

THE THEOLOGY OF EUCHARISTIC CONSECRATION: ROLE OF THE PRIEST IN CELTIC LITURGY

For a long time theologians have been swayed by the consensus of liturgists that, in the words of Edmund Bishop, "certitude as to the moment of consecration was only to be acquired by the common Christian people in the West in the twelfth century, or at earliest in the eleventh."¹ Jungmann took this for granted,² though adding in a cautious footnote some of the contrary evidence. Given this consensus, theologians naturally began their consideration of the emergence of a theology of transubstantiation in the heart of the Middle Ages. The accession of new evidence, however, has made the liturgists' conclusion look very unsure, and the time has come to carry back into patristic times the beginning of the theology of transubstantiation. One inkling of this, though its author does not seem aware of the significance of what he says, is found in the recent symposium on *The Study of Liturgy*. There Dr. Halliburton writes: "Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of a *metabole*, John Chrysostom prefers *metarruthmizo*, Gregory of Nyssa *metastoikeo* or again (with Chrysostom) *metaskeuazo*; Cyril of Alexandria suggests *methistemi*, and in the west, Ambrose proposes *convertere, mutare, fieri* or *transfigurare*."³ Between these words from the Fathers and the scholastic theologians of the twelfth century there are seven hundred years of liturgical development. It is here that new evidence is now available.

The Irish palimpsest Sacramentary published by Alban Dold in 1964⁴ dates probably from 650–675 and presents some remarkable prayers, one of which is derived from the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*. What is here to be noted is the concluding portion of the Canon for Easter Tuesday: "Because there was no one who had the knowledge or the daring to enable him to consecrate with his words the body of the Lord, this word the Lord himself speaks daily in us, and we supply the ministry of human speech, while he in his great power perfects this divine sacrament."⁵ Florus of Lyons comes near to this idea when he writes: "The consecration is done and always will be by the power and words of Christ. It is his

¹ In R. H. Connolly, ed., *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (TextsS 8/1; Cambridge, Eng., 1909) 126.

² J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite 2* (New York, 1955) 205 and n. 16.

³ Cheslyn Jones et al., eds., *The Study of the Liturgy* (London, 1978) 207 (in the section on the patristic theology of the Eucharist).

⁴ A. Dold and L. Eizenhöfer, eds., *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar in CLM 14429 der Staatsbibliothek München* (Texte und Arbeiten 53–54; Beuron, 1964).

⁵ *Ibid.*, sect. 70: "simul quia nemo poterat qui corpus Domini sacrare vocibus vel nosset vel auderet, hoc Dominus ipse cotidie loquitur in nobis; nos fungimur humanae vocis ministerio, ille maiestate sua divinum hoc perfecit sacramentum."

words that sanctify the heavenly sacraments. He speaks daily in his priests."⁶ But Florus is later by two centuries than the prayer in the Sacramentary. Behind them both stands Ambrose: "We have seen our High Priest come to us; we have seen and heard him offering his blood for us. We priests follow as best we can, to offer sacrifice for the people. We are weak in our deserving, yet made honorable by reason of the sacrifice, for though now Christ is not seen to offer, yet he is himself offered on earth when the body of Christ is offered; or rather, he is seen to offer in us, for it is his word that sanctifies the sacrifice that is offered."⁷ The idea of Christ speaking in and through his priests is made clear by Ambrose, who was writing in 395. A few years previously he had put in a popular catechesis the same idea about the power of the words of Christ in the Mass: "On the consecration wrought by God, what are we to say? The very words of our Lord and Savior are at work. The sacrament that you receive is produced by the word of Christ. If Elias could call down fire from heaven by a word, shall not the word of Christ have power to transmute the elements?"⁸ Ambrose may have been indebted to Gregory of Nyssa for his language about the transmuting of the elements, for he is known to have studied the Cappadocians.

In the *Penitential* of Gildas there is a curious provision: "If through error anyone has changed anything in the words where 'Danger' is noted, he shall do three days' penance or perform three special fasts." This document,⁹ from the Welsh Church of the early sixth century, has the support of the Welsh language, for the word there used for a Mass priest was *periglaur* (from the late Latin *periculator*), and this says much for the popular understanding of the priest as "danger man," who takes upon himself to pronounce without stumbling the words of consecration. The Irish copied this ruling from the Welsh, for it is found verbatim in the *Penitential* of Cummean (10, 9), the oldest surviving manuscript of which dates from the ninth century. If anyone were to doubt about the location

⁶ *De expositione missae* (PL 119, 52): "Christi virtute et verbis semper consecratur et consecrabitur. Illius sermo est qui coelestia sacramenta sanctificat; ille in suis sacerdotibus cotidie loquitur."

⁷ *Enarratio in ps. 28 25* (PL 14, 1052): "Vidimus principem sacerdotum ad nos venientem; vidimus et audivimus offerentem pro nobis sanguinem suum. Sequimur ut possumus sacerdotes, ut offeramus pro populo sacrificium, etsi infirmi merito, tamen honorabiles sacrificio, quia etsi nunc Christus non videtur offerre, tamen ipse offertur in terris quando Christi corpus offertur; immo ipse offerre manifestatur in nobis cuius sermo sanctificat sacrificium quod offertur."

⁸ *De mysteriis* 9, 52 (CSEL 73, 112): "Quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina ubi verba ipsa Salvatoris Domini operantur? Nam sacramentum istud quod accipis Christi sermone conficitur . . . Valebit Christi sermo ut species mutet elementorum."

⁹ The Penitentials of Gildas and Cummean were edited by L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials* (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 5; Dublin, 1963). For the ruling from Gildas, see *ibid.* 63; the ruling from Cummean, *ibid.* 127.

of the *oratio periculosa* in the Mass, there is the evidence of the Irish treatise on the Mass that was written ca. 800–810 at the end of the Stowe Missal: “At the words *Accipit Iesus panem* the priest bows himself down thrice to repent of his sins. He offers it [the chalice] to God and the people kneel, and here no voice cometh, lest it disturb the priest, for this is the right of it, that his mind separate not from God while he chants this lesson. Hence its *nomen* is *periculosa oratio*.”¹⁰ The triple bow by the priest is attested by the account of the Syriac liturgy given by Narsai in his homilies¹¹ along with signs of reverential fear among the people. It would not be surprising if this detail of the liturgy came to South Wales and Ireland from Syria by what I have described as the liturgical trade-route via Spain and Brittany.¹²

Edmund Bishop cited a list of popular expositions of the Mass which survive from the ninth and tenth centuries, asserting that any such idea as that of a moment of consecration “is not so much as thought of in them.”¹³ He was singularly blind to the evidence. He did allow that Florus of Lyons had the idea, but for him this “forms an exception.” If he had considered more carefully the documents he cited from Gerbert,¹⁴ he would have had to admit that plain words were against him: “At this point we believe that simple bread becomes the body of the Lord.” This assertion is followed up by the fuller explanation: “The man Christ Jesus willed that bread and wine be offered by us to him and that they should by himself be consecrated through divine power and that his faithful people should believe that mystery to be true which he committed to his disciples with the words “Take and eat.” Amalarius is no less clear: “At this point we believe that the simple nature of bread and mingled wine are changed into a reasoning nature, i.e., the body and blood of Christ.”¹⁵ Rabanus Maurus in a summary description of the Mass comes to the Sanctus and then says: “Thereafter the consecration of the body and blood of the Lord takes place, and a strong prayer is made to God in the course of which the Pater Noster is sung.”¹⁶ What else ought he to have

¹⁰ *The Stowe Missal*, ed. G. F. Warner (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. 32; London, 1915) 40.

¹¹ *Hom.* 17 (Connolly 22).

¹² See J. H. Crehan, S.J., “The Liturgical Trade Route: East to West,” *Studies* (Dublin) 65 (1976) 87–100.

¹³ In the appendix to Connolly, *Liturgical Homilies* 128–29, n. 2.

¹⁴ *Monumenta veteris liturgiae Alemannicae* 2 (ed. Martinus Gerbertus; Typis Blasianis, 1779) 274 and 279.

¹⁵ Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 3, 24 (PL 105, 1141): “Hic credimus naturam simplicem panis et vini mixti verti in naturam rationabilem, scilicet corporis et sanguinis Christi.”

¹⁶ Rabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* 1, 33 (PL 107, 324): “Dehinc iam consecratio corporis et sanguinis Domini fit et deprecatio valida ad Deum inter quae et dominica oratio decantatur.”

said? At the very time these expositions of the Mass were circulating, the *Lanalet Pontifical* (from Cornwall) and its companion piece, the *Pontifical of Archbishop Robert*, had a prayer for the consecrating of an altar which spoke in very direct terms about what was to happen on the altar: "This stone upon which a secret power will transform created elements chosen for the sacrifice into the body and blood of the Redeemer and by invisible change assign them as obleys of the sacred Lamb."¹⁷

Among the *spuria* of St. Jerome there is a short piece now attributed to Faustus of Riez which is concerned with the Eucharist. It presents the argument that faith in the transformation that takes place in the Eucharist should be strengthened by reflection upon the other transformation which is brought about when baptism incorporates the individual in the Body of Christ. "Let no one doubt that these elementary creatures by the motion of divine power and the presence of supreme majesty can pass over into the nature of the Lord's body when he sees that man himself by the skill of heavenly mercy is made into the Body of Christ."¹⁸ The Irish Sacramentary has a prayer which is based on the same idea: "He is the life of those who were perishing, who as the true priest of God set up a new law of sacrifice; he offered himself as a victim pleasing unto Thee and bade us to offer this victim. Who the day before he suffered"¹⁹ Another prayer from the same runs: "Let us give thanks to God the Father almighty, who when we were of earthly condition and nature has quickened us by the gift of His sacrament into a heavenly change, so that by feeding us with the gift of the body and blood of Christ we might be consecrated and raised up to a greater immortality."²⁰ Some of the words of the Greek Fathers that were selected to describe the change at the consecration of the Mass were also applied to the change that will come

¹⁷ *The Lanalet Pontifical*, ed. G. H. Doble (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. 74, 1937) 12; *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. H. A. Wilson (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. 24, 1903) 85: "Hunc lapidem . . . supra quod electas ad sacrificium creaturas in corpus et sanguinem Redemptoris virtus secreta convertat et in sacri Agni hostias invisibili mutatione transcribat."

¹⁸ *Homilia de corpore et sanguine Christi* (PL 30, 275): "Nec dubitet quisquam primarias creaturas nutu divinae potentiae praesentia summae maiestatis in Dominici corporis transire posse naturam, cum ipsum hominem videat artificio coelestis misericordiae Christi corpus effectum."

¹⁹ *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar*, sect. 49: "Ille morientium vita qui sacrificandi novam legem sacerdos Dei verus instituit, hostiam se Tibi placitam obtulit et a nobis iussit offerri. Qui pridie . . ." Some part of this prayer can be found in the *Missale Gothicum*, sect. 514 (ed. H. M. Bannister; Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. 52, 1917).

²⁰ *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar*, sect. 19: "Agamus Deo Patri omnipotenti gratias quod terranae nos originis atque naturae sacramenti sui dono in coelestem vivificaverit demutationem ut per alimoniam corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi consecratos ad incrementum immortalitatis eveheret." The first part of this prayer is copied in the *Stowe Missal* (ed. Warner 36).

to those who are Christ's at the Last Day. One could say that this was an operation of the analogy of faith, comparing one mystery with another in order to throw more light upon it: the transformation of the individual by incorporation into Christ begun now and amplified hereafter is something like the transformation of the elements of bread and wine.

The *Missale Francorum*, which dates from 700-730 and belongs to an Irish-Gallican group in the neighborhood of Poitiers, asks in the prayer for the ordination of a priest "that he may in the service of Thy people produce by transformation the body and blood of Thy Son by a most pure blessing."²¹ The curious Latinity of the phrase *transformare corpus*, which I have rendered "produce the body by transformation," is found again in the Mone Masses where a prayer asks "that the fulness of majesty and divinity may descend upon this bread and this cup, so that there may be for us a lawful Eucharist in the transformation of the body and blood of the Lord."²² The *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, in the *Hanc igitur* for Maundy Thursday, tells how Christ "set up a rite of sacrifice when he transformed the bread and wine, which Melchisedech the priest had offered in a foreshadowing of the future mystery, in the sacrament of his body and blood."²³ This evidence is perhaps later than the *Missale Francorum*, being probably from Luxeuil ca. 720. The pseudo-Germanus in his *Expositio liturgiae Gallicanae* (the manuscript of which dates from ca. 820 and comes from the region of Tours) says quite laconically: "The bread is transformed into the body and the wine into the blood, since the Lord said about his body: 'My flesh is food indeed and my blood is drink indeed.'"²⁴ The same passage accepts that the consecration of the chalice takes place when the words "Hic est calix sanguinis mei, mysterium fidei, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum" are used. The presence here of the words *mysterium fidei* in the formula is notable, for the Irish Sacramentary in its entry for Christmas Day gives

²¹ *Missale Francorum*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg, O.S.B. (Rome, 1957) sect. 32: "ut per obsequium plebis Tuae corpus et sanguinem Filii Tui immaculata benedictione transformet."

²² The Mone Masses were edited in an appendix to *Missale Gallicanum vetus* by L. C. Mohlberg, O.S.B. (Rome, 1959) sect. 331: "Descendat, Domine, plenitudo maiestatis, divinitatis . . . super hunc panem et super hunc calicem et fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in transformatione corporis et sanguinis Domini."

²³ *Ibid.*, sect. 85: "Christus . . . in novo testamento sacrificandi ritum instituit dum panem et vinum, quod Melchisedech in praefiguratione futuri mysterii sacerdos obtulerat, in sacramento sui corporis et sanguinis transformavit. . . ."

²⁴ The *Expositio liturgiae Gallicanae* was edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society (Vol. 98, 1971) by Prof. E. C. Ratcliff. Sect. 18 of Part 1 has the sentence quoted, following upon the remark that the body of the Lord is carried about in *turres* because they resemble the Holy Sepulchre. This idea is certainly Eastern, for in the homilies of Narsai (Connolly 4) one may read: "The altar is a symbol of our Lord's tomb, without doubt, and the bread and wine are the body of our Lord, which was embalmed and buried."

the words of consecration without the addition of *Mysterium fidei*. Hence one is entitled to say that between 650 and 820 those two words had been added to the "perilous prayer." It might not be unfair to conclude that their addition betokens a growing reverence for the central moment of the Mass.

The opening prayer of the Mass for Maundy Thursday in the Irish Sacramentary has these words: "Carrying out a saving effigy of the Lord's immolation, which is transformed into a spiritual sacrifice by the offering of Christ . . ." ²⁵ The prayer is reproduced in the somewhat later *Missale Gothicum*, and it presents a developed theology of the Mass. The immolation is carried out in effigy, not in the shedding of real blood, and this effigy is not mere play-acting, because the words of Christ and the act of Christ make it a spiritual sacrifice. That some thinking had taken place when the prayer was being composed may be judged from its later clause, which asks that Christ may bless the gifts that have been offered and that by the enlightening of the Holy Spirit a sweet odor may rise up as the angels carry it aloft. The fragment at Cambridge which contains some Christmas prayers from a mid-eighth-century Mass book has the same phrase about the sweet odor: "From these sacred offerings may a sweet odor rise up to Thee and upon them may copious blessings descend from Thee, that by the mystery of Thy working there may be to us a lawful Eucharist and true blood in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." ²⁶ This prayer followed the words of consecration.

The petition for a "legitimate Eucharist" that can be found in a number of these prayers did not arise out of regard for canon law; it was rather a theological desire that the words spoken by the priest should have the power of God behind them. This is expressed by a prayer from what seems to be a Breton liturgy. The codex itself is in the Ambrosiana at Milan, and its only hint of locality of provenance is a Mass for an unknown St. Hilduin. Now Gilduin was a Breton saint, and the consonants G and H can easily be interchanged in the Breton language. The prayer runs: "Holy Lord, when Thou didst repudiate animal sacrifice, Thou didst desire that the rite of this spiritual sacrifice, prefigured by Melchisedech, committed by Thine only Son to the apostles and by them

²⁵ *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar*, sect. 56: "Salutiferam Dominicæ immolationis effigiem, in sacrificium spiritale Christo offerente transfusam . . . offerentes. . . ." The later clause is "munera oblata benedicat et per inlustrationem Spiritus sancti deferentibus nuntiis odor suavitatis ascendat."

²⁶ The Cambridge fragment (found in the binding of a book at Gonville and Caius College) was published by Bickell in 1882 and again in Mohlberg's edition of the *Missale Gallicanum vetus* (n. 22 above) 95. The prayer is a combination of a Gelasian collect for Christmas Day with the following: "Ex his quoque sacris libaminibus odor ad Te suavitatis ascendat atque in his benedictio a Te copiosa descendat, ut per mysterium Tuæ operationis fiat nobis eucharistia legitima et verus sanguis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti."

spread throughout the world, should prevail also for the eternal salvation of Thine own by its mystical holiness; pour forth Thy grace, Thy Spirit, and Thy power upon these blessed creatures, that their complete consecration may be wrought not by word or tongue of mortal but by inspiration from heaven, through Christ our Lord."²⁷ What might be meant by "complete" consecration one can only conjecture; the priest speaks the words of Christ, and the Father accepts that action by the sending of the Spirit. A model of that type might satisfy. Alternatively, one might think that the words of Christ, spoken in his person by the priest, suffice for the sending of the Spirit; they are not mere words, but power and life.

That thinking needed to be clarified about the role of the Son and the Spirit at the consecration can be seen from the Mass of St. Germanus in the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, where a *post-pridie* prayer (that followed immediately on the consecration) asked for the descent "of Thy holy Word, of the inestimable Spirit of Thy glory, of the ancient gift of Thy pardon."²⁸ Though written down ca. 700, this prayer was composed long before that, in Merovingian Gaul, while the conviction that the Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father was growing more clear in Spain and spreading northwards. In the fifth Mone Mass there is an explicit statement that the Holy Spirit is "ex Patre et Filio mystica processione subsistens."²⁹ That Trinitarian appropriations came in gradually to describe the work of consecration might be inferred from the prayer in the Stowe Missal (p. 7) which was sung three times at the half-uncovering of the chalice: "Veni, Domine sanctificator omnipotens, et benedic hoc sacrificium praeparatum Tibi. Amen." This is the earliest form of the prayer which remained in the Roman Missal until 1970, and it is a prayer addressed to the Father, who is the recipient of the sacrifice. The idea of a temporal mission of the Son at the consecration, and of the

²⁷ In 1952 Alban Dold, O.S.B., edited *Das Sakramentar im Schabcodex M 12 sup. der Bibliotheca Ambrosiana* (Beuron). It had many Spanish symptoms. The prayer is a *post-pridie* from a Sunday Mass (ibid. 40): "Sancte Domine, qui repudiatis carnalibus victimis ritum hunc sacrificii spiritalis per Melchisedech praefiguratum, per Unigenitum Tuum apostolis traditum, per apostolos toto orbe diffusum, invalescere et in aeternam Tuorum salutem mystica sanctificatione voluisti, Tuam in his felicibus creaturis gratiam, Tuum Spiritum Tuamque infunde virtutem ut eorum plenam consecrationem non vox aut lingua mortalium sed inspiratio caelestis operetur."

²⁸ *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, sect. 8. This Mass for St. Germanus must have been composed about 500. It has counterparts (which are not copies) in the Lanalet Pontifical (from St. Germanus in Cornwall) and in a fragment preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford and published in F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881) 159.

²⁹ The place of origin of the Mone Masses is very uncertain. They have a few Spanish symptoms, but also have echoes of Arator, Novatian, and Minucius Felix. Councils of Toledo from 447 were approving creeds which contained the *Filioque*. If these Masses were composed ca. 500, as is probable, then Spanish influence might be suspected.

mission of the Spirit by Father and Son, through the use of the words of Christ at the consecration developed later.

John Chrysostom held that the words of Christ used at the consecration were creative words, while he also held that it is the coming of the Spirit that makes bread become the Bread of Heaven.³⁰ He also said that Christ as the new Moses has the Spirit consubstantial with himself, and, just as Moses struck the rock and drew forth streams of water, so Christ touches the spiritual table and causes to rise up streams of the Spirit. That is why the altar is in the middle, like a spring, so that the flock may gather round from all sides to enjoy the saving waters.³¹ A Latin version of this homily circulated in the West from ca. 750. The preoccupation of the Byzantine Greeks with the denial of the *Filioque* gave a wrong direction to their theology of the Mass, for, if the Spirit does not proceed from the Son, then Christ by his words cannot be thought to send the Spirit upon the offerings of bread and wine. Chrysostom felt no difficulty in saying that Christ sent the Spirit, like a second Moses, but after his day the Byzantines grew less willing to accept the fact.

The Irish Sacramentary comes to our help again here, for on Epiphany it has a prayer that Christ, "who then turned water into wine, would now change the wine of our offerings into his blood, and that he who has given contentment to some by draughts of wine would sanctify us by a draught from the vine of his pruning and by an infusion of the Holy Spirit."³² The sending of the Spirit by Christ is explicit here, and it is also clear that the change operated at the consecration is understood to be parallel to the miracle of Cana. The Stowe Missal called Epiphany the birthday of the chalice (*natalis calicis*); now one can see what that phrase meant. The numerous lists of the offices of Christ (which state when Christ fulfilled

³⁰ The two statements by Chrysostom are in the *Sermo 1 de prodicione Iudae* (PG 49, 380) and in the forty-fifth homily on John (PG 59, 253).

³¹ In the third of his eight baptismal catecheses, edited by A. Wenger in *Sources chrétiennes* 50 (Paris, 1957), at paragraph 26 there is a notable new reading in the Stavronikita codex which Wenger discovered. Whereas all previous editors, working with inferior texts, took the new Moses to be Flavian of Antioch, this better codex from Mount Athos makes clear that Christ was meant. The inferior texts had changed the wording about the Spirit being consubstantial with the new Moses. Whether this change was due to polemics about the *Filioque*, it would be hard to say.

³² *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar*, sect. 44: "Qui tunc aquas in vina mutavit nunc in sanguinem suum oblationum nostrarum vina convertat." Does the plural imply that the wine brought up at the offertory was both white and red? Commentators seem strangely backward about Cana; white wine would seem more likely there, since red would have been only too obvious to the servants. The Stowe Missal (Warner 11) has a special addition to the *Communicantes* for "the day of the Star," and this uses the phrase *natalis calicis*. I am glad to see that my vindication of this fact, against editors who wanted to transfer the mention to Maundy Thursday, has been accepted recently by Roger Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1978) 41.

the duty of a subdeacon or lector and the like, and many of which are of Irish inspiration) generally take the episode of Cana as the occasion when Christ was a subdeacon; in the West it was the subdeacon's part to carry up the offerings of wine to the altar.

For the feast of St. Andrew the Irish Sacramentary has immediately before the Preface a prayer which asks: "Bathe, Lord, in Thy Holy Spirit the offering here present of Thy suppliant people."³³ Again, in the Mass for the Saturday in Easter week, at the same point in the Mass, there is a short prayer asking: "Sanctify what we offer; grant us what we ask." This prayer has antecedents in the Mone Masses. It would seem, therefore, that in the seventh and eighth centuries there was a wide acceptance of the idea that invocation of the Spirit had to be made prior to the consecration, so that the words of Christ should have their powerful effect in the transformation of the elements.

The fuller evidence from liturgical sources that is now available makes possible a reconstruction of the progress of theological thought about the Eucharist in the Dark Ages. Justin's simple idea of metabolism as the description of what takes place in the liturgy³⁴ is elaborated into a miraculous transformation like to what happened at Cana. Belief in the power of the words of Christ concentrates attention on the moment when those words are used in the liturgy, and the priest becomes the "danger man." The activity of the Spirit, invoked in the earlier prayers of the Mass, is understood to be a mission of the Spirit by Christ through the use of his words. A sermon of Augustine which circulated in Gaul and Germany shows the development going on: "What you now see is bread and wine. Sanctification comes to it, and that bread will be the body of Christ and that wine will be the blood of Christ. It is the name of Christ, the grace of Christ, that effects this, so that it looks the same as it did before, but has another power than it had before."³⁵

What seems to have held up the theological development was the distraction caused by the idea of consecration by contact. From Andrieu's study of this idea³⁶ one may see how Amalarius and others who dealt

³³ *Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar*, sect. 150: "Perfunde, Domine, Spiritu Tuo sancto supplicantis Tibi populi praesentem oblationem." For the Saturday in Easter Week, see sect. 84: "Sanctifica quod offertur Tibi; praesta quod poscimus." There are parallels to this prayer in Mone, nos. 13 and 25.

³⁴ *Apologia* 1 66. The Greek word *metabolē* was taken up by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catecheses* 23, 7) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (on Mt 26:26 [PG 66, 713]).

³⁵ It was printed by G. Morin, O.S.B., *S. Augustini sermones post Maurinos reperti* (Rome, 1930) 462: *Sermo* 7, Guelferbytanus: "Adhuc quidem quod modo videtis panis est et vinum: accedit sanctificatio et panis ille erit corpus Christi et vinum illud erit sanguis Christi. Hoc facit nomen Christi, hoc facit gratia Christi, ut hoc ipsum videatur quod videbatur, et tamen non hoc valeat quod valebat." It was the publication of these sermons that made Karl Adam rewrite his work on Augustine and the Eucharist.

³⁶ M. Andrieu, *Immixtio et consecratio* (Paris, 1924). The work appeared originally as a

with the liturgy of the Mass of the Presanctified opened the door to a notion of consecration that was almost magical. It took three centuries (ninth to twelfth) for this idea to be overcome, though, as Andrieu showed, it lingered in some quarters till the fifteenth century. The debates that broke out from 1184 about the effect of the single consecration of the bread³⁷ obviously presupposed acceptance of the idea that it was the consecration as a whole that changed the bread and wine. Edmund Bishop recognized this, but erroneously made it his starting point for the theology of the moment of consecration. He was six hundred years too late.

What can happen when the ideas of Edmund Bishop are followed without question may be seen from a recent book on the problem of supplementary consecration.³⁸ R. F. Buxton introduced his topic by some general considerations about the Canon of Pope Gelasius: "The concept of the eucharist in the Canon is one of the offering of sacrifice to God, and simultaneously and consequently receiving the body and blood of Christ, and grace unto salvation. The prayers of the Canon conceive of this as a single unitary action; therefore to try and isolate from them a separate theology of consecration, let alone a moment of consecration, would be a fundamental mistake of method, for it would be to look for what is not to be found." He did not seem to realize that our first and earliest knowledge of the *Canon dominicus papae Gelasii* comes from the Stowe Missal, a codex produced ca. 800–810 from a seventh-century manuscript, and that the Stowe Missal has annexed to it the Irish treatise on the Mass mentioned above, which tells us about the *periculosa oratio* of the moment of consecration. One can see unitary action in the Canon that the Irish Sacramentary provides for the feast of the Circumcision, since it goes straight from the words of consecration to an invocation addressed to Jesus asking that he should come and communicate with us. This is the invocation taken from the *Acts of Thomas*, and its use in the Mass must be prior to the Canon of Gelasius, and prior also to his decree on prohibited apocrypha.

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³⁷ This debate was studied by V. L. Kennedy, "The Moment of Consecration," *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944), where (139) he cites Peter Cantor as saying that all parties to the dispute agree that it is by the words of Christ and by his authority that transubstantiation is effected.

³⁸ R. F. Buxton, *Eucharist and Institution Narrative* (Alcuin Club, Vol. 58, 1976). My citation is found at p. 22. Mr. Buxton's main purpose is to discuss Anglican practice in the problem of supplying the consecrated elements when the number of communicants is excessive. Theology obviously governs the solution of this problem.