we want to have a vivid sense of what Christianity was like at a time when its unanimity had not yet been broken, if we want to know the ideal it upheld, the concepts on which it sought to model itself, we must linger over these ancient texts, penetrate their meaning and understand them as they were understood. At the end of the 13th century, they reflect all aspects of the Christian people's constant interaction with the supernatural world." (p. XIII).

⁵ LEO XIII, *Immortale Dei*, 1 November 1885.

pontifical Mass or, better still, the Mass celebrated by the Pope⁶. This genealogy of Eucharistic rites has been highlighted by numerous liturgists⁷. In this presentation, we propose to apply a method of reading the papal ceremonial that leads us to search for its transcriptions in Clement VIII's *Cærimoniale episcoporum* and St. Pius V's Roman Missal. We will first need to present the characteristics of the apostolic ceremonial, indicate its sources and posterity, and point out its influence on the drafting of the rubrics of the Tridentine liturgical books. It is this latter influence that we will clarify in the second place by analysing certain Eucharistic rites of *the* papal *Ordo missæ*, and in particular those related to communion. Based on an examination of these Eucharistic rites in their ceremonial context, we will attempt to conclude what is at the root of the interdependence of the various Tridentine books, and what nevertheless differentiates them.

I. From the papal ceremonial of 1488 to the Roman Missal of Saint Pius V

I.1 The work of Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini

⁶ See Joaquim NABUCO, "La Liturgie papale et les origines du cérémonial des évêques" [Papal Liturgy and the Origins of Episcopal Ceremonial], in *Miscellanea liturgica Mohlberg*, Rome, 1948, Vol. I, pp. 282-283: "[...] If we compare the pontifical functions of the ceremonial of bishops with those of the Roman ceremonial, that is, the papal ceremonial, we immediately see that one is the prototype of the other. I remember very well my first encounter with the ceremonial of bishops. I was at the beginning of my theological and liturgical studies. I read and reread this little volume without understanding anything. [...] I tried to put myself in the atmosphere in which the authors or author of the book found themselves. Some chapters seemed to me to be very successful and even very beautiful. [...] However, I was unable to arrive at a satisfactory analysis of this mysterious book. [...] Finally, after much wandering, I came to understand that the Roman liturgy is the solemn Mass of the bishop in his cathedral. All the other functions described in the ceremonial or pontifical rites merely revolved around this princely rite. The solemn priestly Mass, according to the *Ritus servandus* of the missal, is nothing other than the pontifical Mass without the throne, without the pontifical insignia, and with a reduced clergy.

⁷ See, among others, J.A. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum sollempnia*, Paris: Aubier, 1951, Vol. I, pp. 243–256: "The bishop, surrounded by his clergy, offering the sacrifice in the midst of the community, such is the primitive form of the celebration of Mass. [...] The *Ordines romani* for the papal Mass offer the same picture; [...] the *Ordines romani* having become, for centuries, the rule for the pontifical Mass in almost the whole of the West, this arrangement also survived elsewhere (p. 243). [...] The current pontifical Mass and its highest form, the papal Mass, where the participation of the faithful is certainly more of a fact than a necessary element, are the direct continuation of the plenary Eucharistic assembly presided over by the bishop. But the *high Mass* with deacon and subdeacon, said by a simple priest, which one might have thought could be explained as a later solemnised form of the priest's Mass, appears rather to be a *late derivation of the pontifical Mass*. This is why, even today, the difference between the pontifical Mass and the solemn Mass of the priest is relatively small in the Roman liturgy. (pp. 248-249) – It should be added to this remark by J.A. Jungmann that the limitation of the pontifical Mass to the faldstool, of purely Roman origin, constitutes another stage between the pontifical Mass on the throne and the solemn Mass of a simple priest: closer to the latter than to the former, the faldstool of the "foreign" pontiff, like the priest's bench, does not constitute, unlike the *cathedra* of the ordinary, a place of presidency for this bishop, whose ritual acts will all be related to the altar.– See also: Cyrille VOGEL, in *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au Moyen Âge*, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1981, p. 128; for the bibliography, see pp. 129-130 and 358-359; N.K. RASMUSSEN, O.P., "Episcopal celebration and presbyteral celebration: an essay on typology," in *Segni e riti nella Chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1987, Vol. II, pp. 581-603: "[...] Most texts show us that the presbyteral Mass can only be conceived as a reduced form of the episcopal Mass, and not as a Eucharist distinct from that of the bishop." (p. 602).

The papal ceremonial practised until recently, namely until the period after the Second Vatican Council⁸, was that of the early Renaissance, as drafted on the orders of Innocent VIII (1484-1492) by the master of ceremonies Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, Bishop of Pienza and Montalcino. After delivering his *Pontificalis Ordinis liber*⁹ in 1485, he would henceforth consider everything related to the pope and the cardinals: conclaves, consistories, councils, imperial coronations and investitures, canonisations, princely visits, Eucharistic celebrations, divine office, the liturgical year, sacramentals, funeral rites, etc.

The first edition of the ceremonial was handwritten. In 1516, a prelate of the Curia, Cristoforo Marcello, had it printed in Venice with the title: *Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum caerimoniarum S.E.R. libri tres*. Marcello's edition included revisions, variations, additions and deletions, provoking the wrath of Paris de Grassi, then Master of Ceremonies¹⁰. Among other things, Agostino Patrizi's letter-preface to Innocent VIII, dated¹ March 1488, had been omitted. We owe it to the recent work of Father Marc Dykmans for restoring it to us with the publication of the critical edition of the work of the Bishop of Pienza¹¹. In this letter, the author outlines the difficulties of the situation at the time, linked to the vicissitudes of the history of the papacy and the ritual confusion that they had allowed to develop, resulting in a proliferation of customs, opposition between prelates, and even disputes between ceremonialists, which now had to be remedied by fixed rules. Where would these rules come from? "Your Holiness," wrote Patrizi, "desiring no less order and beauty in divine matters than in those of this world, but everywhere a tranquillity without tumult, a calm imbued with gravity and dignity, has commanded me to use the ancient books that she herself has drawn in large numbers from the archives of the Roman Church, as well as from the daily practice of the papal chapel, where I have applied myself assiduously for more than twenty years, I should put in order, omitting all that is superfluous or outdated, the current ceremonies of

⁸ See the introduction to *the new Cærimoniale episcoporum*, Vatican City: Editrice Vaticana, 1985, p. 8: "*Qui liber, stilo mutato, a Christophoro Marcello, archiepiscopo electo Corfrensi [...] nostris quoque diebus, in caerimoniis romani pontificis usui remansit.*"

⁹ Regarding this revision of Durand de Mende's Pontifical by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, see M. DYKMANS, *Le Pontifical romain révisé au XV^e siècle*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Studi e Testi* 311, 1985, pp. 108-123.

¹⁰ On the controversy initiated by Paris de Grassi, cf.: J. MABILLON - M. GERMAIN, *Museum italicum*, Paris, 1687-1689, II, pp. 587-592 = P.L., LXXVIII, 1401-1406; J. NABUCO - F. TAMBURINI, *Le Cérémonial apostolique avant Innocent VIII*, Rome, 1966, pp. 33*-38*, 51*; M. DYKMANS, S.J., *The Work of Patrizi Piccolomini or Papal Ceremonial in the Early Renaissance*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Studi e Testi* 293-294, 1980, T. I, pp. 33*-42*.

¹¹ M. DYKMANS, *The Work of Patrizi Piccolomini*, *op. cit.*

the Roman pontiffs¹² ."

This method of work was to be that of the liturgists of the Tridentine period. It is characterised by a sense of the purity and antiquity of the holy rites, combined with a homogeneous, i.e. unbroken, evolution of the liturgical display. However, as Dykmans noted, "Patrizi is indulgent towards all the faults of a princely court, which still afflicted the pontificate of his time. He wants to find in liturgical tradition what can save the Church of the Renaissance¹³ ."

Sources¹⁴

Of the eight ancient books that Pope Innocent VIII had delivered to the ceremonial bishop, we do not have a precise list; it is Patrizi's study of the text that allows us to discern the influences.

If we were to establish a genealogy of the work, especially with regard to the rites of the Eucharistic celebration, assuming knowledge of *the Ordines romani* – the first descriptions of the solemn Eucharistic celebration in Rome – from the 8th and 9th centuries, we would have to consider the Roman books from the 12th to the 14th centuries that continue them¹⁵ . *The Ordo romanae Ecclesiae*¹⁶ , or *Liber politicus* by Canon Benedict (1140-1143)¹⁷ , *the Ordo romanus*¹⁸ by Cardinal Albino (1189), and *the Ordo romanus*¹⁹ by Cencio Savelli, the future Honorius III, were all three edited by Mgr. Duschene. *The papal Ordo* as reformed by Innocent III, as practised in the papal chapel before the

¹² "Hec igitur, ut reor, provide considerans sanctitas tua, beatissime pater, cupiensque ut in rebus omnibus, tam divinis quam humanis, decus et ordo debite servetur, utque sine tumultu, quiete, tranquille, with gravity and dignity, he instructed me to draw up, both from the books of our ancestors, many of which he took from the archives of the Roman Church, and from the daily practice of the Apostolic Chapel, in which I have been involved for more than twenty years with assiduous labour, all the ceremonies that Roman pontiffs are accustomed to use in our time, omitting those that are superfluous and antiquated, into order." Cf. M. DYKMANS, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 5-8; French translation, pp. 27*-29*.

¹³ M. DYKMANS, *op. cit.*, pp. 31*-32*: "What was the spirit of the new book? Patrizi left a memorable sentence on liturgical ceremonies. The rite is essentially religious: '*Cerimonia nihil aliud est quam honor deditus Deo aut hominibus propter Deum*'. The honour given to God must be reflected in those who address men. It is in this sense that our author wishes to preserve everything of value that has been handed down through the centuries. He will not omit any old prayer formula, but will rather add to them when he finds them. He will also keep all the rubrics from previous books, striving to make them ever more practical and precise."

¹⁴ See Aimé-Georges MARTIMORT, *Les Ordines, les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*, Turnhout: Brepols, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, Fasc. 56, 1991. For papal ceremonial, pp. 91–106.

¹⁵ For these books or "ordinaries", see A.-G. MARTIMORT, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-73.

¹⁶ in M.P. FABRE - L. DUSCHESNE, *Le Liber censuum de l'Église romaine*, Paris, 1905, Vol. II, pp. 139-177.

¹⁷ "His 'polyptych' [...] will remain one of the sources for his successors. For all these authors will depend on one another. Their references, which they generally keep secret, can often be identified." in M. DYKMANS, *Le Cérémonial papal de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Brussels-Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1977, Fasc. XXIV, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, T. II, pp. 85-137.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 290-316.

departure for Avignon, studied by Mgr. Andrieu²⁰, was edited by Father Van Dijk²¹. The pontifical of Durand de Mende, edited by Mgr. Andrieu, one of the sources cited by Patrizi, provides only brief chapters on the liturgy of the pontifical Mass²². Mabillon wanted to bring together the Roman ceremonial books from Gregory X's *Ordo*, composed around 1273 (*Ordo XIII* in his collection), to Patrizi's ceremonial of 1488, which he did not publish; Father Marc Dykmans recently devoted himself to this work²³.

After studying all the ceremonial practices of the papal chapel in the late Middle Ages, Dykmans was able to see what influence they had had and what Patrizi's real contribution had been in writing his ceremonial. Patrizi's work is a work of synthesis; it has the great merit of organising the material, classifying and dividing it; the style remains succinct. "His sources are strictly traditional. [...] The prayers are fixed texts. They often date back to before the year 1000. They are reproduced without any changes. The rubrics also date back to previous centuries. They were mainly established between the 12th and 14th centuries... It should be noted that Patrizi cited the order of Gregory X, the episcopal ceremonial of Cardinal Latino Malabranca Caetani, the pontifical of Durand the Speculator and his other works, the ceremonial of Stefaneschi, those of Jean de Sion and the Avignonese up to François de Conzié, those of Benedict XIII in Spain and Pierre Ameil in Rome. He also borrows from his own works and those of Pope Pius II. His sources therefore date

²⁰ M. ANDRIEU, "Le Missel de la Chapelle papale à la fin du XIII^e siècle" (The Missal of the Papal Chapel at the End of the 13th Century), in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Studi e Testi* 38, 1924, Vol. II, pp. 348-376: the missal of the papal chapel "which had never left Italian soil [...] must be considered a very pure witness to the papal liturgy as observed at the Lateran before the departure of the curia" (p. 361); "Note on a copy of the papal ordinary transcribed in 1365 for Cardinal Alborno", in *Revue des sciences religieuses* 5 (1925), p. 275. Mgr. Andrieu published extracts from this *Ordo* in *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen Âge*, Vol. II: "Le Pontifical de la curie romaine au XIII^e siècle," Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Studi e Testi* 87, 1940, pp. 541-578: "*Ordo qualiter agendum sit feria quinta, sexta et septima ante Pascha, ex ordinario capellanorum papae et e missali romano s. XIII.*"

²¹ S.J.P. VAN DIJK, O.F.M., *The Ordinal of the papal court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and related documents*, in *Spicilegium Friburgense* 22, Fribourg: University Press, 1975.

²² Cf. M. ANDRIEU, *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen Âge*, Vol. III, "Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand," Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Studi e Testi* 88, 1940, p. 632 et seq.

²³ Mr Dykmans has published six volumes of highly scholarly works: *Le Cérémonial papal de la fin du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance* (Papal Ceremonial from the Late Middle Ages to the Renaissance), Rome-Brussels: Library of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome – Vol. I, *Le Cérémonial papal du XIII^e siècle* (Papal Ceremonial in the 13th Century), 1977, Fasc. XXIV; Vol. II, *From Rome to Avignon or the Ceremonial of Jacques Stefaneschi*, 1981, Fasc. XXV; Vol. III, *The Avignon Texts until the End of the Great Western Schism*, 1983, Fasc. XXVI; Vol. IV, *The Return to Rome or the Ceremonial of Patriarch Pierre Ameil*, 1985, Fasc. XXVII. To these four volumes must be added the two volumes of *The Work of Patrizi Piccolomini or the Ceremonial of the Early Renaissance*, *op. cit.* Father Van Dijk had already published a critical edition of excerpts from the *Ordinarium Gregorii X*, in *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents*, *op. cit.*, including *De Missa papali*, pp. 583-589. It is worth noting, between the study of the ceremonial books of the late Middle Ages and that of Patrizi's ceremonial, the edition of the *Liber Caerimoniarum* by Nicholas V, an update of Cardinal Stefaneschi's ceremonial (*ordo XIV* by Mabillon) by Pierre Gundisalvi de Burgos, cleric of ceremonies from 1445 to 1469. See the edition by F. TAMBURINI and J. NABUCO, *Le Cérémonial apostolique avant Innocent VIII*, *op. cit.*

back to the^{15th} century, and although it is not always possible to trace them, there is no doubt that everything is in accordance with authorised usage²⁴. His book marks the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times.

Posthumous reputation

From the period stretching from 1488 to after the Second Vatican Council, there is relatively little to say about papal liturgy. The diary or "Book of Notes" of Jean Burckard²⁵, initially an effective collaborator of Patrizi, allows us to follow the evolution of papal liturgy under Innocent VIII and Alexander VI; that of the meticulous canon of Bologna, Paris de Grassi²⁶, under Julius II and Leo X. Cristoforo Marcello's edition prevailed from 1516 until the reforms of Paul VI, only becoming complicated and somewhat distorted during the Baroque period²⁷. This period in Rome must be clearly distinguished from the strict Tridentine period: a period of apogee that Monsignor Jedin brought to an end with the advent of Urban VIII (1623). It is also to Urban VIII that we owe the publication of an *Ordo missae pontificalis in die natalis Domini* for the use of the Pope²⁸.

The secrecy with which Paris de Grassi wanted the ceremonies of the Roman pontiff to be surrounded seems to have been well kept. Studies on papal liturgy, normative liturgy if ever there was one, were few and far between.

After the valuable collections of documents and liturgical practices compiled by Dom Mabillon²⁹ and Dom Martène³⁰, the 18th century, thanks to the impetus given to liturgical studies by

²⁴ M. DYKMANS, *L'Œuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, *op. cit.*, T. I, pp. 30*-31*.

²⁵ See E. CELANI, "*Johannis Burckardi Liber notarum*," in *Rer. ital. scr.* 32, I, 1-2, Città di Castello and Bologna, 1906-1932.

²⁶ Father M. Dykmans had announced the publication of Grassi's Paris diary in three volumes in the Vatican Apostolic Library's *Studi e Testi* collection. It has not yet appeared. Was it ready when he died? On the same subject, see M. DYKMANS, "Paris de Grassi," in *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 96 (1982), 99 (1985), 100 (1986).

²⁷ See J. NABUCO, *Le Cérémonial apostolique avant Innocent VIII*, *op. cit.*, p. 22* et seq.: "The papal liturgy became so complicated that, with few exceptions, it had to be sacrificed or reduced to a pompous spectacle. It is not that the papal Mass itself had become so difficult. It was the preliminaries that had been overloaded to excess." See also L. BOUYER, *La Vie de la liturgie. Une critique constructive du mouvement liturgique*, Paris: Cerf, Coll. Lex orandi 20, 1956, pp. 11-21.

²⁸ *The Ordo* of Urban VIII, the first edition of which we were unable to consult, can be found in D. GIORGI, *De Liturgia romani pontificis in solemnibus celebrationibus missarum, ubi sacra mysteria ex antiquis codicibus, praesertim vaticanis, aliisque monumentis plurimum illustrantur*, Rome, 1731-1734, Vol. II, L. IV. Catani often cites this *Ordo*.

²⁹ MABILLON - GERMAIN, *Museum italicum*.

³⁰ E. MARTÈNE, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus libri tres*, Antwerp, 4 vols., 1736-1738 (Hildesheim: Georg, 1967).

Benedict XIV, produced the first, and we might say the only, major explanations of the rites of the papal chapel³¹ : Domenico Giorgi, domestic prelate of Benedict XIV, expounded on papal liturgy and transcribed several previously unpublished documents³² ; Giovanni Bautista Gattico, abbot of the Lateran, undertook the publication of *Acta caerimonialia selecta sanctae romanae Ecclesiae*³³ which, in addition to transcribing ceremonials, would have delivered the *diaria* if Gattico's work had not been interrupted by order of Benedict XIV; Giuseppe Catalani, a prolific and industrious liturgist, wrote a commentary³⁴ , on Patrizi's ceremonial, based on the Marcello edition, which remains to this day the reference work for papal ceremonialists³⁵ .

Other commentaries appeared, with descriptions of varying degrees of detail, among which those of Gaetano Moroni in his monumental *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*³⁶ are worthy of mention. These were followed, at the end of the 19th century, by ceremonial expositions for the use of ceremonialists³⁷ and even the general public³⁸ . It was not until our century that, thanks to Mgr. Michel Andrieu and, more recently, Father Marc Dykmans, the entire collection of ceremonial books for use by the Roman pontiff was published, in accordance with all the rules of scientific

³¹ Among the 18th-century authors who devoted significant works to papal liturgy, in addition to the more classical ones we have mentioned, Mgr. J. Nabuco points out (cf. *Le Cérémonial apostolique* [...], *op. cit.*, p. 39*) the Protestant Christian Gottlieb Hoffmann (1692-1735), advisor to the King of Prussia, whose two volumes, published in Leipzig in 1731-1732, of his *Nova Scriptorum ac monumentorum, partim rarissimorum, partim ineditorum, collectio*, contain the first edition of Grassi's Paris diary, preceded by a dissertation on the author and on Roman ceremonials (1^{er} vol.), the *Liber diurnus romanorum pontificum* and Patrizi's ceremonial in Marcello's edition. See also M. DYKMANS, in *L'Œuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, *op. cit.*, T. I, p. 39*, n. 17 (where he corrects the author's name, which Nabuco had given as Hoffmann, to Hermann).

³² D. GIORGI, *De Liturgia romani pontificis*, *op. cit.*, supra.

³³ G. GATTICO, *Acta Selecta Caeremonialia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae: Ex Variis Mss. Codicibus Et Diariis Saeculi XV. XVI. XVII. Aucta Et Illustrata Pluribus aliis Monumentis nondum editis*, 2 vols., Rome: Barbiellini, 1753.

³⁴ G. CATALINI, *Sacrarum Caerimoniarum, sive Rituum ecclesiasticorum sanctae romanae Ecclesiae libri tres a Patricio ordinati et a Marcello editi, nunc commentariis aucti*, 2 vols., Rome, 1750–1751.

³⁵ "[...] It is no secret that at the conclave of 1958, when the question arose of electing a non-cardinal, it was Catalani who was consulted to prepare for this eventuality. The old ceremonial had, in fact, provided for such a case: the election of Saint Celestine V had not been forgotten." (J. NABUCO, *Le Cérémonial apostolique* [...], *op. cit.*, p. 36*, n. 85).

³⁶ G. MORONI, "Le Capelle pontificie, cardinalizie e prelatizie," in *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Venice, 1841, Vol. VIII-IX. See also F. CANCELLIERI, *Descrizione de' tre pontificali che si celebrano nella Basilica vaticana per le feste di Natale, Pasqua e di S. Pietro*, Rome, 1788; *Descrizione delle capelle pontificie e cardinalizie*, Rome, 1790; *Storia de solenni possessi de sommi pontifici da Leone III a Pio VII*, Rome, 1802.

³⁷ P.J. RINALDI-BUCCI, *Cærimoniale missae quae a Summo Pontifice ritu solemnè celebratur*, Ratisbon, 1889.

³⁸ G.B. MENGHINI, *Le solenni Cerimonie della messa pontificale celebrata dal sommo pontifice*, Rome, 1904; see also J. BRINKTRINE, *Die feierliche Papstmesse und die Zeremonien bei Selig und Heiligsprechungen*, Fribourg, 1925.

criticism³⁹ from the end of the 7th century until the early Renaissance, a period when the ceremonial had become established, notwithstanding later additions, for a time that was thought to be indefinite.

I.2 Towards the Tridentine liturgical books

Following this brief overview of the sources and studies of papal liturgy, it should be noted that the names of those who codified it can be found among those who were responsible for the Roman Missal of Saint Pius V (1570), the Roman Pontifical (1595) and the Ceremonial of Bishops (1600), both published by Clement VIII, books which, together with the Roman Breviary of St. Pius V (1568) and the Roman Ritual of Paul V (1614), were intended to respond to the directives formulated at Trent on 5 December 1563 by the Fathers of the Council, in its twenty-fifth and final session⁴⁰. It cannot be emphasised enough how much the principles of revision and ordering of liturgical books formulated by the Council of Trent, as they appear, for example, in the bull *Quo primum tempore* of St. Pius V, are essentially contained in the two letters from Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini to Innocent VIII, one introducing the pontifical of 1485, the other the ceremonial of 1488. The Roman Pontifical of 1595 is dependent on that of 1485.

Furthermore, we know how effective, in the opinion of the Bishop of Pienza himself, Jean Burckard's contribution to the writing of Innocent VIII's books was. The *Ritus servandus* of the Tridentine Missal is essentially, with a few details, the *Ordo missae* of 1502 by the Alsatian ceremonialist⁴¹. It is also well known that the ceremonial of the bishops of 1600 was produced from the same sources as those that preceded the drafting of Patrizi's ceremonial, and that it is worth

³⁹ We would be remiss if we did not mention here the work of M.P. FABRE and L. DUCHESNE, *Le Liber censuum de l'Église romaine*, *op. cit.* See J. NABUCO - F. TAMBURINI, *Le Cérémonial apostolique avant Innocent VIII*, *op. cit.* See B. SCHIMMELPFENNIG, including "Ein bisher unbekannter Text zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes im 12. Jahrhundert", in *Archivium historiae pontificiae* 6 (1968), pp. 43-70; *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter*, Tübingen: Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom, 1973; etc. See also S.J.P. Van DIJK - J.H. WALKER, *The ordinal of the papal court [...]*, *op. cit.*; etc. Cf. F. WASNER, "De consecratione, inthronisatione, coronatione summi pontificis," in *Apollinaris* 8 (1935), pp. 86-125, 249-281, 428-439; "Text of the 15th Jdhs. zum Zeremoniell", in *Traditio* XVI (1958); etc.

⁴⁰ Cf. H. JEDIN, "Concilio tridentino e riforma dei libri liturgici," in *Chiesa della fede, Chiesa della storia*, Brescia: Morcelliana, 1972, pp. 391-425; see also by the same author: *Il Concilio di Trento*, Brescia: Morcelliana, 1981, T. IV, Vol. II, pp. 344-347.

⁴¹ Jean Burckard's *Ordo missae* was published by John WICKHAM LEGG, *Tracts on the Mass*, London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904, pp. 126 ff.; cf. also Appendix to *Ephemerides liturgicae*, Rome, 1924.

noting, without exaggerating, the influence of the ceremonial written around 1508 by the canon Paris de Grassi ()⁽⁴²⁾, Burckard's successor as master of ceremonies of the papal chapel⁽⁴³⁾.

We can therefore agree on the following observations:

— Post-Tridentine liturgical books, and here we distinguish those that deal with or refer to the Eucharistic celebration, namely the missal, the pontifical and the ceremonial of the bishops, form a homogeneous corpus which was developed, based on the same sources mentioned above, by the same liturgists who *were experts* in ceremonies, particularly papal ceremonies.

— This homogeneity presupposes, behind the codification and execution of these rites, a doctrine, namely an ecclesiological vision that imposes an economy of rites, an internal logic, and ceremonial intelligibility. We therefore postulate fundamental characteristics that determine a system in its own right in the post-Tridentine books, and which highlight the perfect coherence and interdependence of these books. However, this system can only really be grasped by a vertical reading of the liturgical rubrics they contain.

It is to such a reading that we will now briefly devote ourselves, considering how certain Eucharistic rites from the papal ceremonial of Innocent VIII were incorporated into the Roman Missal of St. Pius V.

II. Eucharistic rites

The pontifical Mass of the Pope, as Patrizi describes it for Christmas Day in the second book of his ceremonial, is, in terms of the rules of celebration – with a few minor details – the same as that of the medieval ceremonials that preceded it. Only the rules of etiquette relating to princes and lords who attend and take part in the Roman pontiff's celebration, and the various trials and pre-tastings, are new and bear witness to the influence of the Renaissance. The preliminaries to the Eucharistic celebration would only increase during the Baroque period.

⁴² PARIS DE GRASSI, *De caeremoniis cardinalium et episcoporum in eorum diocesisibus - libri duo*, Rome, 1564. The posthumous publication – Paris de Grassi died in 1528 – was the work of Francesco Mucanzio, one of Grassi's successors. On Paris de Grassi, see J. NABUCO, *La Liturgie papale et le cérémonial des évêques*, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-292; by the same author, *Le Cérémonial papal avant Innocent VIII*, *op. cit.*, pp. 33*-34*; see also L. GROMIER, *Commentaire du Cærimoniale episcoporum*, Paris: La Colombe, 1958, in which the author detects the influence of the Bolognese canon in Clement VIII's *Cærimoniale episcoporum*.

⁴³ Regarding the exact influence of Grassi's Paris ceremonial on the editors of the 1600 ceremonial, cf. M. DYKMANS, *Le Pontifical romain révisé au XV^e siècle*, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "Patrizi's book now opens with a long liturgy that departs from Durand and which the Roman Pontifical (of 1595) was wrong to neglect, reserving it for the ceremonial of bishops. It is in fact the most solemn pontifical Mass. [...] This Mass fills 17 pages, which we will simply say are halfway between Latino Malabranca around 1280 and the *Cærimoniale episcoporum* of 1600. The latter is closer to the pontifical in its 15th and 16th century editions than to Grassi's Paris book *De Caeremoniis cardinalium et episcoporum in eorum diocesisibus* published in 1564. It is Patrizi's text that should be printed alongside the other.

The text distinguishes between two seats for the pontiff. The first is located behind the high altar, in the apse, but to one side, a sort of small throne where the pope, coming from his palace dressed in his cope and mitre, will intone Terce and take the vestments for Mass. From there, after imposing incense, he will go to the foot of the altar for the rite of confession, having received the homage of the last three cardinal priests on the way. Once he has incensed the altar and been incensed by the cardinal deacon of the Gospel – or ministering cardinal – and then admitted the latter and the two other assistant cardinal deacons to the homage of the double kiss on the cheek and chest, the Pope will proceed to the high throne, *ad sedem suam eminentem*⁴⁴. It should be noted that he will only take his place on this elevated seat at the back of the apse, from where he overlooks the entire assembly, once the preparatory rites of the small throne and the penitential and veneration rites of the altar have been completed. From now on, until the moment of the Eucharistic action itself, that is, until the Offertory, all the ceremonies will converge on the pontiff's throne, and all attention will be focused on it; it is from there that the supreme pastor will organise the entire liturgical celebration.

II.1 Offertory and offerings

The singing of *the Creed* allows for the first preparations of the altar, whose table has remained bare, except for the cross and the seven candlesticks, formerly carried in procession, at the back. Patrizi attests that the altar is the place where the *regnum* (tiara) is placed; the presence of the statues of Saints Peter and Paul is mentioned as early as Clement V⁴⁵; two reliquaries were then admitted, but floral decorations were never allowed on the altar itself. The ministering cardinal deacon and the Latin subdeacon – or ministering subdeacon – spread a damask cloth on the altar⁴⁶. The deacon arranges the corporal, the ciborium and the purificators brought by the subdeacon. The chalice with its spoon and paten are brought to the deacon by the sacristan after he has washed them

⁴⁴ See n. 867 in the DYKMANS edition, *Le Pontifical romain révisé au ^{XV}^esiècle*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 302.

⁴⁵ Cf. M. DYKMANS, *Le Cérémonial papal [...]*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 342.

⁴⁶ Among the ceremonies of the papal Mass whose origin and purpose are unknown, mention must be made of the *Incaratus est* tablecloth, called "strogolo". It is a damask cloth, divided into thirteen parts and trimmed with gold lace, the size of the altar table, which is placed on it before Mass, but folded towards the candlesticks. After *the Incarnatus est* and before bringing the bag containing the corporal to the altar, the cardinal deacon, assisted by the subdeacon of the Mass, unfolds this cloth. (J. NABUCO, *Le Cérémonial apostolique [...]*, *op. cit.*, p. 48*). See also L. GROMIER, *Commentaire du Cærimonial episcoporum*, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-250. J.A. JUNGSMANN (*op. cit.*, T. II, p. 328) sees this as a vestige of the ancient corporal covering the entire width of the altar.

at the papal credence table; an acolyte follows him with the cruets and a silver cup for the pre-tasting, which the sacristan has also washed. These latter rites are new. Earlier ceremonials make no mention of such ablutions; as for the pre-tasting of the matter of the sacrifice, the long Avignon ceremonial, written between 1340 and 1362, notes it as a possible custom⁴⁷. Two assistant bishops place the missal with its cushion and candlestick on the altar. The Pope, having removed his gloves and washed his hands, leaves the throne and advances towards the altar where he will perform the rites of the Offertory.

Of the solemn presentation of the oblates to the pontiff by the high nobility, court officials, his assistants, and his own offering brought by the *subdiaconus oblationarius*, all rites described in detail by *the Ordo romanus I*⁴⁸, only faint traces remain in the apostolic ceremonial of the 15th century.

When unleavened bread gradually became established in the West, from the 9th century onwards until it was universally accepted in the mid-11th century⁴⁹, the oblation of the faithful, which was very popular in Frankish territory, consisted of the offering of other objects, among which oil, wax, candles, and even gold and silver were particularly noteworthy⁵⁰. In the 13th century, the ceremonial or *Ordo* of Gregory X no longer included a rite of offering at the papal Mass. Offerings were now only made during extraordinary ceremonies. Patrizi describes an offering ritual during a canonisation mass: a cardinal bishop would offer the pontiff two heavy wax candles, a cardinal priest two large loaves of bread, and a cardinal deacon two small barrels of wine. They were escorted by gentlemen; an orator accompanied each of these cardinals and offered the Pope a candle and a cage with birds. It should be noted that this was a personal and symbolic offering made to the pontiff to thank him for the spiritual grace received. For let us make no mistake: when the offering of Eucharistic oblates by the faithful was supplemented and then succeeded by the offering of other elements, a strict separation was established between the oblates⁵¹. This distinction, which is clear from a study of the rites of offering, was precisely formulated by St Thomas Aquinas when, in his

⁴⁷ "Et in fine (incenset) episcopum non cardinalem, si seruiat pape, ut vidi fieri, tam in parando altare quam in eligendo hostiam per papam consecrandam, ac ponendo vinum et aquam in calice, et probam de illis fieri faciendo," ed. DYKMANS, in *Le Cérémonial papal* [...], *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 155, n. 32.

⁴⁸ Cf. M. ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines romani du haut Moyen Âge*, Louvain, ed. 1971, Vol. II, pp. 91-94.

⁴⁹ Cf. J.A. JUNGSMANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 304-311.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-298.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 287-291.

treatise on religion, he made a clear distinction between a simple oblation, which is a free and indeterminate presentation to God of an offering for the use of worship or its ministers, and the offering of a material object, in this case bread and wine, on which a specific sacred rite, a *sacrum facere*, a sacrifice, will be performed in conjunction with the act of offering⁵². It is therefore important to note the difference between the simple presentation of offerings, not finalised by sacrifice, and the offering linked to sacrifice. Only bread and wine, which the sacred ministers now carry from the credence table – where they have been prepared – to the altar, on which the matter of the sacrifice will be presented to the pontiff so that he may offer it in a rite of separation with a sacrificial perspective, can be the object of the offertory rite⁵³. Understanding this fundamental distinction is therefore necessary for a proper understanding of the nature of the Offertory⁵⁴. What Josef Andreas Jungmann calls "the essentially hostile attitude of recent Roman liturgy towards the Offertory procession"⁵⁵ seems to be explained by the desire to avoid any ambiguity about the meaning of the gesture and the matter of the offering.

⁵² Saint THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, IIa IIae, Q. 85, A. 3, ad 3um: "*Sacrificia proprie dicuntur quando circa res Deo oblatas aliquid fit sicut quod animalia occidebantur, quod panis frangitur et comeditur et benedicitur. And this very name sounds: for sacrificium is called from the fact that man does something sacred. Oblatio, however, is directly called when something is offered to God, even if nothing is done about it: as denarii or bread are said to be offered on the altar, about which nothing is done. Hence every sacrificium is an oblatio, but not every oblatio is a sacrificium.* See also Q. 86, A. 1: "[...] *The name oblation is common to all things offered in worship of God. So that if something is offered in divine worship as something sacred that must be consumed, it is both an oblation and a sacrifice. [...] If, however, it is offered in such a way that it remains intact, to be used for divine worship or for the use of ministers, it is an oblation and not a sacrifice.*"

⁵³ See Dom B. CAPELLE, O.S.B., "Nos sacrifices et le sacrifice du Christ à la messe" ("Our sacrifices and Christ's sacrifice at Mass"), in *La Messe et sa catéchèse ("Mass and its catechesis")*, Paris: Cerf, coll. Lex orandi 7, 1947, pp. 154-179: "At the Offertory, the faithful mentally perform the gesture that the entire assembly once performed by advancing towards the altar: each person entrusts their offering to the priest so that he may consecrate it. This offering is nothing other than bread and wine, as it was in the past. Beyond the priest, it is to God that we wish to offer them. Now, the faithful know very well that the gravity of this act, its effectiveness, its importance for our benefit and that of the whole Church, come from the fact that the bread and wine will soon be the body and blood of Christ. The scope of the offertory is therefore no less vast than that of the entire Mass; our spiritual participation in it cannot be any less ideal or more limited. [...] Entrusting the priest with the matter of the sacrifice, with the mission of then acting on our behalf before God, is to associate ourselves in advance, from the depths of our being, with the offering that will be made to him a few moments later. As we can see, the Offertory is in no way an inchoation, a first act of the oblation itself. It is the entire oblation, but only in its preparation: *tuo Nomini preparatum*. The Offertory is therefore not a *partial* act that would be *absolute*; on the contrary, it is a *total* but *relative* act, that is to say, the Christian must spiritually realise, in anticipation, his entire participation in the consecration, his gaze already fixed on the imminent sacramental oblation, in essential relation to it. [...] What is given to God, entrusted to the priest with infinite respect, is therefore the bread and wine that are already virtually the body and blood of Christ. (pp. 171-172). See also the *Debate on the Offertory* following Dom Capelle's intervention, including this question from Dom L. Beaudoin: "Doesn't the way you present things excessively reduce the participation of the faithful in the Mass, which runs counter to all our liturgical efforts?" Here we touch on the crux of the contemporary liturgical problem.

⁵⁴ J.A. JUNGSMANN, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 291.

⁵⁵ Cf. J.W. LEGG, *Tracts on the Mass, op. cit.*, p. 149: "*Dicto offertorio, si sint volentes offerre, celebrans accedit ad cornu epistolae, ubi stans detecto capite, latere suo sinistro altari verso, deponit manipulum de brachio sinistro, et accipiens illud in manum dextram porrigit summitatem ejus singulis offerentibus osculandum dicens singulis: 'Acceptabile sit sacrificium tuum omnipotenti Deo', or: 'Centuplum accipias et vitam aeternam possideas'.* (Quoted by J.A. JUNGSMANN, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 289, n. 89).

Patrizi's apostolic ceremonial, as we have seen, retained the offering during canonisation and the offering of gold by the emperor on the day of his coronation. The Roman Pontifical of 1595 provides, just before the offertory rites, for the offering of a candle to the pontiff by those who have just been promoted to the first clerical tonsure, to minor and major orders, as well as by consecrated virgins. The newly consecrated bishop and the newly blessed abbot will offer him two heavy candles – *intortitia* – two loaves of bread and two small barrels. From the new abbess, only the *intortitia* will be required, while kings and queens will offer the metropolitan archbishop who crowned them *quantum sibi placet*: as much as he is willing to receive.

Neither in Patrizi's *Ordo* of the papal Mass nor in Clement VIII's *Cærimoniale episcoporum* of the episcopal Mass is there any trace of the offering in the *Ritus servandus* of St. Pius V's Roman Missal. In 1502, Jean Burckard's *Ordo missae* still envisaged it: it was left to Protestantism to deliver the coup de grâce. However, we could cite a multitude of examples of related rites practised in accordance with immemorial customs⁵⁶. We are aware of recent efforts to restore the rites of offering; unfortunately, everyone knows how much they contribute, in the minds of many, to diminishing the sacrificial perspective of the offertory.

But let us continue our reading of *the Ordo* of the Bishop of Pienza.

The Roman pontiff, having reached the altar, receives the paten with the host, then the chalice into which the deacon has poured enough wine for three people – for the pontiff, the deacon and the subdeacon. The latter has mixed in a little water with a spoon. The pontiff offers the bread, then the deacon, the ordinary minister of the Precious Blood, recites the formula of offering the chalice with the pontiff. The master of ceremonies places a silk veil around the subdeacon's neck so that he may keep the paten covered with this light veil until the preparation of the rites of communion towards the end of the *Pater noster*. We find this mark of respect for the paten as early as *the Ordo Romanus* I. However, at the end of the 7th century, it was first an acolyte who, covered with a linen veil, held the large paten until the canon; then a subdeacon *sequens* received it *super*

⁵⁶ Cf. E. MARTÈNE, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 386 et seq.; P. LEBRUN, *Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la messe*, Paris, 1716, p. 226 et seq.; see also J.A. JUNGSMANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 281-298.

planetam, came before the altar and waited there for the subdeacon *regionarius*⁵⁷ to take it from him once the canon was finished⁵⁸.

The incensing of the oblates, the altar, the pontiff, the cardinals, the clergy in order, etc., is then performed. The pontiff continues the Mass. For the elevation, and until after the pontiff's communion, eight apostolic acolytes hold wax torches; another acolyte incenses the Blessed Sacrament.

II.2 Rites of Communion

After the elevation, the sacristan – his shoulders covered with a veil – takes the golden chalice in his right hand, which will be used by the pontiff for communion from the chalice⁵⁹; in his left hand, he holds a chalice. Preceded by an acolyte carrying cruets and a golden cup, escorted by servants of arms, he goes to the papal credence table; there, he washes the chalice, the cup and the golden cup with wine and water, wipes them and then places them on the altar. While it has been very clear up to now that the episcopal Mass described by the post-Tridentine *Cærimoniale episcoporum* is, apart from a few particularities and recent rules of royal etiquette, merely an adaptation of the papal Mass to the proportions of a cathedral, it is now a unique rite that is being prepared and that the popes always kept as a personal privilege, which they did not even grant to the

⁵⁷ On the categories of subdeacons and their various functions in papal liturgy throughout history, see A. CUVA, "Pagine di storia del ministero suddiaconale alla messa papale," in *Fons vivus - Miscellanea Vismara*, Rome, 1971, pp. 287-314. After noting the function of subdeacons in Patrizi's ceremonial, the author concludes: "As we have seen, even in Patrizi's ceremonial, the subdiaconal service at papal Mass is varied and assigned to several subdeacons. We can conclude that true subdeacons still constitute the college of apostolic subdeacons. However, we must admit that the duties entrusted to the apostolic subdeacons in Patrizi's papal Mass are significantly reduced when compared to those provided for in *the Ordo Romanus* I and in *the ordo* of Canon Benedict. This indicates that, even in the period following Benedict's *Ordo*, the inexorable process of simplifying papal functions, already encountered in the 10th and 11th centuries, continued. (p. 308 – our translation).

⁵⁸ "*Nam quod intermisimus de patena, quando inchoat canonem* (read here the preface which, for the editor of the ordo, begins the canon), *venit acolytus sub humero habens sindonem in collo ligatam, tenens patenam ante pectus suum in parte dextera usque medium canonem* (read here the *Te igitur*). Then the subdeacon following him takes it on the planet and comes before the altar, waiting for the subdeacon *regionarius* to take it. When the canon is finished, the subdeacon *regionarius* stands with the paten behind the archdeacon." Cf. *Ordo romanus* I, ed. M. ANDRIEU, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 96-97.

⁵⁹ On the origin and use of *the calamus*, in addition to J.A. JUNGSMANN (*op. cit.*, T. III, pp. 316-318), cf. J. BRAUN, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und seiner Entwicklung*, Munich, 1932, (Hildesheim-New York: Georg, 1973), pp. 248-265, with a figurine of the papal *fistula* (p. 264).

Patriarch of Lisbon⁶⁰ : communion *ad sedem exaltatam*, at the throne⁶¹ , already mentioned in *the Ordo romanus I*.

The Ordo Romanus I – the first ritual description of the Eucharistic worship in Rome that we have – presents, on the occasion of communion, a great complexity of rites, including a multiplicity of rites of intercession. We refer to *Ordo I* here only insofar as it allows us to better understand certain "vestigial rites" found in the ceremonial of the Bishop of Pienza and the Tridentine books. After the embolism of *the Pater*, accompanied by the presentation of the paten, comes the first immission into the chalice of *the fermentum*, a portion of *the sancta* consecrated during a previous Mass. The kiss of peace then takes place. After placing the two consecrated loaves he had offered on the large paten held by the deacon, and breaking off a fragment which he leaves on the altar – the first fraction – the Pope leaves for the throne. While the acolytes receive the consecrated bread in linen bags from the archdeacon, assisted by the subdeacons, and go to the bishops and priests, two subdeacons carry the pope's paten to the throne where he stands. There, on this paten, the deacons perform the fraction. The bishops and priests proceed in the same manner with the breaking of the consecrated bread. Throughout this solemn breaking, *the Agnus Dei* is sung. Then the *minor deacon* presents the paten to the pontiff. The latter receives communion, taking care to detach a part of the consecrated bread, which he places in the chalice while pronouncing the formula *Haec commixtio et consecratio* during this second commixtion. He then takes the Precious Blood from the chalice presented to him by the archdeacon (). The clergy receive communion from the pontiff at the throne, in the form of bread, and from the archdeacon at the altar, in the form of wine. All receive communion from the Holy Body and from a chalice (*scyphus*) of wine mixed with the Precious Blood (⁶²).

Preparatory rites and intermingling

Let us return to Patrizi's apostolic ceremonial. The order of rites preparatory to communion that he describes is that given by *the Ordo lateranensis* of 1145, the episcopal ceremonial of Prior

⁶⁰ On the liturgical privileges granted to the Patriarch of Lisbon by Clement XI (1716), Benedict XIII (1724), Clement XII (1737), confirmed by Pius VI (1778), the Mass he celebrates *more papali*, etc., cf. the fundamental work by J. NABUCO, *Jus pontificalium - Introductio in caerimoniale episcoporum*, Paris, 1956, pp. 51-57 and p. 361 (bibliography).

⁶¹ On the communion of the Pope on the throne, see: A. ROCCA, *De sacra summi Pontificis communiione*, Rome, 1610; G. CATALINI, *Sacrarum Caerimoniarum sive rituum ecclesiasticarum, op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 78–86 (we have mainly consulted Catalani).

⁶² On the practice of mixing the Precious Blood with unconsecrated wine, see M. ANDRIEU, *Immixtio et consecratio*, Paris, 1924.

Bernard⁶³. The Eucharistic rites described by Bernard were none other than those of *the Hadrianum* enriched by Alcuin in the early years of the 9th century⁶⁴; for non-Eucharistic worship, it depended closely on the 10th-century Roman-German pontifical⁶⁵. There is now only one interference. The order of rites is that given to us – via the 13th-century missal of the Roman Curia⁶⁶ – namely: presentation of the paten, prayer of *the Libera nos*, breaking of the host, *Pax Domini*, first and only intercession, singing of *the Agnus Dei*, prayer *Domine Jesu Christe*, kiss of peace.

It should be noted, however, that the place of the immixtus in *the Ordo lateranensis* – that retained by the Bishop of Pienza and before him by the long Avignon ceremonial (1340-1360) for the papal Mass—no longer corresponds to that described by Innocent III in *De Missarum mysteriis*⁶⁶ and by all the ceremonials of the papal chapel up to and including that of Stefaneschi, as commented on by Guillaume Durand⁶⁷. Thus, the episcopal Mass of *the Ordo lateranensis* penetrated the papal liturgy, and we are witnessing here one of those "interactions between liturgies", namely between the Lateran Basilica and the papal chapel, as noted by Father Gy⁶⁸. Indeed, until the time of the long Avignon ceremony – in the words of Innocent III, *Romanus*

⁶³ L. FISCHER, *Ordo officiorum Ecclesiae Lateranensis*, Munich, 1916. For a comparison of *the Ordo Romanus I* with *the Ordo Lateranensis*, see B. CAPELLE, "Fraction et commixtion," in *Travaux liturgiques*, Louvain: Centre liturgique - Abbaye du Mont-César, 1962, vol. II, pp. 319 ff.

⁶⁴ On the Gregorian sacramentary *Hadrianum* (named after Pope Hadrian, who sent it to the court of Aachen around 785) and on *the Hadrianum* supplemented by Alcuin, cf. C. VOGEL, *Introduction aux sources, op. cit.*, pp. 72-82, with bibliography.

⁶⁵ On the Roman-Germanic Pontifical, cf.: M. ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines romani, op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 494-548; C. VOGEL - R. ELZE, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du X^e siècle*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963; see also C. VOGEL, *Introduction aux sources, op. cit.*, pp. 187-203, with bibliography.

⁶⁶ This work by Pope Innocent III (1198-1203), written before his elevation to the papacy, is better known under the title chosen by Migne, *De sacro Altaris mysterio*, PL 217, 763-916. The passage to which we refer can be found in L.VI, 9.

⁶⁷ Guillaume DURAND, *Rational ou Manuel des divins Offices*, French translation, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, pp. 394–398. On the work of Guillaume Durand, Bishop of Mende, see M. ANDRIEU, *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen Âge, op. cit.*, Vol. III, "Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand," pp. 3-22; see also P.M. GY, O.P., *Guillaume Durand, Bishop of Mende (c. 1230-1296), Canonist, Liturgist and Politician*, Proceedings of the CNRS Round Table (Mende, 24-27 May 1990), Paris: CNRS, 1992.

⁶⁸ P.M. GY, O.P., "Interactions entre liturgies. Influence des chanoines de Lucques sur la liturgie du Latran," in *Revue des sciences religieuses* 58 (1984), pp. 537-552; by the same author, "L'unification liturgique de l'Occident et la liturgie de la curie romaine" [*The liturgical unification of the West and the liturgy of the Roman Curia*], in *Revue des sciences théologiques et philosophiques* 59 (1975), pp. 601-612. See also M. MARCHETTI, *Liturgia e storia della Chiesa di Siena nel XII secolo*, Siena: Istituto storico diocesano di Siena, 1991, pp. 45-48.

*pontifex alium in communicando morem observat*⁶⁹ : after making the triple sign of the cross with the particle on the chalice while saying the *Pax Domini*, he replaced the particle on the paten; after giving the kiss of peace, he would return to his throne and – in full view of everyone – take the largest of the three pieces presented to him from the paten held by the subdeacon, divide it, take one part and place the other in the chalice. Although there was only one immixtiun, it nevertheless evoked *the Ordo Romanus I*: it recalled the solemn rite of the breaking of bread at the throne and maintained the second immixtiun *of ipsa sancta quam mormorderat*⁷⁰ . The other two pieces were used for the communion of the deacons and subdeacons, whom we see receiving the peace at the very moment of communion.

In Patrizi's ceremony, the Pope dropped the piece of cloth with which he traced the triple sign of the cross on *the Pax Domini*; he gave peace to the assistant cardinal bishop, then to the two assistant cardinal deacons, left the altar and went to the throne at the back of the apse. Now, at the altar, the ministering deacon raises the paten with the host to eye level, describes circular movements, and hands it to the subdeacon, who carries it to the pope's left. Repeating the same movements with the chalice, the deacon carries the chalice to the pontiff's right. The pontiff, in the book held before him by an assisting bishop, reads the prescribed prayers; he takes and consumes one of the two parts, then subdivides the remaining part; with the golden chalice presented to him by the assisting cardinal-bishop, he takes a portion of the Precious Blood. Here, then, we find a fraction at the throne and communion with part of the sacred species, the rest of which is reserved for the sacred ministers.

We also find the close link between the kiss of peace and the act of communion itself. In fact, the ministering cardinal deacon—who, along with the subdeacon, did not receive the kiss of peace at the altar with the assistant cardinals—stands, still holding the chalice and the chalice cover, bows, kisses the pontiff's hand, receives his Eucharistic portion, kisses the pontiff on the face – in fact, it is an embrace – then returns to the altar where, at the corner of the epistle, he takes a little of the Precious Blood with the chalice. The subdeacon, kneeling with the paten, receives Communion

⁶⁹ *De Missarum mysteriis (De sacro altaris mysterio)*, *op. cit.*, L.VI, 9: "The Supreme Pontiff does not immediately place the host in the chalice, but, after the triple sign of the cross, places it on the paten, and after the kiss of peace, ascends to his seat, standing there, with all looking on, takes the greater part of the offering from the paten presented to him by the deacon, dividing it in full view of all, taking one particle and sending another into the chalice held before him by the subdeacon, from which he draws the blood with a reed. Then he gives one part to the deacon with a kiss, and the other to the subdeacon without a kiss, whom the deacon kisses as he ministers at the altar. And then the subdeacon takes the part that has been placed in the chalice with the blood.

⁷⁰ *Ordo Romanus I*, ed. ANDRIEU, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 101.

in the Holy Body from the Pope's hand, with the same kisses on the hand and face, then comes to the altar to receive Communion in the Holy Blood after purifying the paten.

Catalani recounts in his commentary the ancient custom of giving a piece of the large host to some illustrious man, namely the emperor; he cites the example of Paschal II with Henry V⁷¹. *The Ordo lateranensis* – an episcopal-type ceremony – which did not envisage the Pope receiving Communion *ad sedem eminentem*, nevertheless provided for the deacon and subdeacon to receive Communion from the host of the celebrating bishop. In the Tridentine era, this practice was to be retained only for the Pope's Mass, at which the deacon and subdeacon were required to receive Communion.

Kiss of peace and communion

We have seen that the ministers' reception of peace is linked to the act of communion. The kiss of peace at the moment of communion⁷², a distinctive feature of the liturgies of Rome and Africa since the time of St Augustine – echoing since St Gregory the Great the *sicut and nos dimittimus* of the Pater – was retained as an indispensable preparation for receiving the sacrament, which is a sign of unity among the members of the Mystical Body of Christ⁷³, and was a living practice for a long time. However, when the reception of Communion became less common and more rare, the kiss of peace, coming from the celebrant who kissed the altar, or even the host and the chalice – transmitted by the ministers – became a kind of substitute for the reception of the sacrament. In order to mitigate what was now perceived as a sign of intimate familiarity⁷⁴, the

⁷¹ J. CATALANI, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, L. II, Tit. I, C. XIV, § XIII, XI.

⁷² See J.A. JUNGSMANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 249 ff.; see also M. RIGHETTI, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, Milan: Ancora, 1966, Vol. III, p. 486–489.

⁷³ THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, Q. 73, A. 3: "*Res sacramenti est unitas Corporis mystici, sine qua non potest esse salus*"; see also *ad Ium* of the same article; Q. 79, A. 1.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (quoted by J. DANÉLOU, *Bible et liturgie*, Paris: Cerf, 1951, p. 182): "All give peace to one another, and by this kiss they make a kind of profession of the unity and charity they have among themselves. Through baptism, we have received a new birth, through which we are united in one nature; and we all partake of the same food, where we receive the same body and the same blood: all of us, though many, form one body because we partake of the same bread. Therefore, before approaching the mysteries, we must fulfil the rule of giving peace, by which we signify our union and charity towards one another. It would not be fitting for those who form one ecclesial body to hate any brother in the faith. (XV, 40).

⁷⁴ Cf. J.A. JUNGSMANN, *op. cit.*, T. III: "[...] Today, we cannot help but find such use of the sign of the most intimate familiarity audacious and risky, and this, no longer in the private circle of a young community, sustained by high idealism, but as a permanent institution in meetings that have become public. Certain factors due to ancient civilisation must undoubtedly be taken into account. In any case, over time, a stylisation of the rite of kissing has prevailed in all Christian liturgies; it is now only discreetly hinted at." (pp. 255-256).

Middle Ages stylised the kiss, so that it was soon exchanged only between clerics during solemn Mass.

The rites described by Patrizi demonstrate the link between the kiss of peace and the act of communion itself. The sacred ministers kiss the pontiff's hand, receive communion, and kiss him on the cheek. This rite, but this time at the altar, exists in the Tridentine books. The *Cærimoniale episcoporum* faithfully echoes it⁷⁵. It obviously presupposes the Mass of the ordinary bishop of the place at the throne. In the cathedral, on Easter Sunday, it describes the general communion of the sacred ministers, the clergy and the people. After receiving Communion, the bishop immediately gives Communion to the deacon and subdeacon with two hosts taken from the ciborium and placed on the paten⁷⁶. Each of them first kisses the bishop's hand, receives the host, rises, kisses the bishop's left cheek – this is the embrace – and the bishop says *Pax tecum*, to which he replies *Et cum spiritu tuo*. The deacon then sings the *Confiteor*; the pontiff says *Misereatur et Indulgentiam*. During the distribution of Communion, the deacon holds the ciborium on his right and the subdeacon holds the paten on his left⁷⁷: the influence of the papal Mass is evident here. All the canons receiving communion, specifies the *Cærimoniale episcoporum*, kiss the bishop's hand first, and his face afterwards – let us remember that the canons are here adorned with sacred vestments. All the others, both clerics and lay people, kiss only his hand. The Roman Pontifical of 1595 prescribes this kissing of the pontiff's hand for the newly ordained⁷⁸. The kissing of the bishop's hand or ring during communion, especially when linked to the rites of communion of the sacred ministers of papal and Tridentine episcopal ceremonies, thus appears to be a vestige of the kiss of peace and expresses communion with the bishop and, through him, with the whole Church.

⁷⁵ *Cærimoniale episcoporum*, L. II, C. XXIX. Cf. P. MARTINUCCI, *Manuale sacrarum caerimoniarum*, Rome, 1870-1873, L. V, T. III, pp. 118-124; L. STERCKY, C.S.Sp., *Les Fonctions pontificales selon le rite romain*, Paris: Gabalda, 1932, pp. 128-131; L. GROMIER, *Commentaire du Cærimoniale episcoporum*, *op. cit.*, pp. 439-442.

⁷⁶ In Patrizi's ceremonial, we find two hosts on a paten carried by the subdeacon to the pope's throne after the latter's communion, for the communion of the emperor and empress (cf. M. DYKMANS, *L'Œuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, *op. cit.*, T. I, p. 104).

⁷⁷ "This manner of giving Communion," explains Bishop GROMIER (*op. cit.*, p. 440), "which derives from the papal Mass, is specific to the bishop (ordinary of the place) celebrating Mass from the throne."

⁷⁸ If the bishop who ordains is not the local ordinary, he will hold the ciborium himself; however, the newly ordained will kiss his hand during Communion (cf. J. NABUCO, *Pontificalis romani - Expositio juridico-practica*, Paris, 1962, p. 135). In the case of holy ordinations and other extraordinary pontifical functions, the non-ordinary bishop in a certain sense supplants the local bishop; he receives the offering, makes use of the crosier, etc., but with the necessary limitations (Mass in the *falderium*).

We should also mention another form of replacement for the kiss of peace, that of the kiss of *the osculatorium* or instrument of peace. It is this kiss that the Roman Missal of St. Pius V⁷⁹ and the *Cærimoniale episcoporum*⁸⁰ provide for as being able to be transmitted to the laity, and even to clerics during non-solemn Masses. It is this same kiss by instrument that Charles V, wishing to remedy the murmurs of the reformers, recommended in 1548 in the *Formula reformationis* or *Augsburg Interim*⁸¹ .

We are also aware of recent attempts, both archaeological and pastoral in nature, to restore the kiss of peace as a simple sign of peace that would no longer come from the altar but would simply be exchanged between neighbours; these attempts are not very convincing.

Communion from the chalice and ablution

It should be noted that the deacon and subdeacon receive Communion under both species at the papal Mass. According to ancient discipline, they are required to participate in the consumption of the sacrifice of which they are ministers at the altar. They receive the Precious Blood using a chalice. Patrizi's ceremonial no longer provides for the Precious Blood to be given to anyone other than sacred ministers, not even to the emperor. For this, he refers to a precedent: the reception of His Majesty the Roman Emperor Frederick III, who came to Rome on pilgrimage in 1468⁸² , a visit which was described in our author's first work⁸³ . Although the emperor sang his lesson at Christmas Matins and walked to the left of the pope – Paul II – nevertheless, during the solemn Mass of the day, he was not admitted to communion from the chalice, nor were the deacon and subdeacon admitted that day, according to the *Descriptio* of 1469 – due to the heresy of the Hussites

⁷⁹ Cf. *Ritus servandus in celebratione missae*, X, 3: "With his hands joined and placed on the altar, his eyes fixed on the sacrament, he bows and says secretly: 'Lord Jesus Christ', etc. *Qua Oratione finita, si est daturus pacem, osculatur altare in medio et instrumentum pacis ei porrectum a ministro juxta ipsum ad dexteram, hoc est, in cornu Epistolae, genuflexo, et dicit: 'Pax tecum'. Minister respondet: 'Et cum spiritu tuo'.*"

⁸⁰ *Cærimoniale episcoporum*, L. I, C. XXIV, n. 6-7.

⁸¹ Cf. H. JEDIN, *Il Concilio di Trento*, *op. cit.*, T. III, p. 277 et seq.

⁸² Cf. M. DYKMANS, *L'Œuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*, *op. cit.*, T. I, p. 190-195.

⁸³ The *Descriptio adventus Frederici III imperatoris ad Paulum papam II* was published by MABILLON, *Museum Italicum*, *op. cit.*, T. I, pp. 256-272.

of Bohemia, who believed that communion from the chalice was necessary for salvation⁸⁴ –. The Roman Missal of St. Pius V does not consider communion from the chalice to be possible. We know that Charles V wanted it to be granted for Germany. He had been dead for several years (1558) when, in the aftermath of the Council of Trent in 1564, it was granted under certain conditions – only to be withdrawn, after experimentation, in 1571 – in Bavaria, then in Austria (1584), and finally in Bohemia and throughout Christendom (1621)⁸⁵ .

Dom Martène distinguished three modes of administering Communion with the Precious Blood⁸⁶ . The oldest consisted of drinking from the chalice itself. However, *the Ordo romanus I* already mentions a *pugillaris*, the first name of *the calamus*, with which the people would take the Precious Blood⁸⁷ . Finally, there is the rite of intinction, still practised in most Eastern rites and recently revived in the West, where it was widely accepted in the North before the 12th century but was condemned by the synods of Braga (675) and Clermont (1096).

It should be noted, however, that the chalice or cup (*scyphus*) from which the faithful of *the Ordo romanus I* received communion, through the *pugillaris*, contained wine to which the archdeacon had added a little Precious Blood⁸⁸ . Just as a certain sanctification or blessing of unconsecrated wine was practised by mixing in a piece of consecrated bread – a rite that we find on Good Friday in the Tridentine Mass of the Presanctified, sadly sacrificed in 1955 – so too, I say, was practised in the 8th century and until around the 12th century, a rite of sanctification of wine, this time by means of the Precious Blood, *ad confirmandum populum*.

At the time of the first great dogmatic syntheses, the abandonment of communion from the chalice, which, like communion in the hand that had disappeared earlier, had not been without accidents, put an end to the rite of sanctification of wine by the addition of the Precious Blood. But was not this rite itself already a restriction? How, moreover, was it perceived: as Eucharistic communion or as a rite of purification? Whatever the case, it was in the 13th century that the practice

⁸⁴ See *Descriptio adventus Frederici III* [...], *op. cit.*: "*Communicavit summus pontifex altaris sacramentum cum Imperatore, diacono, et subdiacono de pane tantum; de calice autem, etsi consuetudo sit, communicantes cum pontifice participare; propter insurgentem tamen Hussitarum, ac Bohemorum damnatum haeresim, quae calicis potationem ad salutem necessariam putat, praeter pontificem, nemo bibit.*" (quoted by Catalani). Initially rejected by the Council of Constance, communion from the chalice was subsequently granted in Bohemia in 1433.

⁸⁵ See J.A. JUNGSMANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 319.

⁸⁶ E. MARTÈNE, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 438–439.

⁸⁷ On the various names and uses of *the calamus*, see J. BRAUN, *Das christliche Altargerät*, *op. cit.*, p. 249 ff.

⁸⁸ *Ordo romanus I*, ed. ANDRIEU, II, n. 108, 111, 115.

of *ablutio oris*, the ablution or purification of the mouth with wine, became widespread⁸⁹. The principle of taking a little water, wine, or even food after Eucharistic communion is a very ancient observance, reported in the West by St. Benedict and in the East by St. John Chrysostom, among others. There was a fear that a piece of the consecrated bread, which was not yet unleavened bread, or a few drops of the Precious Blood might escape from the mouth with the saliva. The practice remained after unleavened bread was adopted and communion from the chalice was abolished. A decretal of Innocent III in 1204 obliged priests to wash their mouths with wine⁹⁰. This ablution was generally adopted by all communicants who were presented with a cup of wine. No doubt it was confused with the mode of communion from the chalice of wine mixed with the Precious Blood, for it practically succeeded it. "When we stopped giving communion under both species," wrote Father Lebrun⁹¹, "we felt we had to offer wine to the faithful, because they might need a liquid to swallow the holy host, which could stick to their teeth and palate." The learned Oratorian went on to describe what was still practised in his day.

Thus, at papal Mass, we see the deacon and subdeacon performing purification – as it is termed in liturgical books – in the chalice from which they have just received Communion, while the Pope purifies his mouth with wine poured into a second chalice. This ablution or purification of the mouth by those receiving Communion is by no means unique to papal Mass. It is generally cited in the chapter on the rare customs of *the Ritus servandus* of the Roman Missal of St. Pius V that have fallen into disuse. However, Jungmann cites several recent examples of this practice. For the missal describes it⁹²: outside the altar, the server holds a vase of wine with water in his right hand and a white cloth in his left hand; he presents the purification to the lips of the person who has received Communion and the cloth for them to wipe themselves. The Roman Pontifical of 1595 expressly mentions it for holy ordinations, not for new priests alone, to whom it has always been administered, but for all subjects of general ordination⁹³. The *Cærimoniale episcoporum* describes

⁸⁹ Cf. J.A. JUNGSMANN, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 347-356.

⁹⁰ *Corp. Jur. Can., Decretales Greg.*, L. III, 41, 5.

⁹¹ P. LEBRUN, *Explication* [...], *op. cit.*, pp. 506-508.

⁹² *Ritus servandus*, X, 6: "*Minister autem dextera manu tenens vas cum vino et aqua, sinistra vero mappulam, aliquanto post sacerdotem eis porrigit purificationem, et mappulam ad os abstergendum.*"

⁹³ "*One of the ministers of the pontiff stands near the corner of the altar holding a chalice, not the one with which the pontiff celebrated, but another one with wine, and a clean cloth in his hands, to whom each communicant approaches, purifies himself, wipes his mouth, and takes his place.*"

it for the communion of the clergy and the people⁹⁴. Delightful period engravings from these last two books depict it. Only rules of convenience and hygiene can explain the almost total disappearance of such a venerable custom.

Not only the mouth shall be purified, but everything that has come into contact with the holy species: fingers and chalice. The Pope shall purify his fingers with wine from a golden cup. He shall not drink this ablution. He shall sit down, receive the mitre, wash his hands⁹⁵, according to the meticulously described princely etiquette, then return to the altar for the post-communion and blessing. The assistant cardinal bishop then publishes the formula of indulgence, and the ministering cardinal deacon removes the *pallium* from the pontiff. Adorned with sacred vestments, the Pope returns to his palace.

Conclusion

When reading Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini's *Ordo missae*, one is struck by the apparatus of rituals surrounding the sovereign pontiff and manifesting his status, in the words of the imposition of the tiara, as "father of princes and kings, rector of the world and vicar of Jesus Christ". We see him surrounded by a large number of clergy: cardinals surround him, bishops assist him, princes are allowed to wash his hands, and the various bodies of prelates of the curia each occupy a function, often corresponding to a liturgical ministry: apostolic subdeacons, acolytes, clerics of the chamber. Around the pontiff's throne, the hierarchical structure of the Roman Church is manifested at its highest level. However, when the supreme pastor leaves his throne, from where he watches over the Church and the world, for the altar in order to offer the Eucharistic sacrifice, the ceremonial rites fade away: there is only the priest, surrounded by magnificent pomp, offering the Holy Victim.

These remarks on the nature of the papal pontifical celebration are applicable to the pontifical Mass of the bishop in his cathedral, and even to that of a cardinal *extra Urbem* – albeit with less solemnity in the latter case. The pattern is the same, a sort of carbon copy of the papal chapel: the chapter in full regalia (), the priest and assistant deacons, the singing of Terce and

⁹⁴ *Cerimoniale episcoporum*, L. II, C. XXIX, n. 3-4.

⁹⁵ Cf. L. GROMIER, *op. cit.*, p. 311: "In the past, after Communion under both species, the celebrant drank only the purification of pure wine, then washed his hands with water that was thrown into the pool. Later, he rinsed his fingers with wine before drinking the purification and washing his hands. The ablution of the fingers and mouth with wine and water, which came later and eliminated the washing of the hands, except for the bishop, met with more opposition than one might think. At the papal Mass today, the Pope does not drink the ablution of the fingers."

dressing at the small throne of *the secretarium*, rules of etiquette for the washing of hands, presiding at the high throne, etc., until the celebration of the sacrifice itself. As for the distinction between pontifical ceremony and solemn priestly ceremony, it is based on the distinction – strongly supported by the power of jurisdiction – between the episcopal order and the priestly order. The presence or absence of pontifical insignia is the consequence of this.

Apart from certain marks of honour and secondary archaic customs, it is above all the rites associated with communion *ad sedem eminentem*, which we have attempted to analyse, that constitute a notable feature of the papal Mass, since they are not found in the episcopal Mass of *the Cærimoniale episcoporum*. Why did the pope consume the sacrifice not at the altar but at the *cathedra*⁹⁶ ? There has been no shortage of explanations, some of them highly allegorical⁹⁷ . We will simply note that, already in *the Ordo romanus* I, the Roman pontiff had left the altar for the throne from where he presided over the solemn breaking of the Eucharistic bread. Innocent III, and after him William Durand, emphasised this public aspect of the breaking and communion of the sovereign pontiff because, said the former, *Christus in Emaus coram duobus fregit, et in Jerusalem coram decem apostolis manducavit*⁹⁸ . Whatever the allegorical nature of this explanation, it is of interest to us in that it closely links the rite of breaking, and therefore of mixing, with communion itself. Since the term *fractio panis* was used in Christian antiquity to designate the Eucharistic sacrifice, do the solemn breaking of *bread in the Ordo* I performed at the throne, and the communion linked to it, which Patrizi still knows and describes, tend to manifest – in the Eucharistic celebration of the supreme pastor – the realisation of the unity of the Church through participation in the sacrament⁹⁹ ? In short, do these rites of the highest solemnity manifest, through and in hierarchical action, that "the Eucharist makes the Church"?

We cannot say, as many of our "pastoral" liturgists have said ad nauseam, that the old liturgical books conceived of the Eucharistic celebration without the participation of the assistants in the sacrifice through communion. As early as the 5th century, there had been a decrease in the

⁹⁶ It should be noted that in the period prior to Patrizi's ceremonial, when the Pope celebrated pontifical Mass more often, communion *ad sedem* was practised only on solemnities, never at penitential or funeral services.

⁹⁷ See J. CATALANI, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Book II, Title I, Chapter XIV, § XIII, XVII-XXII.

⁹⁸ Quoted by CATALANI, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁹ Cf. St THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, IIIa, Q. 73, A. 1, 2, 3, 4, etc.

frequency of communion among the Christian people. This phenomenon is well attested to by the obligation of Easter communion imposed by the ^{Fourth} Lateran Council (1215). While it is not our place here to analyse the causes, we believe that we can explain in part the rarity of communion during solemn Masses by the discipline of Eucharistic fasting. As these Masses were generally celebrated late in the morning, people preferred to receive Communion during a morning Mass, or even outside of Mass. This same ancient rigour of Eucharistic fasting is undoubtedly one of the main reasons why the Holy Week services were brought forward to the morning. As for the liturgical books, they merely sanctioned a state of affairs. However, we have pointed out – with the help of the Roman Pontifical and the *Cærimoniale episcoporum* – that they present a liturgy for the administration of Communion in line with that of *the Ordo romanus* I, even if they occasionally introduce certain particularities of Communion *extra missam*. It would therefore be wrong to see the excessive distinction between the Eucharist as sacrifice and the Eucharist as sacrament as being assumed by the Tridentine liturgy. On the contrary, the communion of the sovereign pontiff *ad sedem* highlights the function of communion as the completion, or culmination, of the sacrifice *in sacramento*.

Regarding the significant rites surrounding the sacramental celebration, St Thomas Aquinas says that some are performed to represent the Passion of Christ, others refer to the Mystical Body signified by this sacrament, and still others express the devotion and reverence due to this mystery¹⁰⁰. The ceremonial aspect seems to us to consist above all in the manifestation of the hierarchical structure of the Church in the celebration of the sacrament. It is easy to conclude that liturgical books – from the pre-Tridentine papal ceremonial to the Roman Missal, not to mention the pontifical and the ceremonial of the bishops – consider the Eucharistic celebration to be the act par excellence in which the Church is fulfilled. They are organised and structured around the central act of sacrifice on the basis of a theological tradition and a liturgical tradition that are closely linked, but which are unfortunately contested today. However, as Christians living in space and time, we feel deeply connected to this Tradition and to everything it has produced in the order of civilisation and culture.

¹⁰⁰ St. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, IIIa, Q. 83, A. 5: "*In celebratione hujus mysterii quaedam aguntur ad repraesentandum passionem Christi; vel etiam dispositionem corporis mystici; et quaedam aguntur pertinentia ad devotionem et reverentiam usus hujus sacramenti.*"