

The Ordinary of the Mass

The unchanging texts of the Roman Missal of 1962

Roman Rite · *Missale Romanum*, Vatican typical edition of 1962 · Latin · collated against the Church Music Association of America facsimile

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The Roman Ordinary is not merely a frame around the propers but the stable textual and ritual sequence within which the Eucharistic sacrifice is celebrated. Everything that changes from day to day — introit, collect, lesson, gospel, offertory, secret, communion, postcommunion — is applied to a single action whose text does not change: an approach made in penitence, a praise that is not the celebrant's own composition, a confession of faith received from a council, an offering made in anticipation of what has not yet happened, a thanksgiving that opens into the Canon, and a Canon whose grammar is that of a Roman petition placed before the Father through the Son. The 1962 book distinguishes this sequence typographically: the Ordinary is printed once, in the middle of the volume, with its own continuous numbering, and the forms over the bread and chalice are set in larger type than anything else in the missal.

1 What the 1962 book actually prints, and where

This study is controlled by one object: the *Missale Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Summorum Pontificum cura recognitum*, Vatican typical edition of 1962, read in the 1,088-page facsimile that the corpus already registers. Every Latin text quoted below was read on that facsimile's page images, and every rubric reported below was read either there or in the same book's front matter.

The book does not present the Ordinary as a single continuous block. It is distributed across the volume in four printed stretches, and knowing where they are is the first practical thing a reader of this missal needs:

Received unit	No.	Voice, gesture, condition
<i>Rubricae generales Missalis romani</i>	424–513	Front matter, printed pp. XXI–XXXV. The general rubrics of the Missal: when <i>Iudica me</i> is omitted, when <i>Gloria</i> and <i>Credo</i> are said, which parts are said aloud and which in a low voice, how the faithful communicate, when the last Gospel is changed.
<i>Ritus servandus in celebratione Missae</i>	I–XIII	Front matter, printed pp. LIII–LXV. The ceremonial: posture, gesture, voice, the handling of host and chalice, what to do at each point of the Canon.
<i>Ordo Missae</i> , first stretch	1013–1042	Printed pp. 216–222, artifact pp. 297–303. Foot of the altar through <i>Suscipiat</i> and the cue for the secret.
<i>Praefationes</i>	1043–1087	Printed pp. 223–298, artifact pp. 304–379. All the prefaces, first in solemn and ferial chant, then without music.
<i>Canon Missae</i>	1088–1112	Printed pp. 299–311, artifact pp. 380–392. <i>Te igitur</i> through <i>Per ipsum</i> , opening opposite a full-page colour Crucifixion plate.
<i>Ordo Missae</i> , second stretch	1113–1139	Printed pp. 312–328, artifact pp. 393–409. <i>Pater noster</i> through the last Gospel.

Three features of this arrangement are worth naming at once, because they govern how the rest of this study reads the book.

First, the *marginal numbers*. The 1962 edition carries a continuous arabic numbering in the outer margin, running through the whole volume. The Ordinary occupies numbers 1013 to 1139; the number immediately after the last Gospel is 1140, the introit of Easter Sunday, which begins on the next opening. These numbers are the edition's own locators, and this study uses them throughout rather than inventing a scheme of its own. They are not a theological taxonomy: number 1102 is the consecration of the bread and number 1039 is the *Lavabo*, and nothing in the numbering says which matters more.

Second, the *interruption*. The Canon is not printed inside the *Ordo Missae*; the prefaces stand between them. A priest using this book turns from the end of the secret to the preface proper to the day, then to the Canon, then back to the *Ordo Missae* for the Communion. The physical break explains why a reader must move between distinct parts of the volume. This study records that arrangement without assigning the printer or bookbinder an unrecorded theological intention.

Third, the *typographic hierarchy*. Prayer text is set in a roman face; rubrics are interleaved with it in italic, often mid-sentence, so that *Qui pridie quam pateretur* is broken by the direction to take the host into the hands. Two sentences alone are set larger, centred, and free of interleaved rubric: the form over the bread at number 1102 and the form over the chalice at number 1104. The layout therefore distinguishes the two forms from the surrounding text. That is a direct observation about this printing, not a claim about the theological intention of its designers.

How this study reads the Ordinary

The exposition follows the rite in order. For each received unit it asks four questions, in this order and with unequal weight according to what the unit deserves: what does the 1962 book print; what does its rubric require; where does the text come from; and what does it say. Where the fourth question can be answered only by a close reading of the Latin — most of all in the Canon — that reading is given at length. Where a unit is short, or where its history is better attested than its meaning is disputed, the treatment is short. Nothing here forces the *Lavabo* and the *Qui pridie* into the same dossier.

1. **At the foot of the altar** (1013–1023): psalm, confession, absolution, ascent.
2. **Introit, Kyrie, Gloria** (1024–1025): the entrance chant and the two chants that follow it.
3. **The word** (1026–1029): collect and lessons in their proper slots, then *Munda cor meum*, the Gospel and the Creed.
4. **The offering** (1030–1042): the medieval prayers over bread and chalice, the incensation, the *Lavabo*, *Orate fratres* and the secret.
5. **Preface and Sanctus** (1043–1087): the dialogue, the proper prefaces, and the angelic hymn.
6. **The Canon** (1088–1112): from *Te igitur* to *Per ipsum*, read clause by clause.

7. **The Communion** (1113–1131): Lord’s Prayer, embolism, fraction, peace, *Agnus Dei*, the three prayers, the reception, the ablutions.
8. **Dismissal and last Gospel** (1132–1139): *Ite missa est*, *Placeat*, blessing, John 1.

A note on the Latin printed here, and on the English

The missal prints *ae* and *oe* as ligatures and marks the tonic accent on longer words as a pronunciation aid. This study prints the digraphs and omits the accents. That is an orthographic normalisation of presentation only; no word, form or word order has been altered, and each block was collated against the facsimile page after being set. Where the 1962 spelling itself differs from an earlier printed usage — *Genetricis* for *Genitricis*, *neglegentiis* for *negligentiis*, *exspecto* for *expecto*, *cotidianum* for *quotidianum* — the difference is a fact about the edition and is reported where it occurs.

No English in this study is a translation made by its author. Where an English wording appears in a framed block it is quoted from one identified public-domain witness: the anonymous English of *The Roman Missal translated into the English language for the use of the laity*, first revised edition (Philadelphia: Eugene Cumiskey, 1861), whose Ordinary and Canon occupy printed pp. xv–xlvi in facing Latin and English columns. That book is a pre-1955 lay hand missal, not an official or approved liturgical translation, and at several points its Latin is not the Latin of 1962. Those points are exactly what makes it useful, and they are collated rather than smoothed. Everywhere else the English of this study is third-person analysis: it describes what a Latin prayer says and must not be read or used as a version of it.

2 At the foot of the altar (nn. 1013–1023)

The 1962 *Ordo Missae* opens with the priest already vested and already at the altar step, having made the reverence due to the altar. He signs himself and says aloud, unless a particular rubric provides otherwise, the trinitarian formula; then, hands joined before his breast, he begins an antiphon.

1013–1014 · *In nomine Patris* and the antiphon

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

The psalm and its condition

What follows is Psalm 42, verses 1 to 5, said alternately with the ministers, with *Gloria Patri* and the antiphon repeated. The missal prints the alternation with the letters *S.* and *M.* — *sacerdos* and *minister* — and it prints the psalm reference in the margin, *Ps. 42, 1-5*, in the Vulgate numbering that the Douay-Rheims Bible also uses.

1015 · *Iudica me, Deus* (Ps. 42, 1–5)

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

Rubric printed at n. 1016, and *Rubricae generales Missalis romani* nn. 424–425

In Requiem Masses, and in Masses of the season from Passion Sunday to Maundy Thursday inclusive, the psalm *Iudica me, Deus* is omitted together with *Gloria Patri* and the repetition of the antiphon. The priest says *In nomine Patris, Introibo* and *Adiutorium*, and then makes the confession. The omission is therefore not a general Lenten rule: it begins at Passion Sunday, and n. 425 restricts it to Masses *de Tempore*, not to a saint's Mass falling in that fortnight.

A second and wider omission is governed by n. 424, which prescribes the psalm with its antiphon and the confession with the absolution before the altar steps in every Mass, sung or read, but then removes the whole block — psalm, antiphon, confession, absolution, the following versicles, and both *Aufer a nobis* and *Oramus te* — from the Masses that follow the blessing of candles at the Purification, the blessing and imposition of ashes, the blessing and procession of palms, the Easter Vigil, the Rogation procession, and certain Masses following consecrations in the *Pontificale Romanum*. The principle is legible: where the people have already been gathered, blessed and led in procession, the priest's private approach to the altar has already happened in public, and the rite does not repeat it.

The psalm is the reason the rite has its shape. Its speaker is a man barred from the sanctuary and asking to be let in: *discerne causam meam de gente non sancta*, distinguish my cause from a nation that is not holy. Its fourth verse supplies the antiphon, so that the antiphon is a quotation from the psalm's own centre and the whole psalm is heard as an expansion of the one line the priest has already said twice. The Douay-Rheims renders that verse “And I will go in to the altar of God: to God who giveth joy to my youth” (Ps. 42, 4). The Latin *iuventutem meam* carries no suggestion that the speaker is young; it is the joy that renews, and the older English witness prints both “who giveth joy to my youth” at the antiphon's first appearance and “who rejoiceth my youth” at its repetition, which shows how little the translator thought turned on the phrase.

The omission of the psalm in Passiontide and at Requiems is the rite's own commentary on it. The psalm asks for light and truth to lead the speaker to the holy mountain; from Passion Sunday the Church has already begun to keep silence about that leading, and at a Requiem the light asked for is asked in the introit instead. The omission is not a shortening for convenience — the *Gloria Patri* disappears with the psalm at exactly the same seasons at which it disappears from the *Lavabo* later in the same Mass.

The confession

1016–1017 · *Adiutorium* and the *Confiteor*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xvi–xvii). “I confess to Almighty God, to blessed Mary, ever a Virgin, to blessed Michael the Archangel, to blessed John Baptist, to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to all the saints, and to you, Father, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word and deed, *through my fault, through my fault, through my most grievous fault*. Therefore I beseech the Blessed Mary, ever a virgin, Blessed Michael the Archangel, Blessed John Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and all the saints, and you, O Father, to pray to the Lord our God for me.” The 1861 book prints the servers' form in full and abbreviates the priest's to *Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, &c.*, because in a lay hand missal the form the reader hears twice is the one worth printing whole.

The *Confiteor* as the 1962 book prints it is a fixed list: God, then the Virgin, then Michael, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, then all the saints, and then the person present. The missal prints no variant and no invitation to add a name, and the general rubrics that govern this part of the Mass are concerned only with when the confession is said at all, not with what it may contain. That silence is itself the point. Preparation of this kind had been the freest part of the medieval Mass, and by 1962 it had become the most tightly fixed. Where the Sarum use had the celebrant say *Veni Creator* while vesting, Psalm 42 on the way to the altar, and a short *Confiteor* at the step, and where the Dominicans, Carthusians and Carmelites said the antiphon without the psalm at all, the Roman book of 1570 fixed one form and the code of 1960 sealed it against local additions.

The threefold *mea culpa* with the striking of the breast is printed as a rubric inside the prayer, not before it: the missal will not let the gesture float free of the words it accompanies. The same technique reappears throughout the Canon, and it is worth naming now, because it is the single most characteristic feature of how this book is set. A rubric interleaved mid-sentence is a rubric that cannot be performed at the wrong moment.

Absolution, versicles, ascent

1018–1021 · *Misereatur, Indulgentiam, versicles*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

Three things in this short stretch repay attention. The *Misereatur* is said twice with changed pronouns: the ministers pray for the priest, and the priest then prays for the ministers. Neither utterance is the sacramental absolution of Penance, and the ministers do not absolve the priest. The *Indulgentiam* likewise has the form of a petition: *tribuat* asks that the almighty and merciful Lord grant indulgence, absolution, and remission. Its first-person plural *peccatorum nostrorum* includes priest and ministers in the same prayer, while the priest's sign of the cross gives the petition the ritual form of a blessing. These distinctions matter even though the general rubrics name the whole block the confession “with the absolution.” And the versicles are not a devotional filler: *Deus, tu conversus vivificabis nos* is a request that God turn first, and *Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam. Et salutare tuum da nobis* asks for the mercy and the *salutare* — the saving thing, or the Saviour — that the Mass is about to give.

The priest then says *Oremus* aloud, goes up to the altar, and says two prayers in a low voice.

1022–1023 · *Aufer a nobis* and *Oramus te*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xviii). “Take away from us our iniquities, we beseech thee, O Lord, that we may be worthy to enter with pure minds into the Holy of holies. Thro'. Amen.” And: “We beseech thee O Lord by the merits of thy saints, whose relics are here, and of all the saints: that thou wouldst vouchsafe to forgive me all my sins. Amen.”

Sancta sanctorum is a deliberate double meaning, and the 1861 translator caught it by capitalising: it is the Holy of Holies of the temple, and it is also the Roman chapel of that name at the Lateran. Fortescue notes that these two prayers were said in the medieval rite of the papal chapel, and that the words *sancta sanctorum* and *quorum reliquiae hic sunt* had a particular local aptness there, where the relics really were underfoot.¹ That is a historical observation, not an argument that the prayers mean less elsewhere: in the rite's received setting, the second prayer itself identifies the saints' relics as present there.

The kiss of the altar is printed inside the prayer, at the exact clause *quorum reliquiae hic sunt*. The gesture and the relative clause point at the same stone.

Editorial reading: why the preparation is at the foot and not at the altar

The 1962 book gives no explanation of why these prayers are said below the step. The layout suggests one. Everything from *In nomine Patris* to *Et cum spiritu tuo* is said at the foot; *Aufer a nobis* is said while going up; *Oramus te* is said with the hands on the altar and ends with a kiss. The three prayers are thus a graded approach, and the psalm that opens them is a psalm about approach. Fortescue makes the same inference from the same fact — “That all this is rather preparation than part of the Mass itself is shown by its recital at the foot of the altar, before the celebrant goes up to it” — and adds that a bishop does not put on the maniple until after the confession. This is a source-grounded reading of the ritual arrangement; it is not a claim about what any medieval compiler intended.

¹Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy* (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922), p. 227 and its first footnote, read at the page image.

3 Introit, Kyrie, Gloria (nn. 1024–1025)

The introit: a proper in an ordinary study

The introit is proper and therefore has no text in the *Ordo Missae*; the book gives only the direction that the celebrant, signing himself, begins the antiphon. It belongs here nonetheless, because the general rubrics fix its *shape* for every Mass of the year, and that shape is part of the Ordinary even though the words are not.

Rubricae generales Missalis romani nn. 427–429

The introit is an antiphon with a psalm verse and *Gloria Patri*, after which the antiphon is repeated; the Easter Vigil alone has no introit at all. *Gloria Patri* is omitted at the introit in Masses of the season from Passion Sunday to Maundy Thursday and in Requiem Masses — the same two cases that suppress the psalm at the foot of the altar. In paschal time a double *Alleluia* is added to the antiphon unless it already has one, and outside paschal time an *Alleluia* standing in an antiphon is dropped unless a particular Mass says otherwise.

A reader who wants to know what the 1962 Mass is like on any given day should read those three numbers first. They say that the variable chant is never merely a hymn slot: it is an antiphon-plus-psalm structure whose doxology is withdrawn at the two seasons of mourning, and whose alleluia is an index of the season rather than of the text's own mood.

The Kyrie (n. 1024)

1024 · *Kyrie, eleison*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

The 1962 book prints nine invocations, and n. 430 of the general rubrics states the number in words: *Kyrie, eleison dicitur novies post repetitam antiphonam ad Introitum*. In the *Ordo Missae* they are set out with the alternation between celebrant and ministers marked by the line breaks, and the missal notes that the priest says them at the middle of the altar with the ministers.

Two facts about this text carry more weight than its length suggests. The first is that it is Greek, in a Latin book, unglossed. The missal offers no translation and no explanation; the 1861 hand missal, printing for readers who had no Greek, gives one English line under each group — “Lord, have mercy upon us” and “Christ, have mercy upon us” — and nothing else. The words themselves are a petition for mercy. Their ninefold Roman arrangement is printed without the longer intentions that accompany responses in some litanies; no universal claim about Eastern uses is needed here.

Fortescue, quoting Gregory the Great's letter to John of Syracuse, reconstructs that process. Gregory writes that at Rome, unlike among the Greeks, *Kyrie eleison* is said by clerks and answered by the people, that *Christe eleison* is said as many times, which the Greeks do not do at all, and that “in the daily Masses we leave out some things which are generally said; we only say Kyrie eleison and Christe eleison, that we should dwell rather longer on these words of prayer”. Fortescue adds that down to the ninth century a litany still stood at this place at Rome on days that had no *Gloria*, and that “on two days in the year, the eves of Easter and Whitsunday, our Mass still begins with a litany, in which the Kyrie fits naturally. The ordination Mass still has the litany, as in the Gelasian book.”² The 1962 missal preserves both ends of that history: nine bare invocations at every Mass, and the full Litany of the Saints still sung at the Easter Vigil in the same volume.

Fortescue reads the Roman form as the surviving response of a longer intercession. This study reports that reconstruction without turning it into the proved compositional history of the 1962 text. The direct facts are more limited: the book retains Greek invocations, orders them ninefold, and assigns their alternation to celebrant and ministers.

²Fortescue, *The Mass*, pp. 232 and 234–235, read at the page images. Fortescue expressly rejects John the Deacon's ascription of the Kyrie's introduction to Gregory, on the ground that the Council of Vaison shows it older.

The Gloria (n. 1025)

1025 · *Gloria in excelsis Deo*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xix). “Glory be to God on high, and on earth, peace to men of good will. We praise thee; we bless thee; we adore thee; we glorify thee. We give thee thanks for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty. O Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son. O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, who takest away the sins of the world have mercy on us. Who takest away the sins of the world receive our prayers. Who sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy on us. For thou only art holy. Thou only art the Lord. Thou only, O Jesus Christ, together with the H. Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.”

How the book prints it, and when it is said

Before the text, the missal prints six chant incipits for *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, each under a rubric naming the days it serves — paschal time, first-class feasts, second-class feasts, feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Sundays through the year, third-class feasts, and commemorations and ferias of Christmastide — and each labelled with its number in the ordinary chants. The full text follows once. The accompanying rubric directs the priest to extend and join his hands and bow his head slightly at the opening words, to bow his head at *Adoramus te, Gratias agimus tibi, Iesu Christe* and *Suscipe deprecationem*, and to sign himself from forehead to breast at *Cum Sancto Spiritu*. General rubrics nn. 431–432 govern when it is said: whenever the day’s Office had the *Te Deum* at Matins, on the festive Masses of n. 302, on Maundy Thursday and at the Easter Vigil, and at votive Masses of the first three classes unless violet is worn; it is omitted whenever the *Te Deum* was omitted, whenever violet is worn, at fourth-class votive Masses other than those of the Angels and of Our Lady on Saturday, and at Requiems.

The rule that ties the *Gloria* to the *Te Deum* is the most informative sentence in this part of the code. It makes the hymn a function of the Office rather than of the Mass: whether it is sung today was decided at Matins. It also explains why the hymn feels like an interruption in Advent and Lent and like a homecoming at Christmas and Easter. The Church is not choosing a mood; it is keeping one book consistent with another.

The text itself has three unequal parts, and the Latin makes the seams visible. It opens with a quotation — *Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis* is Luke 2, 14, the words of the angels over Bethlehem, which the Douay-Rheims renders “Glory to God in the highest: and on earth peace to men of good will.” Then comes a chain of six verbs in the first person plural with no object but *te*: *Laudamus, benedicimus, adoramus, glorificamus, gratias agimus*. The chain is addressed to the Father, and it is worth noticing that it gives a reason for thanksgiving which is not a benefit received: *propter magnam gloriam tuam*, on account of your great glory. The third part turns to the Son, and here the Latin is a succession of vocatives that will not resolve into a sentence: *Domine Fili unigenite, Iesu Christe. Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris*. Only at *Qui tollis* does a verb arrive, and it arrives as a petition.

That grammatical shape is the hymn’s argument. Praise of the Father passes, without transition, into naming the Son by titles taken from the Baptist’s greeting at the Jordan; and once the Son has been named Lamb, praise turns into *miserere nobis*. The 1962 book will use the same movement twice more in the same Mass, at the *Agnus Dei* before Communion and at *Domine, non sum dignus*, and both times the Lamb who is praised is the Lamb from whom mercy is asked.

A textual detail worth recording: where the sentence ends

The 1962 typical edition punctuates *Tu solus Altissimus, Iesu Christe. Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.* — a full stop after *Iesu Christe*, so that *Cum Sancto Spiritu* opens a new sentence with no finite verb. The 1861 hand missal prints the same Latin words with a comma there, and its English accordingly runs the clause on: “thou only, O Jesus Christ, together with the H. Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father.” Both readings are defensible; the second supplies *es* across the clause, the first leaves the Holy Spirit’s clause standing as a doxological addition. The difference is punctuation, not wording, and nothing doctrinal turns on it — but it

is a real difference between two identified printings, and a study that claims to collate should say so rather than harmonise. This paragraph is an editorial observation about two printings, not a claim about how either was sung.

4 Collect, lessons, Gospel, Creed (nn. 1026–1029)

Between the *Gloria* and the offertory the missal prints almost no text, because almost everything here is proper. What it prints instead is a sequence of cues and two short prayers, and the cues are worth reading closely, because they tell a reader what the Roman rite thinks a lesson is.

The collect and the lessons

The *Ordo Missae* says only this: the priest kisses the altar, turns and says *Dominus vobiscum*, then *Oremus* and the orations, one or more as the Office requires; then follow the Epistle, gradual, tract or Alleluia with its verse, or sequence, as the season or the character of the Mass demands.

Three features of that sentence are rubrically loaded. The plural *orationes*, *unam aut plures* points to the 1960 code's reduction of the old accumulation of collects: nn. 433–435 fix how many orations may be said on each class of day and forbid exceeding three under any pretext. The phrase *ut Ordo Officii postulat* makes the Mass depend on the calendar rather than on the celebrant's choice. And the list of chants — gradual, tract, Alleluia, sequence — is given as alternatives keyed to season, so that in this rite the chant between the lessons is not one item with seasonal decorations but four different items.

The lessons in the general rubrics, nn. 466–474

After the orations the Epistle is said, and *Deo gratias* is answered. One lesson precedes the Epistle on the Ember Wednesdays, on the Wednesday of the fourth week of Lent and on Wednesday in Holy Week; five precede it on the Ember Saturdays, with *Deo gratias* after each except the lesson from Daniel. At the Gospel, *Dominus vobiscum* is said, then *Sequentia* or *Initium sancti Evangelii secundum N.*, to which is answered *Gloria tibi, Domine*, and at the end *Laus tibi, Christe*. In Holy Week, before the Passion, none of that is said: the announcement is simply *Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum N.*, and there is no *Laus tibi, Christe* at the end. In sung Masses the celebrant omits whatever the deacon, subdeacon or lector sings by right of their own office. After the Gospel, especially on Sundays and holydays of obligation, there is to be a short homily; and if the homily is given by a priest other than the celebrant, it must not be superimposed on the celebration — the Mass is suspended and resumed only when the homily is finished.

The last of these is the most striking rubric in the 1960 code, and it is easy to pass over. It refuses to let preaching happen *during* Mass when another man is preaching: rather than have two liturgical actions running at once, the Mass stops. Whatever one makes of the practice, the rubric is evidence that the compilers of this code thought of the Mass as a single action with a single principal agent, and were willing to interrupt it rather than blur that.

Munda cor meum (nn. 1026–1028)

1026–1027 · At solemn Mass

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

1028 · At a Mass without sacred ministers

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

The prayer is an exegesis of Isaias 6, 6–7 turned into a petition. In the prophet's vision a seraph takes a live coal from the altar with tongs, touches his mouth, and says that his iniquity is taken away and his sin cleansed. The prayer names the episode (*qui labia Isaiiae prophetae calculo mundasti ignito*), and then asks for the same thing by another

means: not by a coal but *tua grata miseratione*. The reason the cleansing is asked for is stated exactly: *ut sanctum Evangelium tuum digne valeam nuntiare*, in order to be able to announce, worthily, the Gospel. The verb is *nuntiare*, to report or announce, not to explain.

The two forms at nn. 1027 and 1028 differ only in person, and the difference is the whole of the rite's teaching about who reads the Gospel. At solemn Mass the deacon asks a blessing from the priest — *Iube, domne, benedicere*, with *domne* addressed to a man — and the priest answers in the second person: may the Lord be in *your* heart and on *your* lips. At a Mass without ministers the priest asks the same blessing of God — *Iube, Domine, benedicere*, with *Domine* — and says the same words of himself in the first person. The single letter that separates *domne* from *Domine* carries the difference between a delegated office and an unshared one.

After the Gospel the priest kisses the book and says *Per evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta*. It is not printed as a prayer of the people; the 1861 hand missal has the congregation join in it as a devotion, which is a useful reminder that a lay book of that period recorded custom as well as text.

The Creed (n. 1029)

1029 · *Credo in unum Deum*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

Gesture and occasion

The rubric printed with the text directs the priest to extend, raise and join his hands at the opening, to bow his head to the cross at *Deum* and again at *Iesum Christum*, to genuflect at *Et incarnatus est* and remain so until *Et homo factus est* has been said, and to sign himself from forehead to breast at *Et vitam venturi saeculi*. The Creed is printed, like the *Gloria*, first as chant incipits and then as text. General rubrics nn. 475–476 fix the occasions: it is said on every Sunday even when the Office yields to a feast, on first-class feasts and at first-class votive Masses, on second-class feasts of the Lord and of Our Lady, through the octaves of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, and on the feasts of Apostles and Evangelists together with the Chair of Saint Peter and Saint Barnabas. It is not said at the chrism Mass or on Maundy Thursday, at the Easter Vigil, on other second-class feasts, at second-class votive Masses, at festive and votive Masses of the third and fourth class, on account of a commemoration, or at Requiems.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxi–xxii). “I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and born of the Father before all ages. God of God; Light of Light; true God of true God; begotten not made; consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made . . . And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; who, together with the Father and the Son, is adored and glorified; who spoke by the prophets. And one holy Catholic and apostolic Church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins. And I expect the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.” The 1861 book sets *ET HOMO FACTUS EST* and “AND WAS MADE MAN” in capitals and footnotes them: “At these words the assistants kneel down to adore God for the ineffable mystery of the incarnation.”

This is the Latin liturgical recension of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. It receives the conciliar professions of Nicaea and Constantinople and includes the later Latin *Filioque*; it is not a text composed in this complete form by one general council. Its clauses are profession rather than petition, and several are polemical in origin: *Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri* are not three ways of saying one thing but three successive closures against a denial. *Cuius regni non erit finis* closes another. The Creed's presence at Mass is therefore an act of a different kind from the *Gloria*: the Church is not praising but professing, and the missal marks the change by having the priest bow to the cross at the divine names rather than to the altar.

Two ceremonial marks accompany this profession. At *Et incarnatus est* the whole assembly kneels, and stays kneeling for one clause only — through *et homo factus est*. At *Et vitam venturi saeculi* the priest signs himself with the cross. The rubrics establish these gestures and their locations; the book does not state a further symbolic intention for them.

Historical note: when the Creed entered the Roman Mass

Berno of Reichenau reports what he saw at Rome in 1014. The Emperor Henry II noticed that no creed was sung at the Mass of his coronation on 14 February of that year, whereas he was used to it in Germany; he was told that the Roman Church had never been stained by heresy and so had no need to recite it; and Benedict VIII eventually acceded to the Emperor's wish and ordered it sung after the Gospel at Rome as well. Fortescue records that most authors accept this account and date the Creed at Rome from 1014, and he names in a footnote those who do not — Probst, who thought Damasus introduced it; Mabillon; Thalhofer; Martène, who read Berno to mean that before 1014 it was said and not sung. The dating is therefore probable rather than secure. Fortescue adds the observation that the Creed's restriction to Sundays and feasts "is still a sign that it is not an essential element", and the 1962 rubrics preserve exactly that restriction.^a

^aFortescue, *The Mass*, p. 288, read at the page image; the dissenting authorities are named in the footnotes on the same page and are reproduced here because a bare date would misrepresent the state of the evidence.

One orthographic point belongs here rather than in the appendix. The 1962 edition prints *exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum*; the 1861 hand missal prints *expecto*. The word is the same and the sense is the same; the twentieth-century Vatican editions restored the older Latin spelling with the internal *s*. The same restoration accounts for *Genetricis* in the Canon and *neglegentiis* at the offertory, and it is the single most common way in which the 1962 Latin looks different from a nineteenth-century printing without being a different text.

5 The offering (nn. 1030–1042)

After the Creed the priest kisses the altar, says *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus*, and reads the offertory antiphon, which is proper. Then, without any further announcement, he says a sequence of eight or nine short prayers in a low voice while handling bread, wine and water. This is the part of the 1962 Ordinary whose history is best documented and whose theology is most argued over, and it is worth taking the two questions separately.

The bread

1030 · *Suscipe, sancte Pater*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxiii). "Accept, O holy Father, almighty and eternal God, this unspotted Host, which I thy unworthy servant offer unto thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences, and negligences, and for all here present; as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead; that it may avail both me and them unto life everlasting. Amen." Note that the 1861 translator renders *immaculatam Hostiam* "unspotted Host": the English of that period reached for a sacrificial rather than a Marian word, and it is the better gloss on the Latin.

Two things in the Latin ask for comment. The first is *immaculatam hostiam*, said over unconsecrated bread. Fortescue calls it "an anticipation of the consecration, a dramatic misplacement, of which all liturgies have examples", and that is the fair description: the prayer speaks of the offering by the name it will bear at the end of the Canon rather than the name it bears now.³ It is not a claim that the host is already immaculate in the sense the Canon will give the word; *hostia* in Latin is simply a victim or offering, and *immaculata* answers the Levitical requirement that a victim be without blemish. But the choice of vocabulary is deliberate and the rite does not apologise for it.

The second is the range of intentions. This is the widest single sentence in the Ordinary: it offers for the celebrant's own sins, for everyone standing there, and for all the Christian faithful living and dead. The Canon will divide that range into three separate commemorations. Here it is undivided, and the reason is structural — at this point the

³Fortescue, *The Mass*, p. 305, read at the page image.

Church has not yet begun the formal intercession, and the priest is stating in advance the whole scope of what he is about to do.

The chalice, and the water

1031–1032 · <i>Deus, qui humanae substantiae</i> and <i>Offerimus tibi</i>
<i>Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.</i>

Where the water goes, and where it does not

At solemn Mass the deacon pours the wine and the subdeacon the water; without sacred ministers the priest pours both. He blesses the water with a sign of the cross while saying *Deus, qui humanae substantiae*. In Requiem Masses the prayer is still said but the water is not blessed.

Deus, qui humanae substantiae is a Christmas collect pressed into service at the chalice, and it is the most theologically compressed sentence in the offertory. Its two adverbs carry the argument: God founded the dignity of human nature *mirabiliter* and restored it *mirabilius* — the restoration is more wonderful than the creation. The petition that follows is an exchange stated as a chiasmus: that we may be sharers (*consortes*) of the divinity of him who deigned to become a sharer (*particeps*) of our humanity. And the whole exchange is asked *per huius aquae et vini mysterium*, through the mystery of this water and wine, so that the mixing of the two liquids is made the sign of the two natures.

The rubric that the water is not blessed at a Requiem is old and unexplained in the book. What can be said with certainty is that the mixed chalice itself is not medieval: Fortescue traces it to Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, the epitaph of Abercius and Cyprian, and observes that every rite except the Armenian mixes water with the wine. The Council of Trent, in the same session that dealt with the Canon, states the reason the Church gives. Session XXII, chapter VII, ends: . . . *tum etiam quia e latere eius aqua simul cum sanguine exierit; quod sacramentum hac mixtione recolitur, et, quum aquae in Apocalypsi beati Ioannis populi dicantur, ipsius populi fidelis cum capite Christo unio repraesentatur* — because water came from his side together with the blood, which mystery is recalled by this mixing, and because, since in the Apocalypse of blessed John peoples are called waters, the union of the faithful people with Christ their head is represented by it.

In spiritu humilitatis and *Veni sanctificator*

1033–1034
<i>Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.</i>

In spiritu humilitatis is a quotation from the prayer of Azarias in the fiery furnace (Dan. 3, 39–40), and its grammar deserves notice: *suscipiamur a te* — may *we* be received — not “may this be received”. For one clause the persons offering become the thing offered. Then *et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie*: the adverb *hodie* is doing real work, tying an ancient text to this particular morning.

Veni, sanctificator is the shortest prayer in the offertory and the only one addressed to one invoked as coming. The missal does not identify the *sanctificator*; this study therefore neither assigns the title to one divine person nor classifies the prayer by comparison with an Eastern anaphora. Its express petition is that God bless the prepared sacrifice.

Incense and the *Lavabo*

At a solemn celebration the priest blesses incense and incenses the oblations and the altar. The book prints four short texts (nn. 1035–1038): the blessing *Per intercessionem beati Michaelis Archangeli, stantis a dextris altaris incensi*, which borrows the description of the angel who appeared to Zachary at Luke 1, 11 — “standing on the right

side of the altar of incense” — and gives it to Michael, a transfer the missal does not explain; *Incensum istud a te benedictum ascendat ad te, Domine: et descendat super nos misericordia tua*, with its exact reciprocity of ascent and descent; verses 2 to 4 of Psalm 140 said while incensing the altar; and *Accendat in nobis Dominus ignem sui amoris, et flammam aeternae caritatis. Amen.* as the thurible is handed back.

1039 · *Lavabo* (Ps. 25, 6–12)

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

The doxology again

Gloria Patri is omitted at the *Lavabo* in Requiem Masses and, in Masses of the season, in Passiontide — the third place in the same Mass where those two conditions suppress the same doxology. A reader who has followed the psalm at the foot of the altar and the introit will recognise the pattern by now: the 1962 rite withdraws the same formula at the same two seasons wherever it occurs.

The psalm is a hand-washing psalm and the ceremony is a hand-washing; the correspondence is exact and needs no allegory. But the verses chosen run past the washing into a plea not to be destroyed with the wicked, and the phrase *dextera eorum repleta est muneribus* — their right hand is filled with gifts — is bitter in its context, since the priest’s own right hand is at that moment full of gifts. The 1962 book prints the psalm without comment and lets the irony stand.

The last offertory prayer, and the *Orate fratres*

1040 · *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

This prayer is the offertory’s summary, and the one place in it where the rite states a doctrine that a council later stated in the same words. Its closing clause — *illi pro nobis intercedere dignentur in caelis, quorum memoriam agimus in terris* — reappears almost verbatim in the Council of Trent, session XXII, chapter III, *De missa in honorem sanctorum*, which explains that the Church does not offer sacrifice to the saints but to God alone who crowned them — *unde nec sacerdos dicere solet: Offero tibi sacrificium, Petre, vel Paule* — and that giving thanks to God for their victories she implores their patronage, *ut ipsi pro nobis intercedere dignentur in coelis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris*. Only the verb differs: the missal says *agimus*, the council *facimus*. The verbal parallel illuminates the rite’s doctrine; the checked sources do not establish the direction of literary dependence or the council’s drafting history.

The little demonstrative *et istorum* — “and of these” — refers to the relics in the altar, and it is the second time in the Mass that a prayer points at them.

1041–1042 · *Orate fratres* and *Suscipiat*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

Voice

The *Ritus servandus* directs that *Orate, fratres* be said with the voice somewhat raised and the rest continued secretly, so that in practice only the two words of the address are audible. After the response the priest says *Amen* in a low voice. He then subjoins the secret prayers with hands extended and without *Oremus*; general rubrics nn. 480–481 require as many secrets as there were collects, said secretly, the conclusion of the last being said secretly as far as *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, which is sung or said aloud and leads straight into the preface.

Meum ac vestrum sacrificium distinguishes the celebrant’s and the faithful’s relation to one sacrifice, but its grammar does not by itself define that theological relation. *Lumen gentium* 10 supplies the needed control: the common and

ministerial priesthoods are ordered to one another but differ in essence and not only degree. The ordained priest offers sacramentally in his proper ministry; the faithful truly join their prayer and self-offering to the Church's Eucharistic oblation. The response asks that the Lord receive the sacrifice *de manibus tuis*, from the hands that hold it, and then names three ends in ascending order of extension — the praise and glory of God's name, our own profit, and that of all his holy Church.

Historical note: the age of these prayers

Fortescue's judgment is unambiguous and is here reported as his: "All our offertory prayers are mediaeval. In the old Roman rite the only ones were the Secrets." He dates their appearance at Rome to the fourteenth century, notes that they seem to have been added to fill the gap left by the disappearance of the people's own procession of gifts, and identifies the set adopted by the revisers of 1570 as that of the fourteenth Roman *Ordo*, "taken or adapted from various, mostly non-Roman sources". *Suscipe sancte Pater* he traces, with slight variations, to the prayerbook of Charles the Bald. That manuscript is defensibly dated 846–869; Fortescue's 875–877 gives Charles's imperial years, not the manuscript's date.^a This is an identified early twentieth-century reconstruction resting on manuscript arguments this study has not itself examined; it is reported as such, and it does not follow that a fourteenth-century prayer is a less authentic part of the Roman Mass than a sixth-century one. The exact 1570 witness confirms the received sequence there; this study has not independently established the manuscript and redaction chain behind Fortescue's chronology.

^aFortescue, *The Mass*, p. 305, read at the page image.

6 Preface and Sanctus (nn. 1043–1087)

The conclusion of the last secret is said silently as far as *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*; those words are sung or said aloud, and with them the Mass changes register. What follows is the only extended text in the Roman rite that is both proper and part of the Ordinary: proper because sixteen different prefaces are printed and the day chooses among them, ordinary because the dialogue that opens it and the hymn that closes it never change.

The dialogue

The preface dialogue, as printed at n. 1086

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

Hands and voice, from the rubric at n. 1042

The priest begins the preface with both hands resting on the altar on either side; he raises them somewhat at *Sursum corda*; he joins them before his breast and bows his head at *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*; then he separates them and keeps them separated to the end of the preface. At the end he joins them again and, bowing, says *Sanctus*; at *Benedictus qui venit* he signs himself from forehead to breast.

The dialogue prepares the preface through an exchange between celebrant and ministers or people. *Habemus ad Dominum* has no verb — literally "we have [them] toward the Lord" — and *Dignum et iustum est* is a formula of assent borrowed from Roman public life according to the historical account used here. In the printed sequence the assent immediately precedes the celebrant's thanksgiving.

Which preface, and why it matters

Rubricae generales Missalis romani nn. 482–499

The rule of selection has three steps: the preface proper to the Mass is said; failing that, the preface of the season; failing that, the common preface (n. 482). No commemoration occurring in a Mass brings in a proper preface (n. 483). The sixteen prefaces the book prints are those of the Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, the Holy Cross, the chrism Mass, Easter, the Ascension, the Sacred Heart, Christ the King, the Holy Ghost, the Most Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint Joseph, the Apostles, the common preface, and the preface of the dead. Several serve twice: the preface of the Holy Cross, for instance, is proper to Masses of the Cross and of the Passion, and also serves *de Tempore* from Passion Sunday to Wednesday in Holy Week for any Mass without a proper preface; and the preface of the Trinity, besides its own feast, is the seasonal preface on the Sundays of Advent and on all second-class Sundays outside Christmastide and Eastertide (n. 494).

That last rule is the reason the Trinity preface is the one most Catholics of the 1962 books heard most often. It is also a good illustration of how this missal thinks. The “preface of the season” is not a separate text but a proper preface borrowed to fill a gap, and which text is borrowed changes the character of an ordinary Sunday: a Sunday after Pentecost is a Sunday of the Trinity, and a ferial day in Passiontide is a day of the Cross.

The book prints all of this twice over, first in chant notation — solemn tone and ferial tone — across printed pp. 223 to 283, then without music at pp. 284 to 298. The doubling is practical rather than theological, but it occupies seventy-six pages of the missal and is the physical reason the Canon and the *Ordo Missae* are separated.

The common preface and the Sanctus

n. 1086 · *Praefatio communis*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

The *Sanctus*, printed at the end of every preface

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxviii). “It is truly meet and just, right and available to salvation, that we should always, and in all places, give thanks to thee, O holy Lord, Father Almighty, eternal God . . .” and, for the hymn: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest.”

The common preface is the barest of the sixteen and therefore shows the form most clearly. It has three movements. The first states that thanksgiving is owed — *Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare*, four adjectives where one would do, of which *salutare* is the surprising one: giving thanks is not only fitting but health-giving. The second names the mediator, *per Christum Dominum nostrum*, and then, in a relative clause, describes the worship of heaven: angels praise, Dominations adore, Powers tremble; the heavens, the Virtues of the heavens and the blessed Seraphim celebrate together *socia exsultatione*, with a shared exultation. The third asks admission: *Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti iubeas, deprecamur* — we beg that you command our voices also to be admitted along with theirs.

That request is what makes the *Sanctus* intelligible. The hymn is not introduced as something the Church has composed but as something already being sung, which the Church asks leave to join. Its first half is Isaiah 6, 3, the cry of the seraphim in the vision the priest already invoked before the Gospel — “Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of his glory” — with the Latin retaining the Hebrew *Sabaoth* untranslated, as the *Kyrie* retains its Greek. Its second half is the crowd’s cry at the entry into Jerusalem, Matthew 21, 9, itself a quotation of Psalm 117, 26: “Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.” The two halves join heaven’s worship of the God of hosts to a crowd’s welcome of a man riding into a city to die, and the rite makes the join without comment.

The priest signs himself at *Benedictus qui venit*, which is the only place in the Mass where he signs himself at words spoken about the coming of Christ rather than at a blessing. Whatever else the gesture does, it registers that the person acclaimed at the gate of Jerusalem is about to be present on the altar.

Editorial reading: why the Canon needs no further introduction

The Roman Canon has no opening address of its own. It begins *Te igitur* — “You therefore” — with a conjunction that refers back to something already said. Read as a unit, the preface supplies exactly what the conjunction requires: the preface has named the Father, has said that thanksgiving is owed to him, has named Christ as the one through whom it is offered, and has asked that the Church’s voice be joined to the worship of heaven. *Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Iesum Christum, Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus* takes up the address, the mediator and the posture of supplication in a single sentence. On this reading the sixteen prefaces are not sixteen preludes but sixteen ways of beginning one prayer whose continuation is fixed. This is an editorial synthesis grounded in the Latin as printed; it is not a claim that the Canon and the prefaces were composed together, which the manuscript evidence would have to settle.

7 The Canon of the Mass (nn. 1088–1112)

What kind of text this is

The 1962 missal treats the Canon differently from everything else it contains. It gives it a separate title page, a separate running head, and a full-page colour plate of the Crucifixion on the leaf facing its first words, so that a priest who opens the book at *Te igitur* is looking at a crucifix whether or not one stands on the altar. It sets the two consecration forms in type larger than any other text in the volume. And it prescribes that the whole of it be said secretly, with the exception noted below.

Voice: *Rubricae generales Missalis romani* nn. 500, 511–512

n. 500: *Post praefationem et Sanctus dicitur Canon Missae secreto, ut in Ordine Missae.* n. 511 lists what is said in a clear voice at a read Mass; between the *Sanctus* and *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* at the end, the list contains exactly one item, *verba Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, and adds *Cetera dicuntur secreto*. n. 512 defines what “secretly” means with unusual precision: the priest is to pronounce the silent parts *ita . . . ut ipsemet se audiat, et a circumstantibus non audiat* — so that he himself hears them, and the bystanders do not. The Canon is therefore not unspoken; it is spoken to an audience of one.

This is the practice that the Council of Trent defended by name. Session XXII, chapter V, states that the Church instituted certain rites, *ut scilicet quaedam submissa voce, alia vero elatiore in missa pronunciarentur*; canon IX anathematizes the assertion that the Roman rite, *quo submissa voce pars canonis et verba consecrationis proferuntur*, is to be condemned. Waterworth’s English of the canon runs: “If anyone saith that the rite of the Roman Church, according to which a part of the canon and the words of consecration are pronounced in a low tone, is to be condemned . . . let him be anathema.” Note what the council actually defends: not that silence is better, but that the practice is not condemnable.

The same session made the strongest statement any council has made about this text.

Council of Trent, session XXII (17 September 1562), chapter IV, *De canone missae*

... digne reverenterque offerretur ac perciperetur, sacrum canonem multis ante saeculis instituit, ita ab omni errore purum, ut nihil in eo contineatur, quod non maxime sanctitatem ac pietatem quandam redolet, mentesque offerentium in Deum erigat. Is enim constat cum ex ipsis Domini verbis, tum ex Apostolorum traditionibus, ac sanctorum quoque Pontificum piis institutionibus.

Waterworth: “the Catholic Church instituted, many years ago, the sacred canon, so pure from every error, that nothing is contained therein which does not in the highest degree savour of a certain holiness and piety, and raise up unto God the minds of those that offer. For it is composed out of the very words of the Lord, the traditions of the Apostles, and the pious institutions also of holy pontiffs.” Canon VI adds the anathema: *Si quis dixerit, canonem missae errores continere, ideoque abrogandum esse: anathema sit.*

Read exactly, the chapter says three things and not a fourth. It says the Canon is free of error. It says it is composed of three kinds of material — the Lord’s own words, apostolic traditions, and the pious institutions of holy popes. And it dates its institution vaguely, *multis ante saeculis*. It does not say that any part of it is of apostolic composition, and it does not say that it has never been altered; the third of its three sources is by definition later than the first two.

The historical claim usually attached to the Canon should be stated with the same care. Fortescue reports “a constant tradition that St Gregory was the last to touch the essential part of the Mass, namely the Canon”, and quotes Benedict XIV: “No Pope has added to or changed the Canon since St. Gregory.”⁴ That tradition is worth keeping, but its strongest form does not describe the text printed in the facsimile collated here. On 13 November 1962 the Sacred Congregation of Rites, executing a decision John XXIII had announced to the Council fathers that morning, decreed that after *Communicantes . . . Domini nostri Iesu Christi* the words *sed et beati Ioseph eiusdem Virginis Sponsi* be added, with effect from 8 December.⁵ The facsimile collated for this study prints those words. The 1861 hand missal does not. The Canon of the Roman Mass was therefore altered within living memory, by a pope, in the very edition this study describes — and the alteration is seven Latin words long.

***Te igitur* (n. 1088)**

1088 · *Te igitur*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxxiii). “We therefore, humbly pray and beseech thee most merciful Father, thro’ Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord, that thou wouldst vouchsafe to accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy unspotted sacrifices, which in the first place we offer thee for thy holy Catholic Church, to which vouchsafe to grant peace; as also to preserve, unite, and govern it throughout the world: together with thy servant N. our pope, N. our Bishop, as also all orthodox believers and professors of the catholic and apostolic Faith.”

The prayer is a single Latin sentence and its architecture is worth setting out before anything is said about its meaning. The main verb is *rogamus ac petimus*, we ask and beseech; its subject is unexpressed and its object is the whole of what follows. The first word of the Canon is not the verb but its addressee, *Te*, thrown to the front for emphasis: *You* therefore, most merciful Father. Between the address and the verb stands the mediation, *per Iesum Christum, Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum*. The Roman Canon thus opens by putting three things in order — to whom, through whom, and in what posture — before it says a word about what is being asked.

Igitur is the hinge. It is an inferential particle: therefore, accordingly. Grammatically it can only refer to what has just been said, which is the preface and the *Sanctus*. The Canon presents itself as a consequence.

⁴Fortescue, *The Mass*, p. 172, read at the page image; the footnote there cites Benedict XIV, *De ss. Missae Sacrificio* II, xii, 12.

⁵*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 54 (1962), p. 873, decree *De S. Ioseph nomine Canonis Missae inserendo*, read in the rendered text of the Vatican archive scan.

Then the doubling begins. *Rogamus ac petimus* is one idea in two verbs. *Accepta habeas et benedicas* is one idea in two verbs. *Haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata* is one thing in three phrases, each preceded by a sign of the cross. *Pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere* is four infinitives where one would carry the sense. This is the characteristic manner of the Roman Canon and it is not decoration: it is the style of Roman legal and euhological Latin, in which what is being asked is specified by piling up near-synonyms so that no loophole remains. The 1861 translator, reaching for equivalents, produced “these gifts, these presents, these holy unspotted sacrifices”, which is the same manoeuvre in English.

The three signs of the cross over the gifts at *dona, munera* and *sacrificia* are the first of many in this prayer. They are made over what is still bread and wine, and they accompany words asking that it be accepted and blessed; nothing yet asserts that it is more than bread.

The intercession that follows is ordered outward from the Church as such (*pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica*) to the pope by name, the local ordinary by name, and then *omnibus orthodoxis, atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus* — all the orthodox and cultivators of the catholic and apostolic faith. *Cultor* is a farmer’s word; the phrase means those who till that faith, not merely those who hold it.

Memento of the living (n. 1089)

1089 · Commemoratio pro vivis
<i>Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.</i>

The rubric prints a pause inside the prayer: the priest joins his hands and prays a little while for those he intends. It is the one moment in the Canon where the book deliberately leaves a silence with no words in it at all.

The Latin then does something that has occupied commentators for centuries. Having said *pro quibus tibi offerimus* — for whom we offer to you — it adds *vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*, or who offer to you this sacrifice of praise. The text juxtaposes the priest’s collective *offerimus* with the faithful’s *offerunt*; its grammar does not label the first subject “the ministers.” Whatever weight one puts on *vel* (it can mean “or” or “and also”), *Lumen gentium* 10–11 supplies the controlling distinction between the ministerial priesthood and the faithful’s participation in the Eucharistic offering.

The ends named are three and they descend from eternity into the body: *pro redemptione animarum suarum*, for the redemption of their souls; *pro spe salutis*, for the hope of salvation; *et incolumitatis suae*, and of their safety, *incolumitas* being bodily soundness. The Roman Canon asks for health in the same breath as redemption and does not apologise for it.

Communicantes (n. 1090)

1090 · Infra Actionem
<i>Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.</i>

The heading the missal prints over this prayer is *Infra Actionem*, “within the Action”, and it is the technical name for the part of the Canon that varies. Five proper forms are printed at nn. 1093–1097, for Christmas and its octave, the Epiphany, the Mass of the Easter Vigil to Low Sunday, the Ascension, and the Vigil of Pentecost to the following Saturday. Each inserts a clause naming the day — *et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo . . .* — and then rejoins the common text at a shared continuation printed at p. 305. General rubric n. 501 adds that within the octaves of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost the proper *Communicantes* and *Hanc igitur* are said even in Masses that are not of the octave.

The list of saints has a shape. Our Lady first, with the title *Genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi* — Mother of God, the Ephesine title, in the classicised spelling *Genetricis* that the twentieth-century Vatican editions restored. Then Joseph. Then twelve Apostles — Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew,

Matthew, Simon and Thaddaeus, a list that puts Paul in and leaves Matthias out. Then twelve martyrs: five popes (Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius), one bishop (Cyprian), a deacon (Lawrence), then Chrysogonus standing alone, and finally two pairs, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian. The whole is a Roman list: these are the martyrs whose basilicas and cemeteries stood in and around the city.

Collation: the seven words added in 1962

The insertion of *sed et beati Ioseph, eiusdem Virginis Sponsi* is the one place where the two witnesses collated for this study disagree about substance rather than spelling. The 1861 Philadelphia hand missal, printed before the change, passes directly from *Domini nostri Jesu Christi* to *sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum*, and its English reads: “communicating with, and honouring the memory in the first place of the glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of our Lord and God Jesus Christ; as also of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs . . .” The facsimile of the 1962 typical edition prints the clause, in the common form and again in the shared continuation of the five proper forms. Since the volume’s own promulgating decree is dated 23 June 1962 and the insertion took effect on 8 December of the same year, the printing collated here embodies the text as amended by the November decree. The page images establish the clause’s presence in this facsimile; they do not establish when this particular impression was produced. The disagreement with the identified 1861 witness is a collation result, not an inference.

The petition attached to the list — *quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio* — distinguishes carefully between the saints’ merits and their prayers, and asks for *auxilium protectionis*, the help of protection, not for their intercession as such. The conclusion is *Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum*, with *eundem* because Christ has been named inside the prayer. That small grammatical scruple recurs throughout the Canon and is one of the surest signs that its clauses were composed as continuous Latin rather than assembled from independent pieces.

Hanc igitur and *Quam oblationem* (nn. 1091–1092)

1091–1092

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

The two prayers are printed as separate paragraphs but they are one sentence in two parts: *hanc . . . oblationem* is picked up by *Quam oblationem*, a relative pronoun agreeing with it. Nothing may be inserted between them, and the book’s own layout enforces the point. In the pages of proper forms it reprints the ordinary *Hanc igitur* at n. 1098 and prints the one proper form at n. 1099 — for the Mass of the Easter Vigil to Low Saturday and from the Vigil of Pentecost to the following Saturday, which inserts a clause for the newly baptised — and then reprints *Quam oblationem* entire at n. 1100, so that whichever *Hanc igitur* is used the next words on the page are still *Quam oblationem*.

The gesture over *Hanc igitur* — the priest holds his hands outspread over the offerings — is the only such gesture in the Roman Mass. Fortescue records that it is late, first appearing in the fifteenth century, that the fourteenth Roman *Ordo* does not know it, and that in Durandus’s time a profound inclination was made instead, a custom the Dominicans and Carmelites kept. He is equally clear that the second half of the prayer is old: there is a tradition, which he traces through Gregory’s biographer, that Gregory the Great added *diesque nostros in tua pace disponas*.

That is a claim worth weighing rather than repeating. If it is true, the seam is visible in the Latin: the first half asks that the offering be accepted, and the second asks for three things about us — our days ordered in peace, rescue from eternal damnation, enrolment in the flock of the elect — which have nothing to do with the offering as such. The prayer changes subject in mid-sentence. A reader may find that seam persuasive without having verified the attribution, and this study does not treat the attribution as established.

Quam oblationem is the most technically loaded sentence in the Canon, and it is the one for which a fourth-century witness survives.

Ambrose (or the author of *De sacramentis*) IV, 5, 21

Vis scire quia verbis coelestibus consecratur? Accipe quae sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem: quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Read at Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 16 (Paris, 1880), coll. 462–463. Four of the Roman Canon’s adjectives stand there in the same order — *ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem* — in a Milanese homily of the late fourth century. The Maurist note printed on the same column records that *ratam* was absent from all earlier printed editions and from some manuscripts and is restored from several others, so even this agreement is a text-critical result rather than a bare fact.

The 1962 Canon has five adjectives where *De sacramentis* has four: it prefixes *benedictam*. Each of the first three carries a sign of the cross. Their sense is bureaucratic before it is mystical: *ascriptam* is “entered in the register”; *ratam* is “ratified”, a legal term for an act confirmed; *rationabilem* answers the *logike latreia* of Romans 12, 1, a reasonable service; *acceptabilem* is simply acceptable. What is being asked is that this offering be admitted, recorded, ratified and accepted — and then, in the final clause, that it *become* something: *ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui*. The verb is *fiat*, and the two nouns each take a sign of the cross, one over the host and one over the chalice.

The petition asks that the offering become Christ’s Body and Blood, but it does not name the agent of the change. It stands before the institution narrative. Those textual observations do not decide how the prayer should be classified in debates about epiclesis.

The institution narrative (nn. 1101–1105)

1101–1102 · *Qui pridie*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

1103–1105 · *Simili modo*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxxvi). The 1861 book sets the two forms in small capitals in both columns. For the first it prints “TAKE AND EAT YE ALL OF THIS. FOR THIS IS MY BODY.” The words themselves are the Church’s, not the translator’s; this is quoted here as a historical witness to how an English lay book of that date presented them, not as a version for use.

Four features of this narrative should be recorded exactly.

It is a relative clause. *Qui pridie quam pateretur* continues the sentence begun at *Quam oblationem . . . Domini nostri Iesu Christi*: the *Qui* is Christ, just named. The Roman Canon never introduces the institution as a narrative in its own right. Grammatically, the Last Supper is a subordinate clause inside a petition.

It has been adjusted to the rite. The narrative says *fregit*, he broke, but the priest does not break the host here; the fraction happens twenty minutes later, after the Lord’s Prayer. It says *deditque discipulis suis*, and he gives to no one. What the priest actually does at each verb is printed in the rubric: he takes the host, raises his eyes, bows his head, signs it. The gestures follow the narrative up to *benedixit* and then stop. The rite reports Christ’s actions and performs only those it can perform now.

The forms are not simply Scripture. No Gospel or Pauline account has *Hoc est enim Corpus meum* with *enim*, and none has the chalice form as it stands here. Matthew 26, 26–28 in the Douay-Rheims reads “Take ye and eat. This is my body . . . For this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many unto remission of sins”; 1 Corinthians 11, 25 has “This chalice is the new testament in my blood”. The Canon’s *Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni testamenti* fuses the two constructions, adds *aeterni*, and inserts *mysterium fidei*, which stands in

no scriptural account of the Supper. Trent’s chapter IV had described the Canon as composed *cum ex ipsis Domini verbis, tum ex Apostolorum traditionibus, ac sanctorum quoque Pontificum piis institutionibus*; the consecration form is where all three are visibly present in one sentence.

The oldest Latin witness differs. *De sacramentis* IV, 5, 21–22 gives a form recognisably the same and verbally different: *Accipite, et edite ex hoc omnes; hoc est enim corpus meum, quod pro multis confringetur* — “which shall be broken for many”. The Maurist editors note that where all editions and manuscripts read *pro multis confringetur*, the Roman edition alone corrected it to *pro vobis datur*, and that *et discipulis suis* is omitted in that same Roman edition. The Milanese homilist of about 390 already had *Qui pridie quam pateretur . . . accepit panem . . . respexit in coelum . . . gratias agens, benedixit, fregit*. What he did not have was the Roman Canon: he had a prayer with the same bones.

Editorial observation: typographic emphasis

The 1962 book gives the two forms a treatment it gives nothing else: larger type, centred, no interleaved rubric, each followed by a rubric describing adoration, elevation and adoration again. Everywhere else in the Canon the missal breaks the prayer with directions; here it does not. The layout plainly emphasises these forms. No further theological intention can be established from typography alone. Whether the same treatment appears in every 1962 impression is a question about printings; this study has collated one.

Unde et memores, Supra quae, Supplices (nn. 1106–1108)

1106 · *Unde et memores*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

This is the pivot of the Canon, and its Latin is arranged to make the pivot audible. *Unde* — whence, and therefore. *Memores*, an adjective with no verb of its own, governing three genitives: of the passion, of the resurrection from the dead, of the glorious ascension into heaven. Only after all three does the main verb arrive: *offerimus*. And the subject is doubled once more — *nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta*, we your servants, but also your holy people.

Then *de tuis donis ac datis*: from your own gifts and grants. The Church offers what it has been given. And the thing offered is named in five phrases with five crosses — a pure victim, a holy victim, a spotless victim, the holy Bread of eternal life, and the Chalice of everlasting salvation. The same tripling that opened the Canon at *haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata* closes the offering here, but the nouns have changed: what was *dona* and *munera* before the consecration is *Panem sanctum vitae aeternae* after it.

The same prayer at Milan, c. 390

De sacramentis IV, 6, 27 (PL 16, col. 464): *Ergo memores gloriosissimae ejus passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis, et in coelum ascensionis, offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum, et calicem vitae aeternae: et petimus et precamur, ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.*

Read at the page image. The correspondence is close enough to be structural and loose enough to forbid identification: *memores* with the same three genitives, *offerimus* with three adjectival phrases, *panem sanctum et calicem*, then the petition that the offering be taken up to the sublime altar by angelic hands, then Abel, Abraham and Melchisedech in that order. But the Milanese text has *incruentam* where Rome has *puram* and *sanctam*, has *per manus angelorum tuorum* plural where Rome has *per manus sancti Angeli tui* singular, and runs *Supra quae* and *Supplices* together as one petition. It establishes the antiquity of a pattern; it does not establish the antiquity of the Roman wording.

1107–1108 · *Supra quae* and *Supplices*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

Supra quae asks God to look on what has just been offered *propitio ac sereno vultu* — with a favourable and serene countenance — and to hold it accepted as he held accepted three earlier offerings. The three are chosen with care. Abel is called *puer tuus iustus*, your just servant, and what he offered were *munera*, gifts; Genesis 4, 4 says only that he offered of the firstlings of his flock and that the Lord had respect to him and to his offerings. Abraham is *Patriarcha noster*, our patriarch, and what he offered is a *sacrificium*. Melchisedech alone is called *summus sacerdos tuus*, your high priest, and what he offered is named twice over, *sanctum sacrificium*, *immaculatam hostiam*; Genesis 14, 18 says that he brought forth bread and wine, for he was the priest of the most high God. The ascent is deliberate: from a shepherd's gift, to a patriarch's sacrifice, to a priest's offering of bread and wine.

The strangeness of *Supplices* is worth stating plainly, because smoothing it over would misrepresent the prayer. It asks that *haec* — these things, the consecrated gifts — be carried up by the hands of God's holy angel to an altar on high, in the sight of the divine majesty, so that all who receive Christ's Body and Blood from participation in *this* altar may be filled with heavenly blessing and grace. The movement is upward and the purpose is downward. The Canon does not explain who *sanctus Angelus tuus* is, and the tradition has never agreed; the Milanese parallel has angels in the plural, which is one datum and not a solution. What the Latin does say is that the two altars are related by a single participation: the sentence begins at the altar in heaven and ends at the altar the priest is at that moment kissing.

The dead, and the sinners (nn. 1109–1110)

1109 · *Commemoratio pro defunctis*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

The phrase *cum signo fidei* means those who went before us marked with the sign of faith, that is, the baptised; *dormiunt in somno pacis* is the language of the Roman catacombs. What is asked for them is *locus refrigerii*, *lucis et pacis* — a place of refreshment, of light and of peace — three nouns in the same manner as the Canon's other triples. *Refrigerium* is another word from the cemeteries: it means a cooling, and it had a fixed sense in Roman Christian usage for the condition of the faithful departed.

1110 · *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

Rubricae generales n. 511 lists *verba Nobis quoque peccatoribus* among the parts said aloud. The rubric printed with the prayer says the priest strikes his breast with his right hand and raises his voice somewhat, then continues secretly. The text therefore gives these words distinct vocal prominence. It does not establish a congregation's actual audibility or the editors' reason for the distinction.

The list here is the counterpart of the one in *Communicantes*, and it is arranged as its mirror. There, twenty-six names: Our Lady and Joseph, then twelve Apostles and twelve martyrs, in a list of intercessors. Here, fifteen names — eight men and seven women: John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter; Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia — in a list of company hoped for. Matthias, absent from the earlier list, is present in this one. And the request is not for their prayers but for *partem aliquam et societatem*, some part and fellowship, with them.

The last clause is the finest sentence in the Canon and it depends entirely on word order: *intra quorum nos consortium, non aestimator meriti, sed veniae, quaesumus, largitor admitte*. Admit us into their fellowship — not as an assessor of merit, but as a bestower of pardon. *Aestimator* is a valuer, one who prices a thing; *largitor* is a giver on a lavish scale. The two nouns are set against each other across the caesura, and the verb *admitte* is held back to the very end. The Roman Canon, having named forty-one saints in its two lists, asks not to be judged by comparison with them.

The doxology (nn. 1111–1112)

1111–1112 · <i>Per quem</i> and <i>Per ipsum</i>
<i>Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.</i>

Per quem haec omnia . . . semper bona creas has puzzled readers since the Middle Ages, because *haec omnia* after the consecration cannot be the offerings in the sense the verbs *creas* and *sanctificas* would require. The historical explanation usually given is that this clause is the surviving head of a blessing of other produce — oil, grapes, beans — which was once inserted at this point and of which the 1962 book still preserves an instance in the blessing of holy oils on Maundy Thursday. That explanation is a reconstruction; what is not in doubt is that the verbs form the Canon's last quadruple: he creates, sanctifies, gives life to, blesses and bestows.

Per ipsum is grammatically the simplest sentence in the Canon and ritually the most elaborate. Its skeleton is: *omnis honor et gloria est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti* — all honour and glory is to you, God the Father almighty. Into that frame are set three prepositional phrases with the same pronoun — through him, and with him, and in him — and one qualifier, *in unitate Spiritus Sancti*. The whole Canon has been addressed to the Father through the Son; the doxology says so in five words and then adds the Spirit.

The rubric turns those words into a diagram. Holding the Host, the priest makes three signs of the cross from lip to lip of the chalice at *Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso*; two more between the chalice and himself at *Deo Patri omnipotenti* and *in unitate Spiritus Sancti*; and then raises Host and chalice slightly together at *omnis honor, et gloria*. Five crosses and one elevation, made with the consecrated Body over the consecrated Blood. The Canon that began with three signs of the cross over bread and wine ends with five made by the Body itself.

The shape of the whole

Read as one text, the Roman Canon has a symmetry that its silence conceals. It opens with an intercession (Church, pope, bishop; the living; the saints) and closes with an intercession (the dead; ourselves; the saints again). Between those wings stand a request that the offering be made acceptable, the institution narrative, the memorial offering, an appeal to three ancient sacrifices, and a request that the offering be carried to the altar on high. The consecration is not at the centre by accident: it has two prayers of approach on one side and two prayers of ascent on the other.

Its style is uniform throughout: doubled verbs, tripled nouns, adjectives in threes and fives, each series usually marked by a sign of the cross. Its address never changes; every conclusion is *Per Christum Dominum nostrum* or, where Christ has just been named, *Per eundem*. And its persons are consistently plural and consistently divided: *nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta; pro quibus tibi offerimus: vel qui tibi offerunt*. The wording joins celebrant, Church and faithful in one ecclesial offering; it does not make a present congregation necessary for the Mass's validity or ecclesial character.

8 The Communion (nn. 1113–1131)

With *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* at the end of the doxology the priest's voice returns, and the missal returns with it to the *Ordo Missae*. Nineteen numbers carry the rite from the Lord's Prayer to the ablutions. They are not a single movement but four: a prayer said aloud, a rite of breaking and peace, a set of private preparations, and the reception itself. The 1962 book keeps those four visibly distinct, and the distinction is the best guide to what it thinks Communion is.

The Lord's Prayer and its introduction (nn. 1113–1116)

1113–1114 · *Praeceptis salutaribus* and *Pater noster*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxxix). “Being instructed by thy saving precepts, and following thy divine directions, we presume to say: Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name: thy kingdom come: thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven: give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation: **R.** But deliver us from evil. **P.** Amen.”

Three facts about how the 1962 book prints this text govern everything that can be said about it.

The first is that the Lord's Prayer is *sung or said aloud, and by the priest alone*. The general rubrics list *oratio dominica cum sua praefatione* among the things said in a clear voice at a read Mass (n. 511 i), and the *Ordo Missae* prints the ministers' part as a single line, *Sed libera nos a malo*. The people do not say the Our Father at Mass in this rite. They answer its last petition, and the priest's *Amen* to that answer is said secretly. Whatever one thinks of the arrangement, it is the book's, and it is stated twice — in the rubrics and in the layout.

The second is the *introduction*, which the missal treats as part of the prayer and not as a rubrical cue: *Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere*. Warned by saving precepts and formed by divine instruction, we *dare* to say. *Audemus* is a strong verb and it is the point of the sentence. The Church does not say the Our Father at this moment because it is a good prayer; it says it because it was commanded to, and it says so before saying it. The 1861 English caught the structure but softened the verb to “we presume to say”, which is the translator's difficulty and not the Latin's.

The third is a word. The missal prints *Panem nostrum cotidianum*; the 1861 hand missal prints *quotidianum*. That is the same orthographic restoration met at *exspecto* in the Creed. But underneath it lies a real textual choice that is not orthographic at all. The Vulgate has two forms of the petition: Matthew 6, 11 reads *panem nostrum supersubstantialem*, which the Douay-Rheims renders “Give us this day our supersubstantial bread”, while Luke 11, 3 reads *panem nostrum cotidianum*, “Give us this day our daily bread”. This 1962 edition prints the Lucan form. The checked witnesses do not establish a universal history of the Roman use.

Two tones, and where they are used

The prayer is printed twice with music. The first setting (nn. 1113–1114) is the solemn tone. The second (nn. 1115–1116) carries the rubric that it is used on ferias, on vigils of the second and third class, at fourth-class votive Masses, and at Requiems — the same austere class of day at which the *Gloria Patri* disappears and the *Ite, missa est* takes its plainest melody. The chant, in this book, is a calendar in sound.

Fortescue records the tradition, which he takes from Gregory the Great's own letter, that Gregory moved the Lord's Prayer to its present place immediately after the Canon and before the fraction; it is one of three changes he names as Gregory's, and it is the reason the same page can say both that Gregory “was the last to touch the essential part of the Mass” and that he touched it.⁶

The embolism, the fraction, and the peace (nn. 1117–1119)

1117 · *Libera nos*, with the fraction

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

⁶Fortescue, *The Mass*, p. 172, read at the page image.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xxxix–xl). “Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present, and to come; and by the intercession of the blessed and ever glorious Virgin Mary Mother of God, and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and of Andrew, and of all the saints, mercifully grant peace in our days: that thro’ the assistance of thy mercy, we may be always free from sin, and secure from all disturbance. Through the same Jesus Christ, thy Son our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, God. **P.** World without end. **R.** Amen.”

Libera nos is an embolism: an insertion that takes the last petition of the Lord’s Prayer and unfolds it. *Sed libera nos a malo* has just been sung by the ministers; the priest begins *Libera nos, quaesumus Domine, ab omnibus malis* and specifies the evils as past, present and to come. The prayer is therefore not a new subject but a gloss, and this is why it is said silently: it is the priest continuing, under his breath, a sentence the church has just heard aloud.

Two features repay attention. The first is the list of intercessors, which is short and peculiar: the Virgin, Peter and Paul, and Andrew. Andrew’s presence beside the two Roman apostles, with no other name, is unexplained in the book. The second is what is asked — *da propitius pacem in diebus nostris*, and then two negative goods, freedom from sin and security from all disturbance. It is the plainest petition in the Mass and the only one that asks for quiet.

The fraction happens inside this prayer, at its conclusion. The priest breaks the Host in half at *Per eundem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, Filium tuum* and breaks a small particle from the left-hand half at *Qui tecum vivit et regnat*. The concluding formula of the embolism is thus divided between two acts of breaking, and it is the only place in the Roman Mass where a conclusion is used as a rubric.

1118–1119 · *Pax Domini* and *Haec commixtio*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xl). “May the peace of the Lord be always with you. **R.** And with thy spirit.” And, at the commingling: “May this mixture, and consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, be to us that receive it effectual to eternal life. Amen.”

The greeting is not *Dominus vobiscum* but *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, and it is used once in the Mass, here. It is made with the particle of the Host held over the chalice, and three crosses are signed with it. The particle is then dropped into the chalice while the priest says *Haec commixtio*.

The commingling is one of the harder things in the Roman rite to state accurately, and the safest course is to say what the book says and no more. The formula calls what is happening a *commixtio* and a *consecratio* — a mixing and a hallowing — and asks that it be *accipientibus nobis in vitam aeternam*, unto eternal life for us who receive. It offers no account of why the two species are recombined, and the 1962 books nowhere supply one. The medieval explanations are many and mutually inconsistent; none of them is in this missal, and a study of this missal should not import one.

Agnus Dei (n. 1120)

1120 · *Agnus Dei*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

Posture, and the Requiem form

The priest bows toward the Sacrament with joined hands and strikes his breast three times, saying the invocations in an intelligible voice. In Requiem Masses *miserere nobis* is not said; in its place *dona eis requiem*, and in the third invocation *sempiternam* is added, so that the last line becomes *dona eis requiem sempiternam*. The 1861 hand missal prints exactly this variant in English — “Give them rest”, and “Give them eternal rest” — which shows the rule is older than the code of 1960.

The words come from the Baptist's greeting at the Jordan, and not verbatim: the Vulgate at John 1, 29 has *Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi*, in the third person and with sin in the singular, which the Douay-Rheims renders "Behold the Lamb of God. Behold him who taketh away the sin of the world." The Mass turns the sentence into an address and the noun into a plural. That is a small change and a real one: the liturgical form asks mercy of the Lamb rather than pointing him out, and it names sins rather than sin.

The address has already been used once in the same Mass, in the *Gloria* at *Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*. Here it is used three times and the third ending changes: *dona nobis pacem*. The change is the reason the formula stands at this point of the rite rather than at any other, for the kiss of peace at solemn Mass follows immediately.

Historical note: what the *Agnus Dei* was for

Fortescue's account is that the chant "was added to fill up the time of the fraction": the *Liber Pontificalis* says Sergius I (687–701) ordered it to be sung by clergy and people at the breaking of the Lord's body; it was at first sung once, twice by the eleventh century, and John Beleth in the twelfth describes the present threefold form ending *dona nobis pacem*, while Innocent III notes churches, the Lateran among them, which kept *miserere nobis* three times.^a If that account is right, then the 1962 arrangement — the chant sung while the priest has already finished breaking — is a survival of a longer fraction, and the Requiem form, which keeps three identical endings, is the older shape of the piece.

^aFortescue, *The Mass*, p. 387, read at the page image.

The three prayers before Communion (nn. 1121–1124)

1121–1122 · *Domine Iesu Christe, qui dixisti* and the peace

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

The Requiem exception

The missal prints, immediately after: *In Missis defunctorum non datur pax, neque dicitur praecedens oratio*. At a Requiem the peace is not given and this prayer is not said. The other two preparatory prayers are.

The first prayer is about the Church and not about the priest, which is why it is the one omitted when there is no kiss of peace to give. It quotes John 14, 27 — *Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis* — and then makes the request that gives the sentence its force: *ne respicias peccata mea, sed fidem Ecclesiae tuae*. Do not look at my sins, but at your Church's faith. The priest asks God to look away from the very man who is speaking.

1123–1124 · *Domine Iesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi* and *Perceptio*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xli). "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who, according to the will of thy Father, hast by thy death, thro' the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, given life to the world, deliver me by this thy most sacred body and blood from all my iniquities, and from all evils; and make me always adhere to thy commandments, and never suffer me to be separated from thee ..." And: "Let not the participation of thy body, O Lord Jesus Christ, which I, though unworthy, presume to receive, turn to my judgment and condemnation, but thro' thy mercy, may it be a safeguard and remedy, both to soul and body ..."

These two are markedly personal. Their operative verbs are singular and first person — *libera me, fac me, prosit mihi* — and their subject is the danger of the act about to be performed. *Perceptio* states it in the harshest available terms: that receiving may turn out *in iudicium et condemnationem*, into judgment and condemnation. That is 1 Corinthians 11, 29 turned into a prayer against itself. The Roman rite lets the priest name the possibility of eating to his own

harm at the moment before he eats, and asks instead for *tutamentum mentis et corporis*, a safeguard of mind and body, and for *medela*, a cure.

The trinitarian clauses at the end of the two prayers are worth a glance for what they show about how carefully this Latin was assembled. The first ends *Qui cum eodem Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas* — *eodem* because the Father has been named inside the prayer — and the second ends *Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti*, without *eodem*, because he has not. The same scruple runs through the Canon.

The reception (nn. 1125–1129)

1125–1127 · *Panem caelestem, Domine non sum dignus*, and the Body

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xlii). “Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof; say but the word, and my soul shall be healed.” And: “May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to life everlasting. Amen.”

Domine, non sum dignus is the centurion’s answer at Matthew 8, 8, and the alteration made to it is exact and small. The Douay-Rheims has the centurion say “Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof; but only say the word, and my servant shall be healed.” The Mass changes *puer meus*, my servant, to *anima mea*, my soul, and changes nothing else. The man who asked for a cure at a distance becomes the man asking for one within.

The rubric divides the sentence between two voice levels, and the division is the same one used at *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* in the Canon: four words with the voice somewhat raised, the rest secret. The printed directions thus give special vocal prominence to admissions of sinfulness and unworthiness; they do not establish what every congregation actually heard.

1128–1129 · *Quid retribuam* and the Blood

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

The missal prints no scriptural reference here, though it prints one at the *Lavabo* and at *Dirigatur*. The reason is probably that the text is not one passage. *Quid retribuam Domino . . . et nomen Domini invocabo* is Psalm 115, 12–13 in the Vulgate numbering — “What shall I render to the Lord, for all the things that he hath rendered to me? I will take the chalice of salvation; and I will call upon the name of the Lord” — and *Laudans invocabo Dominum, et ab inimicis meis salvus ero* is Psalm 17, 4, “Praising, I will call upon the Lord: and I shall be saved from my enemies.” The rite has joined a verse about drinking a cup to a verse about being rescued, and the joint is invisible in the Latin.

The two reception formulas are identical but for one word, *Corpus* and *Sanguis*, and both ask the same thing: that what is received *custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam*, keep my soul unto life everlasting. *Custodire* is to guard, not to bring; the petition is for preservation, and it matches the two preparatory prayers, which asked for a safeguard rather than for an increase.

The Communion of the people, which the *Ordo Missae* does not print

This is the most consequential structural fact in the whole Communion rite, and it is easy to miss because it consists of an absence.

Rubricae generales Missalis romani nn. 502–503

n. 502: the proper time for giving Holy Communion to the faithful is within Mass, after the Communion of the celebrant, who is himself to distribute it to those who ask, unless the number of communicants makes help from another priest appropriate; it is altogether unfitting that Communion be distributed at the same altar at which Mass is actually being celebrated by another priest outside the proper time; and for a reasonable cause Communion may also be given immediately before or after Mass, or outside Mass, in which cases the form prescribed in the *Rituale Romanum*, title V, chapter II, nn. 1–10, is used. n. 503: whenever Holy Communion is distributed within Mass, the celebrant, having consumed the Precious Blood, proceeds immediately to the distribution, *the confession and absolution being omitted*, but *Ecce Agnus Dei* and the threefold *Domine, non sum dignus* being said.

The *Ordo Missae* prints, at the end of n. 1129, one clause about the people: *Quo sumpto, si qui sunt communicandi, eos communicet, antequam se purificet* — when the Precious Blood has been consumed, if there are any to be communicated, let him communicate them before he purifies himself. That is the whole of it. No distribution formula is printed here. General rubric n. 503 expressly requires *Ecce Agnus Dei* and the threefold *Domine, non sum dignus* for distribution within Mass; n. 502 refers distribution immediately before or after Mass to the manner prescribed in the *Rituale Romanum*. A registered 1925 Ritual is used only as a historical control: title IV, chapter 2, nn. 1–13 distinguishes the outside-Mass and within-Mass procedures and retains the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur* in its older within-Mass procedure. No exact 1952 Ritual witness has been checked, so continuity of its wording into 1962 is not claimed.

Two things follow and both should be said plainly. First, the Communion of the faithful in this Missal is legislated but not typeset: a reader who takes the *Ordo Missae* as the complete order of the rite will not find it. Second, n. 503 records a 1960 procedural change. The *Confiteor* before the people's Communion — the servers' confession repeated at the rail — is precisely what n. 503 suppresses, and its suppression is one visible mark of the 1960 code. The checked 1925 Ritual establishes the earlier procedure; it does not establish the age of every element or an otherwise-unchanged history since 1570. Under n. 503 the priest proceeds to *Ecce Agnus Dei* without that confession and absolution.

The ablutions (nn. 1130–1131)

1130–1131 · *Quod ore sumpsimus* and *Corpus tuum*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cumiskey 1861, p. xliii). “May thy body, O Lord, which I have received, and thy blood which I have drank, cleave to my bowels; and grant that no stain of sin may remain in me, who have been fed with this pure and holy sacrament. Who livest and reignest, &c.”

The first prayer is in the plural and the second in the singular, and the difference tracks the two ablutions: the first is said while the priest gathers any fragments and wipes the paten over the chalice, before the wine is poured; the second while he purifies his fingers. *Quod ore sumpsimus . . . pura mente capiamus* sets *ore* against *mente* and *sumere* against *capere*, and asks that what was taken by mouth be grasped by mind. *De munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum* is the same movement again: a gift given in time, a remedy that does not end.

Corpus tuum . . . adhaereat visceribus meis is the most physical sentence in the Roman Mass, and the 1861 translator did not flinch at it: “cleave to my bowels”. *Viscera* is the inward parts. The prayer asks that what has been eaten stay, and then names the reason it might not: that a stain of sins should not remain in a man whom pure and holy sacraments have fed. The last relative clause, *quem pura et sancta refecerunt sacramenta*, is in the accusative and hangs on *in me*; the Latin is awkward and the awkwardness is old.

After this the priest wipes the chalice, folds the corporal, covers the chalice and replaces it on the altar as before, and goes on with the Mass. The Communion antiphon — proper, and printed with the day's Mass — and the postcommunion follow, in the same number and order as the collects, with the Prayer over the People added on the ferias of Lent and Passiontide outside the Sacred Triduum (nn. 504–506).

9 Dismissal, blessing, and the last Gospel (nn. 1132–1139)

The last eight numbers of the *Ordo Missae* are the shortest stretch of the book and the most legislated. Three of the four things they contain — the dismissal formula, the blessing, and the last Gospel — are conditional, and the conditions are spelled out both in the *Ordo* and in the general rubrics. A reader who wants to see how the 1960 code works can do worse than read these eight numbers against nn. 507–510.

The dismissal (nn. 1132–1136)

1132–1133 · *Ite, missa est*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xlv). “Ite missa est (vel) Benedicamus Domino. Go, you are dismissed, (or) let us bless the Lord. **R.** Deo gratias. **R.** Thanks be to God.” And, in Masses for the dead: “**P.** Requiescant in pace. **P.** May they rest in peace. **R.** Amen.”

Rubricae generales Missalis romani nn. 507–508

Ite, missa est is said at the end of Mass and answered *Deo gratias*. But: at the evening Mass of Maundy Thursday followed by the solemn reposition, and at other Masses followed by a procession, *Benedicamus Domino* is said instead; within the octave of Easter, in Masses of the season, a double *Alleluia* is added to *Ite, missa est* and to the answering *Deo gratias*; and at Requiems *Requiescant in pace* is said, answered *Amen*. The blessing is given after *Placeat*, and is omitted only where *Benedicamus Domino* or *Requiescant in pace* has been said.

The formula is famously hard to construe, and the 1861 translator’s “Go, you are dismissed” is one of the two defensible readings. *Missa* here is a late-Latin noun for a dismissal, and *Ite, missa est* says approximately: go, the dismissal is made. What has to be resisted is the temptation to read *missa* in the sentence as the noun it later became — the Mass — since the name of the rite is derived from this sentence and not the other way round. The 1962 book offers no gloss and this study offers no resolution beyond noting which way the derivation runs.

Three things about the choice among the three formulas deserve notice, because each is a small piece of ecclesiology. *Benedicamus Domino* replaces the dismissal exactly when nobody is being dismissed: when a procession follows, the assembly is not sent away but taken somewhere. *Requiescant in pace* replaces it at a Requiem, so that the last words addressed to the congregation at a funeral Mass are not addressed to the congregation at all. And the answer to the ordinary form is *Deo gratias*, which is the same answer given to the Epistle: the Mass ends as its lessons end.

The missal then prints eight chant settings of *Ite, missa est* under n. 1134, keyed to the rank and season of the day in the same way as the settings of the *Gloria*: one with a double *Alleluia* for Easter week, one for the rest of paschal time, and six more for first-, second- and third-class feasts, feasts of Our Lady, the Sundays of the year, and the plainest class of day. Two settings of *Benedicamus Domino* follow at n. 1135 and one of *Requiescant in pace* at n. 1136. The last and simplest of the eight carries a rubric permitting it *ad libitum* at any Mass in which *Ite, missa est* is sung without *Alleluia*.

Placeat and the blessing (nn. 1137–1138)

1137–1138 · *Placeat tibi* and *Benedicat vos*

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xlv). “Let the performance of my homage be pleasing to thee, O holy Trinity; and grant that the sacrifice which I, tho’ unworthy, have offered up in the sight of thy Majesty, may be acceptable to thee, and thro’ thy mercy be a propitiation for me, and all those for whom it has been offered. Thro’ . . .” And the blessing: “May Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, bless you. Amen.”

Placeat is the priest’s last private prayer and it says something the public prayers of the Mass never say in the first person singular: that the sacrifice was offered by an unworthy man, and that its acceptability and its propitiatory effect are still being asked for after it has been offered and consumed. *Obsequium servitutis meae* — the homage of my service — is a formula of subjection, and the 1861 “the performance of my homage” catches its flatness. The prayer is said bowed, with joined hands on the altar, in the same posture as *Supplices te rogamus*.

The blessing is one blessing, and the missal makes a point of saying so: *semel tantum benedicens, etiam in Missis solemnibus* — blessing only once, even at solemn Masses. The single exception is printed immediately after: *In Missa pontificali ter benedicitur, ut in Pontificali habetur*, at a pontifical Mass the blessing is threefold, as the *Pontificale* has it. The formula is divided across the turn: the priest says *Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus* facing the altar, then turns to the people for the three names. The grammar is one sentence and the ceremony splits it in two, so that the naming of the Trinity is the part said to the congregation.

The last Gospel (n. 1139)

1139 · *Initium sancti Evangelii secundum Ioannem* (Ioann. 1, 1–14)

Focused source locator. The appointed unit is identified by this incipit and marginal number; only phrases required by the analysis below are quoted.

English witness (Cummiskey 1861, p. xlv–xlvi). “IN the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God . . . And THE WORD WAS MADE FLESH, and dwelt among us; and we saw his glory, as it were the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. **R.** Thanks be to God.” The 1861 book sets *ET VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST* and “AND THE WORD WAS MADE FLESH” in capitals, as it had set *ET HOMO FACTUS EST* in the Creed, and closes the Ordinary with a printer’s rule immediately after *Deo gratias*.

When it is not John, and when there is none: nn. 509–510

n. 509: for the last Gospel, in any Mass, the beginning of the Gospel according to John is regularly taken. However, on the second Sunday of the Passion or Palm Sunday, in all Masses that do not follow the blessing and procession of palms, a proper last Gospel is said. n. 510: the last Gospel is omitted altogether in six cases — in Masses in which *Benedicamus Domino* has been said under n. 507 a; on Christmas Day at the third Mass; on Palm Sunday, in the Mass that follows the blessing and procession of palms; at the Mass of the Easter Vigil; at Requiems when the absolution at the catafalque follows; and in certain Masses following consecrations, from the rubrics of the *Pontificale Romanum*.

Two of those six are worth pausing on because they show the rubric reasoning. At the third Mass of Christmas the last Gospel is omitted because John 1, 1–14 has just been read as the Gospel of the day: the rite will not read the same passage twice in one Mass. On Palm Sunday, in the Mass that follows the procession, the last Gospel is omitted for the opposite reason — the rite has already been long — while in every other Mass of the same day a proper last Gospel, and not John, is appointed. The general principle is that the last Gospel is the first thing to go.

That is a fact about its status, and the fact has a history.

Historical note: how John 1 became part of the Mass

Fortescue’s account is that throughout the Middle Ages the last Gospel belonged to the priest’s thanksgiving and “was in no wise an element of the Mass”. The Sarum Missal has it said on the way back to the sacristy; Burchard’s ceremonial of 1502 allows it to be said at the altar; and “Pius V in his reformed missal (1570) for the first time admits it as part of the Mass”. Fortescue adds the observations that make the point stick: it is not sung by the deacon, it has no solemnities at High Mass, and a bishop says it on his way from the altar.^a This is an identified early twentieth-century reconstruction, reported as such. What can be checked in the 1962 book itself agrees with it: the last Gospel is the one reading in the Mass with no chant, no ministers’ part beyond two responses, and a list of six occasions on which it simply does not happen.

^aFortescue, *The Mass*, p. 394, read at the page image.

The genuflection at *Et Verbum caro factum est* recalls the Creed’s kneeling clause. At *Et incarnatus est* the Incarnation is professed; here John narrates it. The consecration stands between those two textual moments, but it makes Christ sacramentally present and must not be described as a repetition of the Incarnation. Whether any compiler intended a three-part symbolic sequence cannot be shown from the book, and this study claims none.

The Mass ends with *Deo gratias*, the answer given to the Epistle and to the dismissal. The 1962 *Ordo Missae* closes there, at n. 1139, and the next number in the volume is the introit of Easter Sunday.

10 The Ordinary read as one thing

Read end to end, the Ordinary of the 1962 Missal is not the smooth object the phrase “the unchanging texts” suggests. It is a deposit with visible seams, and the seams are where its meaning is most legible.

What the reading has actually shown

The exposition has moved through the rite in order, and at each stage it has asked where the text came from as well as what it says. Setting the answers side by side gives a result that no single movement discloses.

Received unit	No.	Voice, gesture, condition
Preface dialogue	1043–1087	A fixed exchange that immediately prepares the proper or common preface; its exact wording and gestures are verified in this edition.
Roman Canon	1088–1112	A Roman petition with selected late-fourth-century Milanese parallels in <i>De sacramentis</i> . Trent, session XXII chapter IV, describes the Canon as composed of the Lord’s words, apostolic traditions and papal institutions.
<i>Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei</i>	1024–1025, 1086, 1120	Unlike chants received into one sequence. Their historical notices are reported from the identified witnesses and are not a complete compositional history.
Creed	1029	The Latin liturgical recension of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan profession, including the later Latin <i>Filioque</i> ; Fortescue reports its Roman admission probably in 1014.
Foot of the altar	1013–1023	Medieval private preparation, various by use until 1570, fixed thereafter, and still rubrically conditional in 1962.
Offertory prayers	1030–1042	Fortescue reports the received set at Rome in the fourteenth century and its adoption by the revisers of 1570. The exact 1570 witness confirms the sequence; this study has not independently established his manuscript and redaction chain.
Priest’s Communion prayers	1121–1131	A sequence containing both singular and plural prayers; Fortescue supplies the historical account used here.
Last Gospel	1139	A priest’s thanksgiving until 1570, when it entered the Mass; six occasions on which it is still omitted entirely.
Communion of the faithful	nn. 502–503	Legislated in the general rubrics and not printed in the <i>Ordo Missae</i> at all. Its immediately preceding <i>Confiteor</i> was suppressed by the code of 1960.

The table establishes diversity of genre, speaker, voice and historical witness; it does not establish a simple opposition between an old public core and later private additions. The code governing the received texts was revised in 1960. The numbers this study has quoted most often — 424, 425, 431–432, 475–476, 500–503, 507–510, 511–512 — are the code of 1960, promulgated two years before the book that prints them. A reader who asks what changed immediately before or during 1962 must therefore examine both the rubrics and the seven-word Saint Joseph clause in the *Communicantes*.

How the book makes one thing of it

The 1962 volume does three things, none of them argumentative, that present this stratified deposit as a single action.

It numbers continuously. The margin runs 1013 to 1139 without a break across four printed stretches and seventy-six intervening pages of prefaces. The Canon's own title page and running head do not restart the count. Whatever else the numbering is, it is a claim that the reader is looking at one thing.

It puts the rubric inside the prayer. The threefold *mea culpa* is broken by the direction to strike the breast; *Qui pridie quam pateretur* is broken by the direction to take the host; *Supplices te rogamus* is broken by a kiss of the altar and four signs of the cross. A rubric set beside a prayer can be performed at the wrong moment; a rubric set inside a sentence cannot. The effect is that no gesture in this rite is free-standing, and no prayer is a text merely to be read.

It silences almost everything. General rubric n. 511 lists what is said aloud at a read Mass, and between the *Sanctus* and the end of the Canon the list contains one item. n. 512 defines the silence as audibility to the speaker alone. The two things the people are given to hear from the priest's own voice near the altar are *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* and *Domine, non sum dignus*: an admission of sin and an admission of unworthiness, both accompanied by a striking of the breast.

The 1962 alteration, and its size

This edition contains one substantive change to the Canon, and it is the cleanest available test of everything above. On 13 November 1962 the Sacred Congregation of Rites decreed the insertion of *sed et beati Ioseph, eiusdem Virginis Sponsi* into the *Communicantes*, effective 8 December; the facsimile collated here prints it and the 1861 hand missal does not. Seven Latin words were added, by papal decision and in the lifetime of the priests who used the book, to the one text of which Benedict XIV had written that no pope had added to it or changed it since Gregory the Great.

Set beside that, the change the following decade made to the same prayer's neighbourhood is of another order. The 1962 form over the chalice reads *Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni testamenti: mysterium fidei: qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum*, and is followed by *Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis*. Both of those clauses were altered when the Order of Mass was reformed. The Claude study of the postconciliar Order of Mass reaches, from the other side of the same comparison and on its own evidence, the judgment that the alteration of the dominical words is the deepest textual change between the two books. Nothing in the present study contradicts that; the 1962 witness collated here is one half of the fact on which it rests, and the size of the 1962 insertion is the measure against which the later change should be read.

Project synthesis

Project synthesis — the judgment this study reaches

The judgment. The Ordinary of the 1962 *Missale Romanum* joins texts of different genres and historical witnesses in one legally ordered celebration. This edition displays that order through continuous marginal numbering, interleaved rubrics, rules of voice and explicit conditions. These features establish the received sequence and manner of celebration; they do not prove a theory of compositional intention or make typography the cause of the rite's unity. The Council of Trent describes the Canon's received sources, and the Sacred Congregation of Rites later inserted the seven-word Saint Joseph clause. The collated facsimile prints that amended text; its page images do not date the production of the particular impression.

The reasons.

- *The diversity is visible in the sources, not inferred from a theory.* *De sacramentis* IV, 5–6, read at the page images, has *ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem* and *memores* with the same three genitives while

differing at the compared loci; Fortescue dates the offertory prayers to the fourteenth century at Rome and the last Gospel's admission to 1570; Berno's report dates the Creed at Rome to 1014; the *Liber Pontificalis* attributes the *Agnus Dei* to Sergius I. These are four independent kinds of evidence pointing the same way.

- *The register changes within the sequence.* Some prayers are plural, others singular; their addressees and ritual functions also differ. *Perceptio Corporis tui . . . non mihi proveniat in iudicium* and *Te igitur, clementissime Pater . . . supplices rogamus ac petimus* are not two moods of one voice.
- *The unifying devices are the book's own and are checkable.* The numbering runs 1013–1139 unbroken; nn. 511–512 define the silence and its two exceptions; the interleaved rubric appears in every appointed block quoted in this study. None of these is an editorial construction.
- *The law orders unlike texts in one celebration.* The rubrics decide when the psalm is said, when the *Gloria* and Creed are said, which preface is used, whether there is a last Gospel, and whether the people's *Confiteor* is said before their Communion. Change the code and the celebration changes without a word of the Ordinary changing — which is exactly what happened in 1960.
- *The 1962 insertion is a controlled case.* Seven Latin words entered the Canon by decree. The 1861 witness lacks them and the amended facsimile prints them. This bounded comparison establishes that textual change, not a complete collation of every substantive difference between the books.

The strongest counterargument, at full strength. The account above is an archaeologist's, and a rite is not an archaeological object. Every serious liturgical text can be stratified — as can the Divine Office and the Bible — and pointing this out establishes nothing about identity. The Church itself says the Canon is made of the Lord's words, apostolic traditions and papal institutions, and says so in the act of declaring it free from error; on the Catholic account the composite origin is not a tension to be explained but the ordinary manner in which a living rite grows. Worse, by locating the unity in the 1962 book's numbering, typography and rules of voice, this study has made an accident of one printing into the principle of the rite. Priests who used the typical editions of 1884 or 1920 had different pagination, no continuous marginal numbering of this kind and a different code of rubrics, and they celebrated the same Ordinary; a Dominican or a Carmelite of the same date, with a different *Confiteor*, a different offertory and different rubrics, was also offering the Roman Mass in the sense that matters. If the identity of the rite survives all that, then it cannot be constituted by the devices this study has named, and the real unity of the Ordinary is what the counterargument says it is: a single sacrificial act, whose texts are its instruments and whose printing is merely how one century handed it on. On that view the Ordinary is the stable textual and rubrical form through which the sacrificial action is celebrated, and the stratigraphy is secondary.

The judgment's limit. The facsimile can establish how this edition orders the celebration; it cannot by itself establish the complete history or theological constitution of the Roman Rite. The 1861 witness confirms some earlier textual and rubrical arrangements, while Fortescue supplies identified historical reconstructions. Neither is treated as an exhaustive critical history. The synthesis is therefore limited to the received 1962 sequence, directly checked comparisons, and expressly attributed secondary conclusions.

What specific finding would change it. Better primary evidence could revise any date presently reported from Fortescue, especially the offertory's Roman history. The judgment above would remain only at its narrower level: the 1962 book demonstrably orders texts of different grammar, speaker and ritual function. It makes no claim that marginal numbering or layout discloses an undocumented editorial intention.

Status. This is a source-grounded editorial synthesis by an AI contributor, resting on one collated facsimile of the 1962 typical edition, one collated public-domain English hand missal of 1861, and the identified historical and conciliar witnesses named in the references. It is not magisterial teaching, a canonical opinion, a critical edition, or a specialist consensus. Independent review on 27 July 2026 identified errors and overclaims; the present revision narrows or corrects them and remains held pending final review of the corrected snapshot.

What this study does not decide

It does not date the sections of the Roman Canon severally, assign an author to any of them, or adjudicate the argument about the Roman Canon's want of an explicit epiclesis. It does not identify the *sanctus Angelus tuus* of *Supplices*. It does not decide whether the medieval offertory prayers improved or damaged the rite. It offers no account of the present canonical discipline governing the use of the 1962 books, which is a dated question of current law and not a question about this edition. And it makes no comparison between this Ordinary and the reformed

Order of Mass beyond the two textual points at which the collation of this edition supplies evidence: the seven words added to the *Communicantes* in 1962, and the wording of the two dominical forms as this book prints them.

11 Scope, Edition, and Qualifications

The object

“The Ordinary” in this study means the *Ordo Missae* and *Canon Missae* as printed in one identified book, together with the rubrics of that book which govern them: marginal numbers 1013 to 1139, the *Praefationes* at 1043 to 1087, the *Rubricae generales Missalis romani* and the *Ritus servandus in celebratione Missae* in the front matter. It does not mean the sung Ordinary — *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei* — although those five texts are treated in their places, and it does not mean the Missal.

Stable does not mean invariant, and the study has kept four kinds of variability distinct throughout: texts omitted by season or class of Mass (the psalm at the foot of the altar, *Gloria Patri*, the *Gloria*, the Creed, the last Gospel); texts that vary within the Ordinary (the sixteen prefaces, the five proper *Communicantes*, the one proper *Hanc igitur*); texts that change by rank of celebration (the incensations, the deacon’s and subdeacon’s parts, the chant settings); and texts that belong to another book and are only cued here (the propers, the Communion of the faithful, the pontifical blessing).

Excluded: the temporal and sanctoral propers except where quoted as context; the Holy Week ordo and its own *Ordo Missae* variations; ritual, votive and conventual Masses; the ceremonial of solemn and pontifical Mass beyond the points where the *Ordo Missae* itself prescribes it; the chant of the Ordinary as music; the entire question of the present canonical discipline governing the use of the 1962 books, which is a dated question of current law and not a question about this edition; and any comparison with the reformed Order of Mass beyond the two points named in the synthesis.

The editions and witnesses

- **Controlling text:** *Missale Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Summorum Pontificum cura recognitum*, Vatican typical edition of 1962, read in the 1,088-page facsimile hosted by the Church Music Association of America and registered in this repository’s source library by its exact SHA-256. The facsimile’s exact bytes are recorded but not retained: the audit located no artifact-level statement establishing redistribution rights for that scan, so the record is remote and no payload is installed. Every Latin block printed in this study, and every rubric reported in it, was read on that facsimile’s page images or, where expressly noted, in its embedded text layer.
- **Language and territory:** Latin, and the universal Roman Rite. No territorial adaptation, indult or particular custom is described.
- **English witness:** *The Roman Missal translated into the English language for the use of the laity*, first revised edition (Philadelphia: Eugene Cumiskey, 1861), whose Ordinary and Canon occupy printed pp. xv–xlvi in facing Latin and English columns, read in the Internet Archive scan registered by exact hash. This is a pre-1955 lay hand missal. It is *not* an official or approved liturgical translation, it is not the translation of any typical edition current in 1962, and at several points its Latin is not the Latin of 1962. Those points are collated rather than smoothed.
- **Scripture:** the Douay-Rheims Bible in the Challoner revision, quoted for the biblical loci the Ordinary uses. Psalm numbering throughout this study is the Vulgate numbering the Missal itself prints, which is also the Douay-Rheims numbering; a citation such as Psalm 42 or Psalm 115, 12–13 must not be resolved against a Hebrew-numbered psalter.
- **Historical and doctrinal witnesses:** Ambrose or the author of *De sacramentis* in *Patrologia Latina* 16 (Paris, 1880); the *Canones et decreta* of the Council of Trent in the Tauchnitz stereotype of 1887 and in Waterworth’s English; Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy* (Longmans, 1922); *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 54 (1962) for the decree inserting Saint Joseph’s name. Each is identified at its exact locus in the references.

Translation, quotation, and rights

No English wording in this study is a translation made by its author. The rule is absolute and it has consequences that are stated where they bite rather than in a blanket disclaimer. Where an English wording of a prayer appears, it is quoted from the 1861 Cummiskey book at an identified page and is framed as a historical witness; it is never offered for recitation and it is never a substitute for the Latin beside it. Where no public-domain English witness exists for a text — the proper *Communicantes* and *Hanc igitur*, the *Munda cor meum*, the fifteen prefaces other than the common one, most of the rubrics — this study says what the Latin means in third-person analysis and does not render it. Such analysis is commentary and cannot function as a version.

The Latin of the 1962 Missal is quoted as evidence. It is presented in framed blocks labelled with the edition's own marginal numbers so that project-created prose and received liturgical wording cannot be confused. Two orthographic normalisations are made and are declared at first use: the missal's *ae* and *oe* ligatures are printed as digraphs, and the tonic accents the missal prints as a pronunciation aid are omitted. No word, form or word order has been altered, and each block was collated against the facsimile page after being set.

Rights: no public-domain conclusion is claimed for the 1962 liturgical text merely from its date. Short Latin passages are quoted for source-first analysis under the repository's recorded publication authorization and are not offered as a recitation substitute. The 1861 English is public domain in the United States by publication date. The digitisations through which both were read carry their own status, recorded per artifact in the source library; neither scan's bytes are redistributed here. Fortescue (1922), Migne's *Patrologia Latina* 16 (1880), the Tauchnitz Trent (1887) and Waterworth's English are public domain in the United States by age of publication.

Evidence classes

Four classes are kept visibly distinct and can be told apart on the page.

- **Verified source text** — the framed *appointed* blocks, and the rubrics reported in the framed *rubric* blocks. Every one was read at the identified page of the identified edition.
- **Checked quotation** — the framed witness cards and the *English witness* blocks, each carrying its author, edition and page.
- **Source-grounded synthesis** — the running exposition. It draws conclusions from the checked evidence and is answerable to it.
- **Editorial proposal** — the blocks headed *Editorial reading*, *Collation* or *A textual detail worth recording*, and the terminal *Project synthesis*. These are original applications and inferences by an AI contributor, labelled locally, and none of them is offered as established fact.

Reported historical reconstructions are attributed to the scholar who made them and are not converted into project claims. Fortescue's datings of the offertory prayers, of the *Agnus Dei*, of the last Gospel and of the Creed's arrival at Rome are the clearest cases: they rest on manuscript arguments this study has not itself examined, they are reported as his, and the synthesis names the offertory dating as the load-bearing external claim on which its own conclusion depends.

Known limits, and consequential negative results

- Only one copy of one typical edition was collated. Where this study says that the 1962 book prints something, it means that this facsimile prints it. The insertion of Saint Joseph's name took effect on 8 December 1962 and the volume's own promulgating decree is dated 23 June 1962; an impression of the same typical edition made between those dates would not carry the clause, and this study says so at the place where it matters.
- The *Ritus servandus* was consulted at the points where the *Ordo Missae* depends on it and was not read entire. Nothing in this study rests on its sections I–IV or IX–XIII.
- The proper *Communicantes* of nn. 1093–1097 were read and described but are not quoted in full, and their five Latin texts are not printed here.

- The chant of the Ordinary was treated only as evidence about rank and season. No musical claim is made, and where a chant setting is counted or described the description is of the book's own headings, not of the music.
- The 1962 book's own internal disagreement about the date of *Rubricarum instructum* — 23 July 1960 in the 1962 promulgating decree, 25 July 1960 in the Congregation's decree of 26 July printed later in the same volume — is recorded in the source library and is not resolved here.
- Two questions were pursued and left open because the sources consulted do not settle them: the identity of the *sanctus Angelus tuus* of *Supplices*, on which the tradition has never agreed and on which the Milanese parallel's plural is a datum and not a solution; and the reason for the presence of Andrew, alone beside Peter and Paul, in the embolism *Libera nos*. Both are reported as unresolved rather than filled by inference.

Review state

Source-audited against the records named above on 26 July 2026. Generation provenance is recorded in the terminal metadata block. This study has received no independent specialist, historical, liturgical, theological or canonical review, and none of the labels reserved for those events is claimed. It is a study aid: it is not an altar book, a book for recitation, a critical edition, an official liturgical book, or a statement of current law.

12 Development of the Ordinary: a dated chronology

This table gathers the datable acts and witnesses on which the exposition draws, so that a reader can see at once which claims rest on a document, which on a reported reconstruction, and which on the collated facsimile itself. It is an orientation aid, not an argument; every entry is discussed where it belongs in the exposition, and the character of the evidence is stated in the third column rather than smoothed away.

Date	Act or witness	Bearing on the Ordinary
c. 390	<i>De sacramentis</i> IV, 5–6, preached at Milan	Latin eucharistic prayer with <i>ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem</i> ; <i>Qui pridie quam pateretur . . . benedixit, fregit</i> ; <i>memores</i> with passion, resurrection and ascension; the offering carried <i>per manus angelorum tuorum</i> to the altar on high; Abel, Abraham, Melchisedech in that order. Verbally different from the Roman text at every point of comparison. Read at <i>PL</i> 16, coll. 462–464.
590–604	Pontificate of Gregory the Great	Fortescue names three changes as his — the litany's petitions dropped from the daily <i>Kyrie</i> , an addition to <i>Hanc igitur</i> , and the transfer of the Lord's Prayer to its place before the Communion — and records the constant tradition, with Benedict XIV's dictum, that no pope changed the Canon after him. Reported reconstruction and reported tradition.
687–701	Pontificate of Sergius I	The <i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , as Fortescue reports it, has Sergius order the <i>Agnus Dei</i> sung by clergy and people at the breaking of the Lord's body. Reported.
1014	Coronation of Henry II at Rome, 14 February	Berno of Reichenau reports that no creed was sung and that Benedict VIII afterwards ordered it sung after the Gospel at Rome. Fortescue records that most authors accept the account and names in a footnote those who do not. Probable, not secure.
Twelfth century	John Beleth	Describes the threefold <i>Agnus Dei</i> ending <i>dona nobis pacem</i> ; Innocent III notes churches, the Lateran among them, which kept <i>miserere nobis</i> three times — the shape the Requiem form still has. Reported.

Date	Act or witness	Bearing on the Ordinary
Fourteenth century	The fourteenth Roman <i>Ordo</i>	Fortescue identifies its offertory prayers as the set the revisers of 1570 adopted, “all taken or adapted from various, mostly non-Roman sources”, and traces <i>Suscipe sancte Pater</i> to the prayerbook of Charles the Bald. The manuscript is defensibly dated 846–869; Fortescue’s 875–877 are Charles’s imperial years. His broader reconstruction is reported rather than independently established here.
1502	Burchard’s ceremonial	Allows the last Gospel, until then part of the priest’s thanksgiving on the way to the sacristy, to be said at the altar. Reported.
17 September 1562	Council of Trent, session XXII	Chapter III on Masses in honour of the saints, whose closing clause is the closing clause of <i>Suscipe, sancta Trinitas</i> ; chapter IV <i>De canone missae</i> , declaring the Canon free from error and composed of the Lord’s words, apostolic traditions and papal institutions; chapter V on the low and louder voice; chapter VII on the water in the chalice; canon VI against the assertion that the Canon contains errors; canon IX against the condemnation of the low-voiced Canon. Read at the page images of the Tauchnitz Latin and Waterworth’s English.
14 July 1570	<i>Quo primum</i> , Pius V	Imposes the restored Missal, exempting rites approved from their first institution or continuously observed for more than two hundred years. Read at the facsimile’s own front matter. This is the edition in which the last Gospel first enters the Mass and in which the medieval offertory and Communion prayers are fixed.
7 July 1604	<i>Cum sanctissimum</i> , Clement VIII	Records that Pius V had forbidden addition or subtraction under severe penalties, that corruptions had nevertheless entered printed Missals, and restores the book. Read at the facsimile’s front matter.
2 September 1634	<i>Si quid est in rebus humanis</i> , Urban VIII	Restores rubrics that had degenerated from ancient use and explains those less clear to readers; the whole collated with the Vulgate. Read at the facsimile’s front matter.
25 July 1960	<i>Rubricarum instructum</i> , John XXIII	Approves the new code of rubrics. The 1962 Missal’s own promulgating decree gives the date as 23 July; the Congregation’s general decree, printed later in the same volume, gives 25 July, which alone is consistent with that decree’s <i>postero die</i> . The discrepancy is internal to the book and is not resolved here.
26 July 1960	General decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites	Promulgates the code, orders it inserted in new editions of the Breviary and Missal, and requires observance from 1 January 1961. This is the source of nearly every rubric quoted in this study, including nn. 424–425, 500–503 and 511–512.
23 June 1962	Decree declaring this Vatican edition typical	States that a new edition of the Missal fully accommodated to the code of rubrics could scarcely fail to be prepared. Read at the page image of the facsimile’s front matter.
13 November 1962	<i>De S. Ioseph nomine Canonis Missae inserendo</i>	The Sacred Congregation of Rites decrees that after <i>Communicantes . . . Domini nostri Iesu Christi</i> the words <i>sed et beati Ioseph eiusdem Virginis Sponsi</i> be added, extending the prescription to the days with a proper <i>Communicantes</i> . John XXIII’s decision was announced to the Council fathers in the Vatican basilica the same day; the decree orders it in force from 8 December 1962. <i>AAS</i> 54 (1962), p. 873.
8 December 1962	The insertion takes effect	The facsimile collated for this study prints the clause both in the ordinary <i>Communicantes</i> at n. 1090 and in the shared continuation of the five proper forms at printed p. 305. The 1861 hand missal, printed a century earlier, does not.

13 References

Each entry names the edition actually used and the exact loci this study read. Where an artifact was acquired and hashed, its role and rights status are given in the repository's source library rather than repeated here.

Controlling liturgical text

Missale Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Summorum Pontificum cura recognitum, editio typica (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1962). Read in the 1,088-page facsimile hosted by the Church Music Association of America, acquired and hashed before use; exact bytes recorded, not retained. Loci read: *Rubricae generales Missalis romani* nn. 424–432 and 466–514 (printed pp. XXX–XXXV, artifact pp. 28–33); *Ritus servandus in celebratione Missae* V–VIII (printed pp. LVII–LX, artifact pp. 59–62); *De defectibus* V (printed p. LXVII, artifact p. 69); *Ordo Missae* nn. 1013–1042 (printed pp. 216–222, artifact pp. 297–303); *Praefationes* nn. 1043–1087 (printed pp. 223–298, artifact pp. 304–379); *Canon Missae* nn. 1088–1112 (printed pp. 299–311, artifact pp. 380–392); *Ordo Missae* nn. 1113–1139 (printed pp. 312–328, artifact pp. 393–409); and the front matter carrying *Quo primum* (14 July 1570), the breve of Clement VIII (7 July 1604), the breve of Urban VIII (2 September 1634), the general decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the code of rubrics (26 July 1960) and the decree declaring this edition typical (23 June 1962).

English witness for the received prayers

The Roman Missal translated into the English language for the use of the laity, first revised edition (Philadelphia: Eugene Cumiskey, 1861). Read in the Internet Archive scan of item `romanmissaltran00churgoog`, acquired and hashed before use; exact bytes recorded, not retained. Loci read: printed pp. xv–xix (the preparation, *Kyrie* and *Gloria*); pp. xx–xxvi (lessons, Creed, offertory); p. xxviii (the common preface and *Sanctus*); pp. xxxiii–xlii (the Canon, the Lord's Prayer, the fraction, the *Agnus Dei* and the priest's Communion); pp. xliii–xlv (the ablutions, the dismissal, *Placeat*, the blessing and the last Gospel). A pre-1955 lay hand missal, not an official or approved liturgical translation; quoted as a historical witness only.

Scripture

The Holy Bible, Douay-Rheims version, Challoner revision, in the electronic text distributed as Project Gutenberg eBook 1581. Verses quoted: Genesis 4, 4 and 14, 18; Psalms 17, 4; 25, 6; 42, 4; 115, 12–13; 117, 26; Isaias 6, 3 and 6–7; Daniel 3, 39–40; Matthew 6, 11; 8, 8; 21, 9; 26, 26–28; Luke 1, 11; 2, 14; 11, 3; John 1, 14 and 1, 29; 14, 27; Romans 12, 1; 1 Corinthians 11, 25 and 11, 29; Apocalypse 8, 3. Psalm numbering is the Vulgate numbering the Missal prints.

Conciliar and papal acts

Second Vatican Council, *Lumen gentium* 10–11, official English dated web edition registered on 23 July 2026. The complete paragraphs control the ordered relation and essential distinction between common and ministerial priesthood and the faithful's Eucharistic participation.

Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici Concilii Tridentini, editio stereotypa undecima (Lipsiae: ex officina Bernhardi Tauchnitz, 1887, reprinting the Roman edition of 1834). Read at the page images of printed pp. 118–121: session XXII chapters III, IV, V and the end of VII, and canons I–II and III–IX.

The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent, trans. J. Waterworth (London 1848; Burns and Oates reprint). Read at the page images of printed pp. 156 and 159: chapters IV and V, and canons III–IX.

Acta Apostolicae Sedis 54 (1962), p. 873: Sacra Congregatio Rituum, decree *De S. Ioseph nomine Canonis Missae inserendo*, 13 November 1962, in force from 8 December 1962.

Acta Apostolicae Sedis 52 (1960), pp. 593–596: John XXIII, *motu proprio Rubricarum instructum*, and the general decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites promulgating the new code of rubrics. Read in the volume’s optical text layer; not collated at the page images, and cited here only for the acts’ identity and dates, which the 1962 Missal’s own front matter independently supplies.

Patristic witness

Patrologia Latina tomus XVI, *S. Ambrosius* (Parisiis: apud Garnier Fratres et J.-P. Migne successores, 1880), coll. 462–464: *De sacramentis* IV, 5, 21–23 and IV, 6, 27, with the Maurist notes on the same columns. Read at the page images. The attribution of *De sacramentis* to Ambrose is disputed and this study takes no position on it; the text is used as a dated Milanese witness of about 390, which is all the argument requires.

Modern scholarship

Adrian Fortescue, **The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy** (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922). Read at the page images of printed pp. 172 (Gregory the Great and the Canon; Benedict XIV’s dictum), 227 (the prayers at the foot of the altar; the medieval uses; the papal chapel and *sancta sanctorum*), 232 and 234 (the *Kyrie* and Gregory’s letter to John of Syracuse), 288 (the Creed at Rome in 1014, with the dissenting authorities), 305 (the offertory prayers, the mixed chalice, and *immaculatam hostiam* as “an anticipation of the consecration”), 387 (the *Agnus Dei* and Sergius I) and 394 (the last Gospel before and after 1570). Fortescue died in 1923 and this printing carries no revision by a later hand; his own footnotes preserve the disagreements among the authorities he cites, and those disagreements are reported here rather than resolved. His datings rest on manuscript arguments this study has not examined and are attributed to him throughout.

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