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THE CANON MISSAE IN RUPERT OF DEUTZ O.S.B.'S ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION

Abstract. At the heart of the celebration of the Eucharist is the Eucharistic Prayer, during which the mystery of Christ is made present. In the Latin liturgy of the Western Church, for centuries the priest always recited the same Eucharistic Prayer at the Holy Mass from the Roman Canon. This oldest liturgical text was built symmetrically around the words of the institution that Jesus spoke over the bread and wine. The structure of the Canon itself was shaped over several centuries, but the proper arrangement was known already in the 7th and 8th centuries. The Canon of the Mass has been for centuries the basis for the theological interpretation of individual texts, gestures and signs. Particularly since the Middle Ages, they were explained on the basis of their allegorical interpretation. This way of interpreting the Mass was known since the 8th century and consisted of a moralizing, typological, commemorative, eschatic and an anagogical presentation of all liturgical rites. The treatise Liber de divinis officiis by Rupert of Deutz is one of the most important texts dedicated to the liturgy in the Middle Ages. Rupert of Deutz explained the celebrations of the Mass in the second book of his work. In the first place, he points to the Passion's interpretation in the Canon, from the moment Jesus entered Jerusalem to His body being placed in the grave. The Passion is also emphasized by the sign of the cross made by the priest at the time of the Canon, which symbolizes the wounds of Christ. The allegorical interpretation of the Mass Canon, made by Rupert of Deutz, is part of the theological tradition of the Middle Ages. Although he did not discuss all of the texts in the Canon, he did interpret its essential parts.

Key words: liturgy; allegory; Canon Missae; Eucharist.

The heart of the Mass is the Eucharistic prayer, during which the mystery of Christ is made present. The Eucharistic Prayer, also called the Anaphora, is supposed to, according to the etymology of this word, raise those who are praying to God.¹ In the Latin liturgy of the Western Church, for centuries the priest,

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¹ In Latin, *anaphora* means "to raise up high, canon, offering" (cf. Alojzy Jougan, *Słownik kościelny łacińsko-polski* (Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne i Drukarnia, 2013⁵), 36), and

during each Mass, always recited the same Eucharistic Prayer from the Roman Canon. The oldest parts of the canon were known already in the times of St. Ambrose, while the remaining texts date back to the 5th and 6th centuries.²

This oldest liturgical text, whose history dates back to the first half of the IV century, was symmetrically built around the words of institution that Jesus spoke over the bread and wine. The very structure of the Canon was shaped over several centuries, but the proper order was already known in the VII and VIII centuries.³ Although it was decided in 1962 that St. Joseph should always be mentioned among the names of the saints, essentially, its structure remains the same. Other changes and after the Second Vatican Council include the words spoken over the bread and wine that were changed to make the text uniform in all Eucharistic Prayers, and among the mentioned Apostles, in addition to Saints Peter and Paul, it is obligatory to remember St. Andrew, which gives the prayer an ecumenical dimension.⁴

For centuries, the Canon of the Mass has been the basis for the theological interpretation of individual texts, gestures and signs. This was especially so starting in the middle ages, when they were explained based on their allegorical interpretation. This form of the Holy Mass was known since the eighth century and consisted in showing the moralizing the typological, commemorative, eschatic and anaemological meanings of all liturgical rites. The most important interpretations of the allegorical interpretation were made by Alkuin (died 804) and his student Amalarius of Metz (died 850). These authors also include other medieval theologians such as Rabanus Maurus (died 856), Walafrid Strabo (died 849) and Pseudo-German of Paris.

These views were contained in the treatises known as the *Expositiones Missae*, the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* or the *Liber de divinis officiis*. This form, however, met with criticism in the Middle Ages, and its opponents were Deacon Florus of Lyon (died circa 860) and Paschasius Radbertus (died 859). One of the most important theologians from the turn of the XI and XII

comes from the Greek ἀναφορά [anaphorá] from ἀναφέρω [anaphéro] "I will raise, carry upwards."

² Hans Bernhard MEYER, "Eucharistie," in *Gottesdienst der Kirche. Handbuch der Liturgie wissenschaft*, part 4, hrsg. von Hans Bernhard Meyer, Franz Bartunek; Josef Andreas Jungmann (Regensburg: Pustet, 1989), 179.

³ Aimé Georges Martimort, *Handbuch der Liturgie wissenschaft*, Bd. I (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1963), 407.

⁴ Missale Romanum ex decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini Restitutum Summorum Pontificum cura recognitum, Editio Typica (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1962), 302.

⁵ Marek Zahajkiewicz, "Expositio missae," in Encyklopedia katolicka, vol. IV (Lublin: TN KUL, 1973), col. 1467.

centuries was Rupert of Deutz OSB. An interesting issue will be to show how this author interpreted the *Canon Missae*. This will be possible thanks to the analysis of his work dedicated to the Latin Church's liturgy.

1. RUPERT OF DEUTZ OSB AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ALLEGORICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE LITURGY

Rupert of Deutz, a medieval mystic, is one of the foremost representatives of the allegorical interpretation of the liturgy. He was probably born within the years 1075 and 1076 in Liège or near this town. Liège at that time was the suffragan of Cologne and one of the most important cities in the North-Western Empire. At the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, apart from the cathedral and seven collegiate churches, two Benedictine monasteries were also located there. He described his life in *De Gloria et Honore Filii Hominis*, which is a partial commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

Rupert joined the Benedictine monastery of St. Lawrence in Liège. His monastic life experienced the difficult times of fighting for investitures. The dispute began in 1075, when Emperor Henry IV (died 1106) removed the canonically elected Archbishop Atton of Milan (died 1085), and appointed the German bishop Theobald (died 1080) in his place. This situation led to a conflict between the king and the pope, and the pope's reaction was the imposition of excommunication. The dispute ended after concluding the Concordat of Worms in 1122 by Caesar Henry V (died in 1125). When Bishop Otbert of Liège (died 1119) objected to the Pope, he sentenced Berengar, the abbot of St. Lawrence Abbey, into exile, and Rupert accompanied his abbot. He returned to the monastery when Bishop Otbert reconciled with the pope. 10

After returning to the monastery, for many years, Rupert did not want to accept priestly ordination, refusing to receive it from a bishop who was in disagreement with the pope. After eight years of mystical visions, in 1108,

⁶ Helmut i Ilse DEUTZ, "Einleitung," in RUPERT VON DEUTZ, *Liber de divinisofficiis. Der Gottesdienst der Kirche. Erster Teilband*, hrsg. von Hrabanus Haacke (Freiburg-Basel-Wien-Barcelona-Rom-New York: Herder, 1999), 23 (further abbreviated: Einleitung).

⁷ Einleitung, 40.

⁸ Ibidem, 29–39.

⁹ Anzelm Weiss, "Inwestytura," in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. VII (Lublin: TN KUL, 1987), col. 421–422.

¹⁰ BENEDICT XVI, "Audiencja generalna: Rupert z Deutz" [9 XII 2009], *Osservatore Romano* (Polish ed.) no. 2 (2010): 49.

he was ordained to the presbyterate and became an active theological writer focusing on the theological and symbolic interpretation of Sacred Scripture. Judged twice by Bishop Otbert, he had to leave the monastery, and in 1116, his opponents tried to convict him for his views, because on the biblical level he fell into conflict with Norbert of Xanten (died 1134), Wilhelm of Champeaux (died 1121), Anselm of Laon (died 1117) and Anzel of Havelberg (died 1158). After clearing his charges, Rupert went to Siegburg and then to Deutz near Cologne, where in 1120 he became the Abbot. He died in this abbey on March 4, 1129. He left Deutz only once, in 1124, to make a pilgrimage to Rome.

Rupert has left many works that bear witness to ongoing theological discussions. Among them is a work dedicated to the liturgy, *Liber de divinis officiis*, in which he described the Benedictine liturgy after the introduction of Cluniac customs in 1106 to the monastery in Liège. In it, among other things, he emphasized that the canonical hours and the Eucharist served the anamnesis of salvific events. ¹⁴ This work appeared in 1111 or 1112 anonymously, but its style betrayed the author. ¹⁵ Rupert himself is a representative of monastic theology, showing the relationship between the Eucharist and the Incarnation, ¹⁶ although in Latin theology this topic was not as often discussed as in Eastern theology. ¹⁷

Rupert's work, which helped people to understand the liturgy, was one of the most important works in the Middle Ages, as proved by the number of preserved manuscripts, namely seventy manuscripts, of which thirty-five are from the twelfth century. His theological thinking also influenced later theologians, who were masters of allegories, such as Jean Beleth (died 1182), Sicard of Cremona (died 1215), Pope Innocent III (died 1216) and Wilhelm Durand (died 1296).¹⁸

¹¹ Wolfgang Beinert, "Rupert v. Deutz," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. VII (München: dtv, 1995), col. 1103.

¹² Paweł Sokołowski, "Rupert z Deutz," in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. XVII (Lublin: TN KUL, 2012), col. 597.

¹³ BENEDICT XVI, "Audiencja generalna: Rupert z Deutz," 49.

¹⁴ Einleitung, 50–52.

¹⁵ Ibidem, 21.

¹⁶ Pius ENGELBERT, "Rupert v. Deutz," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3. Aufl., hrsg. von Walter Kasper, Bd. VIII (Freiburg: Herder, 1999), col. 1366-1367.

¹⁷ Bogusław NADOLSKI, *Eucharystia. Jej miejsce i rola w życiu chrześcijanina* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2006), 55.

¹⁸ Einleitung, 56–57.

2. TE IGITUR CLEMENTISSIME PATER

In the second book of *Liber de divinis officiis*, Rupert of Deutz discusses the various parts of the Mass Canon. The first part, beginning with the words *Te igitur*, is a plea for accepting the gifts. From the beginning, this was certainly unique in the case of the Roman Canon against the background of other anaphoras known in the east.¹⁹

In the first part of the Canon, Rupert of Deutz notes that from the words *Te igitur clementissime Pater* to *Qui pridiequam pateretur*, events are recalled that took place just before the Passion during the last four days, from Jesus' entry into Jerusalem to the moment when He offered Himself to the Father as the real Lamb. This entrusting and arrival, according to Rupert, are symbolized by three signs of the cross while uttering the words: *Uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata.* ²⁰ These three signs of the cross belong to the oldest gestures in the Canon, because they were first approved of in the middle of the eighth century. ²¹ They were to serve not so much to strengthen the sanctification of the offering, but rather to emphasize certain words that were recited in the Canon. ²² These signs were gradually removed after Vatican II's reforms. ²³

On the fourth day, Jesus was betrayed and sold by Judas, therefore, in a similar way, the author associates this with the triple sign of the cross, made when reciting the words *benedictam, adscriptam, ratam.*²⁴ Here, the author also reflects on the fact that the Church, who because of her poverty, did not have a proper gift that could be a sacrifice to God, as the Psalmist asked: "How can I repay the Lord for all the great good he has done for me?" He answers: "I will raise the cup of salvation and call on the name of the Lord" (Ps 116 [115]:12–13).²⁵

In the Mass Canon, Rupert of Deutz draws attention to the terms used for the sacrifice, expressed in the words *Haec dona* and *haec munera*. In

¹⁹ Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Missarumsollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, Bd. II (Wien: Herder, 1962⁵), 185 (further abbreviated: Missarum sollemnia II).

²⁰ RUPERT VON DEUTZ, *Liber de divinis officiis. Der Gottesdienst der Kirche. Erster Teilband*, hrsg. von Hrabanus Haacke (Freiburg–Basel–Wien–Barcelona–Rom–New York: Herder, 1999), 264 (further abbreviated: Liber).

²¹ Missarumsollemnia II, 179.

²² Missarumsollemnia II, 181.

²³ Emil Joseph Lengeling, *Die neue Ordnung der Eucharistiefeier. Kommentar der Dokumente zum Römischen Meβbuch* (Leipzig: St.-Benno-Verlag, 1970), 273.

²⁴ Liber, 264.

²⁵ Liber, 264.

explaining these words, he points to a significant difference: he calls these sacrifice gifts, because the Lord Himself gave them to people, and they are also gifts, because they were offered to the Lord by the faithful.²⁶ At the same time, he notices that the gift is offered by someone who is higher in the social hierarchy, and the pressie is made by someone from a lower position.

This, in his opinion, marks the essence of the gathered community, the Church. All those who give gifts share in one sacrifice, make up the Church and are unified just as many grains make one bread and one wine comes from many wine grapes. Not only do apostles and martyrs create this community, but also the faithful who hope to obtain its merits on their way to salvation. Strangers cannot eat of this bread (cf. Ex 29:33). The faithful participate in this sacrifice as co-believers (cf. Gal 6:10) and accept this gift starting with the hierarchy up to and including the lowly, from the apostles to the tax collectors.²⁷ This issue was slightly differently presented by Pope Innocent III, who pointed out that the word *dona* refers to the gift that God offered to humanity, and it is His Son.²⁸

Rupert of Deutz does not deal with the interpretation of the requests in the first part of the Canon starting with the words *In primis*, then *Memento*, *Domine* and *Communicantes*. These were texts known in the author's time, and as intercessory requests were included in the Roman Canon at the turn of the IV and V centuries.²⁹

3. HANC IGITUR OBLATIONEM

The next part of the Canon, beginning with the words *Hanc igitur oblationem*, is a request to accept the sacrifice. The final text was created during the pontificate of Gregory the Great. Until then, many forms of the *Hanc igitur* were known, depending on the circumstances of the celebrated Mass.³⁰ As a rule, during other celebrations, this prayer was not recited, except for on special occasions such as Easter.³¹

²⁶ "Eadem sacrifice ad onasunt, munerasunt, dona, quianobis ab ipso data, munera, quia a nobis illi oblata". Liber, 266.

²⁷ Liber, 266

²⁸ INNOCENTIUS III, *De sacro altaris mysterio. Libri Sex*, PL 217, 841 B; Missarum sollemnia II, 190.

²⁹ Missarum sollemnia II, 191.

³⁰ Missarum sollemnia II, 231–232.

³¹ Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Liturgia pierwotnego Kościołado czasów Grzegorza Wielkiego*, transl. Teresa Lubowiecka (Kraków–Tyniec: Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 2013), 460–461.

The prayer *Quam oblationem* is directly connected with this prayer, which is a request for the transformation of the gifts of the sacrificial bread and wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Jesus. Rupert points out that through it, the faithful also plead that the sacred sacrifice be accepted as a message of universal salvation (*diligentem publicae salutis legationem*) pleasing to God, as accepting the sacrifice *benedictam*, *adscriptam*, *ratam*, *rationabilemque*.³² In this way, he refers to the evangelical pericope about the king who sent a message, asking for peace, because his tenthousand-strong army could not measure up to the tens of thousands approaching him (cf. Lk 14:31). The author concludes that since man cannot be justified only by his deeds, but will also have to give an account of his thoughts, the sacrificial offering of Christ is to be this delivered message asking for peace.³³

It is at the same time an assurance that this attitude by the Church deserves to be praised, just as David praised the wise actions of Abigail (cf. 1 Sm 25:32). In analyzing this Old Testament passage of the Bible, he compares the Church to Abigail, Nabal's wife, whose name means that there is much stupidity in him (cf. 1 Sm 25:25). Abigail came with a sacrifice designated for the true David, meaning Christ, who overcame Saul's persecution. In explaining this passage, the author emphasizes that the sacrifice offered is *benedicta* (blessed), because its word has been blessed, *adscripta* (written down), because it has not been destroyed and forgotten, *rata* (valid), because the forgiveness of sins is granted and no justification of a verdict can change this.³⁴ Rupert does not explain in his lecture the description of the sacrifice as *rationabilis*, meaning a spiritual sacrifice.³⁵

The sacrifice of Christ understood in this way is to become a source of blessing, because it has been made in accord with the law of God, that God might confirm and make it compensation for people's guilt and become pleasing to God.³⁶ Here, Rupert does not explain the gestures of the signs of the cross in this place, which were to symbolize the wounds of Christ.³⁷

³² Liber, 266.

³³ Liber, 268.

³⁴ Liber, 268.

³⁵ Missarum sollemnia II, 236.

³⁶ Antoni Julian Nowowiejski, *Msza święta*, part 1 (Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1992), 840.

³⁷ Ibidem, 841.

4. QUI PRIDIE QUAM PATERETUR

At the center of the Eucharistic Prayer are the words of the consecration recitative. Rupert of Deutz described the moment of the transformation of the offered gifts as the miracle of the great exchange (*Miraculum tantae novitatis*), and this mystery cannot be expressed by any words. Here the author uses a metaphor stating that speech disappears (*disparet sermo*), and the uncircumcised lips also convince the uncircumcised mind in its attitude of impudence and brashness.

As an argument, he cites the words from the Book of Job: "Do you know the ordinances of the heavens; can you put into effect their plan on the earth?" (Job 38:33). This law of heaven, according to Rupert, cannot be intelligible to man. Rupert simply compares the rational approach to the Eucharist to David's mad behavior, who while escaping from Saul's oppression did not recognize Achish, King of Gath (cf. 1 Sm 21:14). Achish's person is synonymous with the Jewish nation that did not recognize the Messiah in Christ. Christ is ready to enter the heavenly sanctuary as the high priest through the path of suffering, and so he says the word of consecration over the bread and wine. ³⁹

In view of the mystery of the transformation of the sacrificial gifts, the author wonders whether he should be silent, in this way showing that those whose unclean lips were not touched with burning coal embers taken from the altar by the Seraphim cannot be included (cf. Is 6:5-7), or even expresses the doubts of the Jews: "How can he give us his body to eat?" (J 6:52). Rather, should a believer not think about announcing this mystery and, at the same time, knock at his friend's door and ask to borrow three loaves of bread (cf. Lk 11:5;8), which he believes symbolize the virtues of faith, hope and love (cf. 1 Cor 13:13). Presently, people do not see God face to face, but only vaguely, as in a mirror (cf. 1 Cor 13:12), but they will see Him as He is (cf. 1 J 3:2).⁴⁰

³⁸ Liber, 270.

³⁹ Liber, 270.

⁴⁰ Liber, 272.

5. THE EUCHARISTIC MATTER, INTENTION AND EFFICACY OF THE SACRIFICE

Rupert of Deutz in his argument on the topic of the Mass Canon simultaneously points to the material element, or essence of the sacrifice, which was placed in the hands of the High Priest, Christ. This matter is not simple, just like the person of Christ who is composed of a divine and a human nature. Similarly, the sacrifice consists of the divine and the earthly. The earthly side is what can be seen and is carnal. The invisible is the invisible Word which in the beginning was God (cf. Jn 1:1–2). This word is also spoken by the Lord over the bread and wine: "This is my body, this is my blood" (Mk 14:22;24; Mt 26:26;28).

As indicated, this was the Word made flesh (voxerat Verbi incarnati), the word of the eternal beginning (vox aeterni principii), the word of the eternal Counselor (verbum antiqui Convilii, cf. Is 9:5). This Word, which accepted human nature, is the same Word that was present in the flesh, taking on the essence of bread and wine; life united the bread with his body, and wine with his blood. Confessing the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Rupert of Deutz at the same time opposes Berengar of Tours (died 1088), whose teaching was condemned in 1077. 41 Rupert joins the mystery of the transformation of the sacrificial gifts with the mystery of the Incarnation of the eternal Word. The author uses a metaphor to show the role of the Word of the Father, which enters in between the body and the blood accepted into the womb of the Virgin. This word is compared to the word spoken by the tongue, whose sound is the mediator between the spirit and the breath, and the spoken word reaches the ears, it quickly ends. This word remains, however, intact and unchangeable between the speaker and the listener. When the priest places this bread in the mouths of the faithful, the form of bread and wine passes away, and the son of the Virgin Mary remains intact and undefiled, together with the word of the Father connected with Him. 42

Man without faith can only see bread and wine in the Eucharist, not an invisible sacrifice. Rupert compares such a man to a donkey who, in fact, hears the tone of a lyre and lends his ears, but does not understand the essence of the song. He compares non-believers to the Jews and their fathers, of whom the Lord said: "Your ancestors ate manna in the wilderness and died"

⁴¹ BENEDICT XVI, "Audiencja generalna: Rupert z Deutz," 49.

⁴² Liber, 274.

(J 6:49). Those of us who believe are praised by Pt. Paul in the words: "Our ancestors ate the same spiritual food and drank the same spiritual drink" (1 Cor 10:3f). The former, as Rupert describes, lived according to the faith of the Jews' fathers and heretics, and the latter lived according to the faith of the Apostles. As an affirmation of this thesis, he indicates that the invisible bread which came down from heaven (J 6:51) and the visible bread that grew on this earth are the same body that came down from heaven and came from the womb of the Virgin Mary. Therefore, whoever eats the visible sacrificial bread and rejects through disbelief that it is the true Body of Jesus, such a person kills Christ, because they separate life from the giver of life. 43

The bread of sacrifice, as Rupert observes, has no life or feelings, nor emotions, which is why one can come to the conclusion that this bread is not the Lord's body, it is not Christ. In order to explain these issues, the author points to two types of life: sensual and spiritual. Sensual life is based on the five senses: sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. It is the sensual and corporeal life that was defined by Christ: "It is the spirit that gives life, while the flesh is of no avail" (J 6:63). In a further argument, Rupert points out that it would be impossible for the Jews to eat the body of the crucified Lord, just like a lamb's meat or like the sea monster that swallowed the living Jonah (cf. J 2:1–11). Such an attitude for them would be an even greater sacrilege. If his physical life were available in the Body of Christ, it would not be beneficial. We cannot demand miracles in order to satisfy our curiosity, as Herod expected, and when he did not obtain his goal, he sent Jesus back to Pilate (cf. Lk 23:8;11).

Therefore, it was the Lord's wisdom, according to Rupert, that the sacrifice Christ enclose his spiritual life in order for it to serve as a sanctification and blessing, through mercy, truth, justice and peace (Ps 85 [84]:11). 44 This spiritual body is available in sacrifice without carnal life, just as the light of the sun appears in the moonlight, but without its warmth (*quomodo lux solis absque calore eius in corpore lunae nobis repraesentatur*). Christ, as the High Priest, thus offered his sacrifice from these two elements: the word of God from which man lives (cf. Mt 4:4), and the fruits of the earth from which the body lives (cf. Gen 4:3). 45 In the light of these allegorical statements by Rupert of Deutz, it should be pointed out that the term "transubstantiation" was not yet known and used in reference to the Eucharist. 46

⁴³ Liber, 276.

⁴⁴ Liber, 278–280.

⁴⁵ Liber, 280.

⁴⁶ BENEDICT XVI, "Audiencja generalna: Rupert z Deutz," 49.

A separate issue discussed by Rupert of Deutz is the intention for celebrating the sacrifice of the Eucharist and its effectiveness. He indicates that the basis for celebrating the Eucharist is the call to do everything in remembrance of the Lord, according to the words of St. Paul (cf. 1 Cor 11:25). These words, however, will be accepted only by those who have ears to hear (cf. Mt 11:15). After the Lord left, it was not enough to preserve the memory of Christ and His teachings, therefore, the eternal Wisdom prepared a drink so that those in need, especially the sick, would be strengthened by daily renewing the Memorial of His salvation.⁴⁷

The benefit of this sacrament, however, is that thanks to its power, those who live on earth can now enter heaven (*caelum ascendere*). On the other hand, this is impossible because no one else has entered heaven except the Son of man who came down from heaven (cf. J 3:13). This Son of Man, who is the Son of God, the eternal word of the Father who descended from heaven into the womb of the Virgin Mary, ascended to heaven, and along with him all the members of his body, of which he is the head. Figuratively speaking, it is presented as one body, one Person, one Christ, the Head with its members, because, referring to the biblical words, it "is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" (Gn 2:23). The faithful become one body with Christ, which is also a great mystery (Gen 2:24, Eph 5:31–32).⁴⁸

Rupert of Deutz underlines in his deliberations that the Body of Christ has grown so much thanks to suffering. It has filled the whole world that thanks to the fresh batch of dough (cf. 1 Cor 5:7) it creates one Church from among all those chosen from the beginning to the end of the world, which is to bring God and people together forever. This body was a grain of wheat that was thrown into the ground, died and grows on the altar, bringing a harvest in the soul and in the body (cf. J 12:24). Before the Lord of the harvest returns (cf. Mt 9:38; Lk 10:2), he gathers the fruits of the earth (Ps 107 [106]:34) in the heavenly granaries (Lk 3:17).

6. UNDE ET MEMORES, DOMINE

After the words of consecration and the recitation of the institution, the Canon then mentions the mystery of the Redemption. The anamnesis of

⁴⁷ Liber, 282–286.

⁴⁸ Liber, 286.

⁴⁹ Liber, 288.

God's saving events is the call of St. Paul to proclaim the Lord's death (cf. 1 Cor 11:26).⁵⁰ It is possible to realize these events in the liturgical "today" and "now." The liturgical present includes a presence that exceeds time and introduces the participants to the events of the eternal liturgy. The purpose of this actualization is unifying man with God.⁵¹ This prayer in the Roman liturgy had only one form, in contrast to other Western traditions.⁵² It is also the profession of faith in the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.⁵³

Rupert of Deutz emphasizes that the Church in the anamnesis mentions three salvation events: salvific suffering, resurrecting from the abyss and the glorious ascension. The author refers to three virtues: the first of them relates to the suffering love of the Church, the second strengthens the faith, and the third gives joyful hope. These three mysteries were already present in the oldest message in the *De sacramentis* in the words: *Ergo memores gloriosissimae ejus passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis, et in coelum ascensionis.* When the priest says the words: *Hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae*, he marks the sign of the cross five times over the consecrated bread and wine, which are truly united into one through the nature of Christ and lead to considering this saving suffering.

The anamnesis of Christ's Passion, according to Rupert, is also indicated by the corporal used to cover the chalice. As long as the priest spread the corporal over the chalice, this symbolized the Lord's giving up his spirit during the agony on the cross.⁵⁷ The custom of covering the chalice with second corporal was known in the West before the pall was used. The chalice thus covered is then lifted up.⁵⁸ The five signs of the cross, which the priest then marked over the Body and Blood of Christ, indicate, in his opinion, the five wounds of Christ. He compares the wounds to the crevices and rifts in living rocks, where hedgehogs hid and symbolized Satan (cf. Is 14:23), and

⁵⁰ Missarum sollemnia II, 273.

⁵¹ Romuald NIPARKO, "Anamneza. III. W liturgii," in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. I (Lublin: TN KUL, 1973), col. 512.

⁵² Nowowiejski, *Msza święta*, 867.

⁵³ Jean-Marie LUSTIGER, *Die Heilige Messe*, transl. Cornelia Capol (Einsiedeln–Freiburg: Johannes, 1998²), 101–102.

⁵⁴ Liber, 288.

⁵⁵ S. Ambrosius, *De sacramentis libri sex*, PL 16, 445.

⁵⁶ Nowowiejski, *Msza święta*, 869.

⁵⁷ Liber, 290.

⁵⁸ Missarum sollemnia II, 259.

in which a pure dove now resides (cf. Song 2:14), meaning the Church.⁵⁹ According to St. Ambrose, these parts of the Canon included the terms: *offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam*.⁶⁰ The second aspect of this part of the Mass is offering the sacrifice, and this text is the central sacrificial prayer.⁶¹

7. SICUT ACCEPTA HABERE DIGNATUS ES

In the next fragment of the Canon, Sicut accepta habere dignatus es, the sacrifice of Christ is shown in contrast to other Old Testament sacrifices by Abel, Abraham and Melchizedek. Rupert of Deutz clearly indicates the similarity, not the equality, of the sacrifice (Sicut similitudinis est non quantitatis), which were only shadows (cf. Col 2:17) and announcements (1 Cor 10:11) of this one sacrifice. Abel offered the sacrifice of justice in his heart, because he did not keep it for himself, like Cain, but gave it to God, which is why God looked with favor on his gifts (cf. Gen 4:4). Abraham also offered his sacrifice with extraordinary faith (Gen 15:6; Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6; J 2:23), when God ordered him to kill his son and met with permission in his soul, although he resolved this in a different way (cf. Gen 22:1–19; Heb 11:17).⁶² Melchizedek offered bread and wine, though previously he did not sacrifice himself or offer his heart on the altar (cf. Gen 14:18). This sacrifice is to be taken by an angel to the altar in heaven. 63 Here, Rupert does not mention the two signs of the cross accompanying the words corpus et sanguinem. Although they were sporadically known in Carolingian times, they were not yet commonly found in in the 13th century manuscripts.⁶⁴

The invocation of the three figures from the Old Testament symbolically indicates the nature of the sacrifice of Christ: Abel as the Lamb of God, Abraham as the perfect sacrifice of obedience unto death and returning to life by the resurrection, and Melchizedek as the bread and wine, which form the basis of Christ's sacrifice in the Eucharist. Thus, they emphasize the

⁵⁹ Liber, 290.

 $^{^{60}}$ S. Ambrosius, *De sacramentis libri sex*, PL 16, 445.

⁶¹ Missarum sollemnia II, 277.

⁶² Liber, 292.

⁶³ Liber, 292-294.

⁶⁴ Missarum sollemnia II, 295.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 284-285.

fullness of faith, obedience and justice.⁶⁶ Mentioning the altar refers to the Book of the Apocalypse (8:3–5), where an angel is mentioned who went to the altar with a burning censer, offering sacrifices together with the prayers of the saints.⁶⁷ This figure, in reference to the Eucharist, appeared earlier in the East, which can be exemplified by the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in which appear the words: "Let us pray that this sacrifice, which we made to the Lord our God, be received by God through Christ's mediation on his heavenly altar as a *pleasant fragrance*."⁶⁸ This motive was eagerly commented on by the medieval supporters of the allegorical interpretation of the liturgy.⁶⁹

In the Church's tradition, the figure of the angel who is to take the sacrifice to the altar in heaven has been interpreted differently. According to scholastic theology, this angel was identified with Christ. According to the oldest testimonies, it is a request that the Lord accept the sacrifice through the hands of angels. During the Middle Ages, it was pointed out that it was a real angel or St. Michael. At the same time, these words emphasize the unity of the heavenly and earthly liturgy, and it will please the Lord, for the earthly altar is an image of the altar in heaven. Therefore, the Eucharist engages the participants in the cosmic liturgy.

7. NOBIS QUOQUE PECCATORIBUS

Rupert of Deutz mentions that, in some of the Churches, the words *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* were spoken by the priest in a low voice, thus breaking the rule to recite the Canon silently. In interpreting this custom, the author refers to the passion of Christ, when the Lord from the tribunal of the Cross

⁶⁶ Nowowiejski, *Msza święta*, 870.

⁶⁷ Missarum sollemnia II, 287.

⁶⁸ "Konstytucje Apostolskie," in *Konstytucje apostolskie oraz Kanony Pamfilosa* [...], (Synody i Kolekcje Praw, vol. II), transl. Arkadiusz Baron, Henryk Pietras (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2007), 246*.

⁶⁹Missarum sollemnia II, 289.

NOWOWIEJSKI, Msza święta, 873; Feliks Cozel, Msza Święta. Jej znaczenie, korzyści, obrzędy i sposoby słuchania (Warsaw: Te Deum, 1998), 142.

⁷¹ S. Ambrosius, De sacramentis libri sex, PL 16, 445.

⁷² Nowowiejski, *Msza święta*, 873.

⁷³ Klaus GAMBER, *W stronę Pana!* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo św. Bpa Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara, 2012), 67–68.

⁷⁴ Henryk PAPROCKI, *Misterium Eucharystii. Interpretacja genetyczna liturgii bizantyjskiej* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2010), 8.

promised the good thief that he would enter paradise (cf. Lk 23:40–43).⁷⁵ It should be assumed that this part of the Canon was already known in the times before Gregory the Great.⁷⁶ It was connected with the earlier *Memento* for the dead.⁷⁷

In the final words of the Canon, the priest makes three signs of the cross, because, as Rupert claims, the Lord's suffering on the cross was fulfilled when he cried out in a loud voice and gave up his spirit (Mt 27:50). At this point, the corporal is raised to symbolize that the veil of the temple was torn in two (Mt 27:51). Until this moment, everything that was written about Christ was covered up and closed, and the meaning of these words was hidden (Lk 18:34). All that he revealed about his suffering was now being revealed, because all this had now finished (J 19:30). Initially, the signs of the cross were only present during this prayer, which was also confirmed in the eleventh century. Traditionally, these signs were associated in the mystical sense with the five wounds of Christ. However, trinitarian interpretations were also known in the twelfth century.

After uncovering the chalice, the priest makes three signs of the cross, uttering the words *Per ipsum* ..., which also, according to the allegorical interpretation, symbolize the confession of the centurion's faith that Jesus was truly the son of God (Mt 27:54). The two remaining signs of the cross, which the priest makes from the edge of the chalice towards himself, remind us of the flow of blood and water after Christ's side was pierced (cf. J 19:34). Next, a deacon, approaching the priest and together with him, placed a sacrifice on the corporal, just as Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus reverently laid the body of Jesus in the grave. Covering the chalice once again with the corporal symbolizes this.⁸²

Rupert notes that Pope Gregory the Great ordered praying the *Lord's Prayer* after the Eucharistic Prayer. Rupert of Deutz explains that it would be inappropriate not to recite the prayer that the Lord himself composed after a prayer that a disciple wrote. The difference, however, is that this prayer for

⁷⁵ Liber, 294.

⁷⁶ Nowowiejski, *Msza święta*, 881.

⁷⁷ Jungmann, Liturgia pierwotnego Kościoła do czasów Grzegorza Wielkiego, 468–469.

⁷⁸ Liber, 294.

⁷⁹ Missarum sollemnia II, 332.

⁸⁰ Nowowiejski, *Msza święta*, 892.

⁸¹ Missarum sollemnia II, 335–336.

⁸² Liber, 296.

the Greeks is recited by all the people, and in the Latin Church it is only recited by the priest.⁸³

In the last part of discussing the Canon, Rupert drew attention to the custom of singing the *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* and the *Pater noster*. Rupert sees in this custom both the fact that Christ loudly cried on the cross and gave up his spirit (Mt 27:50), the confession of faith that he was the true Son of God (Mt 27:54), or the loud weeping of the women. In this way, believers mourn the Lord with humble and contrite hearts (Ps 51 [50]:19). According to another interpretation by Rupert, this custom also symbolizes the crying of Abel's parents, who his brother Cain killed with rage and jeal-ousy. Rupert compares the short silence, which takes place after the final doxology, to the Sabbath rest when the Lord laid in the grave.⁸⁴

9. SUMMARY

The treatise *Liber de divinis officiis* by Rupert of Deutz is one of the most important texts dedicated to the liturgy in the medieval era. In it, the author presented aspects of the Eucharist. This work is part of the trend on the allegorical interpretation of the liturgy, known in the Western Church starting in the VIII century. Its main representatives included Alkuin, Amalarius of Metz, Rabanus Maurus, Walafrid Strabo and Pseudo-German of Paris.

Rupert of Deutz in the second book of his work explained the celebration of the Mass beginning with the *Credo*. An explanation of the various parts of the Mass Canon can also be found here. In the first place, Rupert points to the Canon's interpretation of the passion from the moment Jesus entered Jerusalem to his being placed in the grave. The passion is also emphasized by the signs of the cross, which the priest makes during the Canon, and these are to symbolize Christ's wounds. On the other hand, he points out that these signs are supposed to emphasize some of the words. Covering the chalice with the corporal also symbolizes the agony of Jesus. He also interprets the custom of reciting the words *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* in a low voice according to the passion, combining them with the promise of paradise given to the good thief. Placing the offering on the corporal after the *Per ipsum* and covering it with the corporal symbolizes placing Jesus' body into the grave.

⁸³ Ibidem.

⁸⁴ Liber, 298.

The central place of the Canon are the words of consecration. Rupert of Deutz compares the transformation of the sacrificial gifts to the Incarnation of the eternal Word. We ought to also emphasize his interpretation of Holy Communion. He taught that while eating the Body and Blood of Christ, the form of bread and wine passes away, and the undiminished son of the Virgin Mary remains, who received his body from her. The institution is closely connected with the anamnesis of salvation events: his suffering, resurrection and ascension. The author links these three mysteries with the virtues of faith, hope and love.

When explaining the Canon, Rupert of Deutz refers to many Old Testament images. As he pointed out, only believers can receive the Eucharistic bread, just as Aaron and his sons could eat the blessed bread (cf. Ex 29:33), and the Church's offering the atoning sacrifice is compared to Abigail, the wife of Nabal, who in this way received David's favor (cf. 1 Sm 25:25). The mystery of the transformation of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ refers to the first words of God in the Book of Job, showing God's Wisdom (Job 38:33), and those who do not accept this truth are compared to David pretending to be mad, so that Achish, King of Gath, would not recognize him (cf. 1 Sm 21:14).

He compares man's unworthiness to a person with dirty lips, whose lips are to be purified by the seraphim (cf. Is 6:5–7). He also compared the wounds of Christ to the rock clefts in the Book of Isaiah, in which the evil spirit lived (cf. Is 14:23), and are presently the place of the Church's shelter, a dove (cf. Song 2:14). Rupert of Deutz also carried out an analogy between Christ's sacrifice and the sacrifice of the righteous Abel (cf. Gen 4:4), Abraham's obedience (cf. Gen 15:6) and the announcement of the offering of Melchizedek (cf. Gen 14:18). In the New Testament illustration, he refers to the key call of St. Paul to celebrate the liturgy in remembrance of the Lord (cf. 1 Cor 11:25).

The allegorical interpretation of the Mass Canon undertaken by Rupert from Deutz is part of the theological tradition of the Middle Ages. Although he did not discuss all of the texts in the canon, he did, however, interpret its essential parts. His writings allow us not only get to know the liturgy in the Middle Ages, but also make it possible to present the liturgy in its beautiful historical continuity.

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