

PETER CABAN

Katolícka univerzita v Ružomberku

peter.caban@ku.sk

Status of the Christian liturgy at the end of antiquity in Europe – historical and liturgical aspect

In the 5th century the political situation in the Roman Empire was deteriorating due to many immigrants from various nations. They wanted to settle in the territory of the Roman Empire and they wanted to appropriate at least small portion of the richness of the country. Historical documents from that time mention constant invasions: the northern Italy was occupied by eastern Goths and then by Franks in 405–406, humbling fall of the Eternal City in 410 caused by the western Goths etc. Who would think that Rome based on the victories over the whole world will be conquered and subjugated? In 439 Cartago was conquered and granaries in Italy were closed. Wild Huns led by Attila invaded the territory of Italy in 444 and in 476 the reign of the last emperor in the western part of the Empire was ended. In the eastern parts of the Empire there remained the governing structures of the official nobility. The center of the empire – Italy – was the trophy of destructing invasions of Germanic nations.

*

Antiquity combined the folk devotions with the liturgical celebration and the gathering of Christians was called: *synaxis*, *synagoge*,

procesio, convocatio – convocation, *coire* – go together, *convenire, congregari in unum* – unified in one.¹ But the most popular name was the Greek title *Ecclesia* which related to the Church and it means regular gathering. This word was taken to Latin language.²

The liturgy of the Mass³ at the beginning of the 6th century began with the silent prayer.⁴ The celebrant, deacon and other clergymen were kneeling on the floor and they were directed to the altar. During the papal liturgies the assistance was numerous, especially if the pope with his suite came for the Sunday and holy day celebrations. This solemnity was emphasized since the 4th century by the papal *statio* in the titular churches of the city of Rome. This solemnity strengthened the idea of Christian community gathered around the bishop. At the solemn entry probably psalms were sung and introit was ended by the silent prayer in front of the altar.

By the end of the 5th century convocations *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison* were taken from the West. They were sung as litanies or responso-rium.⁵ Then a hymn *Gloria* was sung. It came from the East and originally it was used in the lauds of *liturgia horarum*. *Gloria*, as the chant of the participation of the church community, appears in the western cities (Rome, Milan, Spain) in the 4th century. It was the change in the Christmas season.⁶ This chant remained until the Middle Ages except

¹ In the 5th and 6th centuries external organization and structure of the Church were strengthened. Christian churches were built, especially in the East, theological science was developed, and Sunday became the holy day and besides Easter and memory day of the martyrs other church holy days were celebrated. It led to the change of the style of Christian liturgy.

² Even in several world languages the Church and church is described by the same word for example *die Kirche, Church, Cerkov, la Chiesa*.

³ We have just few reports on liturgy where *presbyters* (priests) were presiding person. There could be more than 40 of them in Rome. These assemblies were simpler as for the liturgy, somewhere the liturgy was celebrated in private houses but just in a small extent.

⁴ Similarly, as in the liturgy of Good Friday today.

⁵ It is possible that *Kyrie* developed from *statio* litanies.

⁶ Pope Symachus (498–514) extended its use for Sunday Masses and feasts of martyrs.

for the Easter feast days and primitival Holy Mass which was designed for the bishop only.⁷

First oration⁸ of the presiding person concluded the initial part of the Holy Mass. It was formulated in relation to the contents of the celebration. Holy Mass without the participation of a bishop in the Roman churches but also outside Rome had simpler introduction: The Mass began with litanies which were ended by the *Kyrie*. The first oration followed after the silent prayer.⁹ Believers sang litanies and *Gloria* and participated in the liturgy by reading the lectures from the Scriptures. The readings were read by a lector and they were read from the ambo. It is not sure whether there were three readings in Rome as it was in Gallia, Spain and Milan (Old Testament, New Testament and Gospel) or whether the Old Testament reading was removed in the 6th century.

Believers read the readings in the method of *lectio continua*. It was emphasized to choose a suitable perikopa on the feast days and other church seasons. In the Christian antiquity a lector read the readings and *Gospel* reading was read by a consecrated minister in the elevated place. On Sundays and feast days *two responsoria* were sung: a psalm after the first reading or since the 6th century it was a part of a psalm and Hallelujah with an antiphon before the gospel. Some explorations say that *responsorial psalm* did not depend on the number of readings. Therefore, it was called *responsorium* in the older sources and it was a sung reading from the beginning. The chant *Hallelujah* taken from the East is not a sung response but it was a chant related to the words of the gospel reading.¹⁰

⁷ Besides these celebrations only bishop could start singing *Gloria*.

⁸ First as the initial prayer – *oratio prima*. Its name comes from Old Gallic *collechio* or *collecha*.

⁹ Cf. H.-B. Meyer, *Eucharistie, Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, [in:] *Gottesdienst der Kirche, Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft*, part 4, Regensburg 1989, p. 178.

¹⁰ This canticle was used in the Paschal period only in Rome until the time of Gregory the Great. Later it was used during Christmas and finally for other feast days and Sundays – except for the Lent.

We do not know much about sermons in Roman liturgy in 4th-6th centuries. It is probably that a bishop in Rome made sermons on regular basis in the same way as other bishops (for example sermons of the saint pope Leo the Great). This ministry was done by a priest as well.¹¹ A liturgist Josef Jungmann testifies that there are pieces of evidence for the rare preaching ministry in that time.¹² Since the end of the 4th century we have some mentions about common prayers of the believers in the style of Good Friday petitions, so called *Orationes sollemnes*. Later they were preserved in the Good Friday liturgy. At the beginning of the 5th century a form of litanies was taken from the East into the petitions. It was much simpler form because it replaced the call of the deacon for the believers to kneel for the silent prayer.¹³

In Rome bread and wine for the Eucharistic celebration was brought by the *deacon* to the altar after the petitions of the believers.¹⁴ We do not know any guaranteed evidence for the bringing of the gifts of the believers and for the offertory chant in the Roman liturgy before the era of Gregory the Great. Probably believers brought their gifts to a special room before the Holy Mass. *Ordo Romanus I.* says that during Roman station liturgy a pope and his assistance accepted the sacrificial gifts from the believers. The final prayer of the presiding person over the sacrificial gifts became the permanent part of the Roman liturgy at the end of the 5th century. This prayer corresponded to the collect and post communion prayer as for its structure and variability of the text.¹⁵

¹¹ P. Caban, *Dejiny slávenia Eucharistie do Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu*, Trnava 2010, pp. 72–73.

¹² J. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, Wien–Freiburg–Basel 1962, p. 544, 585 ff.

¹³ Since the 6th century the petitions are not present in the Roman liturgy. The reason was that a processional chant developed from these litany petitions and convocations.

¹⁴ P. Caban, *Dejiny slávenia Eucharistie do Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu*, op. cit., p. 74 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. H.-B. Meyer, *Eucharistie, Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, op. cit., p. 179.

The Eucharistic prayer in the Roman celebration begins with a dialogue preserved from the time of *Traditio apostolica*. The presiding person recited it loudly with widespread hands or he sang it in simple reciting tone. It is not clear how this *Eucharistic prayer* used in Rome between 3rd and 6th centuries came into being. There were many efforts and hypotheses. But we can say that there is some similarity with the Alexandrian liturgical tradition: intercessions and first epiclesis as well epiclesis for the Holy Communion.¹⁶

The chant *Sanctus* was taken from the East and in Rome it was sung together with *Benedictus* since the 7th century. Parts of the Roman *Eucharistic prayer*¹⁷ are proved in its textual form. It originates in the 6th century and is documented in the sources from 7th–8th centuries. Besides preface, intercessions for the living and for the dead, memory and naming of the saints (*Communicantes*, into which the mention of the mysteries of the feast day was inserted in the 6th century) and besides *Hanc igitur* where the purpose of the celebration is mentioned, all the parts were repeated in every Mass in the same words. During the Masses on Sundays and other feast days *Hanc igitur* and *Memento* for the dead was missing until the time of Gregory the Great.¹⁸ But there were some changes in this Roman *Eucharistic prayer*. These changes concerned the words of the prayers, insertion of *Hanc igitur* as well as *Memento*.¹⁹

The Holy Communion was preceded by the breaking of bread. At that time there was no accompanying chant *Agnus Dei* and the kiss of

¹⁶ Already in the time of Saint Ambrose in Milan parts in *Canon Romanus* were fixed from *Quam oblationem* until *Supplices* in structure and contents and then they were modified. In early times there were many prefaces in *Canon Romanus* and each Mass had its own text of preface – for example we have 267 prefaces from 5th–6th centuries.

¹⁷ The text has a form which is valid until today; it was slightly but not substantially modified.

¹⁸ *Communicantes* was introduced before Gregory the Great.

¹⁹ Later the preface with *Sanctus* – *Benedictus* was detached from the canon of the Mass which began with the words: *Te igitur*.

peace was given by the neighbouring believers only. At the end a priest recited Our Father with the initial words: *Praeceptis salutaribus moniti*²⁰ and people answered with the final petition of Our Father: *sed libera nos a malo*. Then a priest continued with embolism. Then the Holy Communion of the priest and clergy at the altar followed. Then there was Holy Communion of the believers. The priest gave them bread and the deacon gave them chalice. During Holy Communion a priest's formula was answered with *Amen*. Since the 5th century the Holy Communion was accompanied by a chant. In the East a responsorial psalm 34 (35) was used. At the end of Christian antiquity there were some believers who did not participate in the Holy Communion during every Mass. It was supposed that these non-communicants would leave the church sooner. Therefore the liturgical programme for the following week was announced even before the Holy Communion!²¹ Communion was ended with the prayer of the celebrant *Oratio ad complendum*. Its form and style corresponded to the prayer of the day – *collect* and prayer over the sacrificial gifts – *superoblata*.²²

The Holy Mass was ended by the blessing of the people by a bishop or a presbyter. It was preceded by the call of the deacon to bow heads for the blessing.²³ This was the liturgy in Rome during the Christian antiquity. It was called *a time of pure Roman liturgy*.²⁴ The liturgy became more Roman at that time thanks to popes Damasus († 384), Leo the Great († 461), Gelasius († 496) and Gregory the Great († 604).

²⁰ We have information from the 5th century that a priest sang *Our Father*.

²¹ Cf. H.-B. Meyer, *Eucharistie, Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, op. cit., p. 181.

²² This prayer – *postcommunio* belongs to the stable parts of the Mass since the end of the 5th century.

²³ Cf. H.-B. Meyer, *Eucharistie, Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, op. cit., p. 182.

²⁴ P. Caban, *Dejiny slávenia Eucharistie do Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu*, op. cit., pp. 71–76.

Sources of this period

Since the pontificate of Gregory the Great († 604) we have many written sources of the liturgy.²⁵ It is the time of the end of Christian antiquity. This season was rich in active participation in the liturgy. It is a time when Western culture was formed after the division of the Eastern Roman and Western Roman Empire and its fall under the pressure of Germanic tribes. Greek-Roman heritage of the church antiquity and Germanic lifestyle and the way of thinking were changed into new unity by the long-term process. This unity was visible in the celebration of the liturgy as well.

Sacramentarium Veronense

*Sacramentarium Veronense*²⁶ (described as *Ve*)²⁷ coming from the beginning of the 7th century is the oldest evidence from pre-Gregorian Roman Mass liturgy. In 1713 it was found by *Scipione Maffei* in Verona in the library of the capitula and it was published in 1735 by G. Bianchini. Maffei and Bianchini called this codex Leonian sacramental – so called *Sacramentarium Leonianum* because they assigned it to the pope Leo the Great (440–461). But after the analysis of the texts it was clear that the contents of this codex consist of forms and prayers coming also from the popes Gelasius I (492–496), Vigilius I (537–555) and some other unidentified authors.²⁸ It is a collection of Mass forms (*libelli*) in the 5th and 6th centuries. Some person compiled them for the private use. He was outside Rome, probably in Verona. He used the Roman model of prayers.

²⁵ History of these sources of liturgy is quite complicated, there are many explorations of these sources and some of them are contradictory. For the study and comparison see references in the bibliography at the end of the book.

²⁶ It is in *Bibliotheca capitolare*, Verona, cod. 85.

²⁷ H.-B. Meyer, *Eucharistie; Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, op. cit., pp. 189–190.

²⁸ P. Zvara, *Rímsky misál – kniha pre slávenie omše. Od liturgickej improvizácie k omšovej knihe*, “Nové horizonty” 4 (2010) no. 3, p. 125.

This group of libels is not a sacramental in the right meaning of the word but it is the oldest evidence for the liturgy of that time. The compilation contains the material preserved in the archive of Late ran and used for the celebration of Mass by the bishop of Rome. These prayers were spread sands copied for other church communities.²⁹ Sacramentarium Veronense contains some 300 Mass libels with selected texts – prayers (Mass orations, prefaces,³⁰ formulas *Hanc-igitur* and texts for the celebrants, for the consecration, baptism and wedding). The material is compiled according to the civil calendar so not according to church calendar. It is compiled according to months (texts for January–April are missing). This collection of texts proves the time connection of the Roman liturgy with many references to political and church life (invasions of Germans, disputes of the researchers), freedom in formulation and selection of Mass texts (with the exception of fixed texts of the canon) but also the importance of Rome and willingness of other local church communities to adopt the texts according to Roman model.

These *libelli* contain valuable euchological material which was taken to the Mass prayer books in later time. Texts of prefaces in every form of this collection prove the conception of the Eucharist at that time. It is interesting that several texts of these prefaces does not say much about the mystery of the Eucharist but often they point out to the biographies of the saints and they want to challenge the believers. Despite missing parts this codex is the representative of Roman euchological tradition because it contains orations used in the city of Rome. These liturgical texts are examples of living engagement of the Church in the life of the society. The Church reacted by the means of the liturgy and euchological composition as well.³¹

²⁹ P. Caban, *Dejiny slávenia Eucharistie do Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu*, op. cit., p. 78.

³⁰ It contains 267 prefaces.

³¹ P. Zvara, *Rímsky misál – kniha pre slávenie omše; Od liturgickej improvizácie k omšovej knihe*, op. cit., p. 125.

Gelasianum Vetus

The real sacramental compiled from the older material³² is so called *Old Gelasianum – Gelasianum Vetus*³³ (GeV), written at the end of the antiquity around 750.³⁴ In three books it contains temporal, sanctoral and texts for the Sunday Masses in the season after Pentecost, Roman Canon, votive Masses, some prayers of blessing and texts for the wedding.³⁵ It is probably a sacramental compiled from various roman libellos for the priests of Roman churches. Old Gelasianum is important evidence for the development which began at the end of antiquity and influenced the following centuries when the Roman liturgy as the common liturgy of Rome wanted to suppress non-Roman traditions but finally it merged with them. First Roman tradition adopted these traditions and later it wanted to suppress them on the basis of state and church orders.³⁶

Books for lectors

What books or collections of readings were used by lectors of the minister of liturgy? Sources for Roman orders of readings begin with

³² The material were also *libelli*.

³³ *Cod. Vaticanus Reginensis* lat. 316.

³⁴ P. Caban, *Dejiny slávenia Eucharistie do Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu*, op. cit., p. 79.

³⁵ It contains 54 prefaces.

³⁶ Other sacramentaries which were not formed in the Christian antiquity are not mentioned in this monograph. They are so called *Gregorianum Hadrianum* (GrH) and *early Gelasian* (mixed) *sacramentaries*, for example *Gelasianum saeculi octavi*, *Sacramentary from Gellone* (GeG; end of the 8th century), *Sacramentary from Angouleme* (GeA; around 800), *Sacramentary Cod. Phillipp 1667* preserved in Berlin (GeB; around 800), *Sacramentary from St. Gallen* (GeS; around 800), *Sacramentary from Rheinau* (GeR; also around 800), *Sacramentary from Monza* (GeM; 9th-10th centuries). These sacramentaries of early Gelasian type are characteristic by the adaptation of the Gallic – Frank traditions and monastic influences. Their structure differs from old Gelasius in that temporal and sanctoral do not follow in the separated paragraphs but they are combined.

some fragment from the 7th century. We can see some state of the order of readings from that time. First they were marginal notes in the manuscripts of the Scriptures which referred to the perikopa in the liturgy. Then the lists of perikopa were created. They informed about the beginning and the end of a readings for the particular day.³⁷ From these sources it is possible to deduce the order of the readings.³⁸ In these lists of perikopa (*capitularia*) we can distinguish so called *Comes (liber comitis)* which contain the whole texts of epistles or gospels³⁹ and both readings (*lectionarius*).⁴⁰ These readings were related to the sacramental book or antiphonaries so it is possible to see some preliminary Missals in this system.⁴¹

Books of chants

For the cantor who sang the gradual or tractus after the reading or hallelujah before the gospel *Cantatorium* with responsorium as a help was formed in Rome. It could serve as a model for schola cantorum as well. Antiphony was formed for chants of *Introits*, *Offertories* and *Communio*. Both chant books were later combined under the name *Gradual* and these chants are dated into the 5th century.⁴²

³⁷ Similar but at the same time oldest manuscript of this directive for the Roman liturgy is so called *Würzburg apostolic letter* from the half of the 8th century in *Würzburg codex*. There is a list of perikopa of the gospels which were read in the liturgy.

³⁸ P. Caban, *Dejiny slávenia Eucharistie do Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu*, op. cit., p. 81.

³⁹ As for the gospels it must be said that in that time there already existed so called *homiliars*. They were not liturgical books but they were used as a model for sermons during the celebration of the Mass.

⁴⁰ Terminology for these books is diverse and inconsistent.

⁴¹ H.-B. Meyer, *Eucharistie; Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, op. cit., pp. 192–193.

⁴² It is not sure whether popes *Damasus I* († 384), *Celestine* († 432), *Gregory the Great* († 604) participated in their forming and collection of chants. It is sure that Roman song books were used in the Frank Empire during the reign of king *Pippin III Short* who ordered the introduction of the Roman liturgy in the Frank Empire in 754.

The celebration of liturgy according to *Ordo Romanus primus*

These fragments or books contain the parts of prayers, readings or chants of the Mass liturgy but it is rarely possible to find concise instructions for the celebration of the liturgy (for example in some sacramentaries). At the end of the Christian antiquity special books of rites were formed. They were called *Ordines*.⁴³ These books were formed at the request to write precise instructions for the celebration of Holy Mass, especially for church communities which used the Roman liturgy and celebrated the Eucharist outside Rome. According to the manuscripts the most interesting is *Ordines Romani* describing the celebration of the Holy Mass.⁴⁴

The oldest and most important source is *Ordo Romanus primus* describing the Roman papal statio liturgy. This form of celebration influenced the whole liturgy in the Latin rite and it became the model example for the unifying history of the influence of codified forms of the liturgical celebration. Therefore we provide here a concise description of the Eucharistic celebration at the end of antiquity (7th century) as it was celebrated in Rome.⁴⁵ Solemn Roman statio liturgy was celebrated with the numerous assistance of the believers who came in procession to the statio church. They were guided by their priest and the pope was coming to Lateran on a horse. He was accompanied by his assistance. Then the pope was welcomed at the entrance to the church. The pope was clothed in his liturgical vestments in the sacristy. Psalmists and lector were presented to the pope there. At the signal of the pope the solemn procession to the church began. There were acolytes who carried seven candlesticks, subdeacon with the incense and deacons. *Schola cantorum*

⁴³ After 1200 *Caeremoniale, Liber caeremoniarum*.

⁴⁴ *Ordo 1–7* describes a papal Mass; *Ordo 9 and 10* a bishop's Mass; *Ordo 15* describes a Mass presided by a priest; *Ordo 17* describes a Mass in monasteries.

⁴⁵ Text *Ordo Romanus I*, cf. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 2nd edition, Haut Moyern-Age 1948, pp. 1–64 (introduction), 65–108 (text).

was singing *Introit* in front of the entrance into the presbytery. The pope honoured the Eucharistic bread from the previous celebration, he bowed down in front of the altar, made a sign of the cross, exchanged the greetings of peace with the clergymen and after a silent prayer recited kneeling he kissed the altar and the book of gospels which was laying on the altar. Then he proceeded to the cathedra. The chanted *Kyrie* followed. Schola ended the singing at the signal of the pope. In the same way the schola ended the *Introit* and later chants for the preparing of the sacrificial gifts and for the Holy Communion. A bishop began the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* chant. Only a bishop could begin this chant until the 11th century – except for Easter and primitival Holy Mass. During the liturgy of the Word the pope was sitting on his cathedra in apse. Bishops from Rome were situated on his right side and priests from titular churches were situated on his left side. One of the subdeacons read the epistle from the ambo. Afterwards a singer sang a psalm alternating with the schola (*Gradual*) and/or the chant *Hallelujah*. The deacon was blessed by the pope; he took the book of gospels from the altar and brought it to the ambo. He was accompanied by the assistance with the incense and candles. Then he read the gospel reading.⁴⁶ The pope began to prepare the sacrificial gifts by the greeting (*Dominus vobiscum*) and appeal for prayer (*Oremus*) without the oration. While the deacons were covering the altar by corporal (it was a big altar sheet), the pope left the cathedra and accepted the bread, a deacon accepted the wine (*Senatorium*), and other clergymen accepted other gifts of the believers. When the deacon added some water to wine and blessed the chalice and prepared the gifts needed for the celebration, the pope came to the altar and brought the gifts and gifts of the assistance. The whole process was accompanied by the schola which sang a chant. The pope recited the *Main prayer* loudly. The prayer began with the initial dialogue, preface and *Sanctus*. The pope was standing at the altar and he was

⁴⁶ P. Caban, *Dejiny slávenia Eucharistie do Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu*, op. cit., p. 83ff.

surrounded by the clergymen. He was facing the people.⁴⁷ For the final doxology he lifted the Eucharistic bread and the deacon lifted the chalice. The pope introduced the Holy Communion with the prayer *Our Father*.⁴⁸ The last petition was recited by the believers. After the greeting of peace (*Pax Domini*) clergymen and believers exchanged the kiss of peace and the pope began to break the bread and then proceeded to the cathedra. In the meantime bishops and priests continued in breaking the bread and schola was accompanying them by singing the chant *Agnus Dei* which was taken from the East in the 7th-8th centuries. Then the pope accepted the Eucharist at the cathedra and put a small portion of the Eucharistic bread into the chalice.⁴⁹ After the Holy Communion of the pope the main deacon⁵⁰ announced the order of liturgy for the following days because at that time those who did not participate in the Holy Communion (and there were many of them) left the church. The Eucharist was accepted by the bishop first and then by other clergymen and believers. The schola was accompanying this rite with the singing of a psalm. Clergymen and nobility accepted the Eucharistic bread from the pope, other believers accepted the Eucharist from the bishops and priests. The chalice with the blood of Christ was given to other bishops, priests gave it to other priests, main deacon gave it to important present persons and deacons gave it to other believers. After the communion the pope came to the altar in order to recite the final

⁴⁷ According to Frank manuscript from the half of the 8th century *Te igitur* was recited in such a way that it could be heard by the assistance only.

⁴⁸ This mention is the complement of the later manuscripts; *Ordo Romanus I* does not mention Our Father.

⁴⁹ It is probable that it was related to the ancient custom of *fermentum* – one part of the Eucharistic bread was sent to other stationary churches and there it was added with the greeting of peace into the chalice in order to symbolize the unification with the celebration of the Eucharist by the bishop or communities. Since the 2nd century we have testimonies of this custom, for example a letter of Ireneus to pope Victor, it is mentioned by Eusebius in *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5, 24, 14m. This custom was used until the Middle Ages.

⁵⁰ In some documents he is also called *archdeacon*.

oration (*Ad complendum*). The final part of the celebration was very short – it is a peculiarity which is preserved in the Roman – Latin liturgy until today: one of the deacons said: *Ite missa est!* and when believers said *Deo gratias* the pope left. He was followed by the carriers of the candlesticks with candles and the incense. They went from the presbytery to the sacristy. The final blessing was not given at that time. There was only a short text of the blessing: *Bless us, Lord* which was said by the pope to the clergymen, monks and believers.⁵¹

This form of the liturgical celebration of the Holy Mass was a noble form of the solemn liturgy⁵² of the Christian antiquity for the Latin West. The liturgy was led by a bishop with his assistance and believers were actively engaged in it⁵³.

Abstract

The article presents the a brief overview of the liturgy at the end of antiquity (5th–7th centuries). The author introduces the reader to the political situation of the empire in the late fifth and sixth centuries. Then presents a celebration of the Mass at the end of the 6th century, and in the 7th century. The rest of this article lists the sources from this period: Sacramentarium Veronense, Gelasianum Vetus, books for lectors and books of chants. The article concludes with the celebration of the liturgy according to the *Ordo Romanus Primus*.

⁵¹ Cf. H.-B. Meyer, *Eucharistie, Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, op. cit., pp. 197–198.

⁵² *Missa normativa*. Ibidem p. 199.

⁵³ The exploration for the study was implemented with the support of the grant of the Foundation for the support of science at the Faculty of Arts and Letters of the Catholic University in Ružomberok in 2016: *Status of the Christian Liturgy at the End of Antiquity in Europe – Historical and liturgical aspect*.

Keywords

Christian Liturgy; antiquity; celebration of Mass; Historia Ecclesiastica; Liturgia sacra Antiqua

References

- Andrieu M., *Les Ordines Romani*, 2nd edition, Haut Moyern-Age 1948.
- Caban P., *Dejiny slávenia Eucharistie do Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu*, Trnava 2010.
- Jungmann J., *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, Wien–Freiburg–Basel 1962.
- Meyer H.-B., *Eucharistie, Geschichte, Theologie, Pastoral*, [in:] *Gottesdienst der Kirche, Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft*, part 4, Regensburg 1989.
- Zvara P., *Rímsky misál – kniha pre slávenie omše. Od liturgickej improvizácie k omšovej knihe*, “Nové horizonty” 4 (2010) no. 3, p. 125.

Abstrakt

Stan liturgii chrześcijańskiej pod koniec starożytności w Europie – aspekt historyczny i liturgiczny

Artykuł przedstawia zwięzłe omówienie liturgii pod koniec starożytności (V–VII wiek). Autor wprowadza czytelnika w sytuację polityczną cesarstwa na przełomie V i VI wieku. Następnie prezentuje odprawianie mszy pod koniec VI wieku i w wieku VII. W dalszej części artykułu wymienione są źródła z tego okresu: *Sacramentarium Veronense*, *Gelasianum Vetus*, lekcjonarze i psalterze. Artykuł kończy opis celebracji liturgii według *Ordo Romanus primus*.

Słowa kluczowe

Liturgia chrześcijańska; antyk; celebrowanie mszy świętej; Historia ecclesiastica; Liturgia sacra Antiqua

