

THE ROMAN CANON:
ITS HISTORY AND THEOLOGY
WITH A BRIEF EXEGESIS OF THE INSTITUTION NARRATIVE

Joseph Fessenden
Diocese of Nashville
SL502 History and Theology of The Liturgy
April 23, 2014

Introduction

One of the most recognizable and notable aspects of the liturgy in the Roman Catholic Church is the Roman Canon, or, in the Ordinary Form of the Roman Rite, Eucharistic Prayer I. While the prayer is not identical to the earliest extant Eucharistic prayers, its origins are undoubtedly ancient, and it remains a major treasure in the liturgical patrimony of the Roman Rite. However, contemporary Catholics are often intimidated by its length, complexity, and characteristic Roman style and language. In order to facilitate this ancient prayer's usage for both priests and the faithful, this discussion will review the history and development of the Roman Canon and outline its structure. It will then offer a theological exegesis of the central point of the prayer, the Institution Narrative.

A Brief History of the Roman Canon

The available evidence makes it clear that the earliest liturgies did not feature the rigidity, uniformity, and universality of the Roman Canon. Instead, they were generally localized while still sharing some family resemblance.¹ The initial origins of the Roman Canon are lost to antiquity. However, it seems that, by the end of the fourth century, the core of the Roman Canon was present. This is evidenced by a comment by an anonymous author on part of the *Supra quae*, which links Melchizedek to the Holy Spirit.² Saint Ambrose, in *De Sacramentis*, offers an extended quote from the Eucharistic prayer, so it is clear that the Canon was, to a large extent, already established, at least “the core of our Mass canon, from the *Quam oblationem* on,

¹ Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development: (missarum Sollemnia)*, Rev. and abridged ed. (Notre Dame, Ind: Christian Classics, 2012), 1:44-45.

² *Ibid.*, 1:51.

including the sacrificial prayer after the consecration.”³ Since this is the key portion that will be included in the second part of this discussion, it is important to note that it is in place by at least the end of the fourth century.

In the course of the next thousand years, minor changes, clarifications, and adjustments took place in the words of the Canon and the gestures that accompanied it. One such example revolves around the Elevation of the Host, one of the more recognizable moments of the Catholic liturgy both before and after the liturgical reforms of the modern era. During the thirteenth century, there was fear that the people would start to adore the host before the consecration had taken place, thereby falling unwittingly into idolatry. The Bishop of Paris issued a decree circa 1210 stipulating that priests “should elevate the host only after the words of consecration, and so high then that all might see and adore.”⁴

Finally, in 1570, Pope Pius V promulgated the Mass that would become known as the Tridentine Mass, which would remain, with a few notable exceptions, largely untouched until the twentieth century and the major liturgical overhaul undertaken after the Second Vatican Council resulting in the Mass of Paul VI. One such recent modification within the scope of this discussion was undertaken under the order of Pope John XXIII on November 13, 1962, when Saint Joseph’s name was added to the Roman Canon. With that exception, the Latin text of the Roman Canon has remained almost identical since 1570. It has existed in an at least recognizable form since the late fourth century; according to Enrico Mazza, its last significant alterations took

³ Ibid., 1:53.

⁴ Ibid., 1:120.

place in the sixth century under Pope Gregory the Great.⁵ The Roman Canon found in the Ordinary Form of the Roman Rite, the Mass of Paul VI, was simplified and streamlined, but it maintains a clear resemblance and relationship to that prayer that was developed one and a half millennia ago.

One further change in the history of the Canon that bears mention is the transition from prayers recited aloud with the intention that the congregation should “be able to follow both prayer and action in all detail, and not merely as attentive spectators but as active participants.”⁶ To be sure, from the earliest days of the Liturgy, the bishop or a priest delegated by him recited the prayers of the Mass, but the prayers were not said in silence as they came to be in the medieval period. Some, like Martin Bucer in the sixteenth century, proposed, in a conspiratorial fashion, that the transition “was calculated to lead the people and the vast majority of priests into godless superstition,”⁷ however, such a conspiracy seems without foundation. Instead, the transition to a silent Canon, while it may have resulted in some cases as Bucer claimed, was more likely a simple cultural influence. The precise reasons for this transition are not clear, but it seems that the practice originated in the Eastern Church and was influenced by the influx of former adherents to the various mystery cults. The transition to an inaudible recitation of the Canon seems to have occurred sometime in the seventh century in the West, and spread from the areas of Gaul.⁸

This practice remained the norm in the Western Church until the twentieth century.

⁵ Enrico Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite* (New York: Pueblo Pub. Co, 1986), 53.

⁶ Theodor E. Klauser, “A Brief History of the Liturgy in the West,” *Orate Fratres* 23, no. 3 (January 23, 1949): 117.

⁷ Nicholas Thompson, “Martin Bucer’s Assessment of the Canon of the Mass in the Era of the Religious Colloquies,” *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 3, no. 1–2 (June 1, 2001): 76.

⁸ Klauser, “A Brief History of the Liturgy in the West,” 117; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:138.

The Structure of the Roman Canon

Jungmann refers to the Roman Canon as “a loosely arranged succession of oblations”⁹ with the consecration, the Institution Narrative, as an embolism in the middle. This is implied by the repeated *Per Christum Dominum Nostrum* found interspersed throughout the Canon concluding each of the prayers.¹⁰ As such, the prayer does not closely follow the invocation, anamnesis, epiclesis, doxology format commonly found in Christian prayer, but it does divide neatly into several sections that, as a whole, include each of those elements. It is notable, that, as they have come to be assembled through the centuries, the Roman Canon can be seen to comprise a sort of chiasma with the Institution Narrative at its center. That is to say, the loose arrangement is an observation that the prayer has distinguishable parts that have been assembled over the centuries, not that the arrangement of those parts is accidental or haphazard.¹¹

An exhaustive discussion of each element of the Canon would fill volumes, and it is outside the scope of this discussion. It will, however, be useful to briefly outline the parts of the prayer and the purpose of each.

The Canon, like the other Eucharistic Prayers in the post-Conciliar Liturgy, begins with The Introductory Dialogue. This short exchange, at least in an early form, can be seen as early as the third century, when the *Sursum corda* is mentioned by Saint Cyprian. Next, the priest prays The Preface, which is fundamentally an acknowledgement of the debt we owe to God as our creator and a prayer of thanksgiving. Next, the priest

⁹ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:101.

¹⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, 2:179.

¹¹ William Busch, “The Canon of the Mass: The Sacrifice Oblation,” *Orate Fratres* 3, no. 9 (July 14, 1929): 264–268.

and the assembled congregation sing the *Sanctus*, which includes the *Benedictus*, which was first attached to the end of the *Sanctus* in Gallic territories in the seventh century.¹²

The priest follows this hymn with the *Te igitur*, which has been restored to its original volume for the benefit of the people in the modern Liturgy; this is a plea for acceptance of the gifts offered on the Altar. The tone of this prayer, as well as that of many of the following prayers, reflects the Christian understanding of “divine transcendence and freedom.”¹³ Hence, it is important to understand throughout that while the language itself, limited by human thought and expression, may seem so, “the Christian anaphora is to be interpreted not as a naïve anthropomorphism but as an affirmation of the supreme greatness of God.”¹⁴ The priest then offers some general intercessory prayers for the Church and her hierarchy, the Commemoration of the Living, and the *Communicantes*, which includes the first of the lists of saints in the Roman Canon. This list opens with “Mother of our God and Lord, Jesus Christ, and blessed Joseph, her Spouse”¹⁵ then goes on to list, in a hierarchical order, twelve apostles and twelve martyrs of the early Church of Rome. The *Communicantes* also includes proper inserts for several major feasts of the Christian calendar.¹⁶

Next, the presider prays again that the gifts of the altar be accepted in the *Hanc igitur*.

Several theories exist regarding the apparent repetition of the intention of the *Te igitur* in this prayer, but such an examination is beyond the scope of this discussion.

¹² Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:110, 2:115.

¹³ Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, 61.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal: Renewed by Decree of the Most Holy Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, Promulgated by Authority of Pope Paul VI and Revised at the Direction of Pope John Paul II.* (New Jersey: Catholic Book Pub., 2011), 636.

¹⁶ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:136, 2:147. 2:172-173.

It is, however, worth noting that this prayer seems to have been included in the traditional form of the Roman Rite from the early years, and it took a form resembling that of the contemporary prayer in the era of Pope Saint Gregory the Great. However, the structure of the prayer did remain variable for a long time.¹⁷

Finally, the first half of the Roman Canon concludes with the *Quam oblationem*, which serves as the epiclesis in this prayer, even though the invocation of the Holy Spirit is implied instead of explicit. Whether or not this is meant to be an epiclesis, as such, is a point open for debate, but, since the reform of the Liturgy has developed the form of the Eucharistic Prayers to include two epicleses, one before and the other after the consecration, the phrasing of this prayer, imploring God to “make [the offering] spiritual and acceptable so that it may become for us the Body and Blood of your most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ”¹⁸ is interpreted, not without cause, to fill this role.¹⁹

From there, the Canon proceeds into the Institution Narrative and the Consecration.

Nicholas Gihl poetically describes this moment of the Mass:

The moment of Consecration is the moment the most important and solemn, the most sublime and touching, the most holy and fruitful of the whole sacrificial celebration; for it includes that glorious and unfathomably profound work, namely, the accomplishment of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, in which all the marvels of God’s love are concentrated as in a focus of heat and light.²⁰

This is, as was noted above, the main embolism of the Canon, and it is the central point of the prayer, both in theology and in structure.

¹⁷ Ibid., 2:180–181.

¹⁸ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 638.

¹⁹ Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, 68.

²⁰ Rev. Dr. Nicholas Gihl, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass: Dogmatically, Liturgically, and Ascetically Explained*, Translated from the sixth German Edition. (St. Louis: B. Herder, Publisher to the Apostolic See, 1902), 631–632.

In the post-Conciliar reform of the Roman Canon, the celebrant says, “The Mystery of Faith,”²¹ to which the congregation responds with one of three formulas for the Memorial Acclamation. In the pre-Conciliar Liturgy, the phrase that has become the introduction to the Memorial Acclamation was inserted in the consecratory prayer for the chalice, but its origin and the precise explanation for this placement remains unknown. The acclamation of the people was then introduced in the post-Conciliar Liturgy.

After the Consecration and Memorial Acclamation, the Canon continues with the *Unde et memores*, which is the *anamnesis* of the prayer. In this, the priest “interpret[s] the mystery thus accomplished.”²² The prayer describes the gifts sacrament of the altar, with reference to Christ, as “this pure victim, this holy victim, this spotless victim, the holy Bread of eternal life and the Chalice of everlasting salvation”²³ The Canon, in the *Supra Quae* and the *Supplices* then goes on to again petition that God should accept the gifts of the altar. This prayer recognizes the fundamentally audacious nature of making any offering to God, the Creator of the universe. “All we can do is make the offering; *offerimus*. It is up to God to cast a favorable glance upon the offering (*respicere*) and to consider it with approval (*accepta habere*).”²⁴ Following this, the *Supplices* asks that God should:

command that these gifts be borne by the hands of your holy Angel to your altar on high in the sight of your divine majesty, so that all of us, who through this participation at the altar receive the most holy Body and Blood of your Son.²⁵

²¹ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 640.

²² Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:218.

²³ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 641.

²⁴ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:226.

²⁵ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 641.

This can be seen as a sort of second epiclesis, “that the power of God might touch our sacrificial gift,”²⁶ in which, rather than send the Holy Spirit to descend upon the gifts on the Altar, the priest petitions that the gifts may ascend to God.²⁷

After this second epiclesis, the Roman Canon proceeds to the Commemoration of the Dead, which is followed by the *Nobis quoque*. The *Nobis quoque* seems to be of ancient origin as a continuation of the *Supplices*.²⁸ The principle petition here, reflecting that in the *Supplices*, that we “may be filled with every grace and heavenly blessing,”²⁹ is for God, despite our sins and shortcomings, to “grant some share and fellowship with your holy Apostles and Martyrs,”³⁰ in other words, salvation and the beatific vision. This prayer includes the second list of saints that is found in the Roman Canon, this time, seven male and seven female martyrs of the early Roman Church, not including John the Baptist who is included at the head of the list.

Finally, the Roman Canon draws to a close with two doxologies. The first of these is a sort of recapitulation of the divinity of Christ and his lordship over creation. The second is the doxology that is shared by all of the Eucharistic Prayers of the post-Conciliar Liturgy.

Exegesis of the Institution Narrative

The opening of the Institution Narrative sets the scene and identifies the time that is being re-presented in this section of the Canon, specifically, “On the day before he was to

²⁶ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:233.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:248.

²⁹ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 641.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 642.

suffer.”³¹ Gehr specifically notes the love for man that this timing highlights. Jesus, while fully aware of the passion that is going to commence immediately following The Last Supper, “had longed for this hour”³² to “pour out for us ungrateful creatures the abundance of His grace, all the treasures of His love in the Sacrament of the Altar, that we might never forget what He had done and suffered for us.”³³

The hands of Christ, as he takes up the bread, are called “holy and venerable.”³⁴ This phrasing seems to have originated in Eastern texts, but quickly came to be included in the Roman Institution Narrative as well. Clearly, Jesus’ hands were so because he was God, but it must be understood, that, while, in human terms he is less so, the priest’s hands share this quality from their consecration, his ordination, his action *in persona Christi capitis*, and his life of charity and devotion.³⁵

The priest is then called to, in imitation of Christ, raise his eyes, as he describes Christ’s actions. The phrasing of this entire portion of the prayer reflects other prefigurations to the Eucharist in Scripture, for example, the multiplication of the loaves in Matthew’s Gospel tells that Jesus, “taking the five loaves and the two fish...looked up to heaven, and blessed, and broke and gave the loaves to the disciples.”³⁶ (Mt 14:19) It is clear that the language used in the Institution Narrative is meant to reflect this moment that fulfills that which was prefigured in the desert by the feeding of five thousand. Jungmann further notes that this moment includes

³¹ Ibid., 639.

³² Gehr, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass: Dogmatically, Liturgically, and Ascetically Explained*, 634.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 639.

³⁵ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:198; Gehr, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass: Dogmatically, Liturgically, and Ascetically Explained*, 635.

³⁶ Catholic Biblical Association (Great Britain), *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version*, 2nd. Catholic ed., Ignatius ed. (San Francisco: Thomas Nelson Publishers for Ignatius Press, 2006). Unless otherwise noted, all scriptural quotes will come from this translation.

not only a mention of God the Father, but rather a solemn address to the Father, which echoes the opening of the Canon.³⁷

The narrative then arrives at that moment when the priest is instructed to pronounce “clearly and distinctly, as the nature of these words requires,”³⁸ the words of Christ themselves at which the bread is transformed into the body of Christ. The words themselves represent an amalgamation of the various accounts of the Last Supper from scripture. Prior to the reform of the Liturgy in the twentieth century, two phrases that were found in a compiled account from all four Institution Narratives in Scripture were missing from that of the Roman Canon, “which will be given up for you”³⁹ at the end of the consecration of the Host and “do this in remembrance of me”⁴⁰ concluding the consecration of the chalice. In the post-Conciliar Liturgy, however, each of these have been returned to the text such that all of Jesus’ words represented in the Scriptural accounts of his institution of the Eucharist, those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul, are included in the Institution Narrative of the Mass.⁴¹ At this point, “the bread has been changed into the sacrificial Body of Christ; the wine has now still to become the sacrificial Blood of Christ.”⁴²

When the priest recounts that, “in a similar way...he took this precious chalice,”⁴³ Jesus is continuing to echo the actions of the Old Testament Paschal meal, but he is also bringing the foreshadowing in those events to their completion in the Eucharist.⁴⁴

³⁷ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 199.

³⁸ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 639.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Cf. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:196.

⁴² Gehr, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass: Dogmatically, Liturgically, and Ascetically Explained*, 638.

⁴³ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 639.

⁴⁴ Gehr, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass: Dogmatically, Liturgically, and Ascetically Explained*, 639.

The use of the adjective “precious” is designed both to remind the people of the great gift that the contents of the chalice represent and will become and to reflect again the promises and texts of the Old Testament. In this case, it invokes the cup mentioned in Psalm 22:5.

The hands of Christ are again called “holy and venerable,”⁴⁵ which seems to have grown out of an early quest for symmetry between the consecration of the bread and that of the wine. This parallelism, which reflects some of the earliest development of the Eucharistic Prayers of both East and West, can also be seen in the inclusion in the consecration of both species of scriptural words or phrases that are found only in some accounts or only applied to one species. For example, Matthew includes “*ex hoc omnes*” and “*enim*” (Mt 26:27-28) in Jesus’ words over the cup, but the Roman Canon includes both of these for both the bread and the wine to provide both a scripturally robust and parallel construction to these two moments.⁴⁶

Like he did with the consecration of the bread, the priest bows slightly as he pronounces the words of Jesus at the Last Supper, this time, over the chalice filled with wine. The oldest Roman formula for this was simply “*Hic est sanguis meus*,”⁴⁷ which mirrors Matthew’s account, “This is my blood,” (Mt 26:28). The tradition over time assembled the accounts from the other evangelists and Paul, including chalice in the formula to more clearly denote that the blood of Christ is to be consumed as a drink. A description of the covenant that is sealed in Christ’s blood was also appended over

⁴⁵ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 639.

⁴⁶ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:195–196.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:197.

time.⁴⁸ This covenant is described as new, since it is being established in Christ, and eternal. The latter is to distinguish it from the Sinai covenant and other previous covenants with humanity, which had only temporal authority. Finally, the priest pronounces, at the end of the consecration of the wine, “Do this in memory of me.”⁴⁹ Prior to the reform of the twentieth century, the phrase was said after the chalice was returned to the altar, and reflected the entire action.⁵⁰ In the Mass of Paul VI, the phrase, taken from Paul’s account in 1 Corinthians, is said as part of the consecration of the wine.

One aspect of the consecration of the cup which caused no little debate and confusion in the English translation of the Third Edition of the Roman Missal was the translation of *pro multis*, which had been, in the initial translation of the reformed Liturgy, translated as “for all.” Following the directions set forth by the Church, the new translation rendered the Latin more literally as “for many.” This has introduced some challenges to the phrasing, usually coming in the form of an interpretation limiting the salvific value of Christ’s saving action and His blood. It is generally accepted that this is not what the text is meant to convey, and the underlying languages in the biblical texts, which similarly render in Latin as *multis*, convey an innumerable multitude rather than a finite many or several. The confusion of this translation, however, seems to stem from the comparison of the previous translation to the new translation, thus limiting the understood connotation. Rather, it seems a better interpretation of *pro multis* could be developed by viewing it

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Roman Missal*, 639.

⁵⁰ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:201.

within the context of Christ's words themselves and opposing it to "you" earlier in the same phrase. Hence, a clearer and more correct understanding of the meaning of this new translation would imply that Jesus, in talking to his apostles at the Last Supper, was indicating that the Sacrament was for those assembled and for [the] many or for many [more], that is, for the multitude.

Conclusion

The Canon of the Mass, The Roman Canon, Eucharistic Prayer I is undoubtedly a treasure of the patrimony of the Catholic Church. Unfortunately, its length, complexity, and characteristic Roman style and language frequently render it inaccessible to the contemporary Catholic. This discussion has set forth to show the origins and the development of the Canon, lay out its structure and the meanings of its individual parts, and offer a more detailed look into the central point of the Canon and all of the Eucharistic Prayers of the reformed Liturgy, The Institution Narrative. This understanding will enable priests to more attentively pray the Roman Canon, and the faithful to fulfill the Second Vatican Council Fathers' call "to that fully conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy."⁵¹

⁵¹ Catholic Church, "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium," in *Vatican II Documents* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2011).

Bibliography

- Busch, William. "The Canon of the Mass: The Sacrifice Oblation." *Orate Fratres* 3, no. 9 (July 14, 1929): 257–269.
- Bussard, Paul C. "If I Be Lifted up." *Orate Fratres* 4, no. 4 (February 23, 1930): 156–159.
- Catholic Biblical Association (Great Britain). *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version*. 2nd. Catholic ed., Ignatius ed. San Francisco: Thomas Nelson Publishers for Ignatius Press, 2006.
- Catholic Church. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. 2nd ed. Was: United States Catholic Conference, 2000.
- . "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium." In *Vatican II Documents*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2011.
- Catholic Church, Catholic Church, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. *The Roman Missal: Renewed by Decree of the Most Holy Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, Promulgated by Authority of Pope Paul VI and Revised at the Direction of Pope John Paul II*. New Jersey: Catholic Book Pub., 2011.
- Gassner, Jerome. "The Preconsecratory Invocations of the Canon." *Orate Fratres* 19, no. 10 (September 9, 1945): 440–451.
- . "The Preconsecratory Invocations of the Canon. 2." *Orate Fratres* 19, no. 11 (October 7, 1945): 481–492.
- Gehr, Rev. Dr. Nicholas. *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass: Dogmatically, Liturgically, and Ascetically Explained*. Translated from the sixth German Edition. St. Louis: B. Herder, Publisher to the Apostolic See, 1902.
- Jungmann, Josef A. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development: (missarum Sollemnia)*. Rev. and abridged ed. 2 vols. Notre Dame, Ind: Christian Classics, 2012.
- Klauser, Theodor E. "A Brief History of the Liturgy in the West." *Orate Fratres* 23, no. 3 (January 23, 1949): 116–121.
- Mazza, Enrico. *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*. New York: Pueblo Pub. Co, 1986.
- . *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer*. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1995.
- McHugh, John A. "The Essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass and Scripture." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 1939): 15–43.

Thompson, Nicholas. "Martin Bucer's Assessment of the Canon of the Mass in the Era of the Religious Colloquies." *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 3, no. 1-2 (June 1, 2001): 51-77.