

FROM *PRO IMPERIO ROMANO* TO *CUM REGE NOSTRO*

Prayer for the King in the Roman Canon

Introduction¹

When opening a Belgian people's missal from 1933, the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer reads as follows:

Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dóminum nostrum, súpplīces rogámus, ac pétimus, uti accépta hábeas, et benedicas hæc † dona, hæc † múnera, hæc † sancta sacrificia illibáta, in primis, quæ tibi offérimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta cathólica: quam pacificáre, custodire, adunáre, et regere dignéris toto orbe terrárum: una cum fámulo tuo Papa nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. (1) et ómnibus orthodoxis, atque cathólicæ, et apostólicæ fidei cultóribus. Memento Domine [...].²

When we look at the footnote after “Antistite nostro *N.*,” we read: “In Belgium (as personal privilege): et Rege nostro Albérto: and our king Albert.”³ This is striking as it is a major exception. This mention of the king in the Eucharistic prayer was not found in any of the dozens of other Belgian people's missals published in the period between the 1920s and the Second Vatican Council that were consulted.

1. This contribution was originally written for the Seminar on Eucharistic Prayers at the *Institutum Liturgicum*, Ealing Abbey, London, under the expert and friendly guidance of Prof. Daniel McCarthy OSB. For that, and for all the other courses and interesting exchanges, I would like to thank him warmly.

2. *Het volksmisboek en vesperale bevattende al de missen en gebeden van het Romeinsch Missaal bewerkt door de Benedictijnen der Abdij Affligem* (Hekelgem: Abdij Affligem, 1933) 35.

3. *Het Volksmisboek*, 35: “In België (als persoonlijk voorrecht): et Rege nostro Albérto: en onzen koning Albertus.” This privilege came after World War I. The question was first raised personally by Désiré-Joseph cardinal Mercier to Pope Benedict XV during a private conversation in January 1915. Jan De Volder, *Cardinal Mercier in the First World War: Belgium, Germany and the Catholic Church*, KADOC-Studies on Religion, Culture and Society, 23 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2018) 104.

The famous English liturgist – and much more – Father Adrian Fortescue records this mention of the monarch in the Roman Canon in his equally famous book *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy* when he describes the *Te igitur*.⁴ In discussing the intercessions that he believes are scattered throughout the canon and here form the second part of the *Te igitur*, he mentions the intercessory prayer for the Church, the Pope, Bishop and the faithful and he adds: “Mediaeval missals have: ‘et rege nostro N.’ after the bishop. This was omitted in 1570, but certain Catholic countries still keep the custom of praying for the sovereign here.”⁵

Jürgen Bärsch mentions inclusion of the ruler at the end of the *Te igitur* as one of the minor differences between the medieval Roman Canon and its post-Tridentine form.⁶ He states that the prayer for the ruler goes back to “eine alte Gebetspraxis der Kirche,” and kept its place throughout the Middle Ages and in the early modern time, dependent on the relationship between church and state.⁷ Its disappearance after the Council of Trent, he attributes to the fact that the Missal of 1570 was based on the thirteenth-century Curia Missal, which was copied at a time of political tension, causing the omission of the intercessory prayer for the king.⁸

In a footnote Fortescue mentions Austria and Hungary as countries that still have the mention of the king at the time he wrote his book. It thus appears that mention of the monarch had existed for a long time before the Council of Trent removed it from the Canon, but nevertheless lived on in some countries with catholic monarchies after the Council.

In the present paper we will look for the roots of this custom, before – depending on the location – it may or may not have become customary in the High and Late Middle Ages and lived on – also locally – into the twentieth century. Moreover, we will of course discuss the meaning of the underlying reasoning and developments of this prayer for the king in the Eucharistic prayer and more specifically in the Roman Canon. For these ends, we will first examine the biblical basis of these prayers for a monarch. Then we will look at some patristic sources to see if they mention this prayer in a eucharistic context. The main part of this paper that follows has as its goal to establish and analyse the presence and development of the prayer for the king in the Roman Canon. We will also consider the

4. Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy*, The Westminster Library (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1912) 328-337.

5. *Ibid.*, 329.

6. Jürgen Bärsch, “Der Canon Romanus nach dem Missale Romanum 1570.1962,” in *Sacrum convivium: Die Eucharistiegebete der westlichen Kirchen im 20. und frühen 21. Jahrhundert*. Band 2: Römisch-katholische Kirche, Alt-katholische Kirche, Kirchen der Reformation, ed. Irmgard Pahl – Stefan Böntert, Spicilegium Friburgense, 50 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2022) 16.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

presence of these prayers for the king in other anaphora. Finally, we will propose some readings that elaborate on the liturgical, historical and theological interpretations of the prayer for the king in the Eucharistic prayers, with a particular emphasis on its presence and location in the Roman Canon.

1. Back to the Source

1.1. Biblical Sources

There are mentions of prayer for rulers, kings or monarchs from the very beginning and first centuries of Christianity. Though the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles remain silent on the subject, we can find a New Testament basis for this in 1 Tim 2:1-2. This text, dating from the late first, early second century explicitly encourages prayer *pro regibus et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt*:

First of all, then, I ask that supplications, prayers, petitions, and thanksgivings be offered for everyone, for kings and for all in authority, that we may lead a quiet and tranquil life in all devotion and dignity.⁹

This short text is characterized by Renie Choy as “the basis for the entire practice of intercessory prayer for rulers,” offering “a glaringly spiritual rationale.”¹⁰ Paul De Clerck argues that although it certainly cannot be called the origin of intercessions, the verse has had an undeniable influence on Christian prayer, especially that for the king.¹¹

Furthermore, in the Old Testament books, there are at least two instances in which there is referred to prayer for the king. The book of Baruch cites a letter from the exiled Jews in Babylon to the Jews left behind

9. 1 Tim 2:1-2. All Bible quotes in this article in English translation are taken from the 2011 revised New American Bible as printed in *The New American Bible Revised Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). When relevant, the Latin version is presented in footnote, taken from the critical edition of the Vulgate by Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007); *Obsecro igitur primo omnium fieri obsecrationes orationes postulationes gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus pro regibus et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus in omni pietate et castitate*.

10. Renie S. Choy, *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms*, Oxford Theology and Religion Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) 134.

11. Paul De Clerck, *La “prière universelle” dans les liturgies latines anciennes : témoignages patristiques et textes liturgiques*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 62 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1977) 4, 109.

in Judea. The former send the latter funds for offerings, and they ask them to pray for different causes: not in the least for themselves, since they are there in exile because of their sins against God. But what stands out strongly is that the first thing they ask is to pray for the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, and his son Belshazzar.

And pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and of Belshazzar, his son, that their lifetimes may be as the days of the heavens above the earth. Pray that the Lord may give us strength, and light to our eyes, that we may live under the protective shadow of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and of Belshazzar, his son, to serve them many days, and find favor in their sight.¹²

The exiles thus ask those who stayed behind to pray and offer sacrifices for the king who took them into exile. This excerpt was presumably written with another passage, from Jeremiah, in mind. In the letter of Jeremiah to the exiled Jews, he writes:

Seek the welfare of the city to which I have exiled you; pray for it to the Lord, for upon its welfare your own depends.¹³

Where Jeremiah's appeal is still to be expected – one prays for the prosperity of the city in which one is in exile, that one may experience prosperity oneself – the response of the exiles in Baruch is somewhat surprising. There is prayer not only for the prosperity of the city and thus themselves, but also explicitly for the king and crown prince and for them to have lengthy lives. More along the lines of prayer for the city, is the requested prayer that the exiles may live under the king's protection and lead good lives in the king's favour.

1.2. Patristic Sources

After this brief biblical introduction, which nevertheless provides a basis for the liturgical practices that will be described below, we will now turn to the early Christian sources, to strengthen that foundation, before looking at what the liturgical precipitation of that is in the context of Eucharistic prayer. Tertullian (c. 155 – c. 220) mentions the prayer for the emperor in

12. Bar 1:11-12. *Et orate pro vita Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae et pro vita Balthasar filii eius ut sint dies ipsorum sicut dies caeli super terram et det Dominus virtutem nobis et inluminet oculos nostros ut vivamus sub umbra Nabuchodonosor regis Babyloniae et sub umbra Balthasar filii eius et serviamus eis multis diebus et inveniamus gratiam in conspectus eorum.*

13. Jer 29:7. *Et quaerite pacem civitatis ad quam transmigrare vos feci et orate pro ea ad Dominum quia in pace illius erit pax vobis.*

his *Apologeticus*, dating to the end of the second century AD. In chapter XXX, he explicitly mentions:

For we offer prayer for the safety of our princes to the eternal [...]. Thither we lift our eyes, with hands outstretched because free from sin; with head uncovered, for we have nothing whereof to be ashamed; finally without a monitor, because it is from the heart we supplicate. Without ceasing, for all our emperors we offer prayer. We pray for life prolonged, for security to the empire, for protection to the imperial house; for brave armies, a faithful senate, a virtuous people, the world at rest, whatever, as man or Caesar, an emperor would wish.¹⁴

William Reeves states that this prayer for the emperor must have been a fixed, structured prayer – not a spontaneous, extempore prayer, as was the prevailing custom in that period – because otherwise Tertullian could not use the “continuous prayer” as evidence of Christian loyalty to the emperor.¹⁵

Furthermore, in chapter XXXI Tertullian references Matt 5:44 – “We are commanded to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, to do good to them that hate us, and to pray for them which despitefully use us, and persecute us” – and he goes on to mention the emperors as the worst among these persecutors and thus much prayed for by the Christians. Tertullian then refers to and cites the text presented above from the First Epistle to Timothy, which proves the direct relevance of these two Pauline verses to the prayer practice under consideration here.¹⁶ Then, in chapter XXXIX, we learn that this prayer is done in the context of some kind of assembled prayer, in the liturgy:

We meet together as an assembly and congregation, [...]. We pray too for the emperors, for their ministers and for all in authority, [...].¹⁷

Furthermore, in Ambrose of Milan’s (339-397) description of the Eucharistic liturgy in his work *De Sacramentis*, dating to the late fourth century, Ambrose also mentions the prayer for kings:

14. James Donaldson – Alexander Roberts – Arthur Cleveland Coxe, eds., *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian*, American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition, 3, Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993) 42.

15. William Reeve, ed., *The Apology of Tertullian* (London/Sydney: Griffith Farran Okeden & Welsh, 1889) 92.

16. Tertullian, *Apologeticus* XXX; Donaldson – Roberts – Cleveland Coxe, *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian*, 3:42.

17. *Ibid.*, 46.

For all the other things which are said in the earlier parts of the service are said by the bishop: praise is offered to God; prayer is made for the people, for kings, for others; when the time comes for the venerated sacrament to be accomplished, the bishop no longer uses his own words, but uses the words of Christ.¹⁸

It is worth noting that Ambrose uses almost the words or at least a similar structure as Paul does in his letter to Timothy: “for everyone, for kings and for all in authority.”¹⁹

Though, thanks to this fragment, we are now sure that at least in the fourth century prayer for kings had a place in the eucharistic liturgy, it remains unclear where in the liturgy this prayer was situated. Ferdinand Probst observes a parallel between the order of the actions before the institution narrative Ambrose mentions and the order of the Roman Canon.²⁰ “Praise is offered to God” could correspond to the Sanctus, the prayer “for the people, for kings, for others” would then correspond to the later *Te igitur* and the *Memento, Domine* of the Roman Canon.²¹ However, James Strawley remarks that it is possible that Ambrose did not keep the order and referred to the prayers of the faithful before the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer. He supports this by saying that “there is no prayer for kings in the Gelasian Canon, but such a prayer is found in the Good Friday prayers which are a survival of the ‘prayers of the faithful’.”²² As we will see infra, both theories have their merits.

In any case, after the observations in the texts of these church fathers, we now know for sure that certainly in the second, third and fourth centuries, structural and therefore liturgical prayers were said for the emperor, for kings or for the civil authorities.

18. Aurelius Ambrosius, *De sacramentis* IV, IV, 14; Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012) 103.

19. 1 Tim 2:1-2. See above.

20. Ferdinand Probst, *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren Reform* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1893) 249.

21. *Ibid.*; James Herbert Strawley, ed., *St. Ambrose “On the Mysteries” and the Treatise “On the Sacraments” by an Unknown Author*, trans. Tom Thompson, Translations of Christian Literature Series III: Liturgical Texts (London/New York: Macmillan, 1919) 110.

22. Strawley, *St. Ambrose “On the Mysteries” and the Treatise “On the Sacraments” by an Unknown Author*, 110.

1.3. Earliest Liturgical Sources

When it comes to early liturgical sources, the *Didachè*, from the late first century, cannot be ignored. Although there is no mention of the king or any ruler, we do find a petition for the Church:

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ρύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ, καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου.²³

In the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, dating to the fourth century and having their origins in the Antiochian family of rites – there is thus little direct relevance to the Roman Canon –, we do find this mention of the king, and even quite comprehensive. After the *narratio institutionis*, the *anamnesis* and *epiclesis* a series of *intercessiones* follows. One among those is the following:

Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε, Κύριε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἵνα εἰρηνεύωνται τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ διάγοντες τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δοξάζωμέν σε διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν.²⁴

Not only is the king is mentioned, but also his family and entourage, and his army, with a special emphasis on peace. We can remark that again there is, in the second part of this intercession, a direct connection with 1 Tim 2:1-2: “that we may lead a quiet and tranquil life in all devotion and dignity.”²⁵

The third and for this research most important source we want to present here is one of the oldest fragmentary anaphora, the so-called Strasbourg papyrus (4th-5th cent.).²⁶ In the third strophe a petition for the Church, for peace and for the king is included: “[...] [Keep the] *earthly*

23. *Didachè* 10.5; Willy Rordorf – André Tuilier, eds., *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres (Didachè)*, Sources Chrétiennes, 248bis (Paris: Cerf, 1998) 180-181: “Souviens-toi, Seigneur, de ton Église, pour la délivrer de tout mal et la parfaire dans ton amour.”

24. *Constitutiones apostolorum* VIII,12,42; Marcel Metzger, ed., *Les Constitutions Apostoliques Tome III, Livres VII et VIII*, Sources Chrétiennes, 336 (Paris: Cerf, 1987) 200-201: “Nous t’inviquons aussi, Seigneur, pour le roi, les détenteurs du pouvoir et toute l’armée: que nous jouissions de la paix et que, passant dans le calme et la concorde tout le temps de notre vie, nous te glorifions par Jésus-Christ notre espérance.”

25. 1 Tim 2:1-2. See above.

26. Anton Hänggi – Irmgard Pahl, eds., *Prex eucharistica: textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*, Spicilegium Friburgense, 12 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1968) 116-119.

king [in peace; make him think] of what brings peace to us and to your holy Name [...].”²⁷

The prayer then goes on to include also military commanders and civil authorities:

Δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε μνήσθητι τῆς ἀγίας σου καὶ μόνης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, πά(ν)των τῶν λαῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ποιμνίων σου. Τὴν ἐξ οὐρανῶν εἰρήνην βοράβευσον ταῖς ἀπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν χάρισαι τὸν βασιλέα τῆς γῆς εἰρηνικά πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομά σου, τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς ἐπ στρατιωτικά, τοὺς ἄρχοντας, βουλᾶς [...].²⁸

There has been a lot of research and discussion on the question if this fragment constitutes an early whole anaphora in itself or if it is a precursor of the Anaphora of Saint Mark.²⁹ That question is less important for this paper. What is important, is that Enrico Mazza states that this Alexandrian anaphora from the Strasbourg papyrus has had an influence on the Roman Canon.

Although the Roman Canon is very different from the other liturgical families and appears to be separate from them, it nevertheless has roots in the Alexandrian and Antiochene families.³⁰ The *commendatio* of the offerers and of the sacrifice, Mazza identifies as stemming from this third strophe of what he calls the Alexandrian paleoanaphora, whereof the Strasbourg papyrus testifies.³¹ It is this part of *commendatio* that comes just after the prayers for the king in the Strasbourg fragment.

2. The Roman Canon

The Roman Canon took a relatively fixed form in the first half of the fourth century, at least two generations before Ambrose cites from it in his *De Sacramentis*.³² It spread to England in the seventh, Frankish territories in the eighth, Spain in the eleventh and the Celtic territories in the ninth to twelfth centuries.³³

27. Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999) 47.

28. Michel Andrieu – Paul Collomp, “Fragments sur papyrus de l’anaphore de saint Marc,” in *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 8 (1928) 489-515, here 501.

29. Walter D. Ray, “The Strasbourg Papyrus,” in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. Paul Bradshaw (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1997) 39-56.

30. Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 63-66.

31. *Ibid.*, 63.

32. Enrico Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite* (New York: Pueblo, 1986) 58-59.

33. *Ibid.*, 53.

2.1. Tentative Roman Canon (4th-5th cent.)

Unfortunately, as we saw, Ambrose only starts quoting the text of the prayers from right before the institution narrative on, while the mention of the king could have had its place before that, as we can see from later versions of the Roman Canon – if we assume that it continued to be there from the form at the time of Ambrose or if we assume that Ambrose’s mention of the prayers “for kings” effectively referred to prayers inside of the Eucharistic prayer. Therefore it is not surprising that nothing can be found about kings in the tentative fourth-fifth century Roman Canon Righetti and Vagaggini propose.³⁴ At this point, it is no certainty, however, that this entry was or was not there. However, further on in this paper we will see that especially this period was essential for this research.

2.2. *Sacramentarium Veronense*

Being the oldest known surviving liturgical source of the Roman rite, the *Sacramentarium Veronense* could provide the earliest material. However, the Eucharistic prayer did not survive in the manuscript.³⁵ Therefore, again, we cannot establish if there was any reference to a ruler in the Roman Canon at the time the Verona *libelli missarum* were compiled and/or copied.

2.3. *Gelasianum Vetus*

The second oldest and thus important source is the so-called *Gelasianum Vetus*, which reached its final form between 628 and 715, as we know it from the manuscript Vat. Reg. 316. In this manuscript, which presents a gallicanised version of the Gelasian sacramentary, we do find an indication of a prayer for the king in the Roman Canon: an addition can be discerned in the text of the Roman Canon between the last line of the *Te igitur* and the first of the *Memento* that follows it. This addition is written in so-called Tironian notes, a type of abbreviated script that was regularly used throughout the early and high Middle Ages. Julien Havet, cited by Léopold Delisle, succeeded in deciphering them and he suggested that it reads the following:

34. Bradshaw and Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies*, 107-108.

35. Cunibert Mohlberg – Leo Eisenhöfer – Petrus Siffrin, eds., *Sacramentarium Veronense (Leonianum) (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Vron. LXXXV[80])*, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series Maior. Fontes*, 1 (Roma: Herder, 1956).

Superscribenda / Et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholici fide cultoribus.
Memento, Deus, rege nostro cum omne populo.³⁶

Integrated in the text of the canon by Hänggi and Pahl, it looks like this:

Te igitur, clementissime [...] , una cum famulo tuo papa nostro illo et an-
testite nostro illo episcopo. <Superscribenda: Et omnibus orthodoxis atque
catholici fide cultoribus.
Memento, deus, rege nostro cum omne populo.>³⁷

Delisle proposes to date these notes to the Merovingian period – and thus contemporary to the rest of the manuscript – as he states: “La barbarie semble dénoter l’époque mérovingienne.”³⁸ Ildar Garipzanov agrees and states about this insertion: “The fact that the reference to the king was written in Tironian notes may suggest that this passage was copied from the original, but it was not intended for liturgical practice.”³⁹ We can therefore propose some possible explanations which do not all exclude each other. Either – maybe under the impulse of the Merovingian kings – the prayer for the king was “invented” again and added into the text sometime later than the main text was written, or there existed an older custom to mention the king in this place and it was taken from a manuscript which had that addition, while the one from which the *Gelasianum Vetus* in its form in Vat. Reg. 316 was copied did not have it. In any case, Antoine Chavasse notes that even though the masses of the Old Gelasian are of the Gelasian type, the Canon is of the Gregorian type, which proves the “mélange in-time” of both types, dating to the seventh century.⁴⁰

36. Léopold Delisle, “Mémoire sur d’anciens sacramentaires. Planches,” in *Mémoires de l’Institut de France* 32, no. 1 (1886) 1-11, here 5.

37. Cunibert Mohlberg – Leo Eizenhöfer – Petrus Siffrin, eds., *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56) (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*), *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior. Fontes*, 4 (Roma: Herder, 1960) 184.

38. Delisle, “Mémoire sur d’anciens sacramentaires. Planches,” 5.

39. Ildar Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World* (c.751-877), Brill’s Series on the Early Middle Ages, 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2008) 57.

40. Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien, Vaticanus Reginensis 316: sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de théologie. Série 4: Histoire de la théologie, 1 (Paris/Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1958) 496; Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: ses principales formes d’après les plus anciens manuscrits*, vol. 1, *Spicilegium Friburgense*, 16 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1971) 87.

2.4. Gregorians

We will now turn to the manuscripts from the Gregorian line (original compilation 625-638).⁴¹ Neither in the Padua (left Rome 670-680) nor in the *Hadrianum* (785-786) do we find any mention of the king in the Roman Canon.⁴²

The Frankish Gelasian, which came into existence around 760-770, merged the Gallican, Old Gelasian and Roman (Padua) traditions, may have had the mention of the king handed down from the Old Gelasian or the Gallican tradition, but it was probably removed under the influence of the Gregorian tradition. Descended from this Frankish Gelasian, albeit via intermediates, are the Gellone, Angoulême and Phillips manuscripts. Gellone and Phillips, dating to the late eight century make no mention of the king in the Roman Canon.⁴³

However – and striking since it has a common ancestor with Phillips – in the closely related Angoulême manuscript, the text differs and the sentence which was added to the Old Gelasian, also appears before the normal text of the *Memento*:

Te igitur clementissime pater [...] una cum famulo tuo papa nostro *illo* et antestite nostro *illo*. Memento Domine famulo tuo rege nostro *illo*. Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circumstantium, [...].⁴⁴

What is also striking, is the small textual difference with the *Gelasianum Vetus*: Angoulême has *Domine* instead of *Deus*, as does the *Gelasianum Vetus*. Whether the origin of this should still be sought in another external source is not clear and in any case difficult to prove.

2.5. Gallican Liturgy

Since the Old Gelasian we have, which has the mention of the king, despite the Canon being of the Gregorian type – which in general does not have this mention – as Chavasse says, was gallicanised, it is also worth looking

41. Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy, 3 (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1986) 79.

42. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, 1:87.

43. Antoine Dumas – Jean Deshusses, eds., *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 159A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981) 253; Odilo Heiming, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 159B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984) 147.

44. Patrick Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 159C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987) 256.

at the Gallican books. Moreover, Michel Andrieu distinguished the Gallican and Celtic liturgies as being a distinct tradition, the “tradition hiberno-gallicane” – supported by Neil Xavier O’Donoghue’s recent work – which he juxtaposed with the “tradition romano-franque.”⁴⁵

As in some other books, no Canon has survived in the *Missale Gothicum*, which was written between 690 and 710 in Luxeuil or north-east Gaul.⁴⁶ In the *Missale Francorum*, written around 700 and closely related to the Gelasian, although it has underwent Gallican influence and additions, does have the Canon, but without the mention of the king.⁴⁷

In the *Gallicanum Vetus* different masses with parts of Eucharistic prayers are included, for example a *missa germani episcopi* and a *missa de adventu*.⁴⁸ Then we find another Advent Mass for which a *collectio post sanctus* is given, which thus stands in the place of the *Te igitur* in the Roman Canon. Moreover, it has the same structure of a petition for the acceptance of the gifts which is then connected to the petition for the church.

Collectio post sanctus: Uere sanctus, uere benedictus, domine deus pater omnipotens, salus credentium et omnium redemptor in Christo. Per quem te depraecamus et quaesumus, uti hanc oblationem gratam adque acceptabilem suscipere benedicere ac sanctificare digneris. Quam tibi offerimus pro pace[m] ecclesiae tuae, pro sacerdotum tuorum et minestrotum omnium puritate, pro statu loci huius adque omnium habitantium in eo, pro uotis adstantium et omnium commemoratione sanctorum, ac pro requie[m] defunctorum: per ipsum dominum nostrum.⁴⁹

Thereafter, the *Gallicanum vetus* continues with the *Qui pridie*.

45. Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut Moyen Âge*, vol. 2, Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents, 23 (Leuven: Peeters, 1948) 270-271; Neil Xavier O’Donoghue, *Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011).

46. Helena Geertruida Elizabet Rose, ed., *Missale Gothicum e Codice Vaticano Reginalensi Latino 317 Editum*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 159D (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005) 16; F.L. Cross – E.A. Livingstone, eds., “Missale Gothicum,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), <https://www.oxfordreference.com./view/10.1093/acref/9780192802903.001.0001/acref-9780192802903-e-4582>.

47. Cunibert Mohlberg – Leo Eizenhöfer – Petrus Siffrin, eds., *Missale Francorum* (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 257), *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior. Fontes*, 2 (Roma: Herder, 1957) 31; F.L. Cross – E.A. Livingstone, eds., “Missale Francorum,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780192802903.001.0001/acref-9780192802903-e-4580>.

48. Cunibert Mohlberg – Leo Eizenhöfer – Petrus Siffrin, eds., *Missale Gallicanum vetus* (Cod. Vat. Palat. lat. 493), *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior. Fontes*, 3 (Roma: Herder, 1958) 4-5, 11.

49. *Ibid.*, 13.

What is interesting here in the respect of this study is the petition “pro statu loci huius.” *Statu*, in medieval Latin, can also mean the king, his entourage, the administration or the royal court in general.⁵⁰ We thus find in the *Gallicanum vetus* an indication of prayer for the king or state in the place where the Roman Canon has the *Te igitur* and in some places the mention of the king as well, though this one seems to be a different elaboration from the forms found in the Roman Canon.

2.6. Celtic Liturgy

We then look at some Celtic, Irish or Irish-influenced, books. We see that in the Canon according to the Bobbio Missal, which, although northern Italian in origin, underwent a strong Irish influence, there is no mention of the king.⁵¹ One possible explanation for that lack is the influence from Rome. Where we do find the monarch, is in the famous late eight-, early ninth-century (ca. 792-812) Irish Stowe Missal.⁵² The king, or in this case the king(s) and the empire, is even featured quite extensively in what the manuscript calls the “canon dominicus papae gilasi”:

Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum tuorum [...] pro incolimitate regum et pace populorum ac reditu captivorum, pro [...] pro domino papa episcopo et omnibus episcopis et presbyteris et omni ecclesiastico ordine, pro imperio romano et omnibus regibus christianis, pro [...].⁵³

In the *Memento*, prayers are offered for the safety of the king and for peace. A little later, the different orders of the church and the *clerus* are prayed for, followed immediately by a surprising petition for the Roman Empire and all the Christian kings.

50. Charles du Fresne du Cange, “Status,” in *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Niort: Favre, 1883) 589.

51. Elias Avery Lowe, ed., *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book (Ms. Paris. Lat. 13246). Text*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 58 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1919) 10; F.L. Cross – E.A. Livingstone, eds., “Bobbio,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780192802903.001.0001/acref-9780192802903-e-890>; Yitzhak Hen – Rob Meens, *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

52. George Frederic Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, vol. 2, Henry Bradshaw Society, 32 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1915) 23.

53. Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1881) 234-235.

2.7. Ambrosian Liturgy

If we then turn to the Ambrosian liturgy, we find in the Ambrosian version of the Roman Canon an addition at the end of the *Te igitur* in manuscripts from Milan and Bergamo:

Te igitur clementissime pater [...] una cum famulo et sacerdote tuo papa romano, seu et pontifice nostro ill., et omni clero eius, et famulo tuo ill. imperatore nostro cum coniuge sua et prole, sed et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus. Memento domine famulorum famularumque tuarum [...].⁵⁴

Thus, the ambrosian liturgy includes explicit mention of the emperor, his wife and children.

3. Historical Evolution

3.1. Alexandrian Origins (1st-3rd cent.)

As we see with Jungmann, the Roman Canon has at least a partial origin in the earliest Alexandrian anaphoras.⁵⁵ Already from there, we observed a possible basis for the mention of the king in the later Roman Canon. However, it is difficult to establish a direct link between those earliest origins and the later definitive Roman Canon. Although this is a parallel intercessory prayer, located at a parallel place in the anaphora and based on the same biblical basis and early Christian customs, it is unlikely – as we will see from the development *infra* – that this is a direct ancestor of the mention of the king in the *Te igitur* of the Roman Canon. It is all the more a witness of the authenticity and antiquity of the practice.

3.2. General Petitions (2nd-4th cent.)

In fact, it seems that the mention of the king in the Roman Canon derives directly from the General Petitions after the sermon. The evolution that is important to our research is therefore the emergence of these general prayers of intercession, which existed in any case as early as the early second

54. Angelo Paredi – Giuseppe Fasse, eds., *Sacramentarium Bergomense: Manoscritto del secolo IX della Biblioteca d S. Alessandro in Colonna in Bergamo*, Monumenta Bergomensia, 6 (Bergamo: Monumenta Bergomensia, 1962) 213; Hänggi – Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica*, 449-450.

55. Josef A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine Genetische Erklärung der Römischen Messe*, fünfte, verbesserte Auflage, 2 vols. (Wien: Herder, 1962), 1:71-72.

century, as attested by Justin Martyr.⁵⁶ Jungmann calls them: “from ancient times the most excellent prayer, the prayer of the Church par excellence.”⁵⁷ De Clerck states that they appear in Rome between 250 and 320 and that they spread throughout the West by the fifth century.⁵⁸

Throughout the first centuries, these prayers evolved differently in different places.⁵⁹ In the fourth century, the deacon had received a much more prominent role in these prayers and read for example a special litany announcing some intentions before the beginning of the prayer of the faithful.⁶⁰ In the West, and in Rome more specifically, these prayers disappeared and were only kept alive in the set of nine Solemn Prayers of Intercession in the Good Friday service (and in the eighth and ninth century also on Wednesday of Holy Week).⁶¹ In these prayers the prayer for the ruler has a special place. We see for example in the Good Friday Prayers of the *Gelasianum Vetus* that the emperor and the “Roman or Frankish empire” is mentioned.

Oremus et pro christianissimo imperatore uel rege nostro Illo, ut deus omnipotens subditas illis faciat omnes barbaras nationes ad nostram perpetuam pacem. Oremus.⁶²

Item adnuntiat diaconus ut supra. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui regnis omnibus aeterna / potestate dominaris, respice propicius ad romanum sive Francorum benignus imperium, ut gentes quae in sua feritate confidunt dexterae tuae potentia conprimantur: per.⁶³

Or in the *Gallicanum Vetus*, “Incipit oratio in vi feria”⁶⁴:

[...] Oremus et pro christianissimis regibus, ut deus et dominus noster subditas illis faciat omnes barbaras nationes ad nostram perpetuam pacem: per.⁶⁵

Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne deus, in cuius manu[m] sunt omnium temporum potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice propitius ad

56. *Ibid.*, 1:614; De Clerck, *La “prière universelle”*, 109.

57. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 1:614: “von altsher auch das vorzüglichste Gebet, das Gebet der Kirche schlechthin.”

58. De Clerck, *La “prière universelle”*, 313.

59. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 1:614-628; De Clerck, *La “prière universelle”*, 13-108.

60. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 1:615-617; Geoffrey G. Willis, *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*, Alcuin Club Collections, 46 (London: SPCK, 1964) 5.

61. Louis Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien: étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne*, 5th ed. (Paris: De Boccard, 1920) 182-183; Willis, *Essays*, 10-12, 19.

62. Mohlberg – Eizenhöfer – Siffrin, *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae*, 65.

63. *Ibid.*, 66.

64. Mohlberg – Eizenhöfer – Siffrin, *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, 27-29.

65. *Ibid.*, 28.

Romanum benignus imperium, ut gentes quae in sua feritate confidunt potentiae tuae dextera conpraemantur. [...].⁶⁶

Although the deacon's litany for the beginning of the prayer of the faithful was not adopted in the Roman liturgy, we find traces of it in the Gallican, Ambrosian and Celtic liturgies.⁶⁷ In the Easter Vigil of the *Gallicanum Vetus* we observe these prayers, wherein the king is mentioned⁶⁸:

Pro regibus et pace. Apicem omnium potestatum et supereminentem dominationem dominum deprecemur, ut regum nostrorum exercitum ita sua uirtute conroboret, ut per easdem gentibus subdetis uel fugatis deo uiuo iugiter seruiamus: per dominum nostrum.⁶⁹

Collectio sequitur. Respice famulos tuos, domine, quibus orbis regiminum et rerum aduenas dedisti et praesta, ut tua uirtute muniti populum tuum summa felicitate defendamus, ut pace[m] nobis ubique concessa tibi diebus ac noctibus seruiamus.⁷⁰

This is also preserved in the Ambrosian liturgy for the Sundays of Lent, and there, too, prayers were offered for the emperor⁷¹:

Pro famulo tuo *illo* imperatore et famula tua *illa* imperatrice et omni exercitu eorum, precamur [...].⁷²

And moreover, here again we encounter the Stowe missal, for there too we find between the epistle and the gospel a similar litany with the same structure in which the emperor, the empress and the army are mentioned:

Pro hoc loco et inhabitantibus in eo, pro piisimis imperatoribus et omni Romano exercitu. – Oramus.⁷³

Duchesne is convinced, based on comparisons with the surviving litanies from the East, that they are the same type with the same origin and thus are good witnesses for those litanies, as well as for the original intercessions.⁷⁴

66. *Ibid.*

67. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 209; De Clerck, *La "prière universelle"*, 153.

68. Mohlberg – Eizenhöfer – Siffrin, *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, 37-39.

69. *Ibid.*, 38.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 210.

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid.*, 211.

74. *Ibid.*, 212.

With the remnants of the original General Petitions of the Church as witnesses, we can state that the emperor had, very early on, a prominent place in these prayers.

3.3. *Shift towards the (Gelasian) Canon (4th-5th cent.)*

The fourth and fifth centuries then go on to be make up the most important period for this research. In the East the intercessory prayers had already become part of the Eucharistic prayer since the beginning of the fourth century.⁷⁵ Although the situation was different there – and in some non-Roman Western rites as well – the General Petitions disappeared from the Western liturgy over the course of the fifth century. However, from the end of the fourth century, they were moved to the anaphora, which would take its semi-permanent form as Roman Canon during the same period.⁷⁶ The intercessions got a place between the Sanctus and the consecratory prayer.⁷⁷

Josef Jungmann made the comparison with the solemn Good Friday intercessions – as witnesses of the General Petitions of the fourth century and before – and remarks that, to be incorporated into the Roman Canon, they had to be much shorter but that many were also omitted: only the prayers for the church, the pope (and later the bishop) were retained. For various reasons the others were not applicable or not suitable to be in this location and were omitted.⁷⁸ He notes that this was because the emphasis was on the names that were mentioned in the *Memento*-section and because the general prayers also still existed in their full form at that time.⁷⁹ Moreover, these persisted until the Kyrie litany was introduced, somewhere at the end of the sixth century, wherein the nine *orationes sollemnes* also found their places.⁸⁰ Jungmann argues that in the fifth century, this was the place of the prayer for the emperor.⁸¹

However, Enrico Mazza warns that, although scholars, as Jungmann did, “usually find parallels for this text in the earliest prayers of the faithful,” one should be wary and keep in mind that the intercession for the church always had its place there.⁸² In any case, it is highly likely that the

75. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:191.

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.*, 2:191-192.

79. *Ibid.*, 2:192.

80. *Ibid.*; Willis, *Essays*, 33, 47; Bernard Capelle, “Le pape Gélase et la messe romaine,” in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 35, no. 1 (1939) 20-45, here 25.

81. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:192.

82. Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, 61.

rest, including the intercession for the emperor, was introduced from the ancient General Petitions.

We can find evidence of this fifth century – not yet gregorianised – canon in some non-Roman rites we saw above. The Stowe Missal is one of the most interesting in that regard. A first romanization of the Irish liturgy took place from the seventh century onwards, but it was only complete in the twelfth century, long after the Stowe Missal was copied.⁸³ Warren describes it therefore as follows: “It affords no certain proof, but throws some light on the question as to what was the earliest form of Liturgy in use in the Hiberno-Celtic Church. It proves that the Roman Canon was introduced into at least partial use in Ireland as early as the ninth century, while it retains certain portions of an earlier and a different Liturgy interwoven with it. The admixture of passages from the Ambrosian, Galilean, and Mozarabic rites with the Roman Canon is suggestive of a period when the diversity had not ceased to exist”⁸⁴ Jungmann mentions the Milanese rite, wherein we too made this observation, as “representing a text taken over from Rome perhaps already before Gregory the Great, [wherein] the prayer for the ruler is still to be found.”⁸⁵

The “*canon dominici Gelasii*” from the Stowe Missal – with what we now know about the transfer of the General Petitions to the Roman Canon in mind – can therefore be a version wherein the intercessory prayer was already moved to the Canon, but not yet shortened entirely, or even elaborated on.⁸⁶ The fact that it explicitly mentions the Roman Empire may even contribute to that argument. In any case, the presence of the emperor in both the Stowe Missal and the Ambrosian anaphoras delivers an argument for the presence of the petition for the emperor in the early fourth-fifth century Roman Canon, copied from the General Petitions.

Important to note is that, according to Jungmann, it was Pope Gelasius (492-496), who played an important role in this process. He argues that it was Gelasius who removed the General Petitions and substituted the Kyrie litany (*deprecatio Gelasii*), in the oriental way.⁸⁷ One of the main reasons for this would be the fact that the intercessory petitions had now been included in the canon.⁸⁸ Capelle states that the *deprecatio* was a new, free redaction of a Gallican litany with a roman origin, dated between the late

83. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 9-11.

84. *Ibid.*, 204.

85. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:197: “die eine wohl schon vor Gregor dem Großen aus Rom übernommene Textform darstellt, ist die Bitte für dem Herrscher noch vorhanden.”

86. *Ibid.*, 2:192.

87. *Ibid.*, 1:74-75; Peter Jeffery, “The Meaning and Functions of the Kyrie,” in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology*, ed. Bryan D. Spinks (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008) 184-185.

88. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 1:75.

fifth and early sixth century.⁸⁹ Willis states that the *Deprecatio* is certainly not based on the Petitions, but that they show great similarities.⁹⁰ Capelle, like Jungmann, states that it was Gelasius who replaced the intercessions with the Kyrie litany, but nuances that it may have happened in two times: Gelasius added the litany, a successor removed the Petitions.⁹¹

From the sources, it becomes clear that during this period some names are certainly already mentioned in the canon, after a prayer corresponding to the later *Te igitur*.⁹² Jungmann then emphasizes that in the fifth century that “continuation of the *Te igitur*” already existed. He bases this on papal letters, which mention a reference to the Emperor “inter ipsa mysteria oblati sacrificiis.”⁹³ What Mazza stated, namely that the intercession for the Church had its place there from the beginning, is complemented by Jungmann, who states that also the pope was mentioned from very early on.⁹⁴ Outside of Rome this expanded rapidly and explanatory words were added to designate the Roman pontiff (f.e. *sedis apostolicae episcopo*) and an explicit mention of the bishop (*et antistite nostro*) was added.⁹⁵ Also the last part of the *Te igitur* (*et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus*), is found early on in Gallic territory.⁹⁶

What is interesting, is that in this period the role of the emperor changed enormously. During the fourth century, the status of Christianity changed from being persecuted or at least disadvantaged by the emperor and the imperial administration, to state religion and the emperor as Christianity’s main promotor. Therefore, it makes sense that this petition for the emperor, stemming from the Paulinian (and Old Testament) motivation for prayer for the hostile emperor, now gets a place in the most holy section of the liturgy. That would have seemed impossible in the earlier situation. In the theological interpretation *infra* we will elaborate on this topic.

3.4. Merovingian Period (6th-7th cent.)

It is thus likely that in the early versions of the Roman Canon, when the intercessions of the General Petitions were integrated into it, the sovereign was also mentioned. However, this was a period of great political change and it seems that that mention, especially in Rome – less so in the other

89. Capelle, “Le pape Gélase et la messe romaine,” 28; Willis, *Essays*, 21; De Clerck, *La “prière universelle”*, 313.

90. Willis, *Essays*, 24.

91. Capelle, “Le pape Gélase et la messe romaine,” 33.

92. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 1:69-70.

93. *Ibid.*, 1:70.

94. *Ibid.*, 2:194-195; Willis, *Essays*, 32.

95. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:195; Willis, *Essays*, 33.

96. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:195.

Western rites that preserved older forms of the canon – was removed under its influence. A possible explanation for the absence of prayer for the king in Rome is that after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the Pope became, in fact, the ruler of the area around Rome and it was thus pointless to pray for another king, although this can be nuanced by the turbulent political history of this period.⁹⁷ In the Gallic areas, or other areas with Christian civil rulers, the supplication for the king does appear to be preserved, as we saw in the Stowe Missal and the Old Gelasian, with the Merovingian addition.

3.5. Carolingian Period (8th-10th cent.)

Firstly, it is important to note that the ties between king and Church were strong in and that prayer for the king was normal in the Carolingian period.⁹⁸ All kinds of prayers and even masses for the well-being of the king existed. We find an illustration for this in the supplement of Benedict of Aniane: he recorded a *Missa pro regibus*, a *Missa cotidiana pro rege* and *Orationes ad missam tempore synodi pro rege dicendas*.⁹⁹ This custom of praying for the king already existed in the Merovingian time before the Carolingians took over power and that custom with it. There are records of monastic prayer for the king in exchange for immunity, protection, or even payments.¹⁰⁰ Especially monastic communities played an important role in this practice.¹⁰¹ In *Ordo Romanus XV* (ca. 775-780), the Gallic author describes liturgical petitions for the king and shows that the king's name could be mentioned at mass.¹⁰² When the Roman Empire was revived with Charlemagne's coronation, the mention of the emperor in the Canon occurs only rarely.¹⁰³ In this period, however, mentioning the emperor or king became normal again.

For example, Paweł Figurski observes that already during the reign of Charles the Bald (823-877) scribes added “et rege nostro.”¹⁰⁴ This time only not in the *Memento*, but at the end of the *Te igitur*, aligned with pope and bishop, thus stressing the religious importance and role of the king. Figurski characterizes this evolution as “the breakthrough moment in the

97. *Ibid.*, 2:197.

98. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language*, 45.

99. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, 1:424-428.

100. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language*, 45.

101. Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, 131-160.

102. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language*, 54.

103. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:197-198.

104. Paweł Figurski, “Sacramental Kingship: Modern Historiography versus Medieval Sources,” in *Political Liturgies in the High Middle Ages: Beyond the Legacy of Ernst H. Kantorowicz*, ed. Paweł Figurski – Johanna Dale – Pieter Byttember, *Medieval and Early Modern Political Theology*, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021) 49-50.

development of a sacramental perception of kingship that would mark later kingdoms in the European High Middle Ages.”¹⁰⁵

We also find this mention of the king in the tenth century *Sacramentaire de Saint-Martin de Tours* (Tours Bibl. Munic. 184):

[...] una cum famulo tuo papa nosro sedis apostolicae et antistite nostro ill. et rege nostro.¹⁰⁶

3.6. High Middle Ages, the Council of Trent, and after (11th-20th cent.)

The mention of the king remains rare until the eleventh century, when it was again contested because of the Investiture Controversy, shown by frequent deletions in manuscripts.¹⁰⁷ From the twelfth century, it became common and unquestioned to mention *imperatore nostro*, *rege nostro*, or both.¹⁰⁸ As mentioned above, the Curia Missal of the thirteenth century, “which originated in an atmosphere of Church-political strife,” omitted the king and because the 1570 Missal after the Council of Trent was modelled after it, the mention of the king in the Canon disappeared generally – in any case from the Roman version of the Roman Canon.¹⁰⁹

Although the Missal of Pius V omitted the mention of the king, the custom still persisted locally. Where it was permitted by privilege (Spain in Early Modernity, Austria between 1761 and 1918, Belgium in the 1930’s,...), or where the kings defied the Roman version of the Canon (France: neo-gallican Missals), it was retained.¹¹⁰

In any case, the solemn intercessions of Good Friday were also preserved in the 1570 missal, including the petition for the Roman emperor:

Oremus et pro Christianissimo Imperatore nostro N. vt deus et dominus noster súbditas illi faciat omnes barbaras nationes, ad nostram perpetuam pacem. Orémus. Flectámus genua. R. Levate.
Omnipotens sempiterne deus, in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum: respice ad Romanum benignus imperium; vt gentes,

105. *Ibid.*, 50.

106. *Sacramentaire de Saint-Martin de Tours*, Tours, *Bibliothèque Municipale*, ms. 184, f.003v, <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/25711/canvas/canvas-2678060/view>.

107. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:198.

108. *Ibid.*

109. *Ibid.*, 2:198-199: “das in einer Atmosphäre des kirchenpolitischen Kampfes entstanden war.”

110. *Ibid.*, 2:199.

quę in sua feritate confidunt, potentię tuę dextera comprimantur. Per dominum nostrum. R. Amen.¹¹¹

3.7. *After the Second Vatican Council (20th-21st cent.)*

Even in the 2008 version of the Roman Missal, this intercession is still present in the Good Friday Solemn Intercessions, although the description has changed from the emperor towards the civilian authority in all its possible forms:

IX. Pro rempublicam moderantibus

Orémus et pro ómnibus rempúblicam moderántibus, ut Deus et Dóminus noster mentes et corda eórum secúndum voluntátem suam dírigat ad veram ómnium pacem et libertátem.

Oratio in silentio. Deinde sacerdos:

Omnípotens sempítérne Deus, in cuius manu sunt hóminum corda et iura populórum, réspice benígnus ad eos, qui nos in potestáte moderántur, ut ubique terrárum populórum prospéritas, pacis securítas et religiónis libertas, te largiēte, consístant. Per Christum Dóminum nostrum. R. Amen.¹¹²

Little surprise, the mention of the king is also no longer found in the Eucharistic Prayer I in the postconciliar missals.

Te igitur [...] una cum fámulo tuo Papa nostro N. et Antístite nostro N. et ómnibus orthodoxis atque cathólicę et apostólicę fidei cultóribus.¹¹³

What does surprise, is that we could find a Belgian (Flemish) rendition of the missal from 1966, after the Council but before the Concilium finished its work and the Missal of Paul VI was published. This missal reflects the transitional liturgy of this period and does still mention the king as late as 1966:

Una cum fámulo tuo Papa nostro N. et Antístite nostro N. (et Regi nostro N.) et ómnibus orthodoxis atque cathólicę et apostólicę fidei cultóribus.¹¹⁴

111. Manlio Sodi – Achille Maria Triacca, eds., *Missale Romanum Editio Princeps (1570)*, Seconda edizione, Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini, 2 (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012) 247.

112. *Missale Romanum*, editio typica tertia, reimpressio emendata (Città del Vaticano: Typis Vaticanis, 2008) 321-322.

113. *Ibid.*, 571.

114. *Het Altaarmissaal voor de Vlaamse Bisdommen*, vol. 1 (Brussel: Interdiocesaan centrum, 1966) 61.

In the first Flemish Missal representing the 1970-reforms, the 1975-version, this has disappeared.¹¹⁵

In any case, when we consult the General Instruction of the Roman Missal on the Prayer of the Faithful – restored after the Second Vatican Council – we read the following:

69. In the Prayer of the Faithful, [...] it is fitting that petitions will be offered for the holy Church, for civil authorities, for those weighed down by various needs, for all men and women, and for the salvation of the whole world.

70. As a rule, the series of intentions is to be
[...] b. For public authorities and the salvation of the whole world; [...].¹¹⁶

The GIRM refers in that place to *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, where it states:

53. [...] By this prayer, [...], intercession will be made for holy Church, for the civil authorities, for those oppressed by various needs, for all mankind, and for the salvation of the entire world.¹¹⁷

In the footnote to this passage, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* refers to 1 Tim 2:1-2 and thus completes the circle. Although we do not pray for king nor Roman emperor in the Eucharistic prayers anymore, the same biblical inspiration to mention him from the very beginning in Christian prayers and in the liturgy still provides inspiration to pray for civil authorities in the Prayer of the Church.

4. Theological Interpretation

After the historical part above, the question naturally arises as to why the monarch could be prayed for in the Eucharistic prayer at all. What interpretations can explain this presence of the monarch in the Eucharistic prayer, already in the earliest centuries of the Church? In the first instance, a logical two-fold explanation can be derived. The early Christians prayed, as was demanded for in Scripture, for the well-being of the monarch because he controlled the daily life, even though he was not a Christian himself. The wordings in both Old and New Testament texts, as seen above,

115. *Missaal voor Zon- en Feestdagen* (Brussel: LICAP, 1975) 252: “Dat vragen wij u in eenheid met de bisschop van Rome, paus N., in eenheid met onze bisschop N., verenigd ook met allen die, oprecht en trouw, uw woord bewaren en het geloof belijden van uw apostelen overal in deze wereld.”

116. General Instruction of the Roman Missal, 69-70.

117. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 53.

suggest this motivation for prayer for the king. This interpretation starts from a position in which the ruler who controlled daily life and thus the way of life of the Christians is generally negative or neutral towards Christianity. They prayed for a good life for him to obtain a good life for themselves. This is also the interpretation De Clerck assigns to this prayer.¹¹⁸

4.1. Jewish Origins and Persecution

Although De Clerck strongly doubts the Jewish origin of the intercessions, Enrico Mazza traces back themes from the Alexandrian prayer of thanksgiving to the *Yotser*, a Jewish blessing before the *Shema*, and he does the same for the strophe of intercessions in the Alexandrian paleoanaphora.¹¹⁹ According to him, it stems from the *Ahabhah Rabbah*, the second blessing that preceded the *Shema*, that “asks God to bring people back and assembled in peace.”¹²⁰ The fact that Roman persecution scarred Alexandrian Christianity greatly may have been a reason, paralleled onto the Jewish prayers linked to the topoi of the (Babylonian) exile, why the prayer for the universal Church took the form of a prayer for peace.¹²¹ The role of the sovereign therein is of course of utmost importance, as he is the one sanctioning, allowing or holding back these persecutions.

On the other hand, as we saw in the historical interpretation, this position of the ruler quickly changed. Instead of an external, alien force influencing Christian life, the ruler became a prominent representative of the Christians. He became an active protector and promoter of Christianity. That shift obviously takes place with the legalization of Christianity and its transformation into a state religion with the emperor as its head. From that historical evolution, of course, it makes perfect sense that this prayer is there stronger and longer in the Byzantine rite and in the East in general, where, because of so-called Caesaropapism, the bond between emperor and church was much stronger than in the fragmented West.¹²²

Mazza interprets the persons then listed in the intercessions as the “various orders making up the Church: the bishop with the entire clergy and various ministers, the king, the living and the dead.”¹²³ The place he gives to the king in this reasoning demonstrates the transition made in the men-

118. De Clerck, *La “prière universelle”*, 110-211.

119. Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 47; De Clerck, *La “prière universelle”*, 4.

120. Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 47.

121. *Ibid.*, 47-48.

122. Gilbert Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre: étude sur le Césaropapisme byzantin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996).

123. Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 48.

tion of the king in the liturgy. Following on from Jewish and early Christian prayer for the king as a condition for living in peace and tranquillity, without persecution, he first reports the place of the monarch in it. But then he speaks of the king as part of the church hierarchy. This also explains the changes described below, linked to the political context. Choy observes that “the eighth and ninth century theological concern with ‘peace’ was entirely different from the early patristic one,” which exerted an important influence on the placement of the prayer for the king.¹²⁴

Much thus depends on the political situation. In the edition of the *Gallicanum Vetus*, the editors even gave us a footnote with the Solemn Good Friday Prayers, which tells us that – as noticed thanks to palimpsest photography – the first hand wrote *imperatoribus ut deus*, then erased that and wrote *regibus ut deus*.¹²⁵ We see here that the changing political situation had an influence on the liturgy. On the one hand, there is debate among authors as to whether the mention of the Roman Empire refers to concrete historical situations in the third, fourth or even ninth century.¹²⁶ Moreover, the Frankish rulers liked to adopt all kinds of Roman imperial symbolism to legitimize their power.¹²⁷ One could, on the other hand, choose to leave *imperatoribus* and refer to a more eschatological situation, an idealistic Christian Roman Empire – much like some Muslims long for a Caliphate that does not exist anymore since its abolition by Atatürk in 1922 – but they chose to have it refer to the actual living world. In the *Hadrianum*, we find these prayers for Good Friday of course too, but there only the Roman emperor is mentioned, and no options are offered to adapt the prayer to the actual political situation.¹²⁸ This is probably so under the influence of the Roman context.

4.2. Te igitur or Memento?

As we saw, the prayer for or mention of the monarch occupied several places in the Roman Canon. Furthermore, where it is written, obviously, also has a great bearing on its meaning. To start and to keep it simple: in any case, we always find the mention of the monarch in a context of petition. Christians pray for their emperor.

124. Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, 134; Paul J.E. Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings: Peace, Power, and the Early Medieval Political Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

125. Mohlberg – Eizenhöfer – Siffrin, *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, 28.

126. Willis, *Essays*, 43; De Clerck, *La “prière universelle”*, 139-140.

127. Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, 138.

128. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 139.

The mention of the king has always occupied a place between what we now call the *Te igitur* and the *Memento*, or in the *Memento* itself, because it was here these intercessions were moved from the General Petitions and were attached to the prayer for the Church.

In the *Te igitur* we ask for acceptance of the gifts and directly linked to that is a petition for the church. Mazza states: “The second depends on the first inasmuch as the *commendatio* of the sacrifice leads to prayer for those who are its beneficiaries.”¹²⁹ This prayer for the Church has always been very important to early Christians.¹³⁰ The Church is described as 1. Holy – as it is the assembly of all those “sanctified in water and in the Holy Spirit” – and 2. Catholic – “intended for all peoples and, as could triumphantly be said at the time when this word was inserted into the canon, spread among all peoples.”¹³¹ Jungmann goes on to describe what exactly is petitioned for the Church. As we saw in the Jewish origins of this prayer, peace is the main theme. Jungmann describes it quite wonderful:

What we petition for her [the Church] in all the world is peace (*pacificare*) or, negatively expressed, protection from imminent danger (*custodire*), so that she may bear abundant fruit, so that the leaven of God’s power dwelling in them may penetrate all layers of humanity. But in her interior, according to the example of the Lord Himself (John 17:21), we ask above all unity: that she may be preserved from division and false doctrine, that she may be held together by love, the bond of the one God-family (*adunare*), and that God’s Spirit Himself may lead and govern her (*regere*).¹³²

Mazza notes that “the Roman Canon in its entirety is a lengthy intercession, based entirely on the theme of offering and sacrifice.”¹³³ In this respect the *Te igitur*, which asks explicitly for the acceptance of the sacrifice, then goes on to mention which benefits we ask by bringing the sacrifice and later those of whom we ask to receive the benefit of it, starting with the whole Church itself.

129. Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, 59.

130. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:193.

131. *Ibid.*: “die geheiligt sind im Wasser und im Heiligen Geiste,” “für alle Völker bestimmt und sie ist, wie man zur Zeit, da dieses Wort in den Kanon hineingenommen wurde, schon triumphierend sagen konnte, bei allen Völkern verbreitet.”

132. *Ibid.*, 2:193-194: “Was wir für sie in aller Welt erbitten, ist der Friede (*pacificare*) oder, negativ ausgedrückt, die Behütung vor drohender Gefahr (*custodire*), damit sie reiche Frucht bringen, damit der Sauerteig der in ihr wohnenden Gotteskraft alle Schichten der Menschheit durchdringen kann. In ihrem Inneren aber erbitten wir für sie nach dem Beispiele des Herrn selbst (Jo 17,21) vor allem die Einheit: daß sie bewahrt bleiben möge von Spaltung und Irrlehre, daß sie zusammengehalten werden möge durch die Liebe, das Band der einen Gottesfamilie (*adunare*), und daß Gottes Geist selber sie leiten und regieren (*regere*) möge.”

133. Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 270.

Mazza continues and confirms that with this magnificent expression:

The theme of the intercessions is, then, the theme of the eucharistic celebration as such: the redemption gained by Christ and manifested in unity. The entire history of the Eucharistic prayer makes it clear that the theme of the intercessions is a sacrificial theme in the proper sense, since the intercessions present the universal Church to the Father at the moment when this Church is engaged in the celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice and drawing fruit from it. This is why we pray here for all those who are in the Church, whether living or dead.¹³⁴

This prayer for the Church then leads to an explication of members of that Church and especially its leadership, as in other rites.¹³⁵ Mazza observes the pyramid structure of the intercessions: first the pope, then bishops, clergy and the entire Church follows.¹³⁶ We should add, however, that the structure is more hourglass-shaped, instead of strictly pyramidal. The prayer begins with the intercession for the whole Church, the sanctified community of the baptized, then zooms in on the leadership and then expands again to the “orders and ranks” and all sorts of specific groups of believers.

For this study, therefore, it is interesting that in some places (in the Ambrosian rite but also in the later, medieval manuscripts and in the Tridentine liturgy), the monarch is mentioned along with the pope and bishop at the end of the *Te igitur* and is thus considered a representative of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or at least part of it. In contrast, in the earliest sources (*Gelasianum Vetus*, Stowe, ...) this was not the case. He had his place in the *Memento* – admittedly at the beginning of it.

For the Ambrosian rite, a possible explanation for this is Byzantine influence in northern Italy during the Middle Ages. For the medieval books however, the explanation presumably lies in the ecclesiastic-political situation in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian periods, in which the mention of the ruler was reinvigorated and moved from the *Memento* to the end of the *Te igitur*, in order to align him with the pope and the bishops, as a representative of the Church. Jungmann states in this case, when the king is mentioned in the same breath as the leaders of the Church – pope and

134. *Ibid.*, 294.

135. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:194.

136. Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 294.

bishops – and as the formula *una cum* is used, that “only the heads of Catholic Christendom [can be included]” and “the naming of the ruler is possible only in a Christian state.”¹³⁷

As this intercessory prayer for the king is placed in the *Te igitur*, it becomes partisan. If the king is mentioned as one of the many for whom prayers are offered and for whom the sacrifice is made in the *Memento*, that problem does not present itself so sharply. It is so only when he is portrayed as a leader and representative of the Church.

In any case, it is interesting how the placement of the emperor’s name has an impact on the image of him, but also to see how the political situation has an actual effect on the liturgical text. There is a movement throughout the first thousand years of Christianity in which the emperor moves from the General Petitions to the *Memento* to the end of the *Te igitur*, a movement which aligns itself with the movement from enemy to servant to *defensor*. Firstly, Christians prayed for him to be left alone and to be able to live in peace, then he was prayed for in one of the fixed solemn Intercessions, in which he takes a role as part of the Christian community and he ends up being listed alongside the pope and bishop and all the faithful as leader of the Church, for which the sacrifice is made. This is quite a radical evolution.

5. Conclusion

Pilate, the representative of the emperor, crucified Christ. The early Christians were persecuted on the emperor’s orders. But even then they prayed for him. This apparent contradiction is not one. The tradition of praying for the authorities, even if hostile towards Christians and Christianity, has always existed. It has deep roots in the Bible: “Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you.”¹³⁸ When the situation changed and the civil leaders profiled themselves as spiritual leaders too, one could appeal to the equally ancient roots of the prayer for the Church itself.

Of course, this article could not cover the subject in all completeness. therefore, we formulate here some possibilities for further research. First, it would be interesting to depart on a theological digression on the difference in prayer for a head of state who may or may not be Catholic or even Christian in identification, in personal faith, in policy. Both the intention of prayer and the form of prayer can vary greatly according to these circumstances. How to pray for leaders you do not, or do agree with? How to

137. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 2:199: “[...], die nur die Häupter der katholischen Christenheit umfassen kann, ist die Nennung des Herrschers allerdings auch nur in einem christlichen Staate möglich.”

138. Matt 5:44.

deal with countries that have a state religion? How does these circumstances effect liturgical prayer? In addition, it is important to draw attention to the further evolution of this use in the non-Roman rites. For this research we relied on the work of Anton Hänggi and Irmgard Pahl: *Prex eucharistica: textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*. They present an extensive overview of the different rites and their anaphoras. We read through all the texts they reproduced in their work looking for mentions of the monarch. As mentioned in the paper above, because of the political situation and the close relationship between emperor and Church, this was much more frequent and extensive in the Anaphoras of the East.¹³⁹ This can also be a basis for further research into the place of the monarch in Eucharistic prayers.

We would like to conclude this paper with a plea to continue these prayers for the ruler. Our globalized world leaves (in most places) no room for naming the civil leader as church leader at the same time. Moreover, that is not advisable either, as we have learned from the past – and certainly no less from the present. It is therefore not a bad evolution that this mention disappeared from the Roman Canon and that the Second Vatican Council restored the Prayer of the Church, and with it, the intercessory prayers for the civil authorities, who had their place there since the beginning. Let us continue to pray for civil leaders, that we may live Christian lives in peace under their authority and that they use their power for good and make decisions that bring people closer to the Heavenly Kingdom.

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139. Hänggi – Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica*, 102-109, 145, 157, 161, 168, 182, 187, 190, 196, 198, 201, 208-209, 218, 228-229, 238-241, 252-253, 258-259, 273, 276-305, 313, 324-326, 331, 336, 341, 345-346, 367, 379, 392, 403, 408.