The History and Spirit of Holy Week

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Now that our Holy Father, Pius XII, has through his supreme authority extended the reform of the Liturgy, so emphatically desired by the Council of Trent, to the rites of Holy Week, it remains to us, grateful and obedient sons of such a provident father, to put to good use the revitalized and repristinized sacramental prayer of Holy Mother Church. This reform, be it noted, far from indulging in a disinterested archeological or antiquarian spirit, bears a marked pastoral quality. Even a cursory reading of the General Decree and Instruction prefixed to the new Holy Week Ordo will bear this out. The Holy See was preoccupied with the sparse number of the faithful who assisted at these sacred ceremonies in the morning hours. In order to make these rites more accessible to a greater number of the laity, they were restored to the evening and afternoon hours. Besides, some of the ceremonies themselves had become so transformed over the years and centuries, that they were but little understood by those not specially trained. Hence, with the advice of experts in the field, the Sacred Congregation of Rites endeavored to bring them back to their native simplicity and symbolism, thus affording the faithful the opportunity of taking part in them more easily, with greater understanding, more devoutly and with more fruit.

The priest, if he is to be a loyal minister of the Church and feed his flock according to the mind of that Church, must be imbued with the true spirit behind her rites and ceremonies. But very often that spirit can be perceived only by means of a correct knowledge of the

historical development of the rites in question. To this end the following data is humbly offered.

Holy Week

The importance of Holy Week is brought out by some of the names given it. We find the term "holy week" used already by St. Athanasius in his Festal Letters announcing the date of Easter.[1] It was called "greater week" in Jerusalem towards the end of the fourth century.[2] This designation was proper, as St. John Chrysostom remarks,[3] because our Lord has done marvellous things in it. Without doubt this week occupies the chief place in the Liturgical Year, for within it are celebrated the principal mysteries of man's redemption: the Last Supper at which Christ instituted the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Priesthood, His death on Calvary through which He removed the death of sin and purchased us from the power of the devil, and His resurrection through which He gave us the new life of grace.

In the same way as the Church Year itself grew and developed through the centuries, so in particular did Holy Week enjoy a variety of observances throughout the world in different periods. From earliest times, perhaps already in the days of the Apostles, Friday and Saturday of Holy Week were observed by means of an especially rigorous fast.[4] At a later date still another day was added, Wednesday, the day on which the Jews made their decision to capture and execute Jesus."[5] And by the third century Christians in many localities fasted during the entire week.[6] Not everywhere, however, was Mass offered on all these days.

It is to Jerusalem that we must look for the origin of many of the liturgical specialties of this week. Since it contained so many places sanctified by the memory of our Lord's life, it was only natural that the Christians there should try as best they could to re- enact the

more important episodes of Christ's last days on the very spot where they had originally occurred. The pilgrim nun Etheria, who wrote the diary of her travels through Palestine towards the end of the fourth century, has left us a minute description of each day's liturgical ceremonies.[7] From Palestine these rites found their way into the Gallican Liturgy and thence to Rome itself. There they were fused with the already existing Roman Holy Week ritual.

Palm Sunday

In the course of time this Sunday has received many names. The original Roman name for it seems to have been Passion Sunday, simply because the story of the Passion was read on this day.[8] The title Palm Sunday appears already in the Gelasian[9] and Gregorian Sacramentaries,[10] yet the Gelasian still bears the subtitle: *De Passione Domini*. In many Gallican service books the title given this Sunday is *In symboli traditione*,[11] for this was the day on which the catechumens were taught the Creed. The Roman Liturgy finally combined both the commemoration of our Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem with the chanting of the Passion, but it left aside for another day during Lent the teaching of the Creed.

There is little doubt today that the procession of palms originated in Jerusalem. Christ's entry into Jerusalem was a fulfillment of a prophecy made in the Old Testament:

> Behold thy king shall come to thee, the just and savior; he is poor and riding upon an ass and upon a colt, the foal of an ass.[12]

Since the fulfillment of this prophecy was of such great apologetic value, showing as it did that Christ was the promised Messias, the people of the Holy City were led to re-enact the episode. They gathered about their bishop at one o'clock in the afternoon on the

Mount of Olives. Having sung hymns, listened to readings of the Old Testament and the Gospel account of our Lord's entry into Jerusalem, at five o'clock the faithful, carrying olive or palm branches, led the bishop, seated on an ass, to the Church of the Resurrection. All the while they chanted psalms and hymns, constantly interspersing the refrain: "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord!" The service concluded with the singing of Vespers.[13]

It is not certain just when this rite was brought over to the West. Rome knew nothing of it. True, the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries contain the title, *Dominica ad palmas*, but this is Palm Sunday in title only, for there is no blessing of palms provided, nor is there any mention of a procession. The presence of such a title in these books remains unexplained.[14] It may be that the very fact that this was the day on which our Lord made His entry into Jerusalem was sufficient to call forth such a title. The fact remains, however, that no trace of any palm ceremony can be found in official Roman service books until the 12th century.[15] It is reasonable to conjecture that the ceremony of blessing of palms and procession made its way to Rome from Gallican lands during the time of the Ottos, just as so many other Gallican elements did.

That these rites existed in the territories using the Gallican liturgy from a relatively early time is beyond doubt. Though Isidore of Seville speaks of the *dies palmarum*, it is not certain that he is really speaking of a liturgical ceremony.[16] The same is true of what the Venerable Bede has to say.[17] The Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum*, which contains traditions of the fifth and sixth centuries, seems to be the first Western service book to describe such ceremonies.[18] After this these rites are clearly attested to in Gaul and Germany by Theofulf of Orleans, who composed the famous hymn, *Gloria, laus et honor* before 821,[19] and by Amalar of Metz, who alludes to a

procession of palms.[20] And we find a formula for blessing palms in the seventh century *Bobbio Missal*.[21]

The present rite for the blessing and procession with palms is a simplification of the one which obtained until 1956. In earliest times, of course, there was no blessing provided for the palms.[22] It appears for the first time in the above mentioned *Liber Ordinum* of the Mozarabic rite. At the end of the Middle Ages this blessing was removed from the Mass proper. It was, however, desired that the rite resemble a Mass as much as possible, and thus a complete "*Missa sicca*" [dry Mass—Ed.] was developed, that is, a complete Mass ordinary without consecration. But such a framework for the blessing was certainly not adopted until about the fifteenth century.[23] Unfortunately such an involved rite laid so much emphasis on the palm as a sacramental that the central theme of the rite, the messianic kingship of Christ, was overshadowed. Hence, in the new Holy Week Ordo of Pius XII, the blessing is reduced to a single oration, while everything else centers around the joyous acclamation of Christ the King. And to stress this theme even more, the Ordo prescribes that regal red vestments be worn during the procession and provides many more psalms and antiphons for the singing of the faithful with a messianic content.

After the procession the mood of the celebration changes radically. From the boisterous and joyful acclaim of the Chosen people upon seeing their King we turn to the jeers of a bewildered mob as it decrees the crucifixion of its God. Here the fickleness of the Jews is brought out, but even more the true nature of the Messias is made manifest. According to the prophets the Holy One, the Christ, was to gain His glory through suffering.[24] The joyful red vestments are exchanged for somber violet, and the theme of the Mass proper is the passion of Christ. With this we arrive at the original Roman Liturgy for Palm Sunday, which centers on the reading of the

Passion according to St. Matthew. St. Leo I is the earliest witness to this custom. He always explained the Passion of our Lord on this day.[25]

At first the Passion was sung by the Deacon, whose office it was to chant the Gospel. But the length of the Passion as well as the dramatizing tendency of the northern peoples of Europe led already in the tenth century to the practice of having three chanters sing it.[26] Rome, however, was slow in accepting this usage. As late as the fourteenth century the Passion was still sung by the Cardinal Deacon alone.[27]

Holy Thursday

The various names given Holy Thursday serve to put in relief its particular theme. From earliest times it has been called "*feria quinta in coena Domini*," since it principally commemorates the institution of the Holy Eucharist. The same theme is brought outby the title given to it in the Calendar of Polemius Silvius, namely, "*Natalis Calicis*."[28] To bring out the idea that on this day our Lord was betrayed by His trusted disciple Judas and also began to offer Himself, deliver Himself up for the sins of mankind, some called the day the "*dies traditionis*."[29] A common English name for the day is "Maunday Thursday," which is derived from the ceremony of the washing of feet, called in Latin *Mandatum* (commandment), done in imitation of our Lord when He washed the feet of the Apostles, saying to them:

> A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another...[30]

Besides commemorating the mystery of the Eucharist and the fraternal love which it ought to beget, Holy Thursday was also the day on which two other ceremonies took place: the reconciliation of

penitents and the consecration of Holy Oils. At first sight these ceremonies might seem entirely accidental to the theme of this day. Generally authors give as the reason for holding them today the desire to shorten the Easter Vigil.[31]

Nevertheless, when the Sacrament of Penance is seen as the second gateway to the communion of saints which finds its source in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, it is altogether fitting that this relationship be expressed on the feast of the Holy Eucharist. Our first witness to this union is the letter of Pope Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio written at the beginning of the fifth century.[32] And the old Gelasian Sacramentary provides special formulae for this ceremony. According to it, the reconciliation of penitents replaced the normal Foremass, as the following rubric states:

> *Eodem die non psallitur, nec salutat, id est non dicit Dominus vobiscum: et Reconciliatio*.[33]

After the penitents were reconciled, the Mass proper started with the Offertory.[34] However, by the time of Gregory the Great this rite had already fallen into disuse, for there is no ceremony, no mention of the practice, in the Gregorian Sacramentary.[35]

We must also admit that the consecration of Holy Oils on this Thursday is very appropriate, for it serves to emphasize the fact that all sacraments and blessings flow from the Eucharistic Sacrifice.[36] Of course, this was not always the case. Though a special blessing for oil (apparently oil for the infirm) figures among the other blessings provided for other natural products before the concluding doxology of the Canon of the Mass in the *Apostolic Tradition*,[37] Chrism and the Oil for Catechumens were blessed immediately before the conferring of Baptism.[38] The first trace of all the Oils being consecrated together during the Mass on Holy

Thursday appears in the Gelasian Sacramentary.[39] In some places, however, the consecration of Oils took place on other days: the seventh century Parisian Liturgy had it on Palm Sunday, whence the name *Dies unctionis*; St. Cesarius of Arles (d. 542) kept it till the Easter Vigil, the more ancient practice.[40]

Exactly when the consecration of Oils took place in Rome is a problem. Did the ancient Roman Rite have a special Mass for this consecration? We have three documents which profess to offer the Roman usage: the Gelasian Sacramentary, the Gregorian Sacramentary according to the Paduan Codex, and the same Sacramentary as exemplified in the copy sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne. The Gelasian offers us three Masses: one for the reconciliation of penitents, a second for the consecration of Oils, and a third in the evening to commemorate the Last Supper.[41] On the other hand, the Paduan Codex contains the partial formularies of two Masses: one with no special designation and another destined as an evening Mass.[42] Lastly, in the Hadrian text we find but one Mass during which the Oils were consecrated.[43] What are we to make of this? For the moment let us lay aside the Gelasian Sacramentary, for it is not a completely reliable witness: it has been gallicanized to a high degree.[44] We must take the Paduan Codex and the Hadrian Sacramentary as being the sole secure witness to pure Roman practice. To begin with, a comparison of these two books shows that the one Hadrian Mass is really but a combination of the two Mass formularies appearing in the Paduan Codex. But both of these latter are incomplete. What were they? Schmidt[45] reasons that the first, which lacks the Foremass, is a remnant of the ancient Mass for the reconciliation of penitents, for, as we know, this reconciliation itself took the place of the Foremass. The second formulary of the Paduan Codex bears the title *Item de ipsa die Missa sero* an evening Mass, and one which lacks its proper ending. Why? A simple explanation is found when we remember that the ritual of the consecration of

Oils would naturally take its place.[46] And *de facto*, the Oils were consecrated in the Hadrian Mass which was formed by joining the two partial formularies of the earlier Paduan Codex. Hence, as far as genuine and uncontroverted Roman documents go, we cannot prove that Rome had any more than two Masses on Holy Thursday: one for the reconciliation of penitents, another in the evening during which the Oils were consecrated. Finally, when the earlier Roman penitential practice died out, only one Mass was offered, and that in the evening. Therefore, there was no special Mass for the consecration of Oils.[47] But what of the Gelasian Sacramentary and the rites contained therein? Schmidt considers these to be a classic example of how Holy Thursday was observed outside of Rome.[48] If this is true—we do not think Schmidt has proved his point; we simply consider the solution to be highly probable[49]—then we must see in the institution of a special Mass for the consecration of the Oils by the New Holy Week Ordo of Pius XII a re-introduction of a specifically Gallican usage.

The ceremony of the *Mandatum* or the washing of the feet was originally a simple act of charity very common in the Church especially in monasteries. It was already thus considered by St. Paul, who lists this act among the good works of a saintly widow.[50] The first evidence of its being a liturgical ceremony performed on Holy Thursday is that of the 17th Synod of Toledo, held in 694, which speaks of it as having already fallen into desuetude in some places but desires its restoration.[51] The rite was certainly taken over by Rome by the eleventh century, for at that time we find the Pope washing the feet of twelve subdeacons at the end of the evening Mass.[52] Two centuries later, in addition to this liturgical rite, he also washed the feet of thirteen poor people in his private apartments after the evening Mass.[53] When during the course of the 14th century all the ceremonies were held in the morning hours, the *Mandatum* remained a separate service which usually took place in

the afternoon.[54] Pius XII has restored this ceremony to its place of honor in the evening Mass; according to his *Ordo* it comes immediately after the Gospel before the Offertory begins. Thus we are the better able to imitate the ritual of the original Last Supper whereat our Lord washed the feet of His disciples *during* the meal.[55]

During the Mass enough extra hosts are to be consecrated for the general communion on Good Friday. After Mass they are carried in solemn procession to a specially prepared altar and repository. As may be expected, it took time for this arrangement to develop. At first—since the seventh century[56]—the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in the sacristy, and it was brought there in the simplest possible manner. All the earliest references to such reservation on Holy Thursday indicate this by the bald statement: *et reservantur sancta usque in crastinum*.[57] The first trace of a formal procession is found in Jean d'Avranches in the 11th century:

> *ipsae hostiae a sacerdote et ministris altaris indutis, cum processione, scilicet cum cereis et incenso, super quoddam altare honorifice deportentur, ubi cum nitidissimis linteaminibus optime recondantur*.[58]

And this was due to the increasing devotion of the faithful towards the reserved Sacrament. In a short time another influence made itself felt. The allegorists saw in the depositing of the hosts in a special repository a symbol of our Lord's burial, and thus in some countries the repository came to be known as the *sepulcrum*.[59] And there the people kept watch. At first this watch was to last for forty hours and was quite distinct from any eucharistic devotion; it was specifically a watch at the tomb beginning on Good Friday. The desire to keep a full forty hour watch coupled with the development which brought the Easter Vigil farther into the morning hours of

Holy Saturday effectively fused two distinct devotions into one: veneration for the reserved Sacrament and the Forty Hours Devotion, a pious watch before Christ's tomb.[60]

The idea of the *sepulcrum* was, of course, in sharp conflict with the chronology of these last three days: Christ was not placed in the tomb until the evening of Good Friday after His crucifixion. In time all the funereal[61] processional drama connecting Christ's burial with the solemn reservation of hosts consecrated on Holy Thursday was sharply curbed by the Holy See, and the name *sepulcrum* for the repository was only grudgingly permitted by the Congregation of Rites. The true spirit behind this nocturnal adoration on Holy Thursday is to keep watch—as the Apostles failed to do—with Christ during His long hours of agony before His arrest in the Garden of Olives.

The ceremonies on Holy Thursday are concluded with the stripping of the altars. Although the special ceremony used for this purpose is very expressive of the stripping off of Christ's clothing for the flagellation and crucifixion, it is very probable that it takes its true origin from the simple and regular practice of the early Church of removing the altar cloths after each Mass.

In certain Rites within the Church today, e.g., the Lyonnaise Rite, all priests are permitted to celebrate Mass on this day, not privately, but all together at the same altar and at the same time by means of a true sacramental concelebration. In the Roman Rite, however, even though such a concelebration was provided for on certain more solemn occasions in the Liturgical Year, Holy Thursday was not one of them.[62] The Roman Rite has never shown itself preoccupied with a special celebration of the priesthood on this day. Rather it would seem that it wants to bring out symbolically the fact that at the Last Supper Christ alone offered the Holy Sacrifice.

Nevertheless, it is hoped by some[63] that in the future permission for a genuinely sacramental concelebration be granted priests.**

**COMPILER'S NOTE: This statement should not be considered revolutionary, since not only is there the aforementioned precedence of the Lyonnaise Rite of France, but furthermore, concelebration is already practiced twice in the traditional Roman Rite: 1) by the newly-ordained priests during their Mass of ordination, and 2) by the newly-consecrated bishops during the Mass of episcopal consecration. Here too, the author's request is limited to a specific liturgical moment in connection with the institution of the priesthood and thus for the intent of giving greater prominence to that sacred mystery (i.e., the Sacrament of Holy Orders). Lastly, the Holy See—namely the pope—would certainly have the competency and prerogative to enact a concelebrated Mass on this day and for this legitimate reason.

Good Friday

In the Liturgical books of the Roman Rite this day is called *Parasceve*, or preparation, for it coincides with the Parasceve of the Jews, the day of preparation for the great Sabbath. This is a day of great sorrow, *dies amaritudinis*, as St. Ambrose calls it.[64] And this sorrow was expressed by fasting; this indeed was a universal custom.[65] As another expression of this sentiment there existed a universal custom of not celebrating Mass on this day.[66] Some even went so far as to keep their churches closed, a practice which the above mentioned Council of Toledo dubbed as an abuse.[67] Even as now, so in the Middle Ages a discussion arose as to why no Mass was celebrated today, since the days on which the saints died were kept as festivals. Helperich, a monk of the Monastery of St. Gall at the end of the ninth century, replied that Christ, unlike the saints, achieved no greater degree of glory through His death, for He died, not for His own sake, but for ours. The Jews, he said, rejoiced over His death, while the Apostles lamented it.[68]

Once it had become traditional to have some sort of liturgical service in public, it was always held in the afternoon hours. One of the first

documents describing the service, *Ordo Romanus* XXIII dating from the eighth century, indicates that the Pope descended from his chambers at two o'clock in the afternoon.[69] This arrangement continued up until the fifteenth century when Amelius still placed the ceremony in the evening.[70] Just after that the ceremony was held in the morning, according to Burchard's *Ceremonial* which was compiled in 1488.[71] The restoration of this service to its appropriate hours in the afternoon is one of the results of Pius XII's reform.

Three parts make up the Liturgy of Good Friday:

a) a reading service similar to our Mass of the Catechumens,
b) the veneration of the cross, and
c) a communion service.

The entire first part is composed of readings, chants and prayers. And this is nothing else than the ancient type of service held on days which were a-liturgical, that is, days on which the Eucharistic Sacrifice was not offered. It is the Service of the Word, originally taken over from the Jewish Sabbath Synagogue service and united, as early as the second century, to the Eucharistic Sacrifice as the part known today as the Mass of the Catechumens. Justin clearly describes it in his *First Apology*: the reading of the commentaries of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets, a sermon, then the prayers or the *Oratio Fidelium*.[72] Etheria tells us that such a reading service was customary on this day in Palestine. From noon till three o'clock the people of Jerusalem listened to the readings from the psalms, apostles and prophets of whatever concerned our Lord's Passion. In between the various readings appropriate prayers were said. And the service ended with the reading of St. John's account of our Christ's dying moment.[73] The thought of the Passion, then, dominated their service just as it does ours today and did throughout the Middle Ages. The long list of orations which

terminate this first part is nothing else than the ancient conclusion to the Mass of the Catechumens, spoken of by Justin, and which, though dropped from the ordinary Mass from the time of Pope St. Gelasius on , has been retained in the Liturgy of this one day of the year, in accordance with the law formulated by Anton Baumstark:[74] the law of survival of what is ancient in a liturgical season of high value. Apparently, to judge from the Paduan Codex of the Gregorian Sacramentary,[75] this Service of the Word was the only function held on this day in the early Church.

Upon completing the lengthy solemn Orations, we turn to the unveiling and veneration of the cross, a feature which originated in Jerusalem itself in the fourth century after the discovery of the relics of the true cross by the Empress Helena. There, however, the veneration of the cross took place in the morning hours, according to Etheria.[76] The ceremony was quite simple. It took place at Golgotha, where the bishop had his throne especially set up. The relic of the true cross was placed upon a white bedecked table immediately before him, and, as he held his hand upon the relic, the clergy and faithful passed before him to venerate it. As for Rome, a procession started out from St. John Lateran's at two o'clock in the afternoon and headed toward the Basilica of Holy Cross in Jerusalem. The psalm *Beati immaculati in via* was sung as all walked barefoot, the Pope swinging a censer before the relic of the cross all the while. Upon arriving at Holy Cross, the Pope placed the relic on the altar, prostrated himself before it and then kissed it. After him, the clergy did the same. Thereupon it was carried out to the faithful for them to venerate it.[77] The antiphon *Ecce lignum crucis* originally was probably interspersed among the verses of Psalm 118 during the opening procession. However, it does not figure in the above described ceremony but is mentioned for the first time in a contemporary (eighth century) document, composed apparently for the churches in the environs of Rome.[78] The Byzantine *Hagios o*

Theos and the *Improperia* appear for the first time in the so-called Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the tenth century which was composed at Mainz.[79] Thence these hymns went to Rome and are witnessed to by the Papal Pontifical of the twelfth century, in which also appears for the first time the unveiling ceremony.[80]

A communion service, once called the Mass of the Presanctified, forms the third part of this day's Liturgy. The early Roman Rite evidently knew nothing of Communion on Good Friday; no mention is made of it in documents prior to the eighth century. Of course, the mere silence of the earlier Roman texts does not of itself necessarily disprove the existence of such a practice. Nevertheless, the story which the eighth century service books tell seems to be that the reception of communion on this day had just recently begun in that era, for the Pope still does not receive, nor does anyone else at His official service, but those who wish to do so have to go to the various *tituli* or parish churches.[81] This accords with what Amalar reports in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*. According to him, when he asked a Roman Archdeacon about the practice of receiving Holy Communion on Good Friday, he was told that no one communicated at the papal service.[82] On the other hand, the Church was evidently anxious to give in to popular piety in this matter and, while not according it an official place in the more prominent papal service, allowed communion to be distributed to the faithful in their parish churches. Thus we find another document of this same eighth century which describes the rites in the titular churches of Rome. In it we find that after the veneration of the cross, or rather while the people were still adoring it, the hosts consecrated the day before were brought unobtrusively to the main altar. After the recitation of the *Pater* together with its embolism, a particle of the large host was mixed with unconsecrated wine and water. Then all communicated in silence.[83]

In the early documents there is no mention of a "mass" of the presanctified. Communion was simply distributed after the traditional communion prayer, the *Pater Noster*. The first time elements of a "dry mass" are found in the Papal Liturgy for this day is in the Roman Pontifical of the twelfth century.[84] After the transfer of the consecrated Host, rubrics indicate that the altar is to be incensed, the prayer *In spiritu humilitatis* is to be said, and the host is broken into three particles. This was unquestionably imported from the Oriental Liturgy to give this part of the service added solemnity and the appearance of a real Mass. This Eastern usage in turn is based on the decree of the Council of Laodicea of 365,[85] repeated by the Council *In Trullo* of 692,[86] according to which the Eucharistic Sacrifice was not to be celebrated on the ferial days of Lent. Instead use was to be made of the Mass of the Presanctified.[87]

Once it became customary to distribute communion on Good Friday, the practice was fervently adhered to for centuries. True, already in the Roman Pontifical of the thirteenth century we find the first indication of a change of spirit: *communicat solus pontifex*. Capelle finds the explanation for this in the fact that at this time reception of communion in Rome was very rare.[88] It was at this same period in fact that the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) was forced to make the reception of communion at least once a year during the Paschal season obligatory. Hence, this rubric simply faced up to the situation: people just did not want to receive. Outside of Rome, however, reception of communion on this day continued in full vigor even after it was officially forbidden. In fact, in the seventeenth century Rome had to repeat the prohibition several times! Again we must thank our present Holy Father for restoring to the faithful the opportunity of uniting themselves to their Saviour on the day He gave Himself for their salvation. As history shows, the Holy See, in re-instating general communion on this day, was not

guided by antiquarian principles (had she been, she would never have done so, for the early Roman Liturgy knew nothing of it), but rather by genuine pastoral solicitude. At the same time the Holy Week Ritual of Pius XII restores this communion service to its primitive simplicity, removing all the "dry mass" accretions of the late Middle Ages.

Holy Saturday

Even more so than Friday, this day is completely a-liturgical, and traditionally so. Pope Innocent I gives as the reason for no Eucharistic celebration the tradition of the Apostles who spent the day in grief over the death of Christ.[89] In this way the Church shows her desolation and sorrow over her Saviour's death. She keeps the day in quiet mourning, for her Bridegroom has been taken away from her and lies in the tomb. And this is, in point of fact, the theme of Matins for Holy Saturday: Christ's death and burial, His lying in the tomb, the descent into Limbo.

It is with the Easter Vigil that the real Easter Liturgy begins, and in which the entire Liturgical Year and Holy Week reach their climactic zenith.[90] Let us take a rapid look at the preceding days of Holy Week and see how they actually lead up to and find their fulfillment in the Easter Vigil.

On the very first day we hear re-echoed the prophecies of the Messianic King and His glorification through the resurrection. Upon arriving in Jerusalem our Lord went into the Temple and seeing the terrible commercial traffic that went on there overturned the tables of the money-changers and those sellers of doves. When asked by what authority He did this, He answered:

> Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up again.[91]

This, of course, He said in reference to His death and resurrection. The Epistle of the Mass echoes this same idea in the words of St. Paul:

> He humbled Himself becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross. For which reason God has exalted Him and given Him a name which is above all names.[92]

And in the collect we pray that we may learn the lessons of His Passion and thus share in the glory of His resurrection. On Monday we read the Gospel account of Christ raising Lazarus from the dead, and in the prayer over the people we beg God to let:

> us come with joy to the celebration of the great deeds whereby He has made us *new*.

The Introit of Tuesday speaks of the cross of Christ as our "salvation, life and resurrection," while again the prayer over the people speaks of our being cleansed from the weaknesses of sinful nature in order to take part in the divine *renewal*. In the second collect for Wednesday we ask for the grace of the resurrection as the fruit of Christ's passion, and the collect and post-communion on Holy Thursday indicate too that the resurrection and immortality come to us through the cross. Finally, Good Friday itself, though dedicated specifically to the remembrance of the passion, begins with two readings, the first of which describes the mercy of God striking us in order to heal us, quickening us after two days and raising us up on the third to a new life in His eyes; and the second is the account of the Passover meal in Exodus, eaten in preparation for the Passage of the Lord, the deliverance of His chosen people—a figure of the resurrection!

But all these days reach their climax, not on Easter Day, so much as in the Easter Vigil itself. It is obvious that the readings and ceremonies of the Vigil have as their theme our incorporation into Christ through His work of redemption. In the procession with the lighted Paschal Candle we follow Christ in pilgrimage from darkness to light, from death to life, just as the Chosen People followed the column of fire in their passage from slavery to freedom.[93] The magnificent *Exsultet* hymn is a monument to the:

> night which became radiant as day ...the truly happy night which alone deserved to know the time and the hour in which Christ rose from the world below ...the night which frees from the vices of the world and the dark haze of sin all those who believe in Christ, the night which restores us to grace and the fellowship of the saints.

And before the great sacrament of resurrection, Baptism, is conferred, or at least before we renew ourselves in the spirit of our Baptismal innocence, we meditate on the Old Testament prophecies which foretold this new life in Christ.[94] And finally we usher in the day of salvation with the sacramental re-enactment and re-offering of the great deed of redemption, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

But why is the year's climax reached only at night?

According to the mind of the ancients, an important feast always began at the vespers of the preceding day. But on this eve the Church is not satisfied to rejoice simply with first vespers; she spends the whole night in prayer, meditation and exultation. She "vigils." She stays awake. As St. Augustine says of this "mother of all Christian vigils,"[95]

> we observe the night in which our Lord arose by watching; we contemplate that life in which there is no death nor sleep, and which Christ began for us in His own flesh by raising it from the dead... Nor is it incongruous for us thus to stay awake in vigil: for He slept that we might remain awake, He died that we might live.[96]

But this holy night is not simply commemorative of the past. In Baptism we have not risen to a purely earthly life; the grace which is the principle of our new life in Christ is also the seed of glory. We are called to live in the presence of God in heaven for all eternity. Although we have arisen with Christ to a new life of grace, we still await our ascension into heaven, the consummation of our hope. Hence, the Church has traditionally expected in this night the second coming of Christ, the *Parousia*, in which together with her Spouse she is to begin the eternal day of the nuptial feast. Observes Lactantius:

> This is the night, which we celebrate with a night-long vigil because of the coming of our King and God. This night has a twofold significance: in it (Christ) received life after dying, and in the future He will come into possession of the kingdom of the whole world.[97]

And St. Jerome after him relates this holy expectation to that of the Jews, who believed that the Messias would come to deliver them during their celebration of the Pasch. For this reason the Christians:

> held fast to a tradition of apostolic origin that during the Easter Vigil no one was to leave before midnight, for all awaited the coming of Christ. But after the middle of the night, when they felt sure He would not come, they were then to celebrate the feast.[98]

And this Jerome writes by way of commentary on that passage in the Gospel:

> And at midnight a cry arose: “Behold, the Bridegroom cometh. Go ye forth to meet him!”[99]

For several centuries the Church has known the incongruity of celebrating the Easter Vigil—a service whose texts and symbolism obviously call for the night hours—at a very early hour in the morning of Holy Saturday, when Christ certainly had not yet arisen. That this was not always so is proved beyond doubt by historical documents. The *Epistula Apostolorum*, an apocryphal writing dating from 140 to 160 and coming from Asia Minor or Egypt, indicates that the Vigil was held during the night until after midnight.[100] The term *abnoctantem* used by Tertullian in connection with this vigil seems to indicate the same thing.[101] We also have trustworthy witnesses to such an *horarium* in Jerome as cited above, Augustine[102] and Paulinus of Nola.[103] According to the *Apostolic Constitutions*,[104] the faithful gathered at vespers of Saturday and continued the vigil until the dawn of Sunday, whence the name for such vigils *pannuchis*.[105] In the ninth century Rabanus Maurus indicates that the Vigil began towards the vesper hour, about five o’clock in the evening.[106] And in the tenth century Pontifical of Poitiers we are told that the Vigil should begin at such a time in order that the people be not dismissed before midnight, the reason being the apostolic tradition that the Lord would come during this Vigil.[107] This is probably what is behind the insistence of Rupert of Deutz that the *Alleluia* should not be sung before midnight and therefore the ceremony should be protracted by some means, a sermon for instance, in order to observe this prescription.[108] *Circa initium noctis* is still the time indicated for beginning the Vigil in the twelfth century *Decretum Gratiani*,[109]

but thereafter the tendency of placing the Vigil earlier and earlier in the day shows itself, Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus X* of the twelfth century has the function begin at noon,[110]while the twelfth century Roman Pontifical allows the ceremony to begin at eleven o'clock in the morning[111] From this point it was but a small step to early morning hours, which finally became obligatory only in the *Missale Romanum* of Pius V in 1570. Fortunately, Pius XII already in 1951 restored the Easter Vigil to its proper time.

The ceremonies of the Vigil may be divided into the following sections:

1) the blessing of new fire,
2) the blessing of the Paschal Candle with the procession and *Preconium*,
3) the reading service,
4) the blessing of baptismal water, conferring of Baptism and renewal of baptismal vows,
5) Mass and Lauds.

A blessing of new fire appears for the first time in the Papal Liturgy for this night in the twelfth century.[112] Though the formula seems to have originated in Germany only in the tenth century,[113] the actual practice of either enkindling a new fire or at least of bringing it out from "hiding" can be found in both Rome and Germany in the eighth century.[114] While it is conjectured[115] that the German practice was originally intended to supplant the pagan custom of enkindling fires during the spring in honor of Wotan and other pagan divinities, the Roman practice seems to have been simply a question of keeping a lamp burning apart from the church, which was supposed to be kept dark on Good Friday, and using it on Saturday for the normal illumination needed for reading.[116] Amalar, however, considers this whole procedure symbolic of the resurrection of Christ.[117] And indeed this certainly seems to have

been behind the insistence in the twelfth century Ordos that the fire be enkindled anew on Holy Saturday before the Vigil.[118] In fact, this new fire was so precious in the eyes of the faithful, that after the blessing of the Candle they lighted their own candles from it and brought it home.[119]

The use of a special Paschal Candle was originally foreign to the Roman Rite. However, that one was used in the north of Italy in the fourth century is attested to in a letter of Jerome of 384 in which he teases the deacon Presidius for presuming to vaunt his pride by blessing it in the presence of the bishop and his priests.[120] An indication that such a custom existed in Africa is seen in the fact that Augustine quotes a few lines from such a blessing.[121] The Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 energetically recommended its adoption to other churches.[122] But the Papal Ordos are silent on the matter, even though the titular churches and those in the suburbicarian dioceses followed the almost universal custom.[123] The practice must have been introduced into the Papal service before the 12th century, for by that time it appears in official documents.[124]

The most probable origin of the Paschal Candle is the ancient daily practice of lighting and blessing a lamp towards the evening hours to dispel the darkness of the night. Indeed this was a simple and necessary daily occurrence, but one which was elaborated and given a special ritual with psalms, chants, and orations. This ceremony was called the *Lucernarium*,[125] or service of light, and came to form a part of vespers. The fact that the Easter Vigil originally began at the vesper hour supports the claim that in the Paschal Candle and its blessing we have the survival of this primitive daily custom. This further explains how it came to pass that it is the deacon who sings the *Preconium Paschale*,[126] for the blessing of the evening light in the church was a duty especially entrusted to him.

Our Paschal Candle today is decorated with five grains of incense. This rite takes its origin from a mistranslation of the formula intended as a blessing of the Candle itself. In the Gelasian Sacramentary[127] it reads as follows:

> *Veniat ergo, omnipotens Deus, super hunc incensum larga tuae benedictionis infusio...*

The word *incensum* as modified by *hunc* is masculine and obviously means something lighted. In service books from the tenth century on,[128] however, the pronoun *hunc* is replaced by *hoc*, thus making *incensum* neuter, meaning incense. While in the Holy Week Ordo of Pius XII the grains of incense are retained—they are symbolic of the five wounds of Christ, trophies of His victory over sin and death—the oration is returned to its original meaning, the word *cereum* being added to obviate any misunderstanding, and is used for the blessing of the Candle.

To some the various inscriptions to be made upon the Candle: the cross, Alpha and Omega as well as the current year, may seem novel. However, a cross, the Alpha and Omega are found already in the seventh century Mozarabic liturgical books.[129] And the Venerable Bede attests to the inscribing of the year on it in the eighth century.[130] For a while all these items figured in the Roman Rite at least from the twelfth century on.[131] As the deacon goes up the aisle of the church with the lighted Paschal Candle, he stops three times and sings, "*Lumen Christi!*" And all the faithful reply, "*Deo gratias!*" The forerunner of this greeting of light is to be found also in the fourth century *Lucernarium* rite.[132] But the exclamation was quite frequently used apart from liturgical services. For instance, in an eighth century document,[133] which describes the conduct of a group of Frankish monks in their refectory, we are told that whenever it became necessary to add more light because of the

fall of night, the monk who lighted the lamp cried out, "*Lumen Christi!*" "*Deo gratias!*" was the quick reply of the others. It took quite a while for this greeting to become part of the Roman Liturgy for this night; we find no trace of it until the thirteenth century.[134]

During the course of the Middle Ages many versions of the Paschal Preconium were composed. This appears quite natural if we recall that up till the sixth century the officiants at liturgical ceremonies were left the liberty of employing their own talents in fashioning the liturgical texts themselves. Thus Ennodius (d. 521) offers us examples of two such *Preconia*,[135] and Jerome, as we have seen,[136] had been requested to compose one for the deacon Presidius of Piacenza. The text of our present *Laus cerei* is contained already in the Old Gallican Missal and the Gothic-Gallican Missal of the late seventh century.[137] The author of our *Exultet* was in all probability St. Ambrose.[138]

With the reading of the prophecies begins the traditional Roman Easter Vigil properly so-called.[139] The original number of lessons was undoubtedly twelve. Nor was this anything special for the Easter Vigil, for every vigil between Saturday and Sunday had the same number, and even after a vigiliary Mass was discontinued on these nights, the twelve lessons continued on in the Masses for Ember Saturdays.[140] All the while the tradition of twelve lessons remained intact in many regions, others oscillated from anywhere between four[141] to six[142] to ten.[143] Some localities even had as many as twenty-four, but this was due to the custom of reading each lesson in Greek as well as in Latin.[144] Yet, despite all this diversity, there reigned a remarkable concordance as to the choice of texts for reading.[145] The number twelve finally succeeded in predominating and wound its way back to Rome around the twelfth century,[146] but now the reform of Pius XII reverts to the practice of Gregory the Great with only four lessons.

Upon the completion of these readings, which were obviously intended by reason of their choice to be a preparation for Baptism, the blessing of Baptismal water and the conferring of the Sacrament itself follow. Our present day formula for blessing the water is already found in the eighth century Gelasian Sacramentary.[147] However, the practice of having the water blessed before it is used for Baptism goes back to primitive times; both Tertullian and Cyprian insist on it.[148] In order to help the people who remained in the church while Baptism was being administered spend the time in a holy manner, the Litany of the Saints was chanted. With the new Ordo of Pius XII another ceremony is added to this ritual which greatly aids in bringing home to the faithful the full import of these rites by having them renew their baptismal vows. In this way the significance of Easter as the cause of Baptismal grace is made clear, and the annual spiritual renovation of Lent culminating in a symbolic resurrection together with Christ to a more intense life of grace is given concrete expression.

Newly baptized or at least renewed in the spirit of their Baptism, the faithful now take part in the celebration of the Easter Mass. Every text in it speaks of the joy and the newness of life and light that is ours through the resurrection of Christ. Since the ancient Vigil used to end in the early morning hours, they concluded with the singing of Lauds, themselves a figure of the resurrection. This too has been restored by Pius XII.

Here in the Easter Vigil the Church is at least once in the course of the year visibly what she always is invisibly: the Bride eagerly awaiting the return of her Bridegroom. She expresses this through her long night watch, demonstrating her yearning for the dawn of that eternal day when she will inaugurate with Her Spouse the everlasting nuptials of the Lamb.

John H. MILLER, C.S.C.
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Footnotes

1 *Epist. festalis*, II, 8. *MPG* [Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*], XXVI, 1371.

2 Ethérie, *Journal de Voyage*, n. 30. Edit. Hélène Pétré (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1948), p. 218.

3 *Homil*. XXX *in Genesim*, 1. *MPG*, LIII, 273-74.

4 Innocent I, *Epist*. 25, c. 4. *MPL* [Migne, *Patrologia Latina*], XX, 555; Tertullian, *De jejuniis*, 2. *MPL*, II, 1006: *in quibus ablatus est sponsus*.

5 Peter of Alexandria, *Epistula Canonica*, XV. *MPG*, XVII, 507.

6 *Apostolic Constitutions*, V, 18. *MPG*, I, 890.

7 *Journal de Voyage*, nn. 30-38, pp. 218-40.

8 Cf. e.g., Leo I, *Sermo de passione Domini*, I, 5. *MPL*, LIV, 314.

9 *The Gelasian Sacramentary*. Edit. H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1894), p. 60.

10 *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber Sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche*. Edit. K. Mohlberg (Münster, 1927), p. 22.

11 E.g., *Missale Gothicum*, XXVII; *Vetus Missale Gallicanum*, XV; the *Bobbio Missal*. *MPL*, LXXII, 263, 354, 487.

12 Zacharias 9:9.

13 Etheria, *op. cit*., n. 31, pp. 220-22.

14 To say simply that it is due to Gallican influence, as does Noëlle Maurice Denis Boulet in "*Le dimanche des Rameaux*," *La Maison-Dieu*, n. 41 (1955), p. 25, does not solve the question. It would make more sense to dub it an interpolation made by Gallican hands.

15 M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain du XII° siècle* (vol. I of *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*. 4 vols. Vatican City, 1938-41), pp. 210-14. Boulet, *art. cit*., p. 27.

16 *De eccl. off*., I, 28. *MPL*, LXXXIII, 763.

17 *Homil*. 23. *MPL*, XCIV, 125.

18 M. Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'Eglise visigothique et mosarabe d'Espagne* (Paris, 1904), col. 73. Boulet, *art. cit*., p. 22.

19 *Carmina*, lib. II, 3. *MPL*, 105, 308.

20 *De off. eccl*., I, 10. *MPL*, 105, 1008.

21 *MPL*, LXXII, 572. p. 22.

22 Etheria, *op. cit*., n. 31, p. 222.

23 Odo Casel, "Die Präfation der Palmenweihe," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, II (1922), 107-110.

24 *Luke* 24:25-27.

25 *Sermo de pass. Domini*, I ff. *MPL*, LIV, 314.

26 H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week* (London: Longmans, 1904), p. 230.

27 *Ordo Rom.* XV, n. 60. *MPL*, LVIII, 1303-1304.

28 *MPL*, XIII, 678.

29 Thurston, *op. cit*., p. 286.

30 John 13:34.

31 H. Schmidt, "*Geist und Geschichte des Gründonnerstags*," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch*, III (1953), 243.

32 *Epist*. 25, c. 7. *MPL*, XX, 559.

33 Ed. H. A. Wilson, p. 63.

34 Ibid., 67.

35 Ed. K. Mohlberg, pp. 23-24. However, two Mass formularies are provided: one begins with the *communicantes*, and this may possibly be the remnant of the Mass for the reconciliation of penitents; the other formulary is for an evening Mass.

36 This is, after all, the origin of the *Per quem haec omnia*, as seen in the *Apostolic Tradition*: see following note.

37 Edited by B. Botte (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1946), n. 5, p. 33.

38 Ibid., n. 21, p. 49.

39 Ed. H. A. Wilson, pp. 69-72.

40 Cf. G. Morin, "*Une particularité arlésienne de la liturgie du samedi saint*," *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, XLIX (1935), 146-49.

41 Ed. H. A. Wilson, pp. 63-73.

42 E. K. Mohlberg, pp. 23-24.

43 H. Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar* (Münster, 1921), pp. 44-47.

44 Cf. E. Bourque, *Etude sur les sacramentaires romains. Les Textes primitifs* (Vatican City, 1949), p. 225. H. Schmidt goes further and claims that the Gelasian was not an official Roman service book, cf. "*De sacramentariis romanis*," *Gregorianum*, XXXIV (1953), pp. 725-43.

45 "*Geist und Geschichte des Gründonnerstags*," p. 245.

46 Ibid., p. 246.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., p. 244.

49 He offers no arguments which would show that these three Masses could not have existed in Rome. His conclusion seems based entirely on his assumption that the Gelasian Sacramentary is an out and out Gallican document: see note 44. That this is not a legitimate procedure is seen in the fact that many rites contained in the Gelasian can be proved to be pure Roman practice. Hence, each Gelasian rite has to be examined in itself and not simply brushed aside automatically as Gallican.

50 I Tim. 5: 10.

51 Can. 3. Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, III, 586.

52 *Ordo Rom.* X, n. 12. *MPL*, LXXVIII, 1013.

53 *Ordo Rom.* XII, n. 27. *MPL*, LXXVIII, 1074.

54 *Ordo Rom.* XV, n. 65. *MPL*, LXXVIII, 1307.

55 John 13:2 and 12.

56 Cf. P. Browe, "*Die Kommunion an den drei letzten Kartagen*," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, X (1930), 70.

57 *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. Wilson, p. 72; the eighth century *Ordo Rom.* XXIII from Einsiedeln, n. 8. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut*

moyen-âge. III (Louvain, 1951), p. 270; and *Ordo Rom.* XXX, n. 25. Andrieu, III, 470.

58 *De eccl. offic*., c. 27. *MPL*, CXLVII, 50.

59 Cf. J. Kettel, "Zur Liturgie des Gründonnerstags," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch*, III (1953), 65-74.

60 Cf. J. A. Jungmann. "D*ie Andacht der 40 Stunden und das heilige Grab*," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch*, II (1952), 184-98.

61 Ibid., p. 197.

62 Cf. *Ordo Rom.* III, n. i. Andrieu, II, 131.

63 H. Schmidt, "*Geist und Geschichte des Gründonnerstags*," pp. 249-50.

64 *Epist*. 23, c. 12. *MPL*, XVI, 1073.

65 Ibid.; *Apostolic Constitutions*, V, 18. *MPG*, I, 890; IV Council of Toledo of 633, c. 8. *MPL*, LXXXIV, 369.

66 Inn. I, *Epist*. 25, c. 4. *MPL*, XX, 555. There is no trace of any sacramental celebration before or after this document.

67 C. 7. *MPL*, LXXXIV, 368.

68 Cf. Pseudo-Alcuin, *De div. off. MPL*, CI, 1211.

69 N. 9. Andrieu, III, 270.

70 "*Sero*" we read in the *Ordo Rom*. XV, n. 75. *MPL*, LXXVIII, 1315.

71 B. Capelle, "*Problèmes de pastorale liturgique: le Vendredi Saint*," *Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales*, XXXIV (1953), 262.

72 C. 67. J. Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1935), p. 19; see also Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 9. *MPL*, II, 701.

73 *Op. cit*., n. 37, pp. 236-38.

74 "*Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit*," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VII (1927), 1, 23.

75 Ed. K. Mohlberg, p. 24.

76 *Op. cit*., n. 37, p. 232. The first *Roman Ordo* which affords us a clear-cut description of pure Roman usage places the veneration of the cross before the reading service: *OR* XXIII, nn. 12-17. Andrieu, III, 270-71.

77 *Ordo Rom.* XXIII as in note 76.

78 *Ordo Rom.* XXIV, n. 35. Andrieu, III, 294.

79 M. Hittorp, *De divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis* (Rome, 1591), pp.47-49. B. Capelle, *art. cit*., pp. 257-58.

80 Capelle, *art. cit*., p. 259.

81 *Ordo Rom.* XXIII, n. 22. Andrieu, III, 272.

82 I, c. 15. *MPL*, CV, 1032.

83 *Ordo Rom.* XXIV, nn. 36-38. Andrieu, III, 294. Hence, the presence of this well developed communion service in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. Wilson, 77) must be a Gallican interpolation.

84 Capelle, *art. cit*., p. 259.

85 C. 49. Hefele -Leclercq, *op. cit*., I, 1022.

86 C. 52. Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit*., III, 569.

87 Cf. Anton Baumstark's enlightening discussion of this practice: *Liturgie Comparée* (Chevetogne, 1953), pp. 33 and 213.

88 *Art. cit*., p. 260.

89 *Epist*. 25, c. 4. MPL, XX, 555.

90 For a fuller explanation of this last assertion see John Miller, "The Easter Vigil, Climax of the Week and the Year," Proceedings of the North American Liturgical Week of 1956.

91 John 2: 19. The other evangelists make this incident coincide with Christ's triumphal entry into the Holy City: Matt. 21:12-17; Mark 11:15-17; Luke 19:45-46.

92 Phil. 2: 5-11.

93 Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 8, 22. *MPG*, XI, 1151.

94 Cf. Jean Daniélou's three chapters on the Old Testament types of Baptism: *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1956), 70-113.

95 *Sermo* 219, *MPL*, XXXVIII, 1088.

96 *Sermo* 221, *MPL*, XXXVIII, 1090.

97 *De div, instit*., 7, 19. *MPL*, VI, 796.

98 *Comm. in evang. sec.* Matt., lib. IV, c. 25, 6. *MPL*, XXVI, 192.

99 Matt. 25:6.

100 Quasten, *Monumenta*, pp. 336-37.

101 *Ad urorem*, II, 4. *MPL*, I, 1294.

102 *Sermo* 219 and 228. *MPL*, XXXVIII, 1088, 1101.

103 *Vita S. Ambrosii*, n. 48. *MPL*, XIV, 43.

104 V, 19. *MPG*, I, 891-94.

105 Anthanasius, *Apol. ad Constantinum*, 25; *Apolog. pro fuga*, 24. MPG, XXV, 625, 673.

106 *De cleric, instit.*, 2, 38. *MPL*, CVII, 350.

107 Cf. M. Righetti, *Manuale di Storia Liturgica*. II (Milan: Ancora, 1946), p. 167, note 220.

108 *De div. off.*, 7, 11. *MPL*, CLXX, 190.

109 III, 1, 50, *MPL*, CLXXXVII, 1722.

110 N. 16. *MPL*, LXXVIII, 1014.

111 Cf. J. A. Jungmann, "*Die Vorverlegung der Ostervigil seit dem christlichen Altertum*," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch*, I (1951), 53, note 31.

112 *Ordo Rom. X*, n. 16. *MPL*, LXXVIII, 1014.

113 Lechner-Eisenhofer, *Liturgik des Römischen Ritus* (Freiburg: Herder, 6th edit., 1953), p. 156.

114 Pope Zachary, *Epist. 13 ad Bonifacium*. *MPL*, LXXXIX, 951.

115 Cf. A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1909), I, 517. Righetti, *op. cit.*, II, 170.

116 Cf. above-cited letter of Pope Zachary, note 114, and *OR* XXIII, n.24. Andrieu, III, 272.

117 *De Ordine antiphonarii*, c. 44. *MPI.*, CV, 1293.

118 As in note 112.

119 *Ordo Rom.* XXVIII, n. 63. Andrieu, III, 404.

120 *Epist. 28 ad Presidium*, 1. *MPL*, XXX, 188.

121 *De civitate Dei*, 15, 22. *MPL*, XLI, 467.

122 C. 9. Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit*., III, 269.

123 Cf. *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1955), I, 225; *OR* XXIII, n. 24, and *OR* XXVI, nn. 6, 9, 10, 14. Andrieu, III, 272, 326-29.

124 *OR* X, n. 17. *MPL*, LXXXVIII, 1014.

125 Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition* (ed. B. Botte), n. 26, pp. 60-61; *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 36. *MPG*, I, 1138; Etheria, *Journal de Voyage*, n. 24, pp. 190-92. Anton Baumstark has shown that this is another carry over from the Jewish Sabbath service: *Liturgie Comparée*, 148-49, 160-63.

126 Gregory the Great, however, does report that in Ravenna it was the bishop who did so: *Epist., lib. XI*, 33. *MPL*, LXXVII, 1146.

127 Ed. H. A. Wilson, p. 81.

128 B. Capelle, "*Le rite des cinq grains d'encens*," *Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales*, XVII (1932), 8.

129 M. Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, p. 209. Righetti, *op. cit*., II, 176.

130 *De ratione temporum*, c. 47. *MPL*, XC, 494-95.

131 Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, I, 241. Righetti, *op. cit*., II, 177.

132 Cf. F-J. Dölger, "*Lumen Christi*," *Antike und Christentum*, V (1936) 1-43.

133 *Ordo Rom.* XIX, n. 22. Andrieu, III, 220.

134 *Ordo Rom.* XII, n. 30. *MPL*, LXXVIII, 1075.

135 *Opuscula* 9 and 10. *MPL*, LXIII, 258-62.

136 As in note 120.

137 *MPL*, LXXII, 364 f., 268 f.

138 B. Capelle, "*L'Exultet pascal, oeuvre de saint Ambroise*," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican City, 1946), I, 219-46.

139 All Roman documents up until the eleventh century have the service begin in this way, thus, e.g., the Paduan Codex of the Gregorian Sacramentary, ed. K. Mohlberg, p. 25; *OR* XXIII, n. 27. Andrieu, III, 272.

140 In fact, in the Gregorian Sacramentary, which bears the mark of Gregory's abbreviating reform and contains only four lessons for the Easter Vigil, the Ember

Saturdays were still called *Sabbatum in XII lectiones*: ed. Mohlberg, table of contents.

141 Appendix to *Ordo Rom.* XXVIII. Andrieu, III, 412-13.

142 Cf. A. Wilmart, "*Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin*," *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, LI (1937), 156.

143 *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson, pp. 82-83.

144 *Ordo Rom.* XXXb, n. 41. Andrieu, III, 472; cf. Joannes Beleth, *Divinorum off. explicatio*, c. 106. *MPL*, CCII, 110.

145 Cf. A. Baumstark, *Liturgie Comparée*, p. 184.

146 M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, I, 241. Righetti, *op. cit*., II, 178.

147 Ed. H. A. Wilson, pp. 84-86.148 *De baptismo*, c. 4. *MPL*, I, 1311; *Epist. Synodalis* (70), c. 1. *MPL*, III, 1077.