The Mass as Sacred Drama

I

IN 1511 ALBRECHT DÜRER planned a series of woodcuts on the theme salus animae. To illustrate the importance of the Holy Eucharist in this theme, he turned naturally to the Mass of St. Gregory. A popular subject in the late Middle Ages, it became especially prominent in the art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when papal indulgences were offered to those illustrating it.

The story on which it is based is apparently rather late, but an analogue may be found in the *Legenda aurea*. During a Mass at St. Peter’s, a Roman matron scoffed at the idea that the Host is transformed into the body of Christ at the moment of Consecration. Appalled by her skepticism, St. Gregory placed the consecrated Host on the altar and prayed devoutly. Suddenly the Host was transformed. According to the later story (which locates the events in Santa Croce), the risen Christ appeared, displaying the stigmata and surrounded by the instruments of the Passion. The skeptic was immediately converted and received Communion. The Mass then concluded in normal fashion.¹

In Dürer’s illustration the naïve legend becomes the basis for a vivid pictorial statement of the central meaning of the Roman Mass. The veil which normally falls between the truth of faith and the tangible realities of an imperfect life has been pierced. Christ, powerfully alive, with the cements still clinging to him, rises from a retable which has suddenly become the sepulchrum Domini. The altar cross has changed from gold to the wood of the True Cross. The walls of the basilica have vanished, exposing the cloud-filled space beyond. Two angels—related perhaps to the “angels and archangels” of the prayer *Vere dignum*—appear as they did to the Marys on the morning of the Resurrection. Indifferent attendants and onlookers, including a venerable bishop, fade into an obscurity from which only Gregory’s tiara and the papal cross shine forth. The two

¹ The tradition is summarized and fifteen examples from late medieval art are listed by Louis Réan, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien* (Paris, 1958), III, chap. ii, 614–15. The source of the late medieval amplification of the legend is not identified. Réan speculates that it may have originated in an imaginative fusion of the image of Christ over the altar in Byzantine churches with the ceremony of the Mass.
deacons assisting Gregory see nothing—their eyes are fixed on the physical symbol, the Host. We have a sense of bearing witness with St. Gregory to a timeless event, and we realize suddenly, and with a sense of shock, that as onlookers we have been placed in the position of the skeptic for whom the miracle is intended. It is our salus animae which concerns Christ and St. Gregory, and, incidentally, Albrecht Dürer.

The selection of a legend about St. Gregory to illustrate the meaning of the Mass is appropriate. Gregory is one of the four “Doctors” of the Latin Church and is more closely associated than the other three with the history of the liturgy. Gregory is credited with initiating the movement to establish a uniform ritual throughout Western Christendom. His Sacramentary was the basis for the liturgical reform movement of the eighth and ninth centuries and today remains the foundation of the Roman rite.2

In his Dialogues Gregory also helped to establish what has since become the orthodox interpretation of the Mass. “Let us meditate,” he wrote, “what manner of sacrifice this is, ordained for us, which for our absolution doth always represent the passion of the only Son of God: for what right believing Christian can doubt that in the very hour of the sacrifice, at the words of the Priest, the heavens be opened, and the quires of Angels are present in that mystery of Jesus Christ; that high things are accomplished with low, and earthly joined to heavenly, and that one thing is made of visible and invisible.”3 This passage does not imply that the Mass as a whole is a joining of the visible with the invisible. Gregory’s successors, however, were accustomed to regard Scripture as a fusion of a literal (i.e., “visible”) meaning with three kinds of symbolic meaning: the allegorical, the tropological, and the anagogical.4 By the ninth century this system of analysis was being used to explain the invisible realities of the Mass.5

5 Dramatic symbolism was discovered in specific parts of the Mass long before the ninth century. As might be expected, the earliest extended allegorical readings are Eastern; for example, in a Syriac homily ascribed to Narsai (d. 502), the reader is advised during the procession in which the bread and wine are brought to the altar to

“put away all anger and hatred and . . . see Jesus who is being led to death on our account. On the paten and in the cup He goes forth with the deacon to suffer. The bread on the paten and the wine in the cup are the symbols of His death. A symbol of His death these [deacons] bear on their hands and when they have set it on the
Full-scale allegorical interpretation may be said to have begun with Amalarius, Bishop of Metz (780?–850). A prominent figure at the courts of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, an ambassador to Constantinople, and a lifelong student of the liturgy, Amalarius wrote two, and perhaps three, interpretations of the Mass. The first is the *Eclogae de ordine Romano* (814), and the most influential is the *Liber officialis*, which Amalarius saw through three editions between 821 and 835.6

Explaining, as it did, Gregory's belief that in the Mass "one thing is made of visible and invisible," the work of Amalarius was immediately popular. The editions which he prepared circulated widely throughout France and neighboring regions. In only one place did it meet with strong opposition. Amalarius had been sent to Lyons in 834 by Louis the Pious

altar and covered it, they typify His burial: not that these bear the image of the Jews, but rather of the watchers [i.e., the angels] who were ministering to the passion of the Son. He was ministered to by the angels in His passion and the deacons attend the body which is suffering mysteriously. . . . The priest who celebrates bears in himself the image of our Lord in that hour. All the priests in the sanctuary bear the image of the Apostles who met together at the sepulchre. The altar is a symbol of our Lord's tomb, and the bread and wine are the Body of the Lord which was embalmed and buried."


6 The facts of Amalarius' somewhat obscure life are summarized by Allen Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz* (Amsterdam, 1954). Cabaniss deserves credit for being one of the very few scholars to recognize the importance of Amalarius to the history of drama (see pp. 64–65). The works of Amalarius are accessible in the *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter cited as *PL*), CV, 815–1360, and in the recent scholarly edition by J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia* (3 vols.; Vatican City, 1948–50). For Hanssens' summary of Amalarius' life, see I, 58–82.
to settle a political dispute in which the Lyons clergy had become deeply involved. Instead of attacking Amalarius' politics, the Lyons clergy, led by a certain Deacon Florus, attacked his liturgical theories. In 838 Louis the Pious summoned a council at Quiercy to examine his writings, and the council duly pronounced them heretical.

Unfortunately from their point of view, the enemies of Amalarius failed to halt, or even delay, the spread of his ideas. This failure is evident from a document written three years after his death. In spite of the adverse verdict of the Synod of Quiercy, in 849 Amalarius had been appointed, along with Scotus Erigena, to investigate the increasing influence of the Saxon monk Gottschalk of Fulda. In 853 either Remigius of Lyons or Deacon Florus himself complained of this scandal and incidentally admitted that Amalarius "has by his words, his lying books, his errors, and his fanciful and heretical discussion infected and corrupted almost all the churches in France and many in other regions. . . . All of his books should have been burned after his death so that the more simple folk [simpliciores], who are reputed to love them and read them assiduously, might not be thus foolishly occupied and so dangerously deceived."

The statement corroborates the idea, which can be inferred from the almost universal diffusion of Amalarius' system among later writers, that the Liber officialis was a major success. Evidently, it answered a strongly felt need for an interpretation of the Mass which emphasized its immediate, as against its historical, significance. Of particular interest are the assertions that it appealed to the simpliciores and that its influence was especially strong in France. Already in 853 there is a suggestion that allegorical interpretation can be appreciated by the illiterate and semi-literate, for whom historical details and theological subtleties are meaningless. The need of the simpliciores for a vivid, dramatic understanding of the

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7 Cabaniss, Amalarius, pp. 79-93.
8 I have quoted the translation of Cabaniss, Amalarius, p. 93, who attributes it to Deacon Florus rather than Remigius, to whom it is attributed in Migne. The Latin may be consulted in PL, CXXI, 1054. Hanssens (Amalarius opera, I, 83-91) lists the numerous references to, and borrowings from, Amalarius, fully documenting the case for his extraordinary influence. Edmund Bishop (Historica liturgica [Oxford, 1918], p. 262) calls Amalarius a "high priest of symbolism."
9 Seven manuscripts of Amalarius' works or portions of them are in the library of the monastery of St. Gall, which is also the source of one of the earliest manuscripts of the Quem quaeritis trope (Hanssens, Amalarius opera, I, 33, 123; Cabaniss, Amalarius, p. 65). Of equal interest is the fact that an eleventh-century version of Pseudo-Alcuin's De divinis officiis (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS lat. 2402, fol. 83r-83v) incorporates a description of the Elevatio Crucis, indicating the compatibility of Amalarius with extraliturgical dramatic ceremonies. Young (DMC, I, 555) suggests that this text "may be associated" with the famous Elevatio of the tenth-century Regularis concordia of St. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester. For the De divinis officiis, see Hanssens, I, 52-53.
Roman rite inevitably increased as the separation between the clergy and the laity became more pronounced and as the language of the Church became ever more remote from the vernacular. Hence it is not surprising that a long succession of interpreters, including Walafrid Strabo, Hugh of St. Victor, Honorius of Autun, Sicardus of Cremona, John Beleth, Durandus of Mende, Thomas Aquinas, and Innocent III, carried on and elaborated the tradition initiated by Amalarius.\(^\text{10}\) Dürer's "Mass of St. Gregory" demonstrates its vitality in the period just preceding the Reformation. Although the Council of Trent opposed allegorical excess in both Scripture and liturgy, traces of the influence of Amalarius can still be found in popular devotional manuals of the twentieth century.\(^\text{11}\)

That there is a close relationship between allegorical interpretation of the liturgy and the history of drama becomes apparent the moment we turn to the Amalarian interpretations. Without exception they present the Mass as an elaborate drama with definite roles assigned to the participants and a plot whose ultimate significance is nothing less than a "renewal of the whole plan of redemption" through the re-creation of the "life, death, and resurrection" of Christ.\(^\text{12}\) Perhaps the most remarkable expression of this idea is found in the *Gemma animae*, written about 1100 by Honorius of Autun:

> It is known that those who recited tragedies in theaters presented the actions of opponents by gestures before the people. In the same way our tragic author [i.e., the celebrant] represents by his gestures in the theater of the Church before the Christian people the struggle of Christ

\(^\text{10}\) The principal writers of the allegorical tradition are listed by Goode (*Gonzalo de Berceo*, pp. xv–xvii and 26–28) and Hanssens (*Amalarii opera*, I, 83–91). Hanssens' catalogue demonstrates that Amalarius remained popular during the sixteenth century, declining only in the seventeenth, presumably as a result of Tridentine reforms.

\(^\text{11}\) Compare, e.g., Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., *The Masses of Holy Week and the Easter Vigil* ("The Popular Liturgical Library"; Collegeville, Minn., 1956). On Palm Sunday, remarks Father Diekmann, "In spirit we are joining the enthusiastic crowds that accompanied Christ into Jerusalem... We acclaim Him our King, marching with Him, we are an army rallied around its Commander" (p. 16). Concerning the lesson of Tuesday of Holy Week (Jer. 11:18–20), we are told that "Jeremias has been traditionally regarded as a 'type' of Christ; i.e., in the persecution for justice which he suffered, he personally prefigured the Messias: he too was as a meek lamb led off to slaughter" (p. 52). On Maundy Thursday, "We are gathered in spirit with the Apostles, to receive from Jesus the great Gift of His own flesh and blood, as it were for the first time" (p. 73). Among the special ceremonies still used during Easter Week and bearing an allegorical explanation may be cited the procession with palms, the restoration of the Gloria and Alleluia at the first Mass of Easter, the "Maundy rite" (restored in 1955 by Pius XII), the reservation of the Sacrament on Maundy Thursday, and the various special rites of Good Friday and the Easter vigil.

and teaches to them the victory of His redemption. Thus when the celebrant [presbyter] says the Orate [fratres] he expresses Christ placed for us in agony, when he commanded His apostles to pray. By the silence of the Secreta he expresses Christ as a lamb without voice being led to the sacrifice. By the extension of his hands he represents the extension of Christ on the Cross. By the chant of the Preface he expresses the cry of Christ hanging on the Cross. For He sang [cantavit] ten Psalms, that is, from Deus meus respice to In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, and then died. Through the secret prayers of the Canon he suggests the silence of Holy Saturday. By the Pax and its communication [i.e., the "Kiss of Peace"] he represents the peace given after the Resurrection and the sharing of joy. When the sacrifice has been completed, peace and Communion are given by the celebrant to the people. This is because after our accuser has been destroyed by our champion [agonotheta] in the struggle, peace is announced by the judge to the people, and they are invited to a feast. Then, by the Ite, missa est, they are ordered to return to their homes with rejoicing. They shout Deo gratias and return home rejoicing. 13

The Gemma animae is too late to be a reliable guide to attitudes prevalent during the ninth and tenth centuries, when, presumably, the Quem quaeritis originated. It does, however, indicate the importance of liturgical allegory to the history of drama. The standard literary histories of the high Middle Ages, which are doubtless correct, agree that during this period understanding of secular drama was rudimentary. The respect accorded the hopelessly confused Paraphrase of the Poetics of Aristotle, translated from the Arabic by Hermannus Alemannus around 1250, fully confirms the traditional view. 14 Yet Honorius not only uses the vocabulary of dramatic criticism, he uses it with considerable sophistication. The church is regarded as a theater. The drama enacted has a coherent plot based on conflict (duellum) between a champion and an antagonist. The plot has a rising action, culminating in the Passion and entombment. At its climax there is a dramatic reversal, the Resurrection, correlated with the emotional transition from the Canon of the Mass to the Communion. Something like dramatic catharsis is expressed in the gaudium of the Postcommunion.


14 The place of this curious document in medieval criticism is discussed by Hardison in The Enduring Monument: The Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962), pp. 34-36 and notes. For medieval theories about the nature of secular drama, especially tragedy, see Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Berkeley, Calif., 1936). Farnham's discussion makes it apparent that the terms tragedy and comedy, in their secular application, refer to narratives (e.g., Boccaccio's De casibus, Lydgate's Fall of Princes, Dante's Comedy).
Whatever else may be said about Honorius, one fact stands out: he understood the Mass as a living dramatic form. The contrast between his views and those found in discussions of secular literature could hardly be more pronounced. The conclusion seems inescapable that the "dramatic instinct" of European man did not "die out" during the earlier Middle Ages, as historians of drama have asserted. Instead, it found expression in the central ceremony of Christian worship, the Mass. This being the case, an understanding of the medieval interpretation of the Mass should illuminate many hitherto obscure aspects of the history of European drama. The works of Amalarius of Metz initiated allegorical interpretation, and they were particularly influential in France in the century just preceding the emergence of the *Quem quaeritis* trope. It is appropriate, therefore, to begin with Amalarius. A few general considerations must, however, precede discussion of the *Liber officialis*.

In the first place, the service on which his interpretation is based is quite different from the contemporary Mass. Amalarius conscientiously followed the liturgy of a Roman *ordo*, a *libellus Romanus*, but occasionally his discussion refers to practices, such as the singing of the Credo, which were Gallican rather than Roman. ¹⁵

More important, the Roman Sacramentary used by Amalarius was intended for a Solemn stational Mass. Although private Masses were permitted during the ninth century, both the Roman and Gallican Churches disapproved of them. Church regulations stipulated that clergy and laity alike should attend Solemn Mass on the great festivals of the Church. ¹⁶


The controlling idea of Solemn Mass as performed in the ninth century is that it is "the corporate and collegiate celebration of the Holy Mysteries in which the priesthood of the whole Christian family is directly and not vicariously exercised." Representatives of each of the orders of the clerical hierarchy must participate. The episcopus or archiepiscopus is celebrant (sacerdos) or presides at the throne while a presbyter is allowed to celebrate. The practice of concelebration was irregularly followed, according to which all of the presbyters joined the celebrant in reciting the Canon or portions thereof. Deacons, subdeacons, and the acolytes assist the celebrant, and the laity are expected to participate in both ceremony and responses. The deacon's part is especially important. His function is "to make the offering upon which the Divine Spirit is about to be invoked representative of a people united among themselves as one body united to Christ as their head." The deacon receives and prepares the offerings, he participates in the Consecration, he holds the chalice during the commingling, and he distributes the Communion wine, which in the ninth century was still offered to the laity. Among many other distinctive features of Solemn Mass, the symbolism of the unity of all Christians in the mystical body of Christ is predominant. The church is a major basilica or cathedral capable of holding large crowds (symbolic of the whole Christian community) and hallowed by the presence of a martyr's grave or the relics of a saint. The participation of all orders of the clergy and the practice of concelebration are symbols of unity. The collects, in which the celebrant "sums up" the individual wishes and prayers of the people, are stressed. The Kiss of Peace is given by the deacon to the highest-ranking assistant, and eventually extended to the congregation, which completes it by a series of mutual embraces. Additional corporate symbolism is provided by the now-forgotten "sancta" ceremony. A bit of pre-consecrated Host (the sancta), reserved from a previous Solemn Mass, is worshipped by the celebrant on the altar at the beginning of Mass and later, at the commingling, mixed with the consecrated wine "in order that by commixture all who partake of the cup may be brought into communion . . . with all who have been in the communion of the Church from the beginning." Other details of the ninth-century Solemn Mass

19 Reichel, *Solemn Mass*, p. 16.
20 Ibid., p. 30. The fermentum ceremony had a parallel significance. Since there is some difference of opinion on whether or not the sancta (or fermentum) ceremony was employed, it should be noted that in the *Eclogae* (*PL*, CV, 1317d and 1319e) Amalarius twice states that the bishop "prima . . . adorat sancta" and does not leave the altar during the Introit ceremonies until "postquam adoraverit sancta." See also n. 116.
will be mentioned as they occur. Those cited should amply warn against application of Amalarius' comments to the modern forms of the Mass.

A second point of importance to an understanding of allegorical interpretation is that Amalarius and his followers were not theologians in the sense in which the word is applied to the Scholastics of the high Middle Ages. In modern terms, their work is closer to literary criticism than to theology. They sought to express the felt significance of an event which is at the center of Catholic life in language which would both explain it and make it ever more widely available to the *simpliciores*. Sister Teresa Goode has aptly called this effort a "search for reality." Gregory had taught that in the Mass "one thing is made of visible and invisible"; and Christ had asked His followers to "do these things in remembrance of me." In the medieval mind the idea of commemoration fused with the doctrine of the Real Presence: if the bread and wine are truly changed at the moment of Consecration into the flesh and blood of the Savior, then Christ must be literally present at every Mass. Allegorical interpretation moved outward from this insight to find dramatic significance in each of the major prayers and ceremonies. Ultimately, every detail of the service was considered symbolic. Many of the interpretations seem appropriate and beautiful. But there are also many which seem at best trivial; for example, the speculations on the significance of the number of crosses made during the Consecration prayers and the quibbles over the number of "sacrifices" actually performed by the celebrant.

But allegorical interpretation is more than a transient fashion. Both Catholic and non-Catholic scholars agree today that the Mass has important similarities to dramatic rituals which are apparently universal in primitive societies and which were widespread among the various mystery cults that flourished in the West between the first and fifth centuries. The implications of these similarities are, of course, disputed. Perhaps the most balanced position is that taken by the Jesuit scholar Hugo Rahner, who regards the Mass as a unique blend of "common

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21 They were, as is clear from their writings, learned men. Amalarius was a student of Alcuin. Later, he used his travels to Constantinople and Rome to observe varying practices at first hand. Although he remarks frequently that he is following his own convictions and even claims divine inspiration for some ideas, he drew heavily on a variety of sources. The most important of these are the Bible, the *libellus Romanus*, and the writings of Cyprian, Augustine, Gregory, and Bede. His most original achievement is not so much the devising of new interpretations as it is the collecting of a miscellany of ideas expressed previously and working them into a system which explained the whole service of the Mass with relative consistency. See n. 5 for an example of a sixth-century interpretation anticipating some of Amalarius' central theories; also, Jungmann, *Mass*, I, 86–87.

archetypal elements" whereby man has always instinctively sought contact with the divine, minor cultural borrowings, and revelation.\textsuperscript{23} The ninth-century interpretation may be considered an imperfectly expressed analogue of such modern theories; that is, both medieval and modern students agree that the Mass is drama, but the medieval author could only express his insight by speaking of a "plot" and assigning to the participants the roles which they played in the history from which the "plot" is derived. The medieval writer, unable to say that the Mass was a ritual drama, was forced to say simply that it was a drama. The vocabulary is awkward, but the concept is valid. To this extent, the ninth-century interpretation may be as true to its subject as the more sober historical investigations of the post-Tridentine era of Catholic scholarship.

The impossibility of explaining the felt experience of the Mass in terms other than those of drama is in itself adequate to account for the inconsistencies which may be found in allegorical interpretation. The situation is further complicated by the desire of Amalarius and his followers to find not one but several levels of allegory. Some events of the Mass are interpreted as moral lessons and some as re-enactments of Old Testament practices; some refer to the life of Christ, and some have an eschatological significance. Not infrequently, a single event bears two or more interpretations simultaneously. By the same token, the roles of the participants are fluid. At times the celebrant is the High Priest of the Temple sacrificing the holocaust on the Day of Atonement, at other times he is Christ, and at one point he is Nicodemus assisting Joseph of Arimathea at the entombment. The congregation can be the Hebrews listening to prophecies of the Messiah, the crowd witnessing the Crucifixion, the Gentiles to whom the Word was given after it had been rejected by the Hebrews, and the elect mystically incorporated into the body of Christ. Numerous conflicts among levels of interpretation, inconsistencies of chronology, and abrupt shifts of meaning are apparent. On the other hand, in the midst of these anomalies one element stands out sharply. From beginning to end, but especially during the Canon and Communion, the Mass is a rememorative drama depicting the life, ministry, crucifixion, and resurrection of Christ. Although other elements vary according to the ingenuity of the interpreter, rememorative allegory is always present. It is central to the interpretations of Amalarius, Honorius, and Durandus, and evidently it was still central when Albrecht Dürer designed his woodcut of St. Gregory's Mass.

THE MASS AS SACRED DRAMA

II

The chapter headings of Amalarius’ *Eclogae de officio missae* provide a convenient outline of the rememorative allegory of the Mass. The service is divided into two major parts. The prayers and ceremonies which precede the Gospel represent Christ’s life “from His birth to the time when He hastened to Jerusalem to suffer.” The Introit is the chorus of Old Testament prophets foretelling the coming of the Messiah, and the Kyrie is the voice of the more recent prophets, especially Zacharias and John. The Gloria (omitted from the beginning of Lent to the Mass of the Easter vigil) announces the Nativity. It echoes the song of the angels (Luke 2:14), and it is chanted antiphonally to suggest a dialogue between heaven and earth. The collect represents Christ in the Temple at twelve years of age. The reading—whether from the Old or the New Testament—is the preaching and prophecy of John. The responsory depicts the good will (benevolentiam) of the apostles, who, when summoned, came freely. The Alleluia (omitted from the beginning of Lent to the Mass of the Easter vigil) expresses the happiness which the apostles felt when they heard Christ’s promises and saw miracles performed in His name. The first “act” of the drama concludes with the Gospel, which makes manifest the words and deeds of Christ during His ministry. The second “act” extends from Palm Sunday to Pentecost. The prayers from the *Secreta* to the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* represent the prayers of Jesus in the garden of the Mount of Olives, and what follows commemorates His death and entombment. The comingling of the Host and consecrated wine marks the return of Christ’s soul to His body. The next action (the Kiss of Peace) is the greeting of the disciples and their joy on learning of the Resurrection. The Fraction is not a “slaughtering of Christ,” as it was sometimes considered during the baroque period, but, in the *Eclogae*, the breaking of bread by Christ at Emmaus.

This outline, although not entirely reliable as a guide to the *Eclogae* or *Liber officialis* as written, illustrates the dimensions of rememorative allegory and allows some preliminary conclusions. The separation between the “Mass of the Catechumens” and the “Mass of the Faithful” has resulted in an articulation of the drama in terms of a rising action from

24 For convenience, citations of Amalarius’ works will be to both the *Patrologia* edition and that by Hanssens, abbreviated “H.” The outline of the *Eclogae de officio missae* is in *PL*, CV, 1315–16, and in *H*, III, 229–31.

25 “Ad primum adventum Domini usque ad illud tempus quando properabat Hierusalem passurus” (*PL*, CV, 1315; *H*, III, 229).

Introit to Gospel\textsuperscript{27} that reflects the rising excitement of the service itself. The elaborate ceremony called for by the rubrics has provided opportunities for further allegorical interpretation and for stylized gestures of the sort which Honorius of Autun evidently had in mind when he compared the gestures of actors in the theater with those of the celebrant.\textsuperscript{28} The second phase of the drama continues the rising action through the events of the Passion, reaches a crisis at the entombment, and undergoes a sharp reversal, punctuated by the commingling and the Kiss of Peace. The Resurrection is the climax of the drama. It is parallel to the shift in the mood of the service from the \textit{tristia} induced by the memory of Christ’s death to the \textit{gaudium} of the Communion. The positioning of the climax of the Mass at the beginning of the Communion is typical of the ninth century but was gradually modified in later times by the emphasis on the Passion and the related practice of elevating the Host and chalice immediately after the Consecration. It gives the Mass a “comic” rather than a “tragic” structure because it becomes an action that (to quote a late classical definition) “begins in adversity and ends in peace.”\textsuperscript{29}

The structure of allegorical interpretation, then, parallels the natural emotional rhythm of the Mass. The allegory does not conflict with the rubrics or tone of the Sacramentaries. The initial emphasis on expectation—the sense that the Messiah is coming and will soon be not only among us but united with us—is admirably calculated to express (or engage) the emotions of the participants. The congregation is immediately involved in the drama in the role of the Chosen People longing for the fulfillment of prophecy. On certain feast days this role-playing is intensified by explicitly mimetic actions: on Palm Sunday, for example, there is a formal procession with palms—identifying the congregation with the crowds who welcomed Jesus into Jerusalem—and hymns of praise echoing the Gospel accounts of his entry. During the Gloria the congregation becomes the shepherds and humble folk of Bethlehem who, in the second part of the antiphon, answer the angels, either directly or vicariously through the cantors. During the reading of the Gospel the people stand to bear living witness, as soldiers of Christ, to the events of His life. They bow their heads in sorrow during the terrible events leading to the Crucifixion. They

\textsuperscript{27} The Gospel was considered a part of the Mass of the Faithful by both the Roman and Gallican Churches, although Amalarius calls the practice of dismissing the catechumens before it is read, “consuetudo nostra” (\textit{PL}, CV, 1156\textsuperscript{b}; H, II, 371). For discussion, see Jungmann, \textit{Mass}, I, 433–34.

\textsuperscript{28} Quoted above, pp. 39–40.

stand bowed before the Cross with the holy women as Christ dies and blood and water pour from His side into the chalice. Following the Communion, the congregation assumes still another role. Allegorically, it becomes the disciples and apostles receiving the blessing of Christ before the Ascension. At the same time, it is, in literal truth, the Gentile nations who have received Christ and who, through him, are gathered into the mystical body. In the period between the Communion and the Deo gratias, the congregation enters an eschatological world. It lives in a timeless present, sharing the fellowship of the apostles whose images decorate the nave and of the angels who bring the sacrifice to the throne of God.

The role-playing demanded of the congregation by Amalarius exemplifies what can only be called “sliding time.” This sort of time is familiar enough in Shakespeare and, in fact, is more common in drama than the strictly chronological time demanded by the ideal of the three unities. What is surprising is the dimension of the time encompassed. We allow Shakespeare to compress into three hours five years of history in Henry V and sixteen years in The Winter’s Tale, but the Mass is a truly cosmic drama, which begins with the Mosaic prophesies of Exodus and ends with a vision of the New Jerusalem. The same fluidity is evident in the “character” of Christ. Christ is represented at different points by the bishop, the celebrant (sacerdos), the Host, the cross, the altar, and even (at one point) the thurible. This fascinatingly Protean behavior is evident almost in spite of the efforts of Amalarius to maintain a fixed association between Christ and the celebrant. It illustrates the inadequacy of the vocabulary of allegorical interpretation and prefigures the lesser but still serious difficulties encountered by rationalistic critics of Elizabethan drama.

The Liber officialis is Amalarius’ most ambitious work, and Book III, devoted entirely to the Mass, is justly its most famous section. The long Praefatio altera or Prooemium, written after his trip to Rome in 832, makes it clear that Amalarius considered his commentary on the Mass to be his most important achievement. The parallel between the celebrant and Christ is first noted in the Praefatio: “Sacraments should have likeness to the things for which they are sacraments. Therefore the celebrant should be like Christ, just as the bread, wine and water are similar to the body

30 This idea is vividly realized in the “Allegory of the Mass” painted by Lucas Cranach the Elder. See also below, pp. 68–71.

31 The title of the work in the Patrologia is De ecclesiasticis officiis libri IV. I have followed Hanssens in preferring the title Liber officialis, which is evidently the one intended by Amalarius. Book III is found in PL, CV, 1101–64, and H, II, 255–399. Unless otherwise noted, the quotations follow Hanssens’ readings.
of Christ.” For clarity, the following account will be divided into the major phases of the Mass as Amalarius understood them.

1. Introit Ceremonies: From Introit to Lectio

The Introit ceremonies are extremely important. As described in the *Liber officialis*, they constitute a frame drama, eschatological in emphasis, which foreshadows the entire service. Amalarius assumes a full procession with bishop, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, and chorus. The bishop is the vicar of Christ. His entry “recalls the advent of Christ himself to memory” and his actions suggest “the office which Christ performed on earth when incarnate.” He dominates the service until his “seating” just before the Lectio. As he enters, the chorus antiphonally intones the Introit hymn. Because the hymn is derived from the Psalms, the chorus is at this point the prophets of the Old Testament who “with sweet and musical voice led the people to worship one God.” All stand gladly during this ceremony, testifying to their readiness to hear God’s call. Amalarius was particularly interested in church music, having written a treatise on the antiphonary, and consistently emphasizes the appeal of chants and hymns. Here, the music expresses the joy of God’s servants by its beauty, and the universality of His summons by its loudness. In terms of eschatological symbolism, the singing is “the glory of the Lord filling the House of the Lord.” Having heard the voice of His prophets, the bishop, personifying Christ, begins the procession. In this action he resembles Christ entering His chariot to descend to mankind. The chariot, on the basis of Augustine’s commentary on Psalm 67, is “the multitude of the saints and the faithful”


33 “Introitus episcopi ad missam, qui vicarius est Christi, ipsius adventum nobis ad memoriam reduct et populi adunationem ad eum. . . . Introitus episcopi celebratur usque ad sessionem suam; tangit enim ex parte officium quod Christus corporaliter gessit in terra, sive discipuli eius, usquequo ascendit ad sedem paternam" (*PL*, CV, 1108; H, II, 271–72). Amalarius does not discuss the use of Psalm 42, the prayers at the foot of the altar, or the censing of the altar. He does indicate that the bishop prays after his arrival, and the fact that the thurible is used in the Introit procession suggests that it may have been used for censing. Here, as elsewhere, Jungmann’s historical observations are helpful (*Mass*, I, 290–320).


35 *PL*, CV, 1109b; H, II, 273. The Psalm text was one “which taken as a unit (in the sense of the allegorizing psalm-exegesis of the period), could best fit the occasion” (Jungmann, *Mass*, I, 327).
who accompany Him—i.e., the clergy and (apparently) members of the congregation accompanying the bishop.\(^{36}\)

The order of the procession provides numerous opportunities for further exegesis. The deacons, subdeacons, and acolytes are "the prophets, the wise men, and the scribes," respectively.\(^{37}\) The thurible, which is carried first, is "the body of Christ" in the sense of the Crucifixion, which must be preached to all nations as the first order of salvation.\(^{38}\) Next come the acolytes carrying candles, and then the subdeacons. The candles symbolize learning and the subdeacons, wisdom. The candles come first because learning must enlighten wisdom. Behind them is the Gospel, carried by a deacon, and behind the Gospel, the bishop, who must meditate the life of Christ first and last, and who is pledged on the basis of Matt. 16:24 to "take up his cross, and follow me." There should be seven deacons (prophets) in the procession, and the bishop should be in their midst because he is the vicar of Christ.\(^{39}\) The fact that the deacons follow the subdeacons shows that prophecy should always be controlled by wisdom.

The arrival of the bishop at the altar identifies him with Christ incarnate. His bow (genuflection was infrequent in the ninth century) recalls that Christ "took upon him the form of a servant" and was "obedient unto death" (Phil. 2:7–8). The Roman Sacramentary used by Amalarius included prayers of preparation (the modern prayers at the foot of the altar), but Amalarius does not discuss them, and they were evidently not considered mandatory by the Gallican clergy.\(^{40}\) While still inclined, the bishop "gives the Pax"—the embrace symbolizing the Kiss of Peace—to the ministers on the right and left, for through Christ the Church, both of the Old and New Testaments, was reconciled to God.\(^{41}\) This is the first

\(^{36}\) PL, CV, 1109•; H, II, 274. For the Augustine reference, see Enarratio in psalmo LXVII, PL, XXXVI, 828–29.

\(^{37}\) PL, CV, 1109–10; H, II, 275–77. Amalarius speculates on the proper number of deacons. Seven are ideal, but five, three, or one are acceptable. If there are seven, the bishop represents the Gospels and the deacons, the Law, Prophets, and Psalms of the Old Testament and the Acts, the non-Pauline Epistles, the Pauline Epistles, and the Book of Revelation of the New. Amalarius does not mention carrying the cross at the head of the procession.

\(^{38}\) PL, CV, 1109–10•; H, II, 274–75.

\(^{39}\) PL, CV, 1110b; H, II, 275.

\(^{40}\) Preparatory prayers were said in the sanctuary. The bishop also prays and adores the sancta (see n. 20), but there are no set texts mentioned. In the ninth century the prayers were called apologiae. They assume a definite form, anticipating the modern one, in the tenth century (Jungmann, Mass, I, 291).

\(^{41}\) "In ipsa inclinatione dat pacem ministris qui a dextris levaque sunt. Ipse est enim pax per quam reconciliatur ecclesia Deo, sive de novo testamento, sive de veteri" (PL, CV, 1111•; H, II, 278). The kiss and the later kissing of Gospel and altar are included in the seventh-century Ordo Romanus I, n. 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 937–48; Andrieu (ed.), Ordines Romani, II, 83).
instance of positional symbolism, which is an important factor in the unfolding drama. The right side of the altar, the favored position, is associated by Amalarius with paradise, the elect, the Gentiles, and with safety. Conversely, the left side is associated with hell, the temporal world, the Hebrews, strife, and danger. The ninth-century practice of placing women on the right and men on the left was explained by the rationalization that women, being the weaker sex, should be protected. The movement of the Gospel from left to right for the reading was interpreted as symbolic that Christ preached first to the Jews and then, when rejected by them, was accepted by the Gentiles. Its return to the left at the end of the service foreshadows the conversion of the Jews.\footnote{42}

As the bishop extends the Pax Christi to the chorus, its role changes. It has felt the effects of the Lord's blessing and, accordingly, shifts from texts derived from the Old Testament to a praise of the Trinity, the Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritu Sancto. The deacons, who have been quietly praying with the bishop, now come forward two by two to kiss the altar. The kiss represents the peace brought by Christ, and the altar represents the hearts of the elect, an interpretation supported by a quotation from Gregory to the effect that "the tables of God are the hearts of the saints."\footnote{43} Now the bishop approaches the altar and kisses first it, and then the Gospel. The first kiss commemorates Christ's entry into Jerusalem and His love of the Jews. The second symbolizes His Word as received by the nations. The

\footnote{42} Interpretations vary, of course. The whole matter of positional symbolism is greatly complicated by three facts: (1) Early churches were not all oriented, and hence until the eleventh century commentators usually speak of the right and left side of the altar rather than the north and south, or the Gospel and Epistle sides. (2) Practice varied according to the architecture of the church, the position of the episcopal throne, and local custom. (3) When speaking of right and left, commentators usually take the clerical point of view (looking from the altar toward the congregation), and sometimes the congregation's point of view, so that accounts that are, in reality, descriptions of the same practice often seem to conflict. In the present discussion, the clerical point of view is consistently assumed because it is the one taken by Amalarius. For historical discussion, see Jungmann, Mass, I, 110, 411-19 (with diagrams). Whatever the difficulty for the modern reader, positional symbolism was a factor of major importance for all allegorists and for medieval church architects as well, a fact strikingly demonstrated by the first book of the Rationale divinorum officiorum by Durandus, Bishop of Mende. See Neale and Webb, The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments, pp. lxxiv-cv, and the translation of Durandus, pp. 1-151, passim; Sister Goode, Gonzalo de Berceo, pp. 76-78. The idea that the moving of the Gospel represents the transition of Christ from the Jews to the Gentiles is offered by Ivo of Chartres, Sicardus of Cremona, Hugh of St. Victor, Durandus, and Gonzalo himself.\footnote{43}

\footnote{43} PL, CV, 1112c; H, II, 280. The quotation ("Corda itaque sanctorum mensae Dei sunt") is from Gregory's Homiliae in Ezechiel, PL, LXXVI, 1047b. At the sicut erat the deacons raise their bowed heads, proceed to the altar, and stand facing the bishop. They are now the apostles who gave themselves to death to be united with Christ's body (Eclogae, PL, CV, 1318; H, III, 236).
Gospel is on the left of the altar and will remain there until read because "from the time of Christ's entry the Gospel resounded in Jerusalem." The movement of the bishop to the right side of the altar is, by positional symbolism, a movement toward paradise, hence, a re-enactment of the Resurrection. Meanwhile, the deacons stand between him and the congregation, three on the left and four on the right, representing the Old and New Testaments and also the readiness of the disciples to follow Christ even to death. The candles held by the acolytes act as a reminder to teach by deeds and not by words alone.

The tableau imagined by Amalarius is an emblem under which many features to be acted out more fully in the Canon and Communion are subsumed. Its effectiveness would be limited in a cathedral of the high Middle Ages. In an early basilica or Romanesque church, however, it would be striking. The congregation would have a clear view of the altar. No rood screen would obscure its view, since the cancelli of the ninth century was simply a low railing separating the choir from the central aisle. The altar itself would be small. In comparison to the Gothic altar with its enormous reredos, it would still resemble the "mensa" of the primitive church. Behind it might be the semicircle of seats that were used by the bishop and presbyters before it became general practice to move the altar into this space (presbyterium). The cross would be simple, lacking the now-familiar figure of Christ. Above the altar, on the dome of

There are thus three kisses in all. Each recalls Christ (the following text is found in PL, CV, 113; H, II, 282):

Vicarius Christi haec omnia agit in memoriam primi adventus Christi. Osculatur altare, ut ostendat adventum Christi fuisse Hierusalem; osculatur evangelium, in quo duo populi ad pacem redeunt. Osula vicarii Christi osculo Christi congruent. Sicut Christus primo osculum his praebuit qui primo crediderunt, sic episcopus ministris primis; et sicut Christus his se offerit ulter, quibus dicit: Missus sum ad oves quae perierant dominus Israel, sic se episcopus altari, per quod recolimus Hierusalem . . . ; et sicut Christus assavit sibi postea gentilium populum, qui reconciliatus est Deo in novo testamento, sic episcopus evangelium, quod est novum testamentum. . . . Remanet evangelium in altari ab initio officii, usque dum a ministro assumatur ad legendum, quia ab initio adventus Christi evangelica doctrina resonuit in Hierusalem.

For a sketch of the basilican arrangements, see Reichel, Solemn Mass, p. 49. Much more detailed comment, with numerous floor plans, may be found in Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method (New York, 1938), 211–33, 261–323. For comment from the liturgical point of view, see Jungmann, Mass, I, 68–71, 256–58.

Jungmann, Mass, I, 109–10, 257–58. Although the altar itself has retained approximately its original dimensions, in later churches it tends to become lost in the masses of decoration behind it. From the standpoint of the dramatic features of the liturgy, the less ornate altar obviously lends itself more fully to impressive representation. In the Gothic cathedral the enormous dimensions of the chancel and the altar decorations dwarf the human figures almost to the point of insignificance.
the apse, there would be an image of Christ the Good Shepherd, the Glorified Cross, or perhaps Christ (or the Lamb) triumphant. The echo of the image of Christ in the vestments and actions of the bishop would be evident.

The singing of the Kyrie eleison shifts the mood from expectant joy to sorrow over human unworthiness. Having rejoiced at the glad tidings of the Introit, chorus and congregation alike seek deliverance from the deceit of philosophy and fallacious doctrine.\(^\text{48}\) While the Kyrie is being chanted, the motif of humiliation is further developed by the placing of candles on the floor (\textit{in terram}) on either side of the altar, with one in the center to remind the congregation that in spite of good works we are "dust and ashes."\(^\text{49}\) Not more than seven candles are used because both Christ and the Holy Spirit are "septiform." When the bishop ascends his throne, all candles except the one in the center are arranged in a line to symbolize the unity of the Holy Spirit which manifests itself in endless good works.

At the Gloria in Excelsis there is an abrupt reversal of mood. The celebrant—evidently still the bishop—"sings in a loud voice looking to the east [i.e., toward the presbyterium with its \textit{sedes}, in an oriented church] . . . as though his proper \textit{sedes} were there, although we know it to be everywhere."\(^\text{50}\) The fusion of drama with setting—the throne of Christ with the \textit{sedes episcopi}—is striking. Equally striking is the imaginative feat which enables Amalarius to transcend the rather limited interpretation that he had offered in the \textit{Eclogae}. The Gloria is not only the song of the Nativity; it is at the same time the song of the angelic choir at the Ascension. The connection is based on the fact that the bishop, by his movement to the right of the altar, has become an image of Christ after the Resurrection. The text of the Gloria is thus related by its words to the birth of the Savior, and by its context, to the song of the angels receiving Christ into heaven. This double triumph is underscored by the abrupt emotional transition from the sadness of the Kyrie to the exultation of the Gloria. The fact that the chorus has for the moment assumed the role of the angels

\(^{48}\) \textit{PL}, CV, 1113–14; H, II, 283. A second (\textit{alio modo}) interpretation suggests that the priest must have God's mercy for three reasons: (1) to obtain calm understanding, (2) to be as worthy as possible to address God, (3) so that if he fails in any particular God will still accept his prayer. The prayer referred to is the \textit{oratio prima}, just before the \textit{Lectio}.

\(^{49}\) \textit{PL}, 1114\textsuperscript{c}; H, II, 285. The elaborate symbolism of candles cannot be examined in detail here. It is most evident in the "blessing of the new fire" and "paschal candle" ceremonies of the Easter vigil.

\(^{50}\) "\textit{Sacerdos quando dicit 'Gloria in excelsis Deo,' orientes partes solet respicere, in quibus ita solemus Dominum requirere, quasi ibi propria eius sedes sit, cum potius eum sciamus ubique esse}" (\textit{PL}, CV, 115\textsuperscript{b}; H, II, 286–87).
already hints that "under one Lord the earthly and the heavenly are united." Birth and death are one, and the words in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis look forward to the osculum pacis of the Communion.\footnote{51}

The Dominus vobiscum which follows is a transition to the first prayer, or collect. The bishop turns to the congregation with the form of salutation used by Boaz (Ruth 2:4) and Christ. The reply (II Tim. 4:22) is enthusiastically shouted in the manner of an acclamation by the entire congregation. It signifies the spiritual unity of the people with the bishop, which is an important point because the term "collect" refers to prayers by the priest representing or "collecting" the individual prayers of the people.\footnote{52} The bishop then turns back to the east to pray. His words recall the benediction given to the disciples by the risen Christ at the Ascension (Luke 24:50). The auditors must be careful to join the bishop in saying the Amen, for their response is a form of confirmation and participation.

The Introit ceremonies end with the "seating" of the bishop. In the ninth century this sometimes occurred to the accompaniment of shouts of triumph, known as laudes gallicanae, which were derived from the pagan custom for celebrating the enthroning of a ruler.\footnote{53} Whether punctuated by shouts of triumph or not, the "seating of the bishop" is a dramatic moment. In a basilican church the bishop moves to an elevated throne at

\footnote{51}``Dominus qui ubique est, secundum formam servi in Bethleem erat; quae Bethleem nostram ecclesiam signat, quae est domus panis. Angeli ad orientem cecinerunt. . . . Diximus superius transitum episcopi de altari in dexteram partem significare Christi transitum de passione ad aeternam vitam, ac ideo hoc in loco dicimus 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' cantandum, quoniam gloria ineffabilis in excelsis facta est, quando Christus transitu suo animas sanctorum copulavit consortio angelorum. . . . quando gloria resurrectionis eius cælebrata est, tunc in terra pax hominibus fuit. . . . Pax magna est, quando sub uno domino copulantur caelestia et terrena'' (PL, CV, 1115 e; H, II, 287). Compare Jungmann, Mass, I, 349–52, and for the ceremonial, p. 357. For the osculum pacis, see below, p. 74. Note the repetition of the association between the osculum pacis and (1) the Resurrection, and (2) corporate symbolism—here expressed in the phrase "copulantur caelestia et terrena."

\footnote{52}The participation of the congregation is not mentioned by Amalarius, but contemporary evidence indicates that it occurred. The tradition that it was shouted is also contemporary with Amalarius and was, in fact, characteristic of Gallican ritual (Jungmann, Mass, I, 365 and notes; for the collect, pp. 372–88).

\footnote{53}``After the oration, two (or six) knights stood forth, or, in their place an equal number of clerics; they began: Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. The choir repeated. Then the song became a declaration of fealty and homage . . . and then it became a plea to Christ, Exaudi Christe, and to a series of saints. . . . If the bishop who was named was present, the whole assembly arose, and the special singers who were chanting the acclamations mounted the steps of his throne, kissed his hand and received his blessing. The Laudes closed with a repetition of Christus vincit . . .'' (Jungmann, Mass, I, 389; also E. Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae [Berkeley, Calif., 1946]). The sense of drama is intensified by the fact that the Laudes are an ecclesiastical adaptation of the ancient ceremony for acclaiming a ruler when he ascended his throne.
the center of the rear wall of the apse, a location associated with paradise in the symbolism of church architecture. In later church architecture the episcopal throne is at the right of the altar, a location which, as has been noted, is also associated with paradise. Positional symbolism thus reinforces the previously established identification of the bishop with the risen Christ. The "seating of the bishop" becomes a vision of the Ascension: "Then Christ ascended to heaven, to sit on the right hand of the Father. The bishop, who is the vicar of Christ in all ceremonies previously mentioned, should here enthroned in our memory the Ascension and throne of Christ. Therefore he ascends his throne after the labor of his ministry has been completed."

Although the text is not entirely clear, Amalarius appears to have in mind the Roman Solemn Mass as celebrated in a basilican church with the episcopal throne placed in the apse. In the Eclogae de officio missae he states unambiguously that the bishop sits "facing the people and the presbyters with him." This position is hard to reconcile with the Romanesque plan, according to which the episcopal throne is on the right of the altar facing the opposite (southern) wall rather than the congregation. The point is significant because in a basilican church the image on the dome of the apse has a close visual relation to the posture and gestures of the bishop seated immediately below. Moreover, the relation is probably intended to persist throughout the remainder of the service. In a Solemn Mass involving many members of the clergy, the bishop is not necessarily the celebrant. When he is not the celebrant, he remains at his throne in the sanctuary, his presbyters on either side, until the final benediction. From this position he may engage in concelebration, or he may act simply as an especially prominent clerical participant.

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54 Above, n. 41.

55 "Dein Christus ascendit in caelum, ut sedeat ad dexteram Patris. Episcopus, quia vicarius est Christi, in omnibus memoratis superius debet et hic ad memoriam nobis intronizare Christi ascensionem et sedem. Quapropter ascendit in sedem post opus et laborem ministrii commissi" (PL, CV, 1117*; H, III, 290).

56 "Episcopus sedet versus ad populum, et presbyteri cum eo" (Eclogae, PL, CV, 1321*; H, III, 242).

57 Amalarius is not entirely clear on this point. His confusion seems to stem from the awkwardness of adapting a Roman Stational Mass to non-Roman conditions (see Jungmann, Mass, I, 75). Amalarius uses the word episcopus to refer both to "bishop" in the formal sense and also as a loose equivalent for presbyter and sacerdos. Generally, episcopus predominates in his discussion of the Introit ceremonies and presbyter or sacerdos in what follows. A distinction between episcopus and celebrant is thus suggested, which alternates with a recognition that episcopus and celebrant are often one and the same person. When Amalarius states that the episcopus "ascendit in sedem post opus et laborem ministerii commissi" (PL, CV, 1117; H, II, 290), he seems to be coupling
case, a remarkable eschatological effect is produced. Instead of being limited to a single plane, the action of the Mass moves forward on two visible planes or stages. The first is the presbyterium. It is the plane of eternity, from which the ascended Christ looks down on suffering humanity. The second is the altar. It is the plane or stage of history upon which, amid the mobs of Jerusalem and the sorrowing disciples, the incarnate Christ is crucified and dies. These two planes intersect at the moment of sacrifice in a manner which transcends the normal limits of allegory. The interpretation devised by Alamarius fuses setting, characters, and action into a visible expression of the unseen realities of the Mass. The remainder of the Mass is focused on the sacrifice, but the sacrifice is firmly held *sub specie aeternitatis* by the symbolic drama extending from Introit to Gloria. Christ emerges from the timeless, dies, and ascends in the figure of the bishop. He re-emerges in the figure of the celebrant. At the end of the Mass, when the bishop rises to give his blessing, the celebrant is again enfolded in the world beyond time. In this interpretation we are close to the great abstractions of Byzantine art, and far indeed from the heavy emphasis on the Crucifixion that characterizes both the art and the Mass of the high Middle Ages.

rememorative allegory of the Ascension with the literal fact that after the Introit ceremonies the "labor" of the ministry of the *episcopus* is completed. Jungmann states that the emphatic transition in the early Mass between Introit ceremonies and readings resulted in "an abuse which the Roman Council of 743 had to denounce, namely, that many bishops and priests conducted only the procession and said the oration and left the rest of the Mass to another" (*Mass*, I, 388). Such a practice would be an abuse in a private Mass, but not in a Solemn Mass of the type used by Amalarius. In such a Mass, the presence of many *presbyteri* and (often) more than one *episcopus* makes it impossible for all to act as celebrants, although all may recite certain prayers of the Canon (concelebration). Those who did not "celebrate" heard the service from the presbyterium of the basilican church and the *sedes* in the chancel of later churches. The *episcopus* remained at his throne when he did not act as celebrant. Amalarius observes (*PL*, CV, 1117; H, II, 291) that while some of the clergy are seated, others (presumably, the celebrant and his assistants, for whom the basilican church provides no seats if the presbyterium is filled) remain standing. The standing clergy represent the Church Militant (*in certamine posita*). The *episcopus* and his group represent the *membra Christi in pace quiescentia*. The *episcopus* is also compared to the Lord watching over His City from His throne in heaven, an interpretation confirmed by the Greek etymology of *episcopus* ("overseer"). Further evidence that Amalarius differentiates between the *episcopus* of the Introit and the celebrant comes from his description of the distribution of Communion. The deacon is specifically instructed to bring the consecrated bread to the *episcopus* (or pontifex) at his throne. Since the celebrant would normally be at the altar, it is likely that *episcopus* and celebrant are, at this point, at least, two different persons. On the other hand, in the pontifical Mass of the seventh century, the *pontifex* conducted the service from his throne (Jungmann, *Mass*, I, 72; also below, p. 74 and n. 116).
2. From *Lectio* to Gospel

The major action of the sacred drama begins with the *Lectio* (Epistle). The selections from *Lectio* to Gospel are interpreted by Amalarius as an ascending series, culminating in the Gospel. Much of the ceremonial which fascinated later allegorists—the kisses, the genuflections, the crosses, and the procession to the Gospel ambo—are treated summarily by Amalarius. Nor does he place much stress here on positional symbolism, perhaps because the distinction between the "Gospel side" and the "Epistle side" of the altar did not become conventional until the high Middle Ages. Conversely, the mode of presentation of the *Lectio* is an essential clue to its significance. It is read (not chanted) by a subdeacon from either an Epistle ambo or a step on the Gospel ambo below that used for the Gospel. During the reading and until the Gospel is announced, the congregation remains seated. The *Lectio* is followed by chanted texts. First the gradual (responsory), and then the Alleluia or (on sorrowful occasions, of which Lent is the most important) the tract, which derives its name either from the fact that it is sung straight through (*tractim*) or because it has a simple melody in contrast to the Alleluia. The texts are clearly sequential, suggesting either increasing joy (gradual, Alleluia) or increasing gravity (gradual, tract). By the eighth century at the latest, the joyous connotations of the Alleluia were being indicated by melodic amplifications (melisma, jubilus) of constantly increasing length and complexity. By the ninth century the ascending or descending group of intermediate pieces was supplemented by a sequence (*sequentia*) that was usually related to the text of the Gospel for the day and a lyrical expression of the emotions appropriate to it. The reading of the Gospel is the climax of the series. Its importance is underscored by the blessing which the celebrant extends to the deacon before he leaves the altar, by the procession with thurible and candles from altar to ambo, by the melodic decorations of the reading itself, and by the fact that the congregation always stands when the reading is announced.

The allegory of this phase of the Mass is chiefly rememorative. Although the interpretations in the *Liber officialis* at times seem strained, they are less so than those of the *Eclogae de officio missae*, where the *Lectio* is regarded as the teachings of the youthful Christ in the Temple and the intermediate chants as the *benevolentia* of the apostles. The *Lectio* is primarily didactic

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and hence associated with the law of the Old Testament. The subdeacon who reads must remove his casula (chasuble) in token of his labors for Christ. He is to treat his auditors "like neophytes in the school of the Lord." Amalarius seems to have some sense here of the historical purpose of the Lectio as instruction for the catechumens. Since its function is teaching and since Old Testament readings are frequently used, the subdeacon is easily identified with the teachers of the Old Testament, especially Moses: "Thus the infancy of a devout man is instructed by the elements of the Old Testament so that he may arrive at the plenitude of the Gospel."

The variations possible in the intermediate chants greatly complicate interpretation, but a few points are sufficiently independent of the proper of the Mass to be mentioned. The change from reading to chant is itself an indication of the rising pitch of excitement. The fact that the Gospel is sung leads Amalarius to associate the intermediate texts with it, rather than with the Lectio. If the Lectio is related to Moses and the other patriarchs, the intermediate texts must be related to the New Testament. Since the intermediate texts "lead to" the Gospel, they are preparatory, a notion which justifies associating them with the preparations and prophecies immediately preceding the appearance of Christ. By this admittedly devious reasoning, the intermediate texts are interpreted as the prophecies of John the Baptist. Whatever the merits of the identification, it was popular among later allegorists. The stress which it places on the anticipatory nature of the intermediate texts is, moreover, appropriate because as part of the proper of the Mass they were originally selected for their relevance to the liturgical occasion being commemorated. Perhaps the figure of the cantor, his hands extended over the congregation in the manner of a prophet, merged easily in the ninth-century mind with the figure of John crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord."

60 "Lector legem Domini debet tradere auditoribus, quasi incipientibus in scola Domini exerceri. . . . Doctor et lector unum sunt" (PL, CV, 1118b; H, II, 294). The readings parallel readings from the Law and the Prophets of the synagogue; hence their association with the Old Testament rests on historical as well as allegorical grounds. In the Christian service the first reading consisted usually of a passage from the Law or the Prophets and a passage from the Acts or Epistles, hence the term Epistle applied (incorrectly) to the first reading as a unit. Gradually, the Epistle increased and the Old Testament selection diminished in importance, so that today on most Sundays the passage from the Acts or Epistles is the only one read (see Jungmann, Mass, I, 395–97). Clearly, Amalarius has in mind the older tradition.

61 "Sic elementis veteris testamenti, ut ad evangelicam plenitudinem veniat, sancti vero eruditur infantia. Elementa lex Moysi et omne vetus instrumentum intellegendum est, quibus, quasi elementis et religionis exordiis, Deum discimus" (PL, CV, 1119a; H, II, 294–95).
It seems more likely, however, that the inadequacy of Amalarius' vocabulary has on this occasion led him astray. Recognizing the anticipatory nature of the Lectio and intermediate texts, he is forced by his method to relate them to Old and New Testament "preparations" for Christ's advent. The insight is valid, but the allegory is less closely related here than elsewhere to the texts and rubrics. 62

With the ceremonies and prayers associated with the Gospel reading, the allegory once again becomes germane. The figure of the deacon, standing in full vestments in the tribunal, the "seat of magistrates" and the highest part of the ambo, merges easily with that of the Evangelist whose text he reads. The rising of the people renews their role in the drama. The reading begins with a procession from the left side of the altar to the Gospel ambo on the right. The thurible, the body of Christ "full of sweet odor," is filled by the celebrant, now identified with the living Christ whose deeds the Evangelist is to witness. The celebrant blesses the deacon with the familiar Dominus sit in corde tuo. The words give direct expression to the symbolism of inspiration—of Christ fixing himself "in the heart" of the reader—and their sense is reduplicated in the cross which the celebrant makes over the head of the deacon. The deacon removes the Gospel from the altar, identified by positional symbolism with Jerusalem, and carries it on his left arm, which represents "temporal life, in which the Gospel must be preached." 63 The congregation, now in the role of those who witnessed Christ's life and teaching, faces the deacon and, following the Gospel pericope, exclaims Gloria tibi, Domine. 64 When the reading begins, the congregation turns to the east, making the sign of the cross, for "what the celebrant fixed in the heart of the deacon by his prayer, each of the faithful should strive to fix in his own soul." 65 The prayers and crossings unite celebrant, reader, and congregation, again presenting a sharp con-

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62 This criticism does not take into account the possible emotional effect of the singing, to which Amalarius customarily ascribes great significance. Later interpretations regularly equate the Epistle (not the intervening chants, as in Amalarius) with the teachings of John the Baptist (Sicardus of Cremona, Hugh of St. Victor), as Amalarius had done in the Eclogae, or with the teaching of the apostles (Gonzalo de Berceo). This line of thinking made it necessary, for reasons of consistency, to interpret the intervening chants as the teaching of the youthful Christ. The interpretation in the Liber officialis seems preferable.

63 "Portat evangelium in sinistro brachio, per quod significatur temporalis vita, ubi necessa est praedicare evangelium" (PL, CV, 1125; H, II, 309).

64 PL, CV, 11254–26; H, II, 309. In the Eclogae (PL, CV, 1323; H, III, 247–48) the detail of the extinguishing of the candles after the Gospel is interpreted as a symbol that no learning (candles as symbols of wisdom) can surpass the Word of God.

65 "Quod infixit sacerdos per suam deprecationem in corde diaconi, hoc unusquisque fidelis studeat infigere animo suo" (PL, CV, 11254; H, II, 309).
the Mass of the high Middle Ages. After the reading, the Gospel is returned to its place on the altar, and the tapers, here associated with the law and the prophets, are extinguished because the law and the prophets ceased with the ministry of Christ. Amalarius ends his discussion of the Gospel with the remark that the office as a whole "reveals the preaching of Christ up to the time of the Passion, and that of His preachers to the end of the world and beyond. The following offices reveal His Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension; and, likewise, the sacrifice or mortification and resurrection of His followers." 66

3. From Offertory to Canon

The Offertory marks the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. The catechumens have left, heightening the sense of unity of those who remain. The celebrant is increasingly isolated in the service from this point on. Consequently, he stands out more clearly as a dramatic figure, a focus of attention for clergy and congregation alike. Typological symbolism, according to which the altar is the sanctum sanctorum of the Temple and the oblation a Christian fulfillment of the holocaust offered by the High Priest on the Day of Atonement, intensifies the sense of the church as cosmic stage. The ninth-century Offertory, during which the people bring candles, oblation loaves, and wine to the deacon or celebrant, links them to the ceremony as participants rather than as passive witnesses. 67 The symbolism of the preparation of the bread and wine also emphasizes the idea of participation. The physical objects associated with the sacrifice—particularly the sindon (corporal), the sudarium (pall), thethurible, and the chalice—become components of the drama as their symbolic meanings are gradually revealed. The deployment of the celebrant, the deacons, and the subdeacons around the altar—one might almost speak of the choreography of the Mass—is profoundly symbolic and is repeatedly associated by Amalarius with the events of Holy Week. Finally, the Sanctorus that introduces the Canon is both an emotional outburst praising Christ (Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini) and an explicit echo of an appropriate New Testament text. It is the key to the interpretation of this phase of the Mass. Since it comes from the Gospel accounts of Palm Sunday

66 "Praecedens officium praedicationem Christi usque ad oram passionis demonstrat, et suorum praedicatorum usque in finem mundi, et ultra. Sequens opus passionis Christi et resurrectionis atque ascensionis in caelos, similiter suorum vel sacrificium vel mortificationem, et resurrectionem per confessionem, atque suspirium in caelum" (PL, CV, 1126 ; H, II, 311).

67 For the ninth-century Offertory ceremonies, see Reichel, Solemn Mass, pp. 11–30; Jungmann, Mass, II, 4–17.
(Matt. 21:9; Mark 11:9), the Offertory becomes for Amalarius the joyful cries of the Hebrews welcoming Christ into Jerusalem during the period from Palm Sunday to Maundy Thursday.

Amalarius begins with an explanation of the way in which the Hebrew service was an adumbration of Christian sacrifice. The Temple foreshadows the Christian ecclesia; the tabernacle, the sanctuary; the High Priest, the *sacerdos*; the two altars of the old law, the double sacrifice of good works and of mortification of the new; the holocaust, the oblation; and so forth. Although typological symbolism seems remote from the effect of the Mass today, it cannot be discounted. In allegorical interpretations of the high Middle Ages it is stressed even more heavily than in Amalarius, an indication of its perennial appeal to the medieval mind.

For Amalarius, however, it is a secondary element, whose chief interest lies in the fact that it links time past with time present: “All previous sacrifices prefigured Him, and all sacrifice is consummated in Him.”

Moving backward from the *Benedictus qui venit* of the Sanctus, Amalarius interprets the *Dominus vobiscum* which begins the Offertory as the greeting of Christ to the “great multitude” that met him as he “descended” from the Mount of Olives (Luke 19:29–38). Since the celebrant has already been identified with Christ, the salutation and response place the congregation in the role of the Hebrews. The *Oremus* immediately following the salutation has long been recognized as an anachronism because no prayer is prescribed. Amalarius is not disturbed by it. Evidently private prayers or meditations were possible here during the ninth century. To Amalarius the *Oremus* represents Christ calming the overflowing joy of the Hebrew crowds: “by prayer the heart is made calm to prepare it for recognizing the Lord.” The Offertory hymn comes next. In the ninth century it was

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69 See Goode, *Gonzalo de Berceo*, pp. 30–64, for comment and extensive documentation.

70 “Omnis retro immolatio illum praefigurabat; in illo consummata est omnis immolatio” (*PL*, CV, 1128*; H, II, 314).

71 In Eastern and early Western liturgies, the *Oremus* was followed by general prayers. By “retrogressive evolution” these were abandoned in the West, leaving the vestigial injunction without the means of carrying it out (Jungmann, *Mass*, I, 483–84). Amalarius’ opinion is given as a commonplace observation in the *Praefatio altera* (*PL*, CV, 990*; H, II, 16): “Post salutationem sacerdotis, evangelio lecto, quando sacerdos dicit: ‘Oremus,’ et dein transit ad accipiendas oblationes, congruenter potest multitudo populi pro propriis conscientiis intercedere, ante quam transeat ad gratias agendas in praefatione. . . .” T. F. Simmons (*The Lay Folks Mass Book* [London: E.E.T.S., 1879], p. xxiii) suggests that the saying of private prayers here persisted in the thirteenth century.

72 “Oratione enim serenatur cor ad cognoscendum Dominum” (*PL*, CV, 1128*; H, II, 315).
a lengthy affair similar to the Introit in form and composed of an antiphon and psalm verses. During the singing those who wish to receive Communion present their offerings to the deacon (or, alternately, the sacerdos), who then selects the loaves and wine to be consecrated. The dramatic quality of the Offertory procession is obvious. At the very least it reaffirms the importance of the role of the congregation in the unfolding drama. To Amalarius the song and procession continue the motif of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. As long as the multitude praised him, Christ received its worship; and as long as the Offertory is sung, the celebrant will receive the physical symbols of the devotion of the people.

The return of the celebrant to the altar represents Christ's visit to the Temple, "in which there was an altar, and there he presented himself to himself and to God the Father as a future sacrifice." Typological symbolism—the association of the altar with Jerusalem (see above, p. 50) and, in particular, with the Temple—reinforces the rememorative allegory. The Secreta, which Amalarius mentions next although this disturbs the normal sequence of events in the service, is a continuation of the visit to the Temple. The figure of the quietly praying celebrant fuses with the figure of Christ meditating on the sad events shortly to occur, which are still unknown to the people. Here, says Amalarius, the offering is called hostia vel sacrificium for the first time. If the words of the Secreta were well known (perhaps they were said audibly), its petition that the people be sealed to eternity through the paschal mysteries would seem an appropriate, even beautiful, equivalent to the prayers of Christ in the Temple.

Turning from the text of the Mass to the ceremony itself, Amalarius examines those acts which are performed during the Offertory procession. The sindon (corporal) is placed on the altar. It is a white linen cloth, here symbolizing purity of mind. The Communion loaves and wine are the

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73 Amalarius refers to "sacerdos ... sive diaconus" (PL, 1128d; H, II, 315), although the deacon normally collected the offerings (Reichel, Solemn Mass, p. 16). Reichel and Simmons (Lay Folks Mass Book, pp. 234–35) agree that the clergy often performed the office. In any case a procession was necessary. The dramatic nature of the Offertory hymn is evident from a twelfth-century text from Limoges, in which the Offertory hymn has become a little play on the visit of the Magi (Young, DMC, II, 32–37).

74 "Christus enim, post accepta vota cantantium, Hierusalem et templum Domini intravit, in quo erat altare, ibique se praesentavit sibi Deoque Patri ad immolationem futuram" (PL, CV, 1128d; H, II, 315).

75 "In hac [secreta] primo nominatur hostia sive sacrificium, oblatio" (PL, CV, 1132d; H, II, 323). Obviously, the prayers currently used (Suscipe, sancte pater, etc.) were not employed by Amalarius.

76 Secreta originally meant "in a low voice": "Secreta ideo nominatur, quia secreto dicitur" (PL, CV, 1132d; H, II, 323) therefore means that the prayer is to be said softly, not necessarily "in secret" or "silently" (see Jungmann, Mass, II, 90–91; Fortescue, The Mass, p. 312).
visible signs of the “invisible sacrifice” of the hearts and souls of the people. As the offerings are received, they are placed on the altar by the deacon in commemoration of the “seven first deacons.” The washing of hands (Lavabo inter innocentes) is, morally, a cleansing of the soul and is, in terms of rememorative symbolism, the tears wept by Christ for man before the Crucifixion. The theme of the unity of congregation and clergy is reinforced by the mixing of the wine with water performed by the deacon. Quoting Cyprian, Amalarius observes that “when water is mixed with wine in the chalice, the people are united with Christ, and the believers are joined and mingled with him whom they worship... if anyone offered wine only, the blood of Christ would be without us; and if water only were offered, the people would begin to be without Christ.” The eschatological concept of the incorporation of all Christians within the mystical body of Christ is prominent here in contrast to the more affecting, but perhaps narrower, emphasis of later times on the Crucifixion. It is repeated in reference to the Communion loaf in the idea that the individual grains of flour, representing the people, are united by the water of the Holy Spirit: “Thus in Christ, who is the celestial bread, we know that there is one body to which our number is joined and united.” Because the water used for the mingling was traditionally offered by the cantors, the mingling also suggests the unity of all “estates” in worship: “As wine and water are united in the chalice, so the people and the cantors in the body of Christ.”

Following the mingling, the deacon places the chalice on the altar and the sudarium on the right. The sudarium will cover any uncleanness, permitting the celebrant to say the Secreta without being distracted by concern for the safety of the offering. Amalarius says that the celebrant now “prays for the remission of his own sins, that he may be

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77 PL, CV, 1130*; H, II, 318.
78 “Quando autem in calice vino aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur, et credentium plebs et in quem credidit, copulatur et iungitur. Unde ecclesiam, id est plebem in ecclesia constitutam... nulla res separare poterit a Christo. Nam, si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis, si vero aqua sit sola, plebes incipit esse sine Christo” (PL, CV, 1131*; H, II, 319-20). The quotation is from Ad Caecilium de sacramento dominici calicis (PL, IV, 384*). Compare the following (quoted by Reichel, Solemn Mass, pp. 12-13), from Cyprian's seventy-fifth epistle: “When the Lord calls bread combined out of many grains His body, He indicates our people whom He bore as being united; and when He calls the wine which is pressed from many grapes and clusters collected together His Blood, He also signifies our flock linked together by the mingling of a united multitude.”

79 “Sic in Christo, qui est panis caelestis, unum scimus esse corpus, cui coniunctus sit noster numerus et adunatus” (PL, 1131b; H, II, 320).
80 “Omnis populus, intrans ecclesiam, debet sacrificium Deo offere... Populus offert vinum, cantores aquam. Sicut vinum et aqua unum fiunt in calice, sic populus et cantores in corpore Christi” (PL, CV, 1131*; H, II, 320).
worthy to come to the altar to touch the oblation." Evidently the ninth-century service employed a confessional text here, rather than the familiar *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas* of today's Mass, which was not generally used until the sixteenth century. Next come the *Orate fratres* and the *Secreta*.

Structurally there is a major transition between the *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* that ends the Secret, and the Preface. Amalarius recognizes this division but does not stress it. Rememorative allegory takes precedence over the formal division between Offertory and Canon. The celebrant's command *Sursum corda* is a call for alertness against the wiles of the "adversary" and also an injunction that the congregation "lift up its heart" with the celebrant as he prepares to enter the Holy of Holies for the coming sacrifice. The turning of the celebrant toward the oblation on the altar suggests a parallel between the ceremonial and the Last Supper as described by Matthew (26:20-29). The altar is now "the table of the Lord at which he feasted with His followers." The corporal is the "towel in which he girded himself" to wipe the feet of the apostles (John 13:4), and the sudarium, which from this point on is consistently a symbol of labor or suffering, is His sorrow for Judas, the traitor. The response of the auditors to the *Sursum corda* (*Habemus ad Dominum*) indicates that they, too, have "ascended to the banquet." Their participation, either by direct response or vicariously, through the chorus, is again confirmed by their endorsement of the celebrant's *Gratias agamus*.

Further discussion of the Preface once more involves Amalarius in eschatology. The prayer *Vere dignum* is, he believes, the moment of an "angelic sacrifice" commemorated in the celebrant's reference to *angelis et archangelis* who join the participants in singing hymns of glory to Christ. Their voices rise like incense to God. Apart from the notion of an angelic sacrifice, the idea that angels and archangels, thrones and domin-

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81 "Cantantibus adhuc cantoribus, vadit sacerdos ad altare, et orat. Quod ceteros praemonuit facere, agit. Orat pro suis propriis delictis remissionem, ut dignus sit accedere ad altare . . ." (*PL*, CV, 1130*; H, II, 318). See n. 75. Amalarius mentions that the *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* is said in a loud voice to end the *Secreta* in chap. xix (*PL*, CV, 1128*; H, II, 313-14).


83 *PL*, CV, 1128*; H, II, 313.

84 *PL*, CV, 1133b; H, II, 324-25.

ions, and soldiers of the celestial army share in the celebration of the Mass is so clearly suggested by the text that it should be considered a gloss rather than an interpretation. But it leads directly to a striking interpretive comment. According to Amalarius, the Sanctus is more than a simple expression of praise in response to the Preface. It contains "two orders of voices," an observation which suggests that it may have been sung by two semichoruses. The first "order" extends to Hosanna in excelsis. It is the voice of the angels and archangels, who, having been invoked, now literally join the service. The invisible world impinges directly on the visible. By the same token, the Benedictus qui venit, which is a direct quotation of Matthew's description (21:9) of the reception of Jesus in Jerusalem, identifies the chorus (and, vicariously, the congregation) with the Hebrews.86

Meanwhile, the region of the altar itself is evolving toward a stage for the events of the Passion and Resurrection. The deacons and subdeacons are arranged around the celebrant in imitation of the words spoken to the apostles at the Last Supper: "He that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve" (Luke 22:26). The subdeacons, the "least" of the servers, are in an especially prominent position at the altar. They stand before (in facie) the celebrant, while the deacons, the "greater," stand behind him.87 There is dramatic significance in this arrangement, according to Amalarius. The subdeacons represent the faithful disciples and in particular "the women who persevered during the Passion of our Lord," whereas the deacons represent the apostles who fled in terror after Christ was betrayed. "The women, it is recorded, not only did not fear or take flight, but persevered even at the sepulcher."88

4. Consecration: From Te igitur to Unde et memores

During the high Middle Ages the Consecration and the elevation immediately following it formed the climax of the Mass. The rubrics instructing the celebrant to imitate the actions of Christ during the recital of the Qui pridie made the dramatic character of the mysterium and the identification of the celebrant with Christ supremely evident. The elevation, which unites the role of the celebrant with the symbolism of the Sacrament as corpus Christi, provided a focus for the emotions of the medieval congregation. During the elevation, the body of the Savior was

86 PL, CV, 1134b-d; H, II, 326-27.
87 PL, CV, 1134d; H, II, 327.
88 "Mulieres autem non solum non timuisse, neque fugisse, sed etiam usque ad sepulchrum stetisse, memorantur" (PL, CV, 1135a; H, II, 328).
visibly suspended on the cross. By the beginning of the twelfth century, the Mass bell was being used to announce the elevation to those who could not follow the service or were too far away from the altar to witness it. Often, in defiance of regulations to the contrary, the elevation was performed several times to meet popular demand, and reports are common of lay Christians attending more than one service on the same day for the explicit purpose of seeing several elevations. Lending still further drama to the moment, the celebrant stood with arms extended after the elevation. In the words of Bishop Durandus, "The celebrant therefore, representing this [crucifixion] while speaking of the blessed Passion, extends his hands in the manner of a cross, to represent the extension of the body and hands of Christ on the Cross."  

The importance of these events to Catholics of the high Middle Ages and early Renaissance was so great that the existence of an earlier and quite different attitude is often forgotten. Amalarius recognizes that the Consecration reproduces the events of the Crucifixion, but for him they do not form the climax of the service. He says nothing of the representation Christi during the Qui pridie, nor does he mention the extensio manuum. There is one comment which may refer to an elevation at the time of the Consecration, but if it does, no importance is attached to the ceremony. Amalarius is interested in a later elevation—the little elevation of today's Mass—during which the celebrant does not represent Christ at all. One reason for this approach is the difference in details between the ninth-century and the contemporary Mass. A more important one, however, is that the emphasis of the ninth-century Mass is eschatological. It is not the Crucifixion but the Resurrection which continually occupies Amalarius' thoughts.  

Amalarius begins with ceremonial. At the Te igitur the deacons bow their heads. They will retain this position until the words libera nos a malo of the Lord's Prayer, which introduces the Communion. As during the Sanctus, they are the apostles who were "beset with great tribulation" during the Passion but "did not dare to rise and confess themselves 

89 For the history of the elevation, which took its present form around 1200, see Jungmann, Mass, II, 206–17. This ceremony evidently provided the impetus that led eventually to the establishment of the feast of Corpus Christi. For abuses of the elevation, see ibid., I, 119–21.

90 "Sacerdos igitur hoc repraesentans, dicendo tam beatae passionis, manus in modum crucis extendit, ut habitu corporis manuumque Christi extensionem in cruce repraesentet" (Rationale, IV, xliii, 3). The practice of forming a cross with the arms outstretched is not in the early Roman Ordines but is specified in the rubrics of the Ambrosian rite and was extremely popular in the northern countries (see Simmons, Lay Folks Mass Book, pp. 288–90).
Christ’s followers.” The subdeacons, who stand facing the altar and (beyond the altar) the celebrant and the people, are the disciples and holy women who remained with Christ during the Passion. The identification of the subdeacons with the women who attended Christ is the more important of the two suggestions, and Amalarius refers to it continuously as the commentary proceeds. The secret tone of the prayers of consecration (i.e., in a low voice, but not necessarily silent) is in accord with Christ’s injunction in the Sermon on the Mount: “But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet . . . pray to thy Father in secret” (Matt. 4:6). It also suggests the isolation of Christ during the Passion.

There are three prayers in the *Te igitur* sequence. The first (*Te igitur*) is for the Church Universal. The second (*Memento, Domine*) is for particular individuals. The third (*Communicantes*) is for the communicants and celebrants. These prayers, Amalarius believes, echo the three prayers of Christ in the garden of the Mount of Olives before his betrayal. The interpretation, which seems awkward, depends on medieval Biblical exegesis. From the point of view of the congregation, the content of the prayers is secondary to the visual parallel between Christ praying in the garden and the celebrant praying at the altar, with the deacons (the apostles) standing behind him, their bowed heads suggesting sleep. A curious and, in the opinion of the Synod of Quiercy, unauthorized doctrinal element is introduced by the suggestion that the *Te igitur* sequence is a “sacrifice of the elect.” This sequence is followed by the *Hane igitur*. God is petitioned to accept the prayers and devotion of the faithful, and the uncertainties of temporal life are contrasted to the peace of heaven. The unity of congregation and celebrant is evident in both the text (*cunctae Jamiliae tuae*) and the commentary. The end of the prayer parallels Christ’s command to the apostles: “Rise, let us be going: behold, he is at hand that doth betray me” (Matt. 24:46). Appropriately, the sudarium recalls the drops of blood shed by Christ in His agony (Luke 22:44), and the sindon, His humility.

1 “Ipsi stant inclinati, donec liberentur a malo. Hi enim sunt apostoli, qui magna tribulatione erant oppressi; ante quam audirent Domini resurrectionem, non se audebant erigere, ut confiterentur esse Christi discipulos” (*PL*, CV, 1136b; H, II, 330).

2 “Primo vice Christi sacerdos tres orationes exercet, sicut Dominus fecit, postquam exivit in montem Olivetit ante traditionem suam, id est pro universali ecclesia, et pro specialibus fratribus, et pro coro sacerdotum” (*PL*, CV, 1137a; H, II, 333). Amalarius cites Jerome’s commentary on Matthew (*PL*, XXVI, 199h–s). His interpretation seems based on the idea that Christ prayed (1) for the Jews, (2) for the Gentiles, (3) for the apostles. These prayers are paralleled by the Mass prayers for (1) the Church—the “chosen people”; (2) the “special brothers,” who are not necessarily of the clergy; and (3) the saints, the true “followers of Christ.” The sense, however, is obscure. In the triple blessing of the oblation (*haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia*) Amalarius finds a parallel to the “triple sacrifice” demanded by the prophet Micah (*Mic. 6:8*).

3 *PL*, CV, 1139d–40a; H, II, 337. For the controversy over this, see Cabaniss, *Amalarius*, pp. 61, 89.
The angelic sacrifice (Sanctus) and the sacrifice of the elect *(Te igitur)* having been accomplished, the "general sacrifice; that is, the sacrifice of Christ" is now performed. Amalarius includes the *Quam oblationem* with the prayers of the *Qui pridie* rather than those of the *Te igitur*, as is usually done today. It is a preface during which "the celebrant receives the bread in his hands after the example of Christ." Amalarius does not offer an explanation of the series of crosses made between the *Te igitur* and the Consecration, although these fascinated later writers and he himself analyzed the ceremonial in detail in the *Eclogae*. Here he merely observes that if the celebrant is to imitate Christ, he should either refrain from making the cross (Christ did not use the cross at the Last Supper because he was not yet crucified) or should make one or two crosses because Christ was crucified once, for two peoples. The words *Haec ... in mei memoriam facietis* "touch on the whole service of the Mass" and hence are a justification of rememorative allegory. The sindon again suggests the towel in which the Lord bound himself and the sudarium, the labor of washing the apostles' feet.

Modern commentaries treat the *Unde et memores* as the response of faith to Christ's command, "Do these things in remembrance of me." The rememorative element is obvious in the text, which appears fully to support the allegory. Amalarius considers the prayer the celebrant's confirmation that Christ is now present in the memory as truly as he is in the consecrated elements. God, he believes, demands a sacrifice "of the heart" as well as the visible sacrifice of the oblation. The comment provides a clue to the deeper significance of the allegorical method. As it indicates, there are two concurrently developing patterns in the Mass. The first is the ritual, which, in spite of its highly stylized form, is a true and visible sequence of actions and texts. The ritual is timeless. It always occurs in the present and its central features are unchanging. It is not a representation but a re-creation. It is linked indissolubly with a second order of events which occurred in chronological time and which must therefore be re-created in the present by meditation—by an effort of the memory heightened through contact with ritual. The two elements cannot

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94 *PL*, CV, 11394; H, II, 337.
97 "Hic concrepant verba dominicae mensae cum tote officio missae" (*PL*, CV, 11414; H, II, 339). There is possibly an elevation here: "Canitur hic: *Accipiens panem... quando suscipit oblatam in secreta missae, aut quando hic eam elevat.*" If so, it is the extremely restrained elevation which preceeded the moment of Consecration before the thirteenth century (Jungmann, *Mass*, II, 206). On the other hand, Amalarius is probably referring to the elevation at the Pater Noster. See below, p. 70.
be separated. The ritual is not “pure” ritual (if such a thing can exist) but has explicitly rememorative parts, while the memory of the historical drama is colored and idealized in terms of the images furnished by ritual. As the tradition of the Mass of St. Gregory indicates, during moments of climactic intensity the vision in the memory can become indistinguishable from the reality of the ritual. Christ is literally present in the consecrated bread and wine, and, at the same time, His image burns in the consciousness of the participant. Is Dürer’s woodcut an image of truth, a record of an hallucination, or a piece of late medieval didacticism? The question is irrelevant. It is asked from the point of view of the detached observer, and the detached observer is, by definition—by the very fact of his detachment—in incapable of the experience against which the validity of the answer must be tested. To criticize the allegory or to explain it on grounds alien to Catholic faith is to eliminate all possibility of understanding the Mass as a cultural and historical institution. It is also, incidentally, to eliminate the possibility of understanding the relation of the Mass to liturgical drama.

Christ, says Amalarius, is now on the Cross. The *Supplices te rogamus* is the celebrant’s echo of Christ’s prayer: “Into thy hands I commend my spirit”: “The celebrant bows, and he commends that to God the Father which is sacrificed in place of Christ.”\(^98\) The altar is the altar of the Cross. On it “we sinners” are reconciled to God. The sindon recalls the humility of Christ when commanded by God to die, and the sudarium, the suffering of the Passion.\(^99\) The subdeacons, previously identified with the disciples and holy women, stand with bowed heads in token of their sorrow over Christ’s suffering. Unlike the deacons, they do not remain bowed until the *libera nos a malo*. They raise their heads following the *Supplices te rogamus*, for after Christ’s death, “knowing that His persecutors had no further way of venting their wrath on His body . . . they were in a sense consoled and drew themselves up, gazing on the adorable body while it hung on the Cross.”\(^100\) The ceremonial is sufficiently striking to underscore the idea of role-playing both among the subdeacons and among the members of the congregation.

\(^98\) “Sacerdos inclinat se, et hoc quod vice Christi immolatum est, Deo Patri commendat” (*PL*, CV, 1142a; H, II, 342).


\(^100\) “. . . postquam emissit spiritum, scientes non iam habere persecutores unde rabiem suam amplius in Christi corpus expleant . . . consolantur aliquo modo, et erigunt se, aspicientes in dilectum sibi corpus, quosque pendet in cruce, maxime cum vident multa miracula fieri” (*PL*, CV, 1142f; H, II, 342–43). This explains why they lower their heads at the elevation. It is the Deposition. The “miracles” are paralleled in the Mass by the allegory of the centurion associated with the *Teigitur*.
Here, too, the deacons wash their hands. As Amalarius remarks, the awkwardness of washing one's hands while bowed in the attitude of sorrow or prayer makes it difficult to interpret the action simply as a cleansing. To Amalarius it is a dramatic symbol of the cleansing from sin which resulted from the Passion.\textsuperscript{101}

The ensuing ceremonial is particularly impressive in the ninth-century form of the Mass. This fact itself places emphasis on the regenerative phase of the service. Amalarius is fully in sympathy with this emphasis. The allegory of the Passion is dealt with succinctly, whereas the movement from the \textit{Nobis quoque peccatoribus} to the Lord's Prayer is examined in detail.\textsuperscript{102} It represents the death of Christ (the moment when the sacrifice is completed), the Deposition, and the entombment. The clerical participants represent the Marys, the disciples, and the apostles. Because the \textit{Nobis quoque} and the Lord's Prayer are in the first person plural and the latter is said by clergy and congregation concurrently, participation symbolism is prominent. This is recognized by Amalarius in the moral interpretation of the allegory, according to which the sacrifice is a "sacrifice of Penance" performed inwardly by all participants, and the subdeacons in their role of disciples represent the congregation as the "we sinners" of the celebrant's prayer. In other words, the subdeacons have a choral function. With them the congregation stands at the foot of the Cross, watches the Deposition, and mourns during the silence of Holy Saturday: "Morally, we can understand the subdeacons to be \textit{nos peccatores}, who show our faces—that is, our awareness of our sins—to the celebrant as he offers our confession to God. This accomplished, . . . after the period of humiliation, the heart is enlarged as the devotion of the Holy Spirit grows within, becoming, as it were, a paten to receive the sacraments of the Church."\textsuperscript{103}

At the beginning of the \textit{Nobis quoque} Christ is "sleeping with head inclined" on the Cross. At the first word of the prayer, the spear of the centurion plunges into His side. Surprisingly, the celebrant is the cen-

\textsuperscript{101} \textit{PL}, CV, 1143*; H, II, 343.

\textsuperscript{102} Amalarius devotes four chapters (26–29) to the subject. He does not mention the prayer of remembrance for the dead which in the contemporary service precedes the \textit{Nobis quoque} (i.e., \textit{Memento etiam, Domine}). It is quite possible that he considered this prayer a continuation of the \textit{Supplices te rogamus}, which he does mention. However, Jungmann (\textit{Mass}, II, 238–39) notes that it was associated with the Mass of the Dead during the early period and that its general use was "sporadic" during the eighth and ninth centuries.

\textsuperscript{103} "Moraliter. Possimus subdiaconos \textit{nos peccatores} intelligere, qui faciem, id est conscientiam peccatorum nostrorum, sacerdoti ostendimus, ut nostram confessionem offerat Deo. Quo peracto . . . fervore crescente Spiritus Sancti, dilatantur corda nostra, quasi patena, ad suscipienda sacramenta ecclesiae" (\textit{PL}, CV, 1146b; H, II, 350).
turion of Matt. 27:54. He utters the first three words in a loud voice (a practice still observed in the modern Mass) because the centurion saw the earthquake following Christ's death and testified, "Truly this was the Son of God." During the prayer, miraculous blood and water flow from Christ's side into the chalice. That the reality of this event was deeply felt is indicated by the fact that in the Gallican service, as Amalarius notes in his Preface, the chalice is placed to the right of the paten to receive the Holy Blood. 104

The role of the celebrant changes almost immediately. As the archdeacon sees the celebrant make the third cross and begin to elevate the Host, he approaches, lifts the chalice from the altar, and holds it with the celebrant until the words *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, which end the Consecration. Afterwards, he replaces the chalice on the altar and wraps it in the sudarium. The ceremony, which is suppressed in today's Mass, was the major elevation of the ninth century. 105 That it is performed with the assistance of the deacon is a reminder of the central part which he formerly played in the service. To Amalarius this elevation is a re-enactment not of the Crucifixion but of the Deposition and entombment. The archdeacon represents Joseph of Arimathea who "begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a seculchre" (Luke 23:52-53). The celebrant, who elevates the oblation and wraps it in the sindon, is the Nicodemus mentioned by John (19:39-40). The altar is the tomb. The two crosses which the celebrant makes over the chalice with the *oblata* complete the Deposition with a symbolic reminder that Christ died for two peoples, the Jews and Gentiles. The subdeacons, still close to the altar, are the holy women who assisted at the Deposition and burial. As the *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* is said in a loud voice, the entombment is enacted by the replacing of the chalice and paten—wrapped in their respective shrouds—on the altar. 106

A secondary ceremony accompanies the drama involving celebrant and archdeacon. According to the Roman *Ordo* used by Amalarius, at the beginning of the Canon (i.e., during the *Sursum corda*) an acolyte approaches the altar from the right, holding the paten before his breast

104 PL, CV, 1143d; H, II, 344-45.
105 For discussion, see Jungmann, *Mass*, II, 266-67. This is the so-called "little elevation" of today's service.
106 PL, CV, 1144d-45a; H, II, 346-47. The details of ceremonial are clarified by reference to the *Elogiae* (PL, CV, 1327; H, III, 248-49, 252-55). The *Elogiae* also specifies that the three prayers said while the oblation remains on the altar (prologue, Pater Noster, embolism) symbolize the three days during which the Lord "rested" in the tomb. With the *Pax* and the commingling, the body of the Lord is taken from the altar, since on the third day His spirit, which had liberated the Just from hell, returned.
wrapped in a sindon. During the Canon (at the *Te igitur*) a subdeacon receives it, holding it in the fold of his planeta, a predecessor of the modern chasuble. He carries it before the altar. At the end of the Canon, it is received by the "regionary subdeacon," who stands behind the archdeacon. At the words *ab omni perturbatione secuti* of the embolism, he presents the paten to the archdeacon, who kisses it and gives it to a second deacon. Amalarius remarks, "It seems to me that the time when the paten is presented is the time when the disciples or women were busy with the burial of the Lord."

Since the paten is here associated with the entombment, the fact that the subdeacon turns from the celebrant to receive it becomes dramatically significant. It is also significant that Amalarius finds a parallel between the paten and the ointment box carried by Mary to anoint the Lord's body (Mark 16:1).

5. Communion: From Pater Noster to *Ite, missa est*

Mention of the ointment box makes it clear that the Mass has entered a phase closely associated with the events commemorated in the earliest liturgical plays. When the words *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* are pronounced, the regionary subdeacon receives the paten. This action signifies the fact that "the women first heard the joyous news of the Resurrection." The joy is temporarily muted. The subdeacons have raised their heads following the *Supplices te rogamus* in imitation of the holy women contemplating Christ on the Cross. They bow again during the Pater Noster. Then, at the *Libera nos a malo*, deacons and subdeacons raise their heads. The transition from the *tristia* of the Passion to the *gaudium* of the Resurrection is, for Amalarius, the turning point of the Mass. It is hinted at in the presentation of the paten, and the hint becomes more overt at the general raising of heads.

It now remains for Amalarius to relate the prayers and ceremonies of the beginning of the Communion to historical events. The seven petitions of the Pater Noster—already a traditional scheme of analysis by the ninth century—commemorate the seventh day (Holy Saturday), "when Christ rested in the sepulcher."

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107 "Videtur mihi ut ea ora praesentanda sit patena, qua circa sepulturam Domini satagebant discipuli vel mulieres" (*PL, CV, 1146d*). H, II, 351, has "qua circa mysteria passionis," which is clearly an inferior reading.

108 *PL, CV, 1147e; H, II, 352.*

109 "Subdiaconus regionarius accipit patenam, finito canone, quia laetitiam dominicae resurrectionis mulieres primo audierunt" (*PL, CV, 1147d; H, II, 353.*

110 *PL, CV, 1149d; H, II, 357.*
disciples were beset with sorrow and fear and prayed to be “liberated from evil.” By the same token, “the Holy Church now prays, as it were, on the seventh day . . . lest it be separated by the perils of this world from the hope of celestial joys.”\textsuperscript{111} The embolism, says Amalarius, is a continuation of the Pater Noster. The Harrowing of Hell is not mentioned, although from a reference in the \textit{Eclogae} it is apparent that Amalarius knew the tradition. Evidently, the subject did not have the same fascination for him that it did for later allegorists.

The interpretation of the ceremonies which accompany the beginning of Communion is of great importance for the history of drama. The subdeacons present themselves at the altar to receive the \textit{corpus Domini}. They must wait, however, for the commingling and Fraction. While they wait, the transition from \textit{tristia} to \textit{gaudium} occurs. They are the Marys who visit the sepulcher and are informed by the angels, “He is risen; He is not here” (Mark 16:6): “When the holy women presented themselves at the sepulcher of the Lord, they found that the spirit had returned to the body, and there was the vision of the angels at the tomb, and they announced to the apostles what they had seen.”\textsuperscript{112} The reading specifies scene, characters, and events which were to be the basis of the \textit{Quern quaeritis} play and which remained central in medieval drama until the fifteenth century. Interestingly, Amalarius can claim support for his interpretation from no less an authority than Bede, who, in his commentary on Luke, had already associated angels, women, and sepulcher with the ceremonies of the Mass.\textsuperscript{113} The subdeacon who brings the paten and the subdeacon who receives it are two of the holy women. The fact that they are joined by a deacon is explained (somewhat awkwardly) by Paul’s injunction concerning deacons, “Even so must their wives be grave” (I Tim. 3:10–12).

As the celebrant says the \textit{Pax Domini}, he places the Host on the paten. “After Christ by His salutation made happy the hearts of the disciples, the prayers of the women were fulfilled, and the joy of the Resurrection was perceived.”\textsuperscript{114} Amalarius considers the commingling a visual rein-

\textsuperscript{111} “Orat et nunc sancta ecclesia, quasi in septima die, quando, iam quiescentibus animabus sanctorum, instat ieiunando, vigilando, orando, certando in caritate, ne aberrumptur periculis huius mundi a spe caelestium gaudiorum” (\textit{PL}, 1149a–50*; H, II, 357). Amalarius draws for his interpretations of the Lord’s Prayer on Cyprian, \textit{Liber de oratione dominica} (\textit{PL}, IV, 537–38).

\textsuperscript{112} “Praesentantibus se sanctis mulieribus ad sepulchrum Domini, inveniunt spiritum redisse ad corpus, et angelorum visionem circa sepulchrum, ac adnuntiant apostolis quae viderant” (\textit{PL}, CV, 1151a; H, II, 359).

\textsuperscript{113} Bede, \textit{In Lucae evangelium expositio}, \textit{PL}, XCII, 623a–24a.

forcement of the drama enacted by the subdeacons and deacon. Interpretation is made difficult by the fact that practice varies. Sometimes the commingling occurs before and sometimes after the Pax Domini. Amalarius prefers the first alternative because it is more consistent with the Mass drama. The commingling precedes the Fraction. The Liber officialis states that the preconsecrated sancta is to be used in this ceremony. As has been noted, the sancta is a symbol of the unity of each Solemn Mass with all Masses previously celebrated. It is also the body of Christ, and the wine is His blood. The commingling reunites body and blood; hence, it literally re-creates the miracle of the Resurrection: "The cross which is formed over the chalice with a particle of the oblata brings the body itself before our eyes for whom it was crucified."

116 "Estimo, secundum hunc sensum, quod non erret, si quis primo sancta ponat in calicem, et dein dixerit: 'Pax Domini ... ' salvo magisterio didascularorum" (PL, CV, 1152*; H, II, 362; italics mine). In the following paragraph Amalarius explicitly says that in the triple Fraction the "pontifex" "rumpit oblatam ex latere dextro [positional symbolism], et particular quam rumpit, super altare relinquuit, reliquas vero oblationes ponit in patenam. ... " Later, the deacon carries the paten "ad sedem, ut communicet pontifex; qui dum communicavit, de ipsa quam momoderat, ponit inter manus archidiaconi in calicem." This betrays none of the confusion which Jungmann attributes to the Gallican practice. One thing is clear: his service includes a double commingling of which the first is the major one.

117 "Crux quae formatur super calicem particula oblatae, ipsum corpus nobis ante oculos proscibit, quod pro nobis crucifixum est" (PL, CV, 1152*; H, II, 362). The removal of the chalice and oblation from the altar after the Fraction is, in the Eclogae (PL, CV, 1328; H, III, 258), the restoration of Jesus in living form to man. The Pax is both the peace of the Just released from hell and the peace brought to the disciples by the Resurrection. The symbolism of the chalice is elaborate. In the Eclogae it represents Christ's head (wine is associated with the soul which in turn is related to the intellect, vision, etc., hence the appropriateness of covering the chalice with the sudarium—the "sweatcloth" and later the model for the Veronica). The Host, by the same token, represents the body ("This is my flesh"). The crossing of the chalice with the Host just prior to the first commingling is thus a symbol of the uniting of the head with the body. The four sides of the chalice represent (as in the Liber officialis) the four quarters of the earth to which news of the Resurrection will penetrate. A parallel is discerned by Amalarius between the commingling and the breathing of the
gation has listened with the Marys while the angels announced the miracle; now, in its role of disciples and apostles, it sees Christ appear in bodily form. Corporate symbolism, enfolding the congregation in the drama, is stressed: "He [the celebrant] touches the four sides of the chalice because by it the human race of the four corners of the earth achieves the unity of a single body and the peace of the Catholic Church."\(^{118}\) The celebrant's prayer *Haec commixtio* (*Fiat commixtio*, according to the older wording used by Amalarius) is a petition that the sacrifice be acceptable. Then comes the *Pax Domini*, an expression of the peace brought to man by the Resurrection. It is followed immediately by the Kiss of Peace, an impressive act in which the congregation visibly and physically affirms the celebrant's words. The celebrant receives the kiss from the altar. It passes from him to the archdeacon, then to the clergy *per ordinem*, and then to the chorus and congregation. The people exchange embraces, although Amalarius sternly warns against men embracing women and vice versa because indiscriminate embraces might lead to thoughts less than holy.

Because the kiss is given by Christ and passes among all participants, it is a powerful symbol of unity, as well as a striking instance of role-playing during which the boundary between the visible and invisible again tends to disappear as it did during the Sanctus. After (or perhaps, during) the kiss, the oblation loaf is broken (the Fraction) and carried to the communicants, beginning with the celebrant and clergy. The paten is carried to the episcopal chair. There the bishop or pontifex, associated, it will be recalled, with the ascended Christ, partakes of the Host and drops a

\(^{118}\) "Ideo tangit quattuor latera calicis, quia per illum hominum genus quattuor climatum ad unitatem unius corporis accessit et ad pacem catholicae ecclesiae" (*PL*, *CV*, 1152\(^b\); *H*, II, 362).
particle (a second commingling) into the chalice held by the archdeacon, an act which Amalarius does not attempt to explain. During the ceremony of the Fraction, the Agnus Dei is sung antiphonally. Corporate symbolism and role-playing are sustained because the Fraction, says Amalarius, represents Christ's breaking of bread for the two at Emmaus (Luke 24:30), and the Agnus Dei recalls that they "sang an antiphon narrating in turn the Resurrection of the Lord."

The discussion of the Eucharist involved Amalarius in serious difficulties. His general concept was orthodox enough. By it we are incorporated into the mystical body: "By the Eucharist Christ remains in us and we in him through His human incarnation." His explanation of the Fraction practiced by the Roman Church was, however, condemned by the Synod of Quiercy. According to Amalarius, Christ has a triform body — the immaculate body which he received from the Virgin, the body which lives on earth, and the body of the Resurrection. These three bodies are revealed in the three parts of the Host. The one placed in the chalice is the body of the Resurrection. The one consumed by the faithful is the body which "still walks the earth." And the particle left on the altar (probably the sancta) is the body which slept in the sepulcher. Doctrinal issues may, for present purposes, be discounted. What is significant in the interpretation is the evidence it provides that Amalarius associated the Fraction with life rather than death. He follows the Roman idea — as against the Mozarabic and Byzantine traditions — that the breaking of

119 "Si hoc ita agitur in Romana ecclesia, ab illis potest addisci quid significet bis positus panis in calicem; non enim vacat a mysterio quicquid in eo officio agitur iuxta constitutionem patrum" (PL, CV, 1152d; H, II, 363). The ceremony of the Kiss of Peace includes the prayer "Domine Jesu Christi, qui dixisti apostolis tuis: pacem relinquuo vobis." The prayer obviously accords with the identification with the apostles of all who exchange kisses. After the prayer in the modern service the celebrant kisses the altar (here, obviously, Christ) and then the deacon at his right, saying Pax tecum. The libellus Romanus, which Amalarius quotes, does not mention the details of the prayer and the kissing of the altar. The prayer is late, and probably no prayer was used in the early ninth century. The archdeacon transfers his kiss to the assistant bishop and then to the rest of the clergy per ordinem.

120 "Antiphona sequens, id est vox reciproca, iura fraternitatis custodit. . . . Quem typum gesserunt illi duo, qui Dominum cognoverunt in fratione panis. . . . Illi nempe cantaverunt antiphonam vicissim narrando de resurrectione Domini" (PL, CV, 1153o; H, II, 365). Is it possible that Amalarius is here describing the trope Qui resurrexisti, Agnus Dei consecratus et vivificatus mentioned in the commentary Missa pro multis, based on his work? See Jungmann, Mass, II, 339–40.

121 "Per eucharistiam Christus in nobis manet, et nos in illo per assumptum hominem. Ipse est Deus pacis, per quem pacata sunt caelestia et terrastria" (PL, CV, 1153d; H, II, 365).

the Host is a symbol of the risen Christ, and that while it occurs, Christ is a living presence at the service.\textsuperscript{123}

Amalarius does not comment on the celebrant’s Communion prayers, the ablution, or the communio. These prayers sustain the sense of joyful liberation which has already been adequately described in his comments on the ceremonial.\textsuperscript{124}

At the end of the Mass, Amalarius writes, the celebrant “blesses the people and gives his salutation [i.e., the Dominus vobiscum and prayer]. Then he turns to the east to commit himself to the Ascension of the Lord. And the deacon says Ite, missa est.”\textsuperscript{125} The tableau which is formed opens into eternity. Amalarius exclaims, “O, would that when we have heard the Ite, missa est our mind would rise to that country where our Lord has preceded us so that by our desire we would be there where the Desired of all nations awaits us with His emblem of victory.”\textsuperscript{126} According to the orthodox interpretation, the sacrifice is now being carried on the wings of angels to the celestial throne. The last benediction (especially important in Lent) completes the service, and with it, the sacred drama. The celebrant is Christ at the moment before the Ascension, blessing His disciples: “And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands and blessed them” (Luke 24:50). Morally, the congregation is the army of Christian soldiers armed by the blessing against the wiles of the devil. As it exclaims Deo gratias, it is also the group of witnesses who, according

\textsuperscript{123} Reichel, \textit{Solemn Mass}, pp. 28–29; Duchesne, \textit{Christian Worship}, pp. 219f.; and Jungmann, \textit{Mass}, II, 302–3. The Gallican ritual called for a Fraction in five parts, which were laid out “upon the corporal in some fanciful picture of the Lord’s body” (Reichel). The Mozarabic Fraction was in nine parts. The Irish Fraction was the most complex, requiring up to 65 particles on the feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The pattern of the Mozarabic Fraction illustrates the tendency which this rite shared with the Greek Church (see Jungmann, \textit{Mass}, II, 301) to regard the Fraction as an image of the Crucifixion. Seven of the nine particles are placed on the altar in the shape of a cross. The particle at the head is called corporatio (i.e., the Incarnation), and the one at the foot, passio. The one at the end of the right arm is mors, and on the left, resurrectio. The two remaining particles (gloria, regnum) are immediately below the left arm. These two particles are for the celebrant’s Communion and the commingling.

\textsuperscript{124} The \textit{Pascha nostrum} of Easter was, for example, a lengthy choral piece ending with a triple alleluia, and was sung during the distribution of Communion.

\textsuperscript{125} “Etenim Dominus ante ascensionem in caelos duxit discipulos in Bethaniam, ibique benedixit eos, et ascendit in caelum. Hunc morem tenet sacerdos, ut, post omnia sacramenta consummata, benedicat populo et salutet. Dein revertitur ad orientem, ut se commendet Domini ascensioni” (\textit{PL}, CV, 1155b; H, II, 368). \textit{Post omnia sacramenta consummata} may include the particle of the Host on the altar. On the other hand, it may refer merely to the \textit{saecratanda} used in the Communion.

\textsuperscript{126} “O utinam quando audimus a diacono: ‘Ite missa est,’ mens nostra ad illam patriam tendat, quo caput nostrum praecessit, ut ibi simus desiderio, ubi desideratus cunctis gentibus nos expectat cum suo tropheo . . . .” (\textit{PL}, CV, 1156a; H, II, 370).
to Luke, "returned to Jerusalem with great joy: and were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God."\footnote{127}

III

That the service which has just been described is dramatic cannot be doubted. The nature and, as it might be called, the tonality of the drama is another matter. It has a configuration which may be experienced but which cannot be fully communicated. The problems confronting the would-be critic are not unlike those posed by the analysis of a poem. The history, genre, ideas, social background, and rhetoric of the poem can be described, but its \textit{raison d'être}, its mode of existence in the mind at the moment of full aesthetic response, eludes definition for the very simple reason that the only adequate expression of the poem's meaning is the experience of the poem itself.

Of course, the problems posed by an attempt to reconstruct the ninth-century Mass are more numerous than those posed by the analysis of a poem. There is the matter of belief, which for many scholars has proved an insurmountable barrier. "Willing suspension of disbelief" can, for those willing to practice it, permit a partial recovery of the experience. But, in fact, the Mass has never been a matter of willing suspension of disbelief. This approach leads off in the direction of \textit{fin-de-siècle} "appreciations" of the Mass because of its picturesqueness. In spirit such appreciations are directly opposed to the attitudes of the ninth century. The service described by Amalarius has a very important aesthetic dimension, but it is essentially not a matter of appreciation but of passionate affirmation. It remained for later times—the high Middle Ages—to make the Mystery of the Mass mysterious by changing the Offertory ceremony, reserving the chalice to the clergy, reducing lay participation to a minimum, and drawing the veil of the rood screen between the congregation and the altar.

Sister Teresa Goode remarks concerning Gonzalo de Berceo's thirteenth-century allegory of the Mass that it is "elaborate enough, perhaps, for the uninitiated, but for those for whom he was writing, evidently quite simple."\footnote{128} If one considers the service outlined by Amalarius, there are moments, even for the non-Catholic, when the drama lives in the imagina-


\footnote{128} P. 32.
tion with something like its original intensity. The effort of imagination is difficult. Considering the span of time which must be bridged, the differences of ceremonial, and the intricacy of the symbolism, at best the effort can be only partially successful. Some reconstructions are highly reliable, particularly where the text of Amalarius provides detailed guidance. Others must remain speculative.

Among the speculative issues is the question of how far the allegorical interpretation fused with the ceremony for the ninth-century Catholic. Did the congregation sense its role-playing function continually, or only during those ceremonies and prayers when it was assigned definite actions and speeches—the Introit procession, the reading of the Gospel, the Offertory, the Kiss of Peace, the Communion? To what degree did the subdeacons and deacons suggest by the use of physical objects and gestures their roles as the holy women and the apostles? How far did the celebrant carry his role as repraesentatio Christi?

From the anthropological point of view such questions are unnecessary. The Mass is a ritual drama no matter how it is performed. To students of the history of drama, however, they are important. They are a way of asking how far representational drama based on history, rather than psychologically determined patterns of ritual, emerged during the Mass itself.

According to the testimony of Deacon Florus of Lyons, Amalarius' interpretation “corrupted” churches throughout France, appealing especially to the simpliciores. What other basis could there be for this appeal than the fact that it renewed the sense of community participation in divine worship? And how else could this sense have been stimulated among the simpliciores than by emphasis during the celebration of the Mass on its dramatic elements? Clearly, what Deacon Florus means by his reference to the corruption of the French churches is that the works of Amalarius strongly and visibly influenced the way that the ceremonies were performed and the texts read. Amalarius remarks that the Offertory Vir erat in terra alludes to Job oppressed with sickness and that the “author of the office, to make the words vividly recall the suffering Job to our memory, repeated them often, in the manner of people who are sick.”129 Another ninth-century author, Bishop Agobard of Lyons, complains of “theatrical mannerisms and stage music” encouraged by Amalarius.130 By the twelfth century Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, was complaining in his Speculum

129 “Officii auctor, ut affectanter nobis ad memoriam reduceret aegrotantem Iob, repetivit saepius verba more aegrotantium” (PL, CV, 11574; H, II, 373).

130 “... theatralibus sonis et scenicis modulationibus ...” (Agobard, De correctione antiphonarii, PL, CIV, 334*). The translation is that of Cabaniss, Amalarius, p. 85.
charitatis of singing suggestive of feminine voices, sighs, sudden dramatic silences, vocal imitation of the agonies of the dying and the suffering, and priests who “contort the whole body with histrionic gestures.” These practices, he observes, “amaze the common people” but are proper “to the theater, not the oratory.” Later evidence fully confirms the view that the clergy frequently translated Mass allegory into histrionic action. The elevation of the Host and its extravagant adoration during the high Middle Ages is a striking instance of the compulsion felt by all participants, including the clergy, to express invisible mysteries in visible dramatic form. The celebrant’s imitation of Christ during the \textit{Qui pridie} was already a venerable tradition when Amalarius wrote the \textit{Liber officialis} and remains in the rubrics of today’s Mass. The extension of the celebrant’s arms during the \textit{Unde et memores}, the elaborate Fractions of the Mozarabic and Gallican churches, the proliferating genuflections, kisses, and embraces, the veneration of the Gospel, the widening use of crucifixes, and the popularity of images of the saints directly behind the altar are all expressions of the mimetic tendency. And, returning to Dürrer’s woodcut of the Mass of St. Gregory, the art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries adds visual testimony to the evidence that the dramatic tradition survived intact until the Reformation.

Should church vestments then, with their elaborate symbolic meanings, be considered costumes? Should the paten, chalice, sindon, sudarium, candles, and thurible be considered stage properties? Should the nave, chancel, presbyterium, and altar of the church be considered a stage, and its windows, statues, images, and ornaments a “setting”? As long as there is clear recognition that these elements are hallowed, that they are the sacred phase of parallel elements turned to secular use on the profane stage, it is possible to answer yes. Just as the Mass is a sacred drama encompassing all history and embodying in its structure the central pattern of Christian life on which all Christian drama must draw, the celebration of the Mass contains all elements necessary to secular performances. The Mass is the general case—for Christian culture, the archetype. Individual dramas are shaped in its mold. As theologians have long known and anthropologists have recently discovered, man does not make God in his image. Rather, he makes himself in the image of his gods.

\textsuperscript{131} “... quid illa vocis contractio et infractio? ... aliquando virili vigore deposito, in femineae vocis gracilitates acuitur. ... Videas aliquando hominem aperto ore quasi intercluso halitu exspirare, non cantare, ac ridiculosa quadam vocis interceptione quasi minuitar silentium; nunc agones morientium, vel extasim patientium imitari. Interim histrionicis quibusdam gestibus totum corpus agitur. ... Stans interea vulgus ... attonitusque miratur ... eos non ad oratorium, sed ad theatrum, nec ad orandum, sed ad spectandum aestimes convenisse’’ \textit{(PL, CXCV, 571; cf. Chambers, MS, I, 81; Young, DMC, I, 548).}