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## LITURGICAL PRAYERS OF INTERCESSION.

## I

THE GOOD FRIDAY *Orationes Solemnnes.*

## (1)

THE letter of Pope Celestine I to the bishops of Gaul, written about 431, is directed against certain presbyters who had apparently been preaching the doctrines of Pelagius. The letter properly so called ends with c. 2, which contains a eulogy of St Augustine. Attached to it are certain 'praeteritorum sedis apostolicae episcoporum auctoritates de gratia Dei'. These *Auctoritates* are now generally believed not to have formed part of the original letter sent by Celestine, but to have been appended to it some time afterwards. They were added to it, however, certainly not later than the end, and perhaps even before the middle, of the fifth century. They appear with the letter, and as part of it, in the collection of Papal Decretals made by Dionysius Exiguus in the pontificate of Symmachus (498-514), and they are cited as belonging to it by Peter the Deacon and his companions in their letter to the exiled bishops of Africa, written from Rome about 519-520. It is evident that Dionysius and Peter the Deacon must have found the *Auctoritates* already incorporated with the letter of Celestine in the papal archives at Rome; and it is probable that this incorporation had taken place some considerable time before.<sup>1</sup> From the beginning of the sixth century and onward they invariably appear as part of the letter and are treated as Celestine's.

In addition to actual papal utterances, the *Auctoritates* adduce as evidence of the official teaching in opposition to Pelagianism (or semi-Pelagianism) the tenor of the public prayers employed by the Church, thus<sup>2</sup>:—

Celestine I *Ep.* xxi c. 11 : Praeter has autem beatissimae et apostolicae sedis inviolabiles sanctiones, quibus nos piissimi patres, pestiferae novi-

<sup>1</sup> It is possible indeed that the *Auctoritates* were first compiled by Prosper of Aquitaine under Sixtus III, Celestine's successor (432-440), and presented to that Pope as an inducement to him to take the same strong line against Pelagianism as had been taken by his immediate predecessors. See the evidence collected in Coustant-Schoenemann *Pontificum Romanorum Epistolae genuinae* pp. 858-860.

<sup>2</sup> The passage which follows is quoted in its entirety as part of Celestine's letter by Peter the Deacon (*Migne P. L.* lxxv 450-451).

tatis elatione deiecta, et bonae voluntatis exordia et incrementa probabilius studiorum et in eis usque ad finem perseverantiam ad Christi gratiam referre docuerunt, obsecrationum quoque sacerdotalium sacramenta respiciamus, quae ab apostolis tradita in toto mundo atque in omni ecclesia catholica uniformiter celebrantur; ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi. Cum enim sanctarum plebium praesules mandata sibi legatione fungantur, apud divinam clementiam humani generis agunt causam, et tota secum ecclesia congemiscente postulant et precantur,

- (1) ut infidelibus donetur fides,
- (2) ut *idololatrae* ab impietatis suae *liberentur* erroribus,
- (3) ut *Iudaeis ablato cordis velamine* lux veritatis appareat,
- (4) ut *haeretici* catholicae fidei perceptione *resipiscant*,
- (5) ut schismatici spiritum redivivae caritatis accipiant,
- (6) ut lapsis poenitentiae remedia conferantur,
- (7) ut denique catechumenis ad *regenerationis sacramenta* perductis caelestis *misericordiae aula reseretur*.

It cannot be doubted that this passage has in view a series of prayers identical in character with those which are still said after the reading of the Passion on Good Friday, though representing them at an earlier stage of their development and probably not yet in the textual form in which they are extant in the Roman Sacramentaries.

The prayers in question are 'obsecrationes sacerdotales'; but though it is the celebrant who says them, they are made with the concurrence and participation of the people—'tota secum ecclesia congemiscente'. This sufficiently describes the manner in which the Good Friday prayers are now said. But further, the clauses in which some of the prayers are summarized exhibit verbal coincidences with the current Roman prayers that cannot be accidental. With the words which have been italicized in nos. (2), (3), (4), (7) above are to be compared the following phrases taken from the Good Friday prayers as they appear in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. Wilson, pp. 76-77):—

- (2) et *libera eos ab idolorum cultura*.
- (3) ut Deus et Dominus noster *auferat velamen de cordibus eorum* (the Jews).
- (4) ut omni *haeretica* perversitate depulsa errantium corda *resipiscant*.
- (7) pro *catechumenis* nostris, ut Deus et Dominus noster *adaperiat* aures praecordiorum ipsorum *ianuamque misericordiae*, ut per lavacrum *regenerationis* . . . inveniatur in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.

It will have been noticed that the subjects for prayer mentioned in the *Auctoritates* follow an order which is the reverse of that found in the Roman Good Friday prayers, beginning as they do with infidels and idolaters, placing the Jews before heretics and schismatics, and these before the catechumens. But there is possibly no significance

in this order: it might have resulted from a desire to place in the fore-front those examples which most strikingly illustrate the action of divine grace on the human will. Again, that the prayers actually appealed to do not represent the full series then in use may be regarded as certain; for the examples adduced—the prayers for infidels, Jews, heretics, schismatics, the lapsed, and catechumens—are those which alone would be relevant in the argument against Pelagianism.<sup>1</sup>

We must not attach too much significance to the description of these prayers as 'quae ab apostolis tradita in toto mundo atque in omni ecclesia catholica uniformiter celebrantur'; we may, however, safely deduce from it that the prayers were in use long before the *Auctoritates* were compiled, and that they were at the time widely current in the West, and this in much the same form as at Rome.

## (2)

We must now turn our attention to another document.<sup>2</sup> The anonymous treatise *de Vocatione omnium gentium*, in two books, is an anti-Pelagian work, and that it was written some time before the end of the fifth century is proved by the fact that it is quoted by Pope Gelasius I (+496) as the work of 'a certain teacher of the Church'.<sup>3</sup> Attempts have been made, unsuccessfully, to claim as its author either Prosper of Aquitaine or Pope Leo I. Bardenhewer considers that it must have been written about the middle of the fifth century. Commenting on the first verses of 1 Tim. ii the author writes:—

Lib. i cap. 12: De hac ergo doctrinae apostolicae regula, qua ecclesia universalis imbuitur, ne in diversum intellectum nostro evagemus arbi-

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable, on the other hand, that the series contained a special prayer for the 'lapsed'. We may compare St Leo *Serm.* xlix (*de Quadr.* xi) 3 'Lapsos quoque (he has just spoken of the catechumens) . . . poenitentiae lacrymis ablui, et portas misericordiae apostolica clave reserante, ad remedia reconciliationis admitti'. The *lapsi* are at this date merely penitents; but it may be worth considering whether the persons originally prayed for were not those who had actually lapsed under persecution.

<sup>2</sup> I owe the reference to Coustant's note to the passage already cited from the *Auctoritates*.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Pelagianam haeresim* c. 12 (Thiel, i 585) 'sicut quidam magister ecclesiae sapienter edocuit, dicens: *Ad magnam enim utilitatem fidelium materia est servata certaminum, ut non superbiat sanctitas, dum pulsatur infirmitas*'. The words are from the *de Vocatione* lib. i cap. 8. In c. 2 of the same work of Gelasius there is a possible reminiscence of the *Auctoritates* also: 'Iam vero legis tempore neminem fuisse sanctorum qui non hostiam obtulerit pro peccato, lectio veneranda testatur, in tantum ut etiam *pontifices sic apud Deum causas agerent populi tunc fidelis*, ut ipsi quoque pro suis delictis hostias immolarent.' Cf. in the *Auctoritates*: 'praesules . . . apud divinam clementiam humani generis agunt causam', where the argument is similar.

trio, quid ipsa universalis ecclesia sentiat requiramus; quia nihil dubium esse poterit in praecepto, si obedientia concordet in studio. Praeceptum itaque apostolus, immo per apostolum Dominus, qui loquebatur in apostolo, fieri obsecrationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus ac pro his qui in sublimitate sunt (1 Tim. ii 1-2). Quam legem supplicationis ita omnium sacerdotum et omnium fidelium devotio concorditer tenet, ut nulla pars mundi sit in qua huiusmodi orationes non celebrentur a populis christianis. Supplicat ergo ubique ecclesia Deo non solum pro sanctis et in Christo regeneratis, sed etiam *pro omnibus infidelibus* et inimicis crucis Christi, et *pro omnibus idolorum cultoribus*, pro omnibus qui Christum in membris ipsius persequuntur, *pro Iudaeis*, quorum caecitati lumen evangelii non refulget, *pro haereticis et schismaticis*, qui ab unitate fidei et caritatis alieni sunt. Quid autem pro istis petit, nisi *ut relictis erroribus suis convertantur ad Deum*, accipiant fidem, accipiant caritatem, et de ignorantiae tenebris liberati in agnitionem veniant veritatis? (Migne P. L. li 664: among the works of Prosper).

In the same work, lib. ii cap. 37, there is this further passage: 'Oret itaque sancta ecclesia, et pro iis qui crediderunt gratias agens proficientem eis perseverantiam petat; pro iis autem qui extra fidem sunt poscat ut credant. Nec ideo ab obsecrationibus cesset, si pro aliquibus exaudita non fuerit' (Migne *ib.* 722).

In the first of these two passages we find another verbal coincidence with the Good Friday prayers which appears not to be merely accidental: 'ut relictis erroribus suis convertantur ad Deum.' Compare with this the priest's bidding before the prayer for pagans: 'ut relictis idolis suis convertantur ad Deum verum et unicum filium eius Iesum Christum dominum nostrum' (Gelasian text).

It is unfortunate that we know no more about the author of the *de Vocatione* than that he wrote in the fifth century and that he was, apparently, not an African.<sup>1</sup> If he was not a Roman, he was probably a native of Gaul; and in this case it will appear that in Gaul too in the fifth century there were in use prayers for all conditions of men which must have borne a close resemblance to those then employed at Rome.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be indicated by the reading *postulationes* in 1 Tim. ii 1. Cf. St Augustine *Ep.* cxlix § 16 (ad Paulinum) '*interpellationes* autem, sive ut vestri codices habent *postulationes*'. See also § 14, and Sabatier's note to this verse.

<sup>2</sup> In the seventh or eighth century we have a Gallic counterpart of the Roman Good Friday prayers in the different forms of *Orationes Paschales* found in the *Missale Gothicum*, the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* ('Bobbio Missal'), and the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*; but these contain no prayers for infidels, Jews, heretics and schismatics. Except in their outward form they mark a wide departure from the prayers of the fifth century. Prayer for the Jews seems to have been kept up nowhere but at Rome; there we find it emphasized already by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* c. 35; cf. cc. 96, 133; 1 *Apol.* c. 14).

When we compare the passage from the *Auctoritates* appended to Pope Celestine's letter with the first of the two passages from the *de Vocatione*, we cannot help noticing certain points of resemblance in addition to that involved in the common argument. In the former we have the expression 'lex supplicandi', and in the latter 'legem supplicationis'; in the former it is said of the prayers: 'in toto mundo atque in omni ecclesia catholica uniformiter celebrantur', in the latter: 'quam legem . . . ita omnium sacerdotum et omnium fidelium devotio concorditer tenet, ut nulla pars mundi sit in qua huiusmodi orationes non celebrentur'. Again, in the *Auctoritates* the prayers are called 'obsecrationes sacerdotales', and in the second passage from the *de Vocatione* they are referred to as 'obsecrationes'. It may be suspected therefore that the two documents are not wholly independent of each other. Which is the earlier there is not much to indicate: though the style of the *Auctoritates* is the more forcible, and the striking phrase 'ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi' may seem to be rendered by, rather than to render, the less telling aphorism in the *de Vocatione*, 'nihil dubium esse poterit in praecepto, si obedientia concordet in studio'. But as both documents are of the fifth century, it is not of great importance for the present purpose to settle the question of priority. Both evidently refer to the same set of prayers—those which became our Good Friday *Orationes Solemnnes*.

## (3)

We pass over now to Africa and St Augustine. In his *Ep.* lv cap. 18 § 34 St Augustine recommends the practice of singing hymns and psalms in church: a matter in which, he says, many Catholics in Africa were remiss. Then he has this sentence:—

Quando autem non est tempus, cum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur? (Migne *P. L.* xxxiii 221).

Here *legitur* and *disputatur* seem to shew us that St Augustine is speaking of the Scripture lessons followed by the sermon at mass. If so, the prayer of the bishop and the *communis oratio* will naturally be referred to the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. His 'common prayer' is, anyhow, usually understood to mean the 'Prayers of the Faithful', made after the dismissal of the Catechumens. But what are we to think of the next words, 'voce diaconi indicitur'? Do they mean, as some have understood them to mean, that the *communis oratio* took the form of a litany recited by the deacon, after the Eastern fashion? Our next passage will throw some light on this question.

In *Ep.* ccxvii (ad Vitalem) St Augustine reproves Vitalis for his semi-Pelagian views on the subject of divine grace. What, he asks, will be the attitude of a man who holds such opinions when he listens to the prayers of the Church? He twice employs this argument in the letter.

(a) Cap. 1 § 2 : Exsere (*v. l.* exerce) contra orationes ecclesiae disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare Dei exhortantem populum Dei orare

pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem,  
et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret,<sup>1</sup>  
et pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse coeperunt eius munere perseverent,

subsanna pias voces et dic te non facere quod hortatur (Migne *P. L.* xxxiii 978-979).

(b) Cap. 7 § 26 : Numquid, ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad eius altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum, vel ipsum clara voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis Amen? (*ib.* 988).

It is manifest from these two passages that, as with our Good Friday prayers, the celebrant performed both the bidding and the vocal praying; he exhorted the people to pray for various classes of persons, and then himself made the prayers for them *clara voce*, the people answering only with *Amen*.

This sends us back to the question which arose out of our first passage from St Augustine (*Ep.* lv 18 § 34), viz. What is the meaning there of the words 'communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur'? Are the prayers which are referred to here in *Ep.* lv the same as those referred to in *Ep.* ccxvii, or are they something distinct? We may notice in the first place that in both letters the expression *clara voce* is used to describe the manner in which the bishop makes the prayers. Next, the prayers spoken of in passages (a) and (b), from *Ep.* ccxvii, as both announced and pronounced by the bishop, are elsewhere in the same letter referred to as 'orationes credentium' and 'orationes fidelium' (§§ 13, 29). But these expressions can hardly have a different meaning from that of 'communis oratio' in *Ep.* lv. There is no room for doubt, I think, that the prayers of the people referred to in *Ep.* lv are identical with those spoken of in *Ep.* ccxvii, and that they too were made (both as regards the biddings and the actual petitions) by the bishop alone. The deacon certainly had a part to play, as we see from *Ep.* lv ('voce diaconi indicitur'); but it can only have been a very subordinate one. It will be remembered that in the Roman Good Friday prayers the deacon tells the people to kneel down and then to stand up again—

<sup>1</sup> Very interesting is the parallel to this in the bidding to the prayer 'pro neophytis' among the *Orationes Paschales* of *Miss. Gall. vet.* (Muratori ii 738): 'ut eis desiderium beatæ et perpetuæ regenerationis infundat'.

this between the bishop's bidding and his prayer. If in the African rite of which St Augustine speaks the deacon gave some such direction as *Flectamus genua*, that would be enough to satisfy the words 'voce diaconi indicitur'. And indeed *indicere* naturally implies no more than such a short signal; it would not be an appropriate word to describe the deacon's part in a running litany of the Eastern type.<sup>1</sup> This point, however, need not be argued: there is actual authority for *indicere orationem* in reference to the *Flectamus genua* itself. Among the sermons in the Appendix to those of St Augustine there are two by St Caesarius of Arles which speak of the people's genuflexion at a signal for prayer given by the deacon.

1. *Serm.* cclxxxv § 1: Supplico, fratres carissimi, et paterna pietate commoneo, ut quotiescumque *oratio indicitur*, qui forte pro aliqua infirmitate non potest *genua flectere* et dorsum incurvare, vel cervicem humiliare non differat (Migne *P. L.* xxxix 2284).

2. *Serm.* cclxxxvi § 1: Rogo et admoneo vos, fratres carissimi, ut quotiescumque iuxta altare a clericis oratur, aut *oratio diacono clamante indicitur*, non solum corda sed etiam corpora fideliter inclinetis. Nam dum frequenter, sicut oportet, et diligenter attendo, diacono clamante *Flectamus genua*, maximam partem velut columnas erectas stare conspicio (Migne *ib.* 2285).

When the passages quoted from St Augustine are compared together, and considered in relation to those taken from the *Auctoritates* at the end of Pope Celestine's letter and from the treatise *de Vocatione*, it hardly admits of doubt that in Africa also, at the beginning of the fifth century, there was already established the practice of reciting a series of prayers for 'all sorts and conditions', and that these prayers (both in content and in the manner of their recital) were closely analogous to the Roman *Orationes Solemnes*. And indeed St Augustine makes it even more clear than do the other two authorities that the manner in which those prayers were conducted was that to which we are now accustomed, though his references supply less material for a textual comparison. We need not, of course, suppose that the African prayers of which he speaks were identical, either textually or in the series of subjects prayed for, with the contemporary Roman prayers; but there was evidently a considerable element of agreement, and there must have been a real historical connexion between the two sets of prayers—for one thing, both took place shortly after the reading of the Scriptures.

<sup>1</sup> Pope Innocent I in his letter to Decentius uses *indicere* for the reading out of a list of names; but this is still a mere announcement, and suggests nothing in the nature of prayer or bidding. In the same letter he uses *indicere* for the announcing of the kiss of peace. I would add that 'voce diaconi indicitur' suggests to me more readily a short call to prayer than the virtual making of the prayer which is involved in the recital of a litany.



## (4)

We have now seen that the Roman *Orationes Solemnnes* can be traced back to the fifth century in Rome, and perhaps also in Gaul,<sup>1</sup> and that they were appealed to as a witness to the Church's teaching on the subject of divine grace against Pelagianism. We have found St Augustine in Africa making the same appeal to the Church's prayers. As he was the protagonist on the Catholic side in this controversy, it is perhaps more probable that the argument was first used by him.<sup>2</sup> But on whichever side of the water it originated, it is clear that the borrowers on the other side recognized the prayers appealed to as identical in character with a series of prayers in use among themselves. And from the evidence provided by the documents just reviewed we can see that the identification was justified. This is true of the fifth century. But St Augustine's letters shew us that he assumed the use of these prayers to be general in Africa; they must therefore have existed already before his time; and in view of what is said in the *Auctoritates* and the *de Vocatione* as to their antiquity and wide circulation, we may say with some confidence that they were current generally in the West before the end of the fourth century.

We have now to ask, In what special light were these prayers regarded? They were of course in character wholly intercessory. But I think there can be no doubt that they were regarded as specifically the people's prayers, in fact the 'Prayers of the Faithful' or 'Common Prayers', said from very early times, and practically everywhere in the Church, after the exclusion of those who were not baptized or who for other causes were not permitted to pray with the faithful. St Augustine, although he tells us that the bishop made both the invitatory (or biddings) and the prayers, speaks of them as *orationes fidelium*, *orationes credentium*, *communis oratio*: just as in the second century St Justin Martyr had described the prayers said by the people after the reading of the Scriptures and the delivery of the homily as *κωνὰ ἐὶχαί*. And similarly in the passage cited from the *Auctoritates* it is said: 'sanctarum plebium praesules . . . tota secum ecclesia congemiscente

<sup>1</sup> For the *de Vocatione* may be a Gallic work; and the fact that Pope Gelasius did not, apparently, know the name of its author may perhaps be thought to favour this view.

<sup>2</sup> In the letter of the Council of Carthage, of 416, to Innocent I we find a similar appeal to the terms of the episcopal benedictions: 'Contradicitur etiam istorum contentione benedictionibus nostris, ut in cassum super populum dicere videamur quidquid eis a Domino precamur, ut recte ac pie vivendo illi placeant . . . Si ergo vulerimus benedicendo super populum dicere: Da illi, Domine, virtutem corroborari per spiritum tuum: istorum nobis disputatio contradicit' (c. 4). Similarly St Augustine *Ep.* clxxxix § 4.

postulant et precantur'—an expression which recognizes the common character of the prayers, in spite of the fact that the vocal part now fell exclusively to the celebrant.

I am of opinion that all allusions found in the West during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries to prayers of the faithful or of the people during the liturgy—and indeed all allusions to public intercessory prayer—are to be referred to our *Orationes Solemnes*, or what they historically represent. I append here the instances of such allusion (or possible allusion) which are usually alleged, reserving to a later section of this paper the treatment of what is technically called the liturgical 'Intercession'—that is, the series of intercessory prayers which in the East were said by the celebrant within the Canon or Anaphora.

1. Pope Siricius *Ep.* i c. 5 (to Himerius of Tarragona, A. D. 385) speaks thus of those who have returned to sin after having already undergone penance:—

De quibus, quia iam suffugium non habent poenitendi, id duximus decernendum, ut sola intra ecclesiam fidelibus oratione iungantur, sacrae mysteriorum celebritati, quamvis non mereantur, intersint; a dominicae autem mensae convivio segregentur.

This means, in sum, that the persons in question may be present throughout the mass, but may not communicate. But it is possible that Siricius does not use 'oratione' and 'mysteriorum celebritati' as commensurate terms, but means to say rather that the persons in question may take part in the prayers of the faithful, and also be present at the rest of the mass. This interpretation is suggested by a passage of Felix II, presently to be given. If it be not correct, then 'fidelibus oratione iungantur' refers to the mass as a whole, and cannot be used to illustrate the *Orationes fidelium* in any sense understood.

The next two items relate to prayer for the Emperor; and being so closely connected in point of time, they must evidently be given one and the same interpretation.

2. Boniface I *Ep.* vii (to the Emperor Honorius, A. D. 420): Ipsa . . . ecclesia hac pietatem vestram legatione, quam suis sacerdotibus commisit, appellat . . . Vobis, inquit, religiose imperantibus modo tutus est populus, tam fidus Deo quam tibi principi christiano. Ecce enim inter ipsa mysteria, inter preces suas quas pro vestri felicitate dependit imperii, teste apud quem et de cuius sede agitur sancto Petro, sollicitis pro religionis observantia vocibus clamat: cum sollicita petitione miscetur oratio, ne hos in varias res semel evulsa (? evulsos) distrahat a cultu solito, tentatore sollicitante, discordia.

The interpretation of this passage turns on the meaning of 'inter ipsa mysteria'. Do the words denote that the Emperor was prayed for

within the more solemn part of the mass, the Canon, or merely in the course of the mass? Innocent I in his letter to Decentius of Gubbio certainly employs *mysteria* to describe the Canon, or, as he explains it, those things 'quae aperire non debeo'. But then Innocent in this passage is dealing expressly with the different parts of the mass, while Boniface is not. Again, the expressions 'sollicitis . . . vocibus clamat' and 'cum sollicita petitione miscetur oratio' suggest some sort of spontaneous acclamation on the part of the congregation rather than any known form of liturgical response. Nor does the emphasis laid on the exclamations of the people (with which the prayer is said merely to be 'mingled') seem to accord with the idea that they were formal responses to the prayer—an *Amen* or the like. There are many instances on record in which the people gave voice in church with bursts of applause; and acclamations, or *laudes*, for Emperor, Pope, or Bishop were a recognized institution. It is not improbable therefore that Boniface represents the people of Rome as crying out with the usual formula of such *laudes*, 'Exaudi Christe, Honorio Augusto vita!'—this repeated many times, as the manner was. Such acclamations would come very naturally at the point where the Pope made the bidding (as in the *Orationes Solemnnes*) before the prayer for the Emperor; they would then be followed by the prayer itself. Such a proceeding would, it seems to me, quite well satisfy the expression 'cum sollicita petitione miscetur oratio'. We need not suppose that these acclamations were the rule: the occasion described was evidently a special one.

3. Celestine I *Ep.* xxiii c. 1 (ad Theodos. iun.): Ecce nunc domus Domini orationibus vacant, et vestrum per omnes ecclesias Deo nostro oblati sacrificiis commendatur imperium.

We can gather nothing from this passage except that the Emperor was prayed for during the mass. The words 'oblati sacrificiis' cannot be pressed to mean that the prayer for the Emperor took place 'after the consecration', or at any particular point in the mass; they tell us only that it was made when the Eucharist was celebrated.<sup>1</sup>

4. Felix II (III), *Ep.* xiii (A. D. 487–488), deals with the case of those who have allowed themselves to be baptized, or rebaptized, by heretics.

(a) Cap. 2 (as to members of the higher clergy): Sed quia idem Dominus atque salvator clementissimus est et neminem vult perire, usque ad exitus sui diem in poenitentia, si respiscunt,<sup>2</sup> iacere conveniet, nec orationi non modo fidelium sed ne catechumenorum quidem omni-

<sup>1</sup> For 'sacrificium offerre' in the sense of celebrate the Eucharist cf. Siricius *Epp.* i c. 7, x c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in the Good Friday prayer for heretics and schismatics the words 'Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui omnes salvos et neminem vis perire . . . errantium corda respiscant'.

modis interesse; quibus communio laica in morte redhibenda est (Thiel, i p. 263).

Here 'oratio fidelium' is contrasted with 'oratio catechumenorum', and so may reasonably (though not with full certainty) be referred to the Prayers of the Faithful rather than to the Mass of the Faithful as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

(*b*) Cap. 3 (as to other clergy, monks, and lay folk): Servari praecipimus hunc tenorem, quem Nicaena synodus circa eos qui lapsi sunt, vel fuerint, servandum esse constituit . . . tribus annis inter audientes sint, septem vero annis subiaceant inter poenitentes manibus sacerdotum; duobus etiam oblationes modis omnibus non sinantur offerre, sed tantummodo popularibus in oratione socientur<sup>2</sup> (*ib.*).

The last clause may, especially in view of the underlying Greek, reasonably be understood in reference to the 'Prayers of the Faithful'.

(*c*) Cap. 4: Quodsi ante praefinitum poenitentiae tempus despectus (= *desperatus*) a medicis aut evidentibus mortis pressus indiciiis, recepta quisquam communionis gratia convalescit, servemus in eo quod Nicaeni canones ordinaverunt: ut habeatur inter eos qui in oratione sola communicant,<sup>3</sup> donec impleatur spatium temporis eidem praestitutum (*ib.* 264).

The same remark applies here that is made under (*b*) above.

5. Council of Lyons (517) can. 6: Domini quoque gloriosissimi regis sententiam secuti, id temperamenti praestitimus, ut Stephano praedicto vel Palladiae usque ad orationem plebis, quae post evangelium legeretur, orandi in locis sanctis spatium praestaremus (Mansi, vol. viii col. 570).

It has been thought that this canon may have in view not a series of prayers after the manner of the *Orationes Solemnes*, but a litany of the type found in the Ambrosian Missal for Sundays in Lent or of that in the Stowe Missal. Mgr Duchesne understands that the canon refers to such a litany.<sup>4</sup> It may be so; but in that case we have in Gaul at the beginning of the sixth century a type of 'Prayers of the Faithful' very different in character from those which St Augustine a century

<sup>1</sup> See what is said under no. 1 above as to Siricius.

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Nicaen. can. 11 ὅσοι οὖν γνησίως μεταμελῶνται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκροωμένοις ποιήσουσι οἱ πιστοί, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται, δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* can. 13 εἰ δὲ ἀπογνωθεὶς καὶ κοινωνίας πάλιν τυχῶν, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἔξετασθῆ, μετὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μόνῃς ἔστω.

<sup>4</sup> *Christian Worship*, fifth English ed. (1919), p. 198. The litany for the Sundays in Lent found in the Mozarabic Missal (Lesley, p. 94) is of a somewhat different type, and is not considered in this connexion by Mgr Duchesne.

earlier described as 'communis oratio', 'orationes fidelium'. In other words, the Council of Lyons presents us with an innovation due to Greek influence; for it is wholly improbable that the old Gallican Prayers of the Faithful (say of saec. iv-v) are represented by the litanies in the Ambrosian and Stowe Missals. Mgr Duchesne himself points out that these formulae are 'absolutely of the same type' as the litanies found in the Greek liturgies; and he adds: 'We may go even further and say that the examples given are nothing more than translations from a Greek text.'<sup>1</sup>

What appears to be the first plain reference in Gaul to prayers said by the deacon after the Scripture lessons occurs in the letters attributed to St Germanus of Paris (+576). In the first of these letters we read:—

Preces vero psallere levitas pro populo ab origine libri Moysacis ducit exordium, ut audita apostoli praedicatione levitae pro populo deprecentur et sacerdotes prostrati ante Dominum pro peccata populi intercedant (Migne *P. L.* lxxii 92).

This seems unmistakable: but Edmund Bishop has left on record his opinion that these letters were not written by St Germanus, but later. In his last work he has this note on the subject:—

'The MS of these letters, long considered lost, still exists, though it is not at present available. A friend who has seen it tells me it is of the eleventh century,<sup>2</sup> not of the eighth, as Martene gives to be understood. It may be as well to add in passing that, after full consideration, I have come to the conclusion that this document is not of the sixth century, and therefore not by Germanus of Paris, but a production of the second half of the seventh or even, it may be, of the early eighth century' (*Liturgia Historica* p. 131).

6. The author of the fifth-century treatise *de Sacramentis* insists (l. iv c. 4 § 14) that the consecration of the Eucharist is effected by the words of Christ: 'Nam reliqua omnia, quae dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur: laudes Deo deferuntur (*or* laus Deo deferuntur), oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris; ubi venit ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, iam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi'.

It has been inferred from this passage that 'laudes Deo deferuntur' denotes the Preface concluded with the *Sanctus*, and that the intercessory prayers for the people, &c., mentioned next, must have followed

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 200. The older Gallican prayers are more probably represented (however imperfectly) by the *Orationes Paschales* of the Gallican books (see p. 224 n. 1 above).

<sup>2</sup> This is probably a slip of the pen: I understand that the MS is of about s. ix-x.

the Preface, and so have stood between the *Sanctus* and the words of Institution. But the evidence reviewed in this paper makes it difficult to believe that these prayers 'for people, kings, and the rest' can have been anything other than the *Orationes Solemnes* said after the Gospel. I conclude therefore that the author, starting from the words of Institution, mentions the earlier elements of the mass in a backward order (cf. *J. T. S.* vol. xx p. 224 n. 2). The same view appears to be favoured by Dr Srawley in a note to the late Mr T. Thompson's translation of the *de Sacramentis*, p. 110 (S.P.C.K., 1919).

We have now traced back the *Orationes Solemnes* to the fifth century, so far as Rome is concerned. And we have identified them, as regards their general form and the manner in which they are said, with a series of prayers used in Africa before St Augustine's day. On the strength of this identification we have concluded that both the Roman and the African prayers were in use already in the fourth century. Then we have seen that St Augustine describes these prayers as 'oratio communis', 'orationes fidelium', 'orationes credentium'; and we have been led to infer that the Good Friday prayers are in fact nothing but the old Western Prayers of the Faithful.

In a second part of this paper an attempt will be made to trace the history of the Prayers of the Faithful farther back and over a wider field, in the East as well as in the West, and to determine their relation to the liturgical Intercession. Meanwhile there is just a word to be said in regard to the conclusion already drawn.

The identification of the *Orationes Solemnes* with the old Western Prayers of the Faithful will not appear new, though the evidence for it has not previously, so far as I know, been set out in a formal manner: it was made long ago by Mgr Duchesne, who writes: 'These are the same petitions which we encounter, frequently repeated, in the daily liturgies of the Eastern Church. I am of opinion, therefore, that these prayers once formed part of the ordinary Roman Mass, and that they were said after the lections, that is, at the place in which they long continued to be recited on Wednesday and Friday in Holy Week.'<sup>1</sup> Edmund Bishop, on the other hand, appears to contradict this view of the Good Friday prayers. But he is not to be understood as denying that, as he puts it, they 'are a survival of some ancient general practice in Rome'. In his paper on *Kyrie eleison* (*Lit. Hist.* p. 122) he was concerned immediately with the view that the *Orationes Solemnes*

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Worship* p. 173. The recital of these prayers on the Wednesday is prescribed in the first Roman Ordo of Mabillon, c. 28, but in connexion with the office of the third hour, not with the mass of the eighth hour.

answer to the diaconal litanies of the Eastern Church. He refused to accept the analogy, pointing out that in the Good Friday prayers the priest both propounds the theme and then himself makes the prayers. From other passages in his writings it is evident that Edmund Bishop connected the Roman prayers in his mind rather with the liturgical Intercession than with the diaconal litanies of the East. Whether that view is consistent with the conclusion drawn in this paper, that these prayers represent the Western Prayers of the Faithful, is a question which must wait for an answer until we have seen more of the history and relation of the liturgical Intercession, Prayers of the Faithful, and the diaconal litanies; but without unduly anticipating I may say at once that I follow Mr Bishop in his refusal to connect the Good Friday prayers with the Eastern litanies; and in this there is a difference between the explanation here offered and that given by Mgr Duchesne.

I must not omit to mention that for my knowledge of the passages from St Augustine's letter ccxvii (at p. 224 above), as also of that from *Ep.* clxxix (p. 226 n. 2) and the two from St Caesarius (p. 225), I am indebted to the valuable article of Mr W. C. Bishop on 'The African Rite' in vol. xiii of this JOURNAL (pp. 250 ff). It may not be amiss, however, to point out that Mr Bishop has run the two separate passages from *Ep.* ccxvii into one (p. 271), and that by a slip he has given to *Ep.* clxxix the number clxxxix (p. 277).

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