

INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW EDITION
BY JOHN F. BALDOVIN, S.J.

The fiftieth anniversary of Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (Dec. 4, 2013), as well as the encouragement of the preconciliar Eucharist by Pope Benedict XVI (2007) and the introduction of a new English translation of the Roman Missal (2011), have all sparked debate about the liturgical reforms of the past half century. The republication of Joseph Jungmann's *Pastoral Liturgy*, which has been out of print for many years, provides a welcome opportunity to refresh our understanding of the motives for that reform.

Pastoral Liturgy was published in English in 1962 as the Council was getting its start. The book is made up of a collection of essays on historical and pastoral subjects, which Jungmann wrote in the 1940s and '50s. Clearly the most famous and influential of these is "The Defeat of Teutonic Arianism and the Revolution in Religious Culture in the Early Middle Ages." Originally published in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* in 1947 (and updated for the collection in the late 1950s), this essay is uncannily prophetic of the outcome of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*). In fact, as Kathleen Hughes has argued, the essay demonstrates the significant influence that Jungmann had on the creation of the document.¹

Jungmann was born in 1889 in the small village of Taufers, tucked away in the Pustertal in the Austrian South Tyrol.² He studied for the diocesan priesthood and was ordained in 1913. Four years later he entered the Austrian Province of the Society of Jesus. In 1923, he completed his first doctoral thesis on the subject of grace in the catechetical and homiletic texts of the first three centuries CE. Two years later he completed his second doctoral thesis, or *Habilitationschrift*, titled "The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer."³ It was to the subject of that thesis that Jungmann returned in "The Defeat of Teutonic Arianism." Jungmann served as professor of practical theology and liturgy at the Jesuit faculty of theology at Innsbruck from 1926 until his retirement in 1963—with the exception of 1939–1945, when the Innsbruck faculty was closed down by the Nazis. Jungmann also served as editor of the

important theological journal *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* until his retirement.⁴

Jungmann's greatest achievement was his magisterial history of the Roman liturgy of the Eucharist: *Missarum Sollemnia: The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*.⁵ There, with impressive scholarship (despite the lack of his library) he traced the development of the Roman liturgy as a whole, as well as each of its elements. This work was probably the single most important scholarly contribution that helped to prepare for Vatican II's *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. On the basis of his scholarship Jungmann became a member of the preparatory commission for this document and also served on the *Consilium* that implemented the Constitution after the Council's end. His only work that was published in English first, *The Early Liturgy: to the Time of Gregory the Great*,⁶ was based on a series of lectures he gave at the University of Notre Dame summer school in the 1950s.

The present work, *Pastoral Liturgy*—whose full German title, *Liturgisches Erbe und Pastorale Gegenwart*, could be rendered literally in English as “Liturgical Inheritance and the Present Pastoral Situation”—appeared in German as the Council was in preparation. Here Jungmann deals with a number of historical issues, the pastoral implications of which the Council would have to face. The subjects range from some rather technical issues—like the relationship between the Bishop of Rome's Sunday celebration of the Eucharist and the celebrations in other churches in the city,⁷ and the priest touching the gifts during the Eucharistic Prayer⁸—to more clearly pastoral issues like the reform of the Church's daily prayer⁹ and the liturgy as a school of faith.¹⁰ It should be stressed that *Pastoral Liturgy* is a fine translation for the book's title, since Jungmann himself always insisted that his first concern was the life of the Church and not simply historical research as such. In the introduction to the volume, which honored his life and work, he made it quite clear that his most prominent concern was always pastoral theology and the proclamation of the faith.¹¹

A quarter of the book is taken up by the essay, “The Defeat of Teutonic Arianism.” The remainder of my introduction will concentrate on this extremely important piece.¹² Jungmann's major

concern from the outset is to understand the development of liturgy and piety in relation to the development of Christian doctrine. In terms of liturgical prayer, the crucial turning point comes with the Arian crisis of the fourth century and its insistence on the equal divinity of the Son with the Father. Of course, theologically speaking, there is no problem at all with this affirmation. But Jungmann does find the liturgical consequences somewhat problematic. The language of worship experiences a subtle shift—from the agency of Christ (to the Father *through* Christ) to an emphasis on the Trinity as such. The result is that the role of Christ as high priestly mediator in salvation history is downplayed, and the coherent picture of salvation history gives way to individual moments in that history. In Christian art, for example, the crucified Lord tends to replace images of the risen Christ.

There seem to be two processes at work here. In the first place, Catholic Christians in the West (over)emphasized the Trinity against the invading foreign tribes (Vandals, Visigoths, et al.) who had been evangelized by the Arians. Secondly, the Germanic (or Teutonic) mentality favored a rather subjective and reified imagination over the spiritual world of the ancients, which was often characterized as a Platonic worldview. The significance of the transformation of Christianity from the Late Antique world of the Mediterranean to the new Northern (Germanic or Teutonic) culture should not be underestimated. According to theologians like Alexander Gerken, it particularly affected the ability to understand symbol in tension with reality, which was an important characteristic of early Christian thinking with regard to the sacraments.¹³

Jungmann traces similar developments in the Greek East, of which he states: “This warfare [over Christological formulae] was essentially the defense of the Church’s inheritance, but concentration of attention on the threatened points and the bitterness engendered by repulse of heresy recoiled in a change of religious outlook” (10). Byzantine prayers to Christ and to the Theotokos (Mary) are examples he gives of this shift. For Jungmann, liturgical prayer addressed to Christ began only in the late fifth century; but that view has been challenged recently by Albert Gerhards, who finds official Eucharistic prayer addressed to Christ through-

out the Greek Anaphora of St. Gregory Nazianzen and partially in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, which both predate the fifth century.¹⁴ More recently Jungmann's views on prayer to Christ have been nuanced by Bryan Spinks, who argues that Jungmann neglected a good deal of evidence from sources like apocryphal prayer texts.¹⁵

Jungmann proceeds to outline the development of Christological (and Marian) piety in the West. He describes the difference succinctly in the following passage:

The distinction between primitive and medieval Christianity is . . . that for the Fathers, the humanity of Christ is the starting off place for the new humanity, the new creation now irradiated with divinity—as they are ever ready to declaim against heresy; whereas the Middle Ages sees the humanity of Christ primarily as it was in the days of His earthly life, in the form of a servant, in that form which—contrasting with all that faith knows of divine transcendence—it can alone appeal to sense and arouse feelings of compassion, of amazement, of thanksgiving and repentance in the hearts of the faithful. (57)

He then deals with the aspects of the liturgy that grow increasingly distant for the faithful in the course of the Middle Ages, such as language and access to communion. He does not disparage all of this development. He realizes that much of this piety has led to true holiness, but at the same time he insists that the clericalization of the liturgy as it was experienced on the eve of the Reformation has also led to a certain hypertrophy.¹⁶ He continues to trace similar developments in the period of the Baroque.

Jungmann concludes his *tour de force* with a balanced and sober reflection on the relation between historical-liturgical study and the pastoral needs of the present day. He clearly understands that liturgical reform does not merely consist in an antiquarian retrieval of the past but rather in the adaptation of a corporate understanding of Christian worship to contemporary social and

cultural circumstances. Towards the end of the piece, he makes the plea that “[l]iturgy must become pastoral,” (98) and continues with prescriptions regarding various aspects of the Church’s liturgical life.

I began this introduction by claiming that Jungmann was prophetic with regard to the Vatican II reform of the liturgy. The reader can easily judge whether this claim is accurate from the following:

The construction of the Mass ought to be made more obvious. The chief sections, *Proanaphora* [= Liturgy of the Word], Offertory, Canon, and Communion should be easily distinguished; and various details should be made more intelligible. For example, the symbolic handwashing could be brought forward to the beginning of the Offertory. Scripture reading ought to be enriched by the introduction of a cycle covering several years. Popular intercession which was supplied at the end of the last century by prayers after Mass ought now to come fully into its own through the revival of the prayer of the faithful as an organic part of the Mass immediately after the Scripture readings and sermon. Sunday prefaces should once more take up the note of Easter joy, and the thanksgiving after Communion could be re-fashioned so as to allude to the Communion of the people. (100)

In the current situation, where so much nostalgia and amnesia reign in many parts of the Church, these reprinted essays of a master historian, theologian, and pastoral strategist are a welcome contribution to the conversation.

Notes to the Introduction

1. Kathleen Hughes, "Jungmann's Influence on Vatican II," in Joanne Pierce and Michael Downey, eds., *Source and Summit: Commemorating Josef A. Jungmann. S.J.*, Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000, 21–32. All seventeen essays in this volume, prepared to acknowledge the fiftieth anniversary of Jungmann's death, constitute a commentary on this landmark essay, "The Defeat of Teutonic Arianism."
2. The whole of the Alto Adige and South Tyrol became Italian territory after World War I.
3. A translation of the second revised edition was published by Alba House in 1965 and reprinted by Liturgical Press in 1989.
4. For biographical details, see Hans Bernard Meyer, "Das theologische Profil von Josef Andreas Jungmann, S.J." (16.11.1889 bis 26.1.1975), *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 39 (1989), 195–205; Robert Peiffer, "Josef Jungmann: Laying a Foundation of Vatican II," in Robert Tuzik, ed., *How Firm a Foundation: Leaders of the Liturgical Movement*, Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1990, 58–62; Balthasar Fischer and Hans Bernard Meyer, eds., *J.A. Jungmann: Ein Leben für Liturgie und Kerygma*, Innsbruck: Tyrolia Verlag, 1975.
5. Translated by Francis Brunner, C.Ss.R., New York: Benziger Bros., 2 vols., 1951–1955. First published in German in Vienna in 1948.
6. Translated by Francis Brunner, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959.
7. "Fermentum: A Symbol of Church Unity and its Observance in the Middle Ages," (287–295); see J. F. Baldovin, "The Fermentum in Fifth Century Rome," *Worship* 79 (2005), 38–53.
8. "Accipit Panem," (277–282); see J. F. Baldovin, "Accipit Panem: The Gestures of the Priest at the Institution Narrative of the Eucharist," in J. Baldovin and N. Mitchell, eds., *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith: Essays in Honor of Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B.*, Collegeville: Pueblo, 1996, 123–139.
9. "Why was the Reform Breviary of Cardinal Quiñonez a Failure?" (200–213).
10. "The Liturgy—A School of Faith," (334–345).
11. J.A. Jungmann, "Um Liturgie und Kerygma," in Fischer and Meyer, 17; see Rudolf Pacik, "Josef Andreas Jungmann: Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschung als Mittel religiöser Reform," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 43 (1993), 62–84; see also Jungmann's 1960 Preface to this book.
12. See also the fine commentary by Joanne Pierce, "'Christocentric' and 'Corporate': Heretical Reverberations and Living Reform of Western Liturgy," in Pierce and Downey, 7–20; in the same volume, J.F. Baldovin, "The Body of Christ in Celebration: On Eucharistic Liturgy, Theology, and Pastoral Practice," 49–62.
13. See Alexander Gerken, *Die Theologie der Eucharistie*, Munich: Kossel Verlag, 1977, esp. 101–111. See also the chapter "The Heirs: The Germanic Miracle World," in Arthur Mirgeler, *Mutations of Western Christianity*, translated by Edward Quinn, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964, 44–65; and James Russell, *The Germanization of Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
14. Albert Gerhards, "Prière adressé é Dieu ou au Christ? Relecture d'une these importante de J.A. Jungmann à la lumière de la recherche actuelle," in A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia, eds., *Liturgie, Spiritualité, Culture: Conférences S. Serge XXIX*, Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1983, 101–114; *idem.*, *Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des eucharistischen Hochgebets*, Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1984.
15. Bryan Spinks, "The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: What Jungmann Omitted to Say," in *idem.*, ed., *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology*, Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008. 1–19.
16. Critics like John Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400–1700*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, do not always appreciate the nuance of liturgical scholars like Jungmann. See his critique at 37.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Albers = Br. Albers, *Consuetudines monasticae*, 5 Vols. Stuttgart—Monte Cassino 1900/12.
- Bäumer-Biron = S. Bäumer, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, trad. par R. Biron, Paris 1905; as against the German edition (*Geschichte des Breviers*, Freiburg 1895) it has a better index and additional material.
- Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* = A. Baumstark, *L.c.*, 3. éd. revue par B. Botte, Chevetogne 1953.
- Baumstark, *Nocturna laus* = A. Baumstark, N.1, *Typen frühchristlicher Vigilienfeier*, ed. by O. Heiming, Münster 1957.
- Bishop = E. Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, Oxford 1918.
- Brightman = F. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford 1896.
- CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*.
- DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.
- DThC = *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*.
- Dix = Gr. Dix, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome*, London 1937.
- Eph. liturg. = *Ephemerides liturgicae*.
- Franz = A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, Freiburg 1902.
- HBS = Henry Bradshaw Society.
- Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* = references to 4th edition, Vienna 1958.
- JL = *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*.
- Klausner = Th. Klausner, *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum I*, Münster 1935.
- Künstle = K. Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst I*, Freiburg 1928.
- Leroquais = V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaire et les Missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 Vols., Paris 1924.
- L.ThK = *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (unless stated otherwise, 1st edition 1930/38).
- Mansi = J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Florence 1759 seq.
- Martène = E. Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, 2nd edition, 4 vols., Antwerp, 1736/38.
- MG = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.
- PG = *Patrologia Graeca*.
- PL = *Patrologia Latina*.
- ZkTh = *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*.

PART I

THE OVER-ALL HISTORICAL PICTURE

THE DEFEAT OF TEUTONIC ARIANISM
AND THE REVOLUTION IN RELIGIOUS CULTURE
IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

PIERRE POURAT's four volume history of the spiritual life is a most instructive guide through changes in spiritual history which have often produced effects far beyond the sphere of ascetics. The book is instructive, moreover, by what it does not present. Volume I concludes, for the West, with the death of Gregory the Great; Volume II, after a cursory glance at Cluny, begins with St. Bernard. These two periods are separated by exactly half a millenium—five hundred years during which no important compendium of spiritual teaching appears to have been written, although, without doubt, neither spiritual nor intellectual life was at a stand-still. Indeed, we may safely assert that in all the two thousand years of the Church's history, no period has ever seen a greater revolution in religious thought and institutions than that which took place in the five centuries between the close of the patristic age and the dawn of scholasticism. After the Christological battles had been fought out, the history of dogma ran into a placid phase interrupted by nothing greater than minor episodes such as the appearance of the Adoptionists and later, of Berengarius. And yet within the limits marked out by dogma there were taking place unobtrusively, certain shifts of accent and changes of viewpoint having consequences so wide that they have left their mark on all subsequent ages right down to our own times.

This book attempts to give some idea of the nature of the problem and of the main lines along which a solution is to be found. It is not a complete study but rather the broad outline of a theme which can be expounded only in a greater number of specialized essays.

The task is to illuminate, within the period mentioned, the history of the kerygma against the background of the history of

1. P. Pourrat, *La spiritualité chrétienne*, 4 volumes. Many editions have appeared since 1918. This reference is to Vols. I and II of 1926 and 1927 respectively.

dogma. To this end, apart from the field of liturgy and Christian art, the whole sphere of ecclesiastical literature belonging to the period would have to be examined, especially homiletic and spiritual writings, even including the fragments of correspondence. The present outline is designed to encourage younger men to undertake more detailed work, the aim of which would be to make the minutiae of historical study serve a higher theological purpose: the discernment of what is an essential possession in religious life, and what the passing fashion of an age.²

1. *The contrast between early Christian and early medieval religious culture*

Our theme concerns changes which have taken place somewhere behind the world of sensible appearances, but which are revealed both in cultural and artistic forms. The following facts—to mention only some of the points of contrast—are particularly obvious.

In the early Christian age the liturgy is essentially *corporate public worship* in which the people's Amen resounds, as St. Jerome tells us, like a peal of heavenly thunder; there is a close connection between altar and people, a fact constantly confirmed by greeting and response, address and assent, and acknowledged also in the verbal form of the prayers, above all by the use of the plural. This is all abundantly proved to us by liturgical forms which endure to this day. And, as our still current texts of all the liturgies again prove, the sacrificial meal of the congregation is regarded as the obvious consummation of the celebration. Five hundred years later the uniformly rich liturgical literature which begins with the Carolingian age shows us how the priest consciously detaches himself from the congregation when the sacrifice proper begins, while the people only follow from a distance the external and visible

2. Recently published by specialist students: H. J. Schulz, *Die Höllenfahrt als Anagnorisis*; ZkTh 81 (1939) 1-66; H. B. Meyer, *Alkuin zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*; ibid. 306-350; 405-454.

action of the celebration in terms of its symbolic meaning. The spiritual action in the Canon, was to remain hidden from the people; and this tendency was later to harden into an unambiguous prohibition of this being translated into the vernacular. In space too, the altar becomes withdrawn from the people and the Communion of the people becomes an exception, something reserved for special feast days.

In early Christian times the celebration is dominated by the *Easter motif*: for a long time Easter is the only universally celebrated festival. It is a Baptismal festival of great splendour with lengthy preparation; and it ends with the Pentecostal festival. From the very beginning this festival had its reflection in the weekly cycle;¹ for Friday and Sunday are, indeed, nothing other than Good Friday and Easter Sunday, stamped with the memory of the Passion and the Resurrection. It is true that in the early Middle Ages Easter and Sunday undergo further development, but, in the Gallican Church especially, Epiphany takes its place along with Easter as a Baptismal climax, preceded similarly by a complete Lenten season. The Christmas cycle enters into rivalry with the Easter cycle. Associated with the principal feasts, as their derivatives, are found—amongst others—the great Marian feasts, of which the Annunciation and the Purification (Candlemas) are also dated by their relation to Christmas. In its understanding of Sunday also, the old theme is overlaid with ideas culled from the Christmas mystery: for not only the Resurrection and the descent of the Holy Spirit, but also the Incarnation has to take place on a Sunday.² Thus Sunday is extended to become the day dedicated to the glorification of the Blessed Trinity; and a further consequence is that the weekly cycle is re-cast: Sunday becomes the first day of the week whose basic Trinitarian motif is to be continued throughout the subsequent days in the votive Masses *de Sapientia* and *de Spiritu Sancto*.³

The recession of the Easter motif is particularly apparent in the

1. Perhaps more accurately, its *prototype*: v. C. Callewert, *Sacris erudiri*, Steenbrügge 1940, 300 seq.

2. John's, *liber de dormitione Mariæ* (ed. C. Tischendorf, *Apocryphes apocryphae*, Leipzig 1866, 106 seq.); *Bobbio Missal* ed. Loew (HBS 58) 150. For more examples of Irish origin. v. H. Dumaine: *DAEL* IV, 986 seq.

3. A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, Freiburg 1902, 136-149; cf. also, *Der liturgische Wochenzyklus*.

formulation of liturgical prayer. The ancient Roman tradition held fast, as its inviolable norm, the universal practice of the early Christian liturgy. According to this usage the official prayer which the Church offered at the altar was always addressed to the Father and presented 'through Christ'; and prayer was thus offered to God while the mind was directed to the glorified Redeemer, the transfigured Head of the Church. The Gallic-Carolingian Church departs from this rule. The practice of addressing Christ is more and more set on a par with that of addressing God the Father, and the latter practice, where it appears in newly formulated prayers, favours the form of address to the Blessed Trinity: *suspice, sancta Trinitas*.

The field of Christian art also yields similar contrasting pictures, with the difference it is true, that the medieval counterpart of early Christian art required a considerably longer time than liturgical forms did before it could attain independence of the old models and win through to a complete disclosure of its own character. As is now everywhere recognized, the characteristic feature of early Christian art is its symbolic—or more exactly—its *eschatological quality*. Hope in the world to come, in the treasures of salvation unlocked by Christ, constitutes its basic theme,⁴ as the discoveries of Dura-Europos compel even the sceptical to admit, without relying on the most important sources of these art-monuments—the catacombs and the sarcophagi.⁵

Free from the multiplicity of concrete detail which would be appropriate in a narrative picture, and abbreviated into mere symbols, we find both Old Testament types and New Testament portrayals, all pointing to that victory over death which is assured us through Christ's Resurrection (Noc, Jonas, the youths in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the lion's den, Susanna, the raising of Lazarus); to the water of eternal life (Moses striking the rock, the Samaritan woman at the well); to the heavenly marriage-feast (the miracle of the loaves, a picture of a meal, bread and fish); or Christ himself is depicted as Redeemer, the bringer of salvation, whether it be in the symbol or in the Christ monogram or in the guise of

4. H. Lothar, *Realismus und Symbolismus in der altchristlichen Kunst*, Tübingen 1931; J. P. Kirsch, *Der Ideengehalt der ältesten sepulchralen Darstellungen in den römischen Katacomben*; *Rom. Quartalschrift* 36 (1928) 1-20. L. Hertling—E. Kirschbaum, take a middle position, *Die römischen Katacomben und Martyrer*, Vienna 1950, 229 seq. 247 seq.
5. O. Casel, *Altente christliche und Christmysterium*; *JL* 12 (1934) 1-86.

Orpheus or—most important of all—as the Good Shepherd. The Good Shepherd comes down from heaven to seek the lost sheep—mankind, whom He now brings back rejoicing to the flock, along the way which leads over the Cross.⁶ And even in the art of the mighty basilicas where the great representational picture appears,⁷ we find Christ in triumph, in heavenly glory, surrounded by the apostles or martyrs or the elders of the Apocalypse, by the saints who have already gone to glory. There is usually a supporting series of Old Testament pictures balanced by a similar series from the New Testament; and, without meaning to portray any exact juxtaposition of particular scenes, the great fact of the history of salvation is brought out, viz. that the Old Testament finds its fulfilment in the redemptive work of the New.⁸

In the Church art of the early Middle Ages the old themes are certainly still alive, as is also the formal style of their execution. This is true also of the old series of pictures. But in the examples we know of the latter from the 9th and 10th centuries, it repeatedly happens that only the New Testament series or only a single Old Testament series appears:⁹ the historical perspective of salvation is reduced, while the particular story becomes independent.

We have glimpses of historical painting now also in productions which replace representational pictures. This is true in particular of portrayals of our crucified Lord. What is striking is not that our crucified Lord appears amongst the illustrations of a Bible manuscript or in the panel of a church door, but that He now appears where, according to the idiom of the earlier period, we should have expected to see the glorified Christ. From the 11th century it becomes customary to place a crucifix upon the altar,¹⁰ and by the 12th century the picture of the crucifixion or the crucifixion group has already been installed as the dominant subject

6. Th. Kempf, *Christus, der Hirt. Ursprung und Deutung eines altchristlichen Symbolgehalts*, Rome, 1942, esp. 179, 188 seq. cf. also Th. Klausner, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte christlicher Kunst I: Jahrb. f. Antike und Christentum I* (1958) 20-51.

7. We might rather call this, which occurs so frequently, the *symbol of faith*. On the wall above the altar we find a picture of that which forms the ideal, the belief of the congregation. The same thing is expressed in words in the Eucharist, and we know how close to one another are the most ancient Eucharistic formulae and the oldest confessions of faith.

8. cf. K. Künzle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst I*, Freiburg 1928, 31-37.

9. Künzle I, 55-57.

10. J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, München 1932, 469 seq.

on the wall behind the altar.¹¹ Even before this, the picture of the crucifixion appears in isolation, and indeed, without any transfiguring idealization, in the sacramentary as an embellishment at the beginning of the Canon, at the *Te igitur*.¹² It is not long until this has become detached from the text and the representation of the Passion with its supporting figures becomes imbued with even starker realism.¹³ In the sculptures of the Romanesque period the crucified Saviour continued at first to be surrounded by a faint radiance of the reigning Christ, which completely disappears only with the advent of Gothic. The reigning Christ himself, the *Maiestas Domini*, is amongst the favourite subjects of Romanesque sculpture.¹⁴ But this supra-temporal expression of the subject—to some extent a secondary historical development—along with the representation of the Crucifixion, detached itself from the picture of the Last Judgment,¹⁵ which appears neither in the place of the *Maiestas* in the apse,¹⁶ nor—as was the usual consequence—above the west door of great cathedrals. And in the end, theological reflection produces the expansion of the theme: the representation of the Blessed Trinity appears on the scene in the form of the Throne of Grace.

And so there are to be seen in this sphere, as in the history of the liturgy, an increasing emphasis on the individual and upon what is subjective, and the beginnings of the break-up of the basic Easter motif. It is the same movement which in Gothic is carried

11. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar II*, München 1924, 291 seq. 455 and table on p. 299 seq.

12. The earliest example is provided by the *Sacramentary of Gellone* (770): V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits IV*, Paris 1924, Table II; *ibid.* Table XV, an example from the 9th century.

13. *Sacramentary of St. Denis* (11th cent. *op. cit.* Table XXXI): Mary and John with expressions of pain. This is seen more strongly marked in other examples from the 11th and 12th centuries: Table XX, XLIV.

14. This raises the question: Have we here the development of a western theme or are we dealing with the adoption of a Byzantine concept? The second view is that of R. Berger, *Die Darstellung des thronenden Christus in der romanischen Kunst*, Reutlingen 1926, 73 seq. cf. U. Rapp, *Das Mysterienbild*, Münsterschwabach 1952, esp. 127 seq.

15. Crucifixion group and the World Judgment appear one above the other in the west apse of the Church of St. George, Reichemau (9th-10th cent.); Künzle I, 535. The same juxtaposition, with even greater realism is seen in a later period, e.g. on the main door of Freiburg Münster (*ibid.* 544 seq.). The contrast between the early Christian parousia—picture which shows the 'transfiguration of the people of God,' 'the ultimate meaning of the present state, the earthly hiddenness, of the Church,' and the representation of the Judgment as a verdict upon the moral action of the individual member of the Church, is emphasized by Abbot I. Herwegen, *Antike, Germanentum und Christentum*, Salzburg 1932, 47 seq.

16. Examples supplied by Künzle I, 57.

farther in the fondness for childhood and Passion pictures, and for pictures of saints; and which has its parallels in corresponding developments in devotional life in general.

This briefly sketched contrast between early Christian and medieval devotional attitudes has been pointed out with special emphasis by Abbot Ildefons Herwegen. He makes the contrast appear even sharper, for, as antitype to the early period he adduces from medieval art and life, forms which have evolved even farther and which for the most part have been deliberately excluded from the preceding argument.¹⁷ Abbot Herwegen defines the contrast thus: in the early period mystery predominates—the world of grace, what is objective and corporate; in the Middle Ages the emphasis is laid more and more upon human action and moral accomplishment, upon what is subjective and individual.¹⁸ No appraisal is thereby intended—unless it be to this extent, that the ideal mean is seen in equilibrium, in the complementary fulfilment of both factors.¹⁹

Abbot Herwegen also undertakes an explanation of this most decisive change in the history of Christian culture, the beginning of which he places in the Carolingian period. A hint of this is already given in *Kirche und Seele* his first work; and in his second relevant work *Antike, Germanentum und Christentum* it is indicated even in the title. When, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, Christianity came to the young Teutonic peoples, these accepted it in terms of their own mode of thought, which was vastly opposed to that which until then had prevailed in the ancient world, especially where the comprehension of spiritual values was concerned. 'For the man of the ancient world, what is most spiritual is most real.'²⁰ 'The man of the ancient world rests in a being which is objective and universal yet filled with abundant life: the Teuton is restlessly caught up in the subjective, individual flux of becoming.'²¹ Such an attitude—the spirit of the Gothic has been said to have the same significance²²—left its

17. I. Herwegen, *Kirche und Seele. Die Seelenhaltung des Mysterienkultes und ihr Wandel im Mittelalter*, Münster 1926.

18. *Kirche und Seele* 4. 15 seq., 23 seq.; *Antike* 47 seq., 51 seq.

19. *Kirche und Seele* 4; *Antike* 68 seq.

20. *Antike* 26.

21. *Ibid.* 40.

22. Cf. A. L. Mayer-Pfannholz, *Liturgie und Latentum. Wiederbegegnung von Kirche und Kultur*, München 1927, 238.

mark upon the whole range of forms of religious thought and life: and in the vision of the Christian mystery, in the way of regarding Christ, the Church, sacraments and cultus, this led, Herwegen explains, to the objective and permanent giving way—as far as was possible within the limits safeguarded by ecclesiastical authority—to what was subjective, temporal, mutable and historically transitory.

There can be no doubt that in this a really active factor of evolution is being described. This fact had already been established, at least of the later Middle Ages, by the history of art, although perhaps not with such clarity. It is obvious in the Gothic period that the feeling for what is concrete and particular and for subjective sympathy—in representations of the Passion, let us say—determines the nature of the work. Devotional forms too, show this same line of development. Romanticism, which begins indeed even before the opening up of the cleavage now under discussion, shows scarcely a trace of this attitude. It is always characterized by well-proportioned order, by the factor of otherworldly transfiguration, and thus, by kinship with the spirit of the Roman liturgy.²³ But along with this we must take into consideration the fact that the new cultural impetus which was alive in the Teutonic communities was not able to find expression so speedily in pictorial art as in the sphere of the word and of the mind itself. Upon the soil of liturgical and religious life, manifestations which derive undoubtedly from the Teutonic spirit are established at an appreciably earlier date.²⁴ To this belong the composition of the Sequences, the first great exponent of which is Notker Balbulus of St. Gallen (d. 912); the intermittent tendency to poetize the liturgy;²⁵ and isolated practices in external ceremonial arising from Teutonic juridical symbolism such as folding hands at prayer, handing over the vessels at ordination,

23. The relationship between romanesque and liturgy is given special prominence by H. Lützel, *Die christliche Kunst des Abendlandes* 3, Bonn 1935, 39 seq. cf. also A. L. Mayer, *Altchristliche Liturgie und Germanentum*: *JL* 5 (1925) 84-86.

24. Mayer, *Altchristliche Liturgie* 80-86.

25. Mayer 92 seq.

and certain isolated customs once but no longer attached to the solemnization of marriage.²⁶

These things remain on the fringe of liturgical and religious culture. On the strength of them we can scarcely claim to derive the full extent of the altered view-point, seen in the Carolingian period, but showing itself even in the Gallican tradition, from the subjectivism and moralism of the Teutonic mind.²⁷

2. Greek Influences and Parallels

Considering national factors alone, which went to form the religious-cultural stamp of the early Middle Ages, we are bound to take account of Greece, even if its influence was exerted only from afar. More precisely: we dare not overlook the cultural heritage of the Greek Orient which overflowed abundantly during this period into the West, into the Gallo-Frankish part of Europe in particular. It is well-known that from the 4th century the Gallican liturgy, i.e. the liturgy of the whole non-Roman West, presents numerous features which point to an Oriental origin: the pre-eminence of Epiphany, the system of weekly and yearly fast-days, the veneration of Saturday, the Trishagion in the Mass, the Offertory procession, the Kiss of Peace before the Consecration, the Euclesis—to mention but a few obvious examples. From the 6th century the *Kyrie eleison*, and also the Litany as a prayer-form, spread to Rome and then over the whole of the West. Similarly, but somewhat later, the Oriental Marian feasts and various liturgical practices connected with Palm Sunday and Holy Week appeared in the West. The example *par excellence* of Oriental influence is the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed

26. Cf. Mayer 88 seq.—I. Herwegen. *Germanische Rechtssymbolik in der römischen Liturgie* (Deutschrechtliche Beiträge 8, 4) Heidelberg, 1913. Some of the customs mentioned here—the slap on the cheek at confirmation, for example—certainly have a Teutonic origin, but their adoption in the liturgy can be proved to have occurred only at a considerably later date.

27. Karl Adam, *Kirche und Seele: Theol. Quartalschrift* 106 (1923) 231-239 opposes Herwegen's Teutonic theory.